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Quantifiers in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa (South Mande)
Valentin Vydrin
INALCO — LLACAN (CNRS, UMR-8135)

1. Introduction
Dan (South Mande < Southeastern Mande < Mande < Niger-Congo) is a macrolanguage spoken in Côte d’Ivoire, Liberia and Guinea by about 1,600,000 people (2012, my evaluation). In Liberia, Dan are known under the name of Gio; in Côte d’Ivoire they are most often referred to as Yakuba (Yacouba). Since the 1960s, two language norms are being elaborated in Côte d’Ivoire: Western Dan, based on the Blo dialect, and Eastern Dan, based on the Gwɛɛtaa dialect (sousprefecture of Santa, prefecture of Biancouma, Tonkpi province).

In the present paper, I am going to deal with the data of the latter variety. The data have been collected by me mainly in 2013-2014 on the basis of E. Keenan’s The Q book questionnaire; the universal quantifiers’ section was also inspired by Tatevosov’s (2002) study. My corpus of natural and elicited Dan-Gwɛɛtaa texts in the Toolbox format has been abundantly used as well.\(^1\)

In Section 2, background data on the Dan-Gwɛɛtaa phonology and morphosyntax is presented, which is intended to facilitate understanding of the subsequent sections. In Section 3, core quantifiers are discussed: generalized existential, generalized universal, proportional, morphosyntactically complex. In Section 4, “selected topics” of “The Q book questionnaire” are dealt with: comparative quantifiers, “type 2 quantifiers”, distributive numerals, mass quantifiers and naiscent noun classifiers, existential constructions, bare quantifiers, quantifiers’ scope ambiguities, expression of the meaning ‘only’. In the same section is represented the phenomenon of conversion of D-quantifiers into A-quantifiers with pre-verbal verbs. In Section 5, a summary table of quantifiers in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa is given.

2. Background information on Dan-Gwɛɛtaa
2.1. Segmental phonology
Dan-Gwɛɛtaa has 12 oral vowels, 9 nasal vowels, and one defective vowel ŋ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Oral vowels</th>
<th>Back labial</th>
<th>Nasal vowels</th>
<th>Back labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Back non-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>labial</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonetically long vowels are interpreted as combinations of two identical vowels (rather than long phonemes). There is a trend to phonologization of the mid-closed [y] triggered by morphologically conditioned alternation of tones.\(^2\)/ŋ/ is a vowel of a limited distribution: it can appear in the feet of the types CVŋ, CVVŋ, ŋ, but not *Cŋ. Nasalization is marked by a lower tilde, in order to leave space above the letter for tonal diacritics.

Consonants

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\(^1\) In August 2014, the size of this corpus was about 22,000 words. The corpus is constantly growing, for which reason it is difficult to give a more precise figure. Examples from the corpus are provided with references [in brackets]; examples elicited especially for this study are left without reference.

\(^2\) In Dan-Gwɛɛtaa, mid-closed vowels, /ɪ, ɐ, o/, are realized as more closed allophones, [ɪ, ɐ, o] under extra-high tone, cf. /wɛ/ [wɪ] ‘to speak’ (the lexical form) vs. /wɛ/ [wɛ] ‘to speak’ (the regular form in neutral aspect construction). Among the abovementioned allophones, ɐ seems to be on the way to phonologization: so, the neutral aspect form of the verb sʊdɛ [sʊdɛ] ‘to be afraid’, sʊdɛ; is normally pronounced identically to the verb sʊdɛ ‘to get up early in the morning’ (in both lexical and neutral aspect form). However, some informants can hear the difference between the latter forms (probably, under the influence of the neighbouring dialect of Tee, where the contrast in question seems to be phonological).
In a nasal foot, any consonant is nasalized; the nasalization is especially prominent for the phonemes /b, d, y, w, gb/ which are represented in this case by their allophones [m, n, ɲ, w, gm]. Foot-internal -l- is realized as [-r-] when preceded by dental or palatal consonants, and as [-l-] after labial and velar consonants.

### 2.2. Suprasegmental phonology: tones

There are five level tones:
- extra-high: kāå ‘scabies’,
- high: kāå ‘you (pl.)’, the negative imperfective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- mid: kāå ‘you (pl.)’, the prospective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- low: kāå ‘to scratch’ (a conjoint construction form),
- extra-low: kāå ‘reed’.

There are three modulated tones (all are available on single vowels), they are less frequent than level ones:
- high-falling: gbē ‘dog’,
- mid-falling: dǐɗ ‘hunger’,
- extra-high – falling: zîtādī ‘extremely ancient’.

Grammatical tones (tonal morphemes) substitute the lexical tone of a word (pɔ ‘to dig’ → pɔ ‘to dig’, the neutral aspect) or are suffixed (→ pɔ ‘to dig’, the infinitive).

### 2.3. Syllabic structures

Allowed in Dan are: \( V, CV, C_1C_2V \). The only consonant admissible in the \( C_2 \) position is /l/, it cannot be preceded by \( d, gw, l, s, y \).

The main rhythmical unit is metric foot. The types of feet attested in Dan are: \( V \) (including \( y \)), \( CV, CVV, CVŋ, CVVV, CVVŋ, CIV, CIVV, ClVŋ \). A foot is characterized by nasal harmony, restrictions on vowel combinations, restrictions on tonal combinations.

### 2.4. Basic syntax

#### 2.4.1. The basic word order in a simple verbal sentence is \( (S) PPM (DO) V (X) \), where \( S \) is for the subject, \( PPM \) is for the pronominal predicative markers (or auxiliaries, see 2.9), \( DO \) is for direct object, \( V \) is for verbal predicate, \( X \) is for the indirect/oblique object or circumstant. Dan is a null-subject language (explicit presence of a subject NP is unnecessary, for the subject is indexed in the PPM). Presence of a DO makes a verb transitive; if the DO position is void, the verb is intransitive.

#### 2.4.2. Non-verbal sentences are formed with copulae \( bū, bā, dē, dũ̃e \) (identification, negative identification, presentative, equative) and with PPM (negative identification, locative, qualitative, equative; on PPM, see 2.9.).

Identification, \( S bū ‘it is S’ \) (if the object referred by \( S \) is in the range of visibility), \( S bā ‘it is S’ \) (\( S \) is outside the range of visibility). One of the equative sentence type, \( S bū OO kā ‘S is OO’ \) (\( OO \) is for Oblique object), can be regarded as a variety of the identification sentence.

Negative identification, \( (S) NEG.IPFV bū ‘it is not S’ \).

Presentative sentence, \( S dũ̃e ‘here is S’ \).

In the (affirmative) identification and the presentative sentences, a subject is obligatory and a PPM is missing; all other sentence types in Dan contain a PPM.

Locative sentence, \( (S) EXI X ‘S is located in X’ \), the negative counterpart: \( (S) NEG.IPFV X \). Apart from the locative, many other meanings are expressed by this sentence type as well: possessive, equative, physical and psychological states, etc.

Qualitative sentence, \( (S) EXI ADJ \), negative counterpart: \( (S) NEG.IPFV ADJ \).

In non-autonomous clauses, EXI are replaced with JNT.

### 2.5. Noun

Nouns are subdivided into the classes of nouns proper and “locative nouns”. The latter have an emergent inflectional category of case, the former have none.

#### 2.5.1. Locative nouns come from a fusion with postpositions; therefore, they are used in the circumstant function without postpositions (unlike the noun proper). Six morphological cases can be singled out, with a great deal of irregularity in their formation. In more detail, see (Vydrin 2011).

#### 2.5.2. Relational and free nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labial labialized</th>
<th>Labiovelar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>gb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced fricatives</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implosives/sonants</td>
<td>ţ</td>
<td>ŷ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral sonant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This distinction is valid for both the nouns proper and the locative nouns; it manifests itself in a possessive NP where the possessor (the dependent word) is a person. If the head (the possessum) is a free noun, it is connected to the possessor noun by a connective word (a postposition) bā ː ː ː a ː :

1. Gbātbó bā dā-dū
   NOM.M POSS child-PL
   ‘Gbato’s children’.
   Bā is most often replaced by gbó if the NP appears in the circumstantial function:

2. n ː gbó kóddo
   1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC house.LOC
   ‘at my home’.

If the possessed noun is relational, there is no connective word: Gbātbó dū ‘Gbato’s father’.

Most of body part names and kinship terms belong to the class of relational nouns, however, there are some important exceptions: dū ‘child’, bɛɛ ː ‘nephew, niece (sister’s child)’, wū ‘hair (head hair)’, fàyì ‘sweat’ are free nouns, while bāyì ‘child’ (a synonym of dū), kā ‘body hair’, wêethe ‘urine’ are relational.

2.5.2. Standard plural marker is -dū which follows the noun. The majority of locative nouns have no plural forms in the oblique cases. The plural marker dū at the same time expresses the definiteness.

The plural marker appears preferably with nouns for humans and big (identifiable) animals; it is less used (although, by no means, not prohibited) with names for small animals and inanimate objects whose basic form remains thus neutral to the opposition of singular and plural. On the other hand, plural marker is compatible with mass and liquid nouns, in which case a semantic shift is observed towards the meanings “portions of the substance” (evidently, a distributive meaning, (3)) or “sorts of” (4):

3. Zā yī dudóyí-sù-dū
   liana.sp. water viscous.substance-ADJ-PL
   ‘bowls of sauce of the liana "zan”’ [e4:20].

4. Gbó-gjó wó kò dò ː a kà, wáá kí dò.
   mud-PL 3PL.JNT house build 3SG.INSTR 3PL.IPV.NEG do so.CLOSE
   ‘One does not build a house with such sorts of mud’ [f180:7].

With most names of physiological substances and excretions (yòò ‘blood’, gbò ‘excrement’, wêethe ‘urine’), -dū may also express the meaning of emphatic plural (‘a great quantity of’):

5. Bgù yòò-dū wò slāà.
   human blood-PL 3PLEXI earth.SUB
   (a) ‘There is a great deal of man’s blood on the earth’, or (b) ‘There is blood of several/many persons/animals on the earth’ [f181:1].

A non-numerative expressive meaning of the plural marker should be mentioned: when followed by the universal quantifier gbà, it may mean ‘and besides’, ‘on the top of everything’ (6).

   NOM.M-PL all.3SG.PRF do old
   ‘On the top of everything, Jean has grown old’ (litt.: ‘All the Jeans have grown old’).

2.6. Adjectives

Syntactic functions characteristic of adjectives are:

– noun modifier in an attributive NP:

7. Sùkù gbèè yòò fàyì gá lóò gbègbá.
   sun.CMM difficult 3SG.EXI sweat bone arrive\NEUT human on
   ‘Hot sun makes one sweat’ [d162:6].

– predicate in a postpositionless construction:

8. Adụ gbèè yòò kpóó kpóó kpóó kpóó.
   1SG.NSBJ hand.CMM 3SG.EXI numb
   ‘My hand is numb’ [d163:7].

– predicate in a postpositional construction:

9. Gùè yòò kpóó kà.
   3SG.NSBJ foot 3SG.EXI bare with
   ‘He is barefoot’ [d162:13].

In most cases, both predicative uses of adjectives are more or less equivalent, and sometimes, there are some subtle differences. See in more detail (Vydrin 2007, 2010).
For the adjectives, there are semi-regular derivative models for plural and intensive meaning based on reduplication, modification of tones, suffixification and transfixation.

All adjectives have a selective form derived by the suffix –sù (homonymous to the gerund suffix and the adjectivizing suffix).

### 2.7. Determiners, numerals

Determiners is a heterogeneous (by their syntactic behavior) class of semi-auxiliary words which occupy normally rightmost position in a NP. Among determiners, there are articles, focus and contrastive topic markers, quantifiers. On the grammaticalization of demonstrative adverbs to the definite article and demonstrative pronoun/determiner, see 2.10.4.

Cardinal numerals are determiners, they follow the noun. Nouns modified by numerals appear in their single form, and by default, no plural marker is used after the numeral: sù plè ‘two months’. About the context where a numeral is followed by the plural marker, cf. 3.1.1.1.

Ordinal numbers are adjectives. They are derived by the suffix –ɗà (sʊɗʊɗ-ɗà ‘the fifth’). Only ‘first’ has a suppletive form, blèɛsù.

### 2.8. NP structure

The basic word order in a NP is as follows (optional elements are in brackets):

(N₂ (– Atr – Det)) – N₁ – (Atr – Det)

In a genitive-like construction, the head noun follows the dependent one. Genitive constructions are of two types: (a) unmarked: bāá dũu (lit. ‘cassava-tree’) ‘cassava stalk’, and (b) head-marked, where the syntactic connection is marked on the head noun by an extra-low tone: bāá dũu ‘cassava plant’. To the class of genitive-like NPs belong the postpositional NP, where the connection between the constituents is marked by a postposition: dũu bã gbĩiɡã (lit.: ‘raffia.palm – on – caterpillar’) ‘raffia palm caterpillar’. Possessive NP (ɗũûtti bã dãd ‘village chief’s knife’) can be also regarded as a variety of the postpositional NP.

In an attributive construction, the head word precedes the dependent one: gbé tũ <dog black> ‘black dog’. In the attributive constructions, determiners (plural marker, definite article, etc.) normally follow the dependent word: gbé tũ-dũ ‘black dogs’, gbé tũ bã ‘the black dog’. Rather atypically of Mande languages, the plural marker can optionally follow the head word (gbé-dũ tũ ‘black dogs’) or appear in both positions (gbé-dũ tũ-dũ ‘black dogs’); both strategies are subject to numerous lexical restrictions.

The coordinative NP is constructed with coordinative pronouns, cf. 2.10.

### 2.9. Pronominal predicative markers (PPM)

Pronominal predicative markers (auxiliaries) are auxiliaries (but by no means auxiliary verbs!) stemming from the fusion of personal pronouns in the subjective function with post-subject auxiliary elements (predicative markers). A PPM appears as a head word of a VP, it is necessarily present in any verbal sentence (while the subject may be null); it is also obligatory in most types of non-verbal utterances. A PPM expresses (alone or in combination with grammatical tones on the verb, verbal suffixes and auxiliary verbs) various TAM meanings and polarity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Pronominal predicative markers (auxiliaries) in Dan-Gweetaa</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Person, gloss</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential EXI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjoint JNT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect PRF</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prospective PROS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive SBJV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperfective NEG.IPFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative perfective NEG.PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive PROH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs

2.10.1. Personal pronouns

There are five demonstrative adverbs differentiated according to different parameters: ỵ and ỵ indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. Ḅa indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. Ḅu stands for a place outside the visibility of both participants of the communication, which can be described, but not indicated, or designates a movement from the deictic center, with an indefinite final point. Ṭiṭiḍ (the intensive form is ṭiṭiḍ) designates a remote object at the limit of visibility or just beyond, it is necessarily accompanied by an indication by hand or by finger.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Refle-xive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>ḅa</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>ɓa</td>
<td>ỵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fused co-ordinate</td>
<td>yəɲ</td>
<td>kå</td>
<td>wå</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ordinateive porte-manteau</td>
<td>yẽɲ / yẽɲ</td>
<td>kẽɲ</td>
<td>wẽɲ</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Refle-xive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>́/ù</td>
<td>ǎ/ñ</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>ḅa</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>ɓa</td>
<td>ỵ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomeous</td>
<td>ḅa</td>
<td>ḅi</td>
<td>ỵ</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>ḅaŋ</td>
<td>ḅiŋ</td>
<td>ỵŋ</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-subject pronouns appear in any argument position, with the exception of subject; they can also appear as the dependent member of a genitive-like noun construction. It can be modified by an adjective, in which case the pronoun has a generic meaning (10, 11).

(10) Ḳ ³ ³ kú ³ ³ ḅa ³ ³ wáŋgá ³ ³ dëŋ, ³ ³ bú ³ ³ dö ³ ³ a ³ ³ wéŋ ³ ³ dũ
‘If you lose your money, I won’t give other’ [e4:10].

(11) À-dåå ³ ³ ḅa ³ ³ gá, ³ ³ wá ³ ³ á ³ ³ dëŋ ³ ³ dö.
3NSBJ–PL.POSS sheep 3SG.PRF die 3PL.PRF 3SG.NSBJ new buy
‘Their sheep has died, they have bought a new one’.

The 3SG non-subject pronoun á is on the way of grammaticalization as a prepositional definite article (all other determinants in Dan are postpositional) (12).

(12) Ḅaŋ ³ ³ dëḅ ³ ³ á ³ ³ wɔ2 ³ ³ ỵ ³ ³ ká ³ ³ nì ³ ³ ḳ ³ ³.
1SG-CNTR self 3SG.NSBJ matter 3SG.EXI RETR 1SG.NSBJ astonished
‘The matter astonished me...’ [Dù wɔ2].

2.10.2. Interrogative pronouns are used for special questions: dë ‘who?’, ḅa ‘what?’, dë ‘how many? how much?’, ḅe ‘which?’; ḅe ‘where?’. As a rule, they occupy the same position as the substituted word, however, an interrogative pronoun (or a NP containing such a pronoun) can also be realized in leftmost position (which is often connected with relativization), in most cases a resumptive pronoun occupies its syntactic position:

(13) Ḅaŋ ³ ³ ṭ ³ ³ ́/u ³ ³ ́/u ³ ³ ỵ ³ ³ kp̣ ³ ³ tå?
what REL 2SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ see.JNT road on
‘What have you seen on the road?’

2.10.3. Demonstrative pronouns, definite articles and adverbs

There are five demonstrative adverbs differentiated according to different parameters: ỵ and ỵ indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. Ḅa indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. Ḅu stands for a place outside the visibility of both participants of the communication, which can be described, but not indicated, or designates a movement from the deictic center, with an indefinite final point. Ṭiṭiḍ (the intensive form is ṭiṭiḍ) designates a remote object at the limit of visibility or just beyond, it is necessarily accompanied by an indication by hand or by finger.
Yā has undergone grammaticalization into a demonstrative pronoun, and a definite article has evolved from the adverb bà. In both cases, a relativization construction is involved, and the relativisation marker can be always restituted in a slow pronunciation:

(14a) kó ɗɛ ɗɛ yā... /ɓā → (14b) kó (ɗɛ ɗɛ) yā /ɓā

‘house which is here/there (near the addressee)’ → ‘this house/ the house’.

Another definite article is ɗɛɛ. It is used exactly as bà, but it is characterized by a limited geographical distribution; unlike bà it seems to be used only in the Gwɛɛtta dialect. Still another definite article is ɗ preceding the defined NP. It results from grammaticalization of the non-subject 3 sg. pronoun and expresses a situative definiteness (“the object may be even not yet mentioned, but it is defined by the general context”).

2.10.4. Other adverbs

There are two productive derivative suffixes of adverbs, -ɗɛɛ and -wō ~ -ɓō.

The former one is homonymous to the suffix of the locative case of locative nouns (most probably, both suffixes are etymologically identical). However, the great majority of the -ɗɛɛ-adverbs are non-motivated, i.e., corresponding suffixless stems are lacking in Dan-Gwɛɛtta.

The variants of the other suffix go back to two dummy verbs, wō and ɓō which are practically always interchangeable in Dan-Gwɛɛtta. -wō-adverbs go back to adjectives and determiners. The mechanism of this derivation is certainly connected to the very frequently used strategy of focalization of verbs through their nominalization: a content verb can be fronted and converted into a morphologically unmarked verbal noun, while the verbal position is occupied by the dummy verb wō or ɓō (15a, b).

(15a) Yɛ ɗɛ tɛɛɗo ɓłʊ gwâ ɣú. 3SG.EXI REFL.SG friend push\NEUT stone in

‘He pushed his friend to the stones’ [f4:13].

(15b) Yɛ ɗɛ tɛɛɗo ɓłʊ dâ ɗā wō gwâ ɣú. 3SG.EXI REFL.SG friend push FOC 3SG.NSBJ do\JNT stone in

‘What he did is to push his friend on the stones’ [f4:12].

The nominalized verb can have nominal modifiers, as in (16).

(16) Gbâtô yâ dû ɗɛɛ ɗɛɛ yâ wō yâ ɗɛ ɗ5. NOM.M 3SG.PRF come each REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ. do\JNT 3SG.EXI

‘Every time Gbato comes, he buys something’ (litt.: ‘Every coming, that Gbato does it, he buys a thing’).

It is very much in the logic of the Dan-Gwɛɛtta language that determiners frequently used with nominalized verbs end by merging with the dummy verb which brings forth a subsequent reinterpretation of -wō/ɓō as an adverbial suffix, while the verbal noun is again recursively reinterpreted as a verb.

2.11. Verb

2.11.1. Nominalizations

There are following means of nominalization in Dan-Gwɛɛtta:

— a name of the result of action formed with the suffix -ɗɛɛ (homonymous to several other suffixes) which also serves a means of phrasal nominalization;

— a gerund, formed with the marker -stu following the verbal stem or the postposition closing the verbal phrase (in the latter case, it serves a means of phrasal nominalization, and the verb acquires an extralow tone which serves a nominalization marker, cf. below). The gerund is used as a verbal noun and as a participle in the (attributive construction);

— a supin formed with the suffix -yū;

— a masdar formed with the suffix -ɗɛɛ;

— an extralow grammatical tone on the verbal root marking nominalization with the retention of the post-verbal arguments.

2.11.2. Reduplication

There are two types of verbal reduplication in Dan-Gwɛɛtta, full and partial.

The first type implies a complete reduplication of a verbal stem (the preverb included, the inflexional suffixes not included; the tonal contour is maintained). This reduplication expresses pluractionality (repetition of the action and/or plurality of the direct object/subject of intransitive verb), cf. (17a, b).
(17a) *Gbǎtò yà bìllä dūū.*
NOM.M 3SG.PRF wound extinguish
‘Gbato has washed a wound with warm water’.

(17b) *Gbǎtò yà bìllä-dū dūū-dūū.*
NOM.M 3SG.PRF wound extinguish-extinguish
‘Gbato has washed (numerous) wounds with warm water’.

In the second case, only the vowel of the verb is copied, so that it becomes triple: *gǄ* ‘to pull’ → *gǄgǄg* ‘to wrestle’ → *gǄgǄg dǜl* ‘to walk’ → *dǜl* The partial reduplication has an intensive meaning: ‘to pull’ → ‘to pull with a force and for a long time’; ‘to wrestle’ → ‘to wrestle with intensity’; ‘to walk’ → ‘to walk excessively’ (about a prostitute; or about a child who is never seen at home).

Both types of reduplication concern only a minority of verbs (about a third of the entire list each).

2.12. Focalization strategies

1) The main means of contrastive focalization is the particle *dɨ* (with a dialectal variant *dū*). It follows the focalized NP which is fronted. There are two kinds of fronting: the focalized NP can be brought to the sentence-initial position (see ex. (18), where the focalized NP is co-referent with the DO expressed by a resumptive pronoun), or fronted within its argumental position (see ex. (19), where the focalized NP is followed immediately by the resumptive pronoun in the DO position).

(18) *A dɨ, dɨ r ɗi dɨ e tɔ̃ ká.*
3SG.NSBJ father FOC 3SG.NSBJ 3SG.NSBJ call\JNT 3SG.NSBJ name with
‘It is his father he addressed by name (once)’ [e16:13].

(19) *Yɨ bɔyglɔ bɔ<y> ɗi dɨ bɨ.*
3SG.EXI mango unripe.fruit FOC 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
‘It is an unripe mango he has eaten’ [e16:9].

To focalize a verb, the following procedure is used: the verb is nominalized (through conversion), and the NP with the nominalized verb as a head is focalized and put in the position of a DO of the dummy verb *wọ* or *bọ* (see (15b)).

2) There is a specialized series of personal pronouns (“the autonomous series”, see 2.10) whose primary function is the focalization.

There are two suffixes of selectivity: -*dɨ* is added to adjectives, and the “actual selectivity” suffix -*sù* is added to nouns or adjectives. In both cases, forms with such suffixes are obligatorily followed by the focalization particle *dɨ*.

2.13. Relativization

There are two relativization strategies.

1) Correlative strategy: a full-fledged relativized NP, followed by the relative conjunction *r* (sometimes *k*), appears in the leftmost position in the subordinated clause. The relativized NP is resumed in its own syntactical position in the subordinated clause by a PPM or a non-subject pronoun; it is resumed again, by a PPM or a non-subject pronoun, in the main clause. The relative clause can be put either to the left of the main clause (20), or embedded into the main clause (21); in the latter case we have a typologically rare clause-internal correlative strategy typical of South Mande languages (see in particular Nikitina 2012). If the relative clause precedes the main clause, the relativized NP can be repeated in the main clause (22), necessarily with a definite article (let us remember that the construction “noun + definite article” is in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa also a reduced relative clause): such a repetition produces an emphatic effect.

(20) *[Wiùu r hì-sù ká] yɨ ú dɨ ɗi 3SG.NSBJ with Q meat REL.3SG.JNT smell-ADJ with CONS 2SG.JNT come\JNT
‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].

(21) *Yɨ bɔe ɗe ḳi ɗe kwàë r ɗi gbɨ 3SG.EXI beg\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ before 1SG.NSBJ theft REL 3SG.NSBJ son
3SG.NSBJ 3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ matter\IZF in
‘He is imploring me about the matter of a theft committed by his son against me’ [e10:1].

(22) *[Debb r bũũ kpâ] d ɗebb ɓa 3SG.NSBJ know\NEUT
3SG.NSBJ know\NEUT
‘The very woman who has cooked rice, I know her’ [f187:6].

2) Left-side relativization: the relativized noun is preceded by a nominalized verb (the nominalization is marked by an extra-low tone on the verb if it is separated from the relativized noun by a OO or circumstant; otherwise, the nominalization remains morphologically unmarked). The relative clause appears in a reduced form; pronominalized subject and direct object are omitted.

3. Core quantifiers
3.1. Generalized Existential (Intersective) Quantifiers
3.1.1. D-quantifiers
The basic strategies for the expression of existential quantification are:
— bare NP that can express indiscriminately singular, plural or mass meanings (it can be said that the bare form has a neutral number meaning). The plural marker ɗu is normally not used if the plural meaning is already expressed by a numeral or another determiner; with names of pair body parts; most often, it is not used with names of inanimate objects, insects or small animals (percieved as “lacking individual identity”); in fact, ɗu expresses jointly the meanings of plurality and referentiality (see in more detail 2.6.2.). A bare NP in the subject position controls most often a singular PPM, although a semantic agreement by number is also possible (a bare NP may control a plural PPM).
— a NP with definite articles bā, dɔ (to the right of the NP) or ā (to the left of the NP), see 2.10.3.
— indefinite determiner bá appears in practically all indefinite and negative contexts, in particular:
  a) specific unknown:
(23) Bɛ́ bā yà dũ ū wó gù́u.
  human certain 3SG.PRF come 2SG.NSBJ affair in
‘Someone came after you’.
  b) interrogative context:
(24) Bɛ́ bā yà wó dɔ dē bű́ dò dēè?
  human certain 3SG.PRF affairere know that 2SG.PROS go today
‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’
  c) conditional:
(25) Bṹ bá pṹ-gá-sɔ́ dṹ sṹṹ dɔ bɛ́
  2SG.PROS 1SG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human
bá bā, ā pṹ n yāá.
  certain on 3SG.NSBJ say 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM
  ‘If you are going to lend my bike to anybody, tell me’.
  d) indirect negation (the negation is in the main clause, and the indefinite determiner is in the dependent clause):
(26) Yǎá n yāá̱ dê bɛ́ bá yà
  3SG.NEG.IPfv 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that 3SG.PRF
  dṹ come
  ‘I don’t think that anybody has come’.
  e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:
(27) Gbàtɔ̀ yà zǒ̱u dê yíí kₚₐ bɛ́
  NOM.M 3SG.PRF deny that 3SG.NEG.PFv see human
bá bā zṹũ̱ tā̀.
  certain on road on
  ‘Gbato has denied (falsely) he had met anybody on the road’.
  f) in the typical context “specific known”, bá appears in the expression bá ṟ bṹ, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).
(28) Bɛ́ bá ṟ bṹ y̱ ṟ ā pₓ́
  human certain REL.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ say\NEUT
  y̱ṟ̱ n dṹ sú́.
  3SG.PROS 1SG.NSBJ daughter take
  ‘Someone (“certain person who is there”) says, he is going to marry my daughter’.
  About the expression of the negative universal meaning by bá and its usage in the free choice contexts, see 3.2.1.6.
bá is not allowed in only two contexts typical for indeterminate pronouns in other languages:
— non-specific irreal; in this case, the noun is used without determiners:
(29) N gbá dãã-dã ká.
1SG.NSBJ give knife-DIM with
‘Give me any whatever knife (you have)’.
— a standard for comparison, in which case the NP is used either in its plural form ((30b), the plural marker dũ being, in fact, a determiner too), or with the universal determiner gbá (30a).
(30a) Yỹ biãŋ sũ ř ř ř ř ká ř
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
těẽbã gbá tã.
age-mate all on
‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’, or
(30b) Yỹ biãŋ sũ ř ř ř ř ká ř
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
těẽbã-dũ tã.
age-mate-PL on
‘He runs faster than his age-mates’.

Numerals

| 1 dõ | 2 plẽ ~ pẽedã | 3 yãããa | 4 yĩĩĩĩ | 5 sũũũũ | 6 sũũũũ | 7 sũũũũ | 8 sãããã | 9 sũũũũ |
|------|----------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 10 kõõõõ dõ | 11 kõõõõ dõ ř gã dõ | 12 kõõõõ dõ ř gã plẽ | 13 kõõõõ dõ ř gã yãããa | 20 kõõõõ plẽ | 21 kõõõõ plẽ ř gã dõ | 22 kõõõõ plẽ ř gã plẽ ~ pẽedã | 30 kõõõõ yãããa | 40 kõõõõ yĩĩĩĩ |
| 90 kõõõõ sũũũũ | 100 kãj dõ | 200 kãj plẽ | 1000 gblũ dõ | 10 000 gblũ kõõõõ dõ | 100 000 gblũ kãj dõ | 1 000 000 gblũ bɛɛ dõ |

As it was mentioned in 2.7, cardinal numerals function as determiners. A noun with a numeral normally lacks plural marking or any other determiner: pã yãããa ‘three things’. On the other hand, a numeral can have a plural marker, in which case it acquires an ‘exactly’ interpretation (it can be regarded as contrastive focalization of the numeral):
(31) Põlisȳẽ-dũ wã kwãbẽ yãããa-dũ kũ.
policeman-PL 3PL.PRF thief three-PL catch
‘The policemen caught exactly three thieves’ (the context: One knows that three thieves have fled a prison. One learns that, later on, the police have caught thieves. It is not clear whether these are the same thieves or not, but the number of the thieves is the same as of those who had fled) [f181:3].

A noun determined by a numeral can appear with a definite article. More precisely, in this case we have a leftside transposition of the noun with the article, with its substitution by a resumptive pronoun which is determined by the numeral (32). The construction has a partitive meaning.
(32) Põlisȳẽ bã ã sũũũũ wã dɛh.
policemen ART 3SG.NSBJ five 3PL.PRF loose
‘Among the policemen, five have got lost’.

Other existential quantifiers in Dan-Gwetaa also follow the noun. The meaning of ‘several’, ‘a couple of’, ‘a few’ is expressed by the morphologically complex determiners dãbã <child/diminutive marker-some> (33) and sãgã bã <small-some> (34), the latter includes however a semantic component of evaluation, ‘less than expected’. With uncountable nouns, it expresses the meaning ‘a small quantity of’.
(33) Gbãtõ yã kãa dãbã dõ.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF hoe a.little buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.
(34) Gbãtõ yã kãa/blũ sãgã bã dõ.
NOM.M PRF hoe/rice small other buy
'Gbato has bought several hoes'/'Gbato has bought a small quantity of rice'. 

Dəɓá can be followed by the plural marker which seems to produce no effect on the semantics of the construction: 

(35) Gbató̀ yà káá dəɓá-ɗŋ dɔ̄. ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

**Interrogatives**: the cardinal meaning ‘how many? how much?’ is expressed by the determiner ɗɛ, and the interrogative meaning ‘which?’ by bɛɛ. The determiners are often followed by the focalization particle dɔ́ (36, 37), although this is not obligatory (38, 39).

(36) Bláà də́ dɔ́ wó dɔ́ bɿɛɛ ɡɔ́? sheep how.many FOC 3PL.JNT save\JNT dry.season PP ‘How many sheep have survived the dry season?’

(37) Kláŋ dɔ́ bɛɛ dɔ́ wó gɪzǎɓɛ̄ pǎsɛ́? formation child which FOC 3PL.JNT examination pass\JNT ‘Which students have passed the exam?’

(38) Yó kà ɗɛ́ wó dɛ́ bà, dɔ́ dɛ́ CONS.3SG.JNT do 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT so.REM there child how.many ɗ ą̂ b ɡɔ́? 3SG.JNT 2SG.NSBJ PP ‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

(39) Wɔ́ dɔ́ɡɔ́bɔ́sù bɛɛ yó dɔ́ ā ɡù yá? matter clinging which 3SG.JNT go.up\JNT 3SG.NSBJ in here ‘What is the very sticky matter that he is stuck in?’ [e2:16].

When used in the adverbial function, ɗɛ stops to be a quantifier; it expresses instead the meanings ‘why?’ and ‘how?’.

**Value judgement** D-quantifiers

Morphologically simple modifiers are: gbé ‘many’ (40) and also ‘enough, sufficient’ (41), kɛɛ ~ ƙɛɛ – ‘few’ (31), probably, from the noun kɛɛ ~ ƙɛɛ ‘hull, peel, shell’). sɛɛdɔ́ ‘few’ (also ‘small’, the latter meaning being a default one).

(40) Bɛ gbé wá dɔ́ gblù bà, bɛ kɛɛ dɔ́ wó dǔ. human many 3PL.PRF go war on human several FOC 3PL.JNT come\JNT ‘Many people have gone to the war, few have come back’.

(41) Yá yákɔ́bɛ gbé sù kɔ̄ wó båá dɛɛ zù bò. 1PL.EXCL.PRF worker many take that 3PL.SBJV field new bottom-remove ‘We have hired enough workers to launch a new plantation’.

dɔ́dɔ́ ‘few, rare’ (42) results from reduplication (accompanied by a tonal modification) of the numeral dɔ́ ‘one’. Its semantics has evolved from a distributive meaning ‘one by one’. When following a pluralized NP (in which case we have a construction with a partitive meaning), dɔ́dɔ́ has a non-value judgement meaning ‘certain, some’ (43).

(42) Bɛ dɔ́dɔ́ dɔ́ wó dɛ́ kɔ́wǎbɛ bà dɔ́ ɛ́: human rare FOC 3PL.JNT go\JNT thief ART know-INF ‘Few are those who know the thief’ [f154:10].

(43) Yɔ́ bɛ-dù dɔ́dɔ́ dɔ́, 3SG.EXI human-PL rare know\NEUT ‘He knows certains among the people’.

A value judgment meaning “few” can be also rendered by an expression with a negatively polarized item (NPI) tɔ́rjɔ́bɔ́sù (which could be dubitatively translated as ‘multitude’) appearing only in negative sentences (44) and in subordinate clauses whose main clauses are negative (45a) to express the meaning of ‘a couple, a small number’. In other contexts typical of NPI (general question (45b); conditional sentences) tɔ́rjɔ́bɔ́sù is not allowed.

(44) À́: pfĩ̀ á báŋ gbé dɔ́, kɛɛ 1SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\JNT but báŋ tɔ́rjɔ́bɔ́sù yáá á ɡò. machete multitude 3SG.NEG.IPVF 3SG.NSBJ PP
'I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple'.

(45a) Yáá ñ yáá dë Zá
3SG.NEG.IPfv 1SG.NSBJ eyes.COM that NOM.M

yɔ dɔ kã tiŋbásu dɔ́-
3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF

'I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes'.

(45b) 'Zá yɔ dɔ kã tiŋbásu dɔ́-
3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF Q
NOM.M 3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF

'Will Jean buy many hoes?'

The quantifier gbé can add the plural marker, in which case the quantifier acquires an intensive meaning: blúkágbé gbé-dɔ́ ‘very many hunters’.

### 3.1.2. A-quantifiers

The cardinal numerals can be used in the post-verbal (adverbial) position to express a multiplicative meaning (46, 47).

(46) Bá k♣á ù bã dëbã bã dô.
1SG.PRF see 2SG.NSBJ POSS thing POSS POSS POSS

‘He has killed cane rats thrice (in his life)’ [d85:15].

Other determiners that can function as both D- and A-quantifiers are gbé ‘much’ (48), sëëdã ‘little’ (49), and dôdô ‘occasionally, from time to time, with intervals’ (50).

(48) Dá-dũ wã gbã-siã gbé kó tãbã.
child-PL 3PL.EXI yell-DUR much house behind

‘Children yell much behind the house’.

(49) Ûl bã dëg-dë wã pã bô sëëdã.
2SG.NSBJ POSS guest-PL 3PL.EXI thing eat\NEUT little

‘Your guests eat little’.

(50) Ñ gbá blëësũ yɔ ñ dë sëë-siã këè
1SG.NSBJ son first.ADJ 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT often.INT but

bë dô ã pës yɔ ñ dë dôdô.
human put 3SG.NSBJ at 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT from.time.to.time

‘My first son calls me often, and the next one calls me from time to time’.

Dábâwô ~ dábâbô ‘a little’ is derived from the D-quantifier dábá by the means of the adverbial suffix -wã ~ -bô (cf. in more detail 2.10.4). It expresses only the meaning of low intensity of action (or quality), and has no meaning of ‘small number of actions’ (that could be expected, taken into account the meaning of the original D-quantifier).

(51) A bã dû yɔ pûû dábábô.
3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a.little

‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:

— sìá ~ sìr can express both low frequency (‘sometimes, from time to time’) and high frequency of events (‘often’), cf. (52). In order to remove the ambiguity, one can combine sìá by the adverb dôdô, and the combination of both adverbs expresses the meaning ‘from time to time, rarely’, cf. (53);

— sìsìá ~ sìsìr ‘often, frequently’ can be regarded as a reduplicated form of sìá. Unlike the latter, sìsìá is not ambiguous and refers only to the events of a high frequency, cf. (54);

— dédëwô ‘completely, utterly’ ‘often’ (55), ‘for a long time’ (56) and ‘a lot, in a great number’ (57). This lexeme also has non-quantifying modal meanings ‘very, very much’, ‘seriously’, ‘well’, ‘certainly’, ‘truly, indeed’. It is derived by the adverbial suffix wô from the determinant dëdë ‘self’.

(52) A n bë-dû tûà-ôô sìá.
1SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ human-PL greeting-removel\NEUT sometimes
‘I visit my relatives from time to time/ofen’.

(53)  kısa  gbẹ̀ yè̀ yì  kà  bláá  sìà  dódó.
2SG.NSBJ son 3SG.EXI work do\NEUT field.LOC sometimes one.by.one
‘Your son works in the field rarely/from time to time’.

(54)  Sáá  yè̀ yì  tò  kwáá  sìàisià.
sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often
‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55)  Kẹẹ-kà-gèè  bá  yè̀  bó  dèdè-wó.
threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV
‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

(56)  Yè̀  dò  nì  gbì  dèdè-wó  yààdùrì.
3SG.EXI put\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ PP true-ADV yesterday
‘Yesterday he waited for me for a long time’ [f9:15].

(57)  Kèsè  yè̀  dùrì  dùrì-sìù  kà  ŋì  gbì
NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with REFL.SG POSS.LOC
dùù-
catch
hamlet.LOC true-ADV
‘Kese has set traps a lot in his remote field’ [e18:15].

A syntactically complex A-quantifier siá  tésì  bá-dù  gù <sometimes-time-certain-PL-in>
expresses the meaning ‘often’ (however, less frequently than gbẹ̀ the latter may designate that events
happen practically without intervals, while siá  tésì  bá-dù  gù implies intervals).

(58)  Bá  dà-dù  wò  wò  nì  bá  sìà  tésì
1SG.POSS child-PL 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ on sometimes time
bá-dù  gù.
certain-PL in
‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].

A syntactically complex NPI quantifier tésì  gù <time in> is used in negative sentences and
expresses the meaning ‘(too) few, insufficiently’ (59, 60). It is not allowed in other contexts typical
of NPI elements (general question; dependent clause with a negation in the matrix clause, etc.).

(59)  Bẹ̀  yáá  tésì  gù.
human 3SG.NEG.IPV time in
‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(60)  Òà  yúù  bá  tésì  gù.
rain 3SG.NEG.PFV rain time in
‘It rained insufficiently’.

3.2. Generalized universal (Co-intersective) Quantifiers

3.2.1. Universal D-Quantifiers

There are two determiners expressing universal quantifying meanings, gbà which is an “all-
type” modifier, and pépé ~ péé which is a distributive (“every/each-type”) modifier. Apart from this,
universal meanings can be expressed by two syntactically complex quantifiers: a reduplication of the
determined noun with the connective morpheme óó (primarily a free choice meaning), and the
expression jì dìj (distributive and free choice meanings). Certain combinations of these means are
also possible. Besides, meanings contiguous to universal quantification are expressed by some
constructions with the indefinite determinant bà.

In this section, the semantics and contexts of use of these means will be analysed in more detail.

3.2.1.1. gbà is the default universal “all-type” quantifier capable to appear also, marginally, in
distributive and free choice contexts. It is used mainly as a determinant of a NP which can be
pronounialized, in which case we have a partitive construction (61a).

(61a)  Dì5kwáü-dìj, yùùrì dìsì  gù  sà  à  kà
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR

4 If the noun tésì has a nominal or pronominal dependent to the left, it is interpreted in a non-idiomatic way, ‘in the
of X’.
In the market, fish was not expensive, I bought all.

The determined NP can be sometimes (not always!) omitted, cf. (61b).

In (61a), the referent object (fish) is definite (a particular lot of fish is meant), while in (61b) it appears more vague.

The NP determined by gbà may have a plural marker dũ which influences the semantics of quantifier (see below).

When followed by the predicative marker of the perfect series 3SG yà ~ yà or 3PL wà ~ wà, it optionally fuses with them producing the form gbàdù.

Gbà expresses the meaning ‘entire, whole’ when the determined NP is single and definite. The definiteness can be expressed by various means, such as the definite article bà (64), the demonstrative determiner yà (65a), a possessor (66).

Dùgbà is said if the subject NP designs a complex object, contains no plural marker -dũ, and the auxiliary (co-referent with the subject) is singular:

Gbà expresses a high degree of intensity. This meaning seems to be reserved to this particular expression (‘quite dark’), it does not appear in other similar contexts.
Single object nouns may require a noun classifier word in order to express the CMP meaning of *gbà: gèè* ‘carcass, body’ (69a), *bèè dò* ‘one bunch’ (69b), *bè* ‘fruit’ (70a):

(69a) *Gbàtò yà tò gèè gbà bè.*
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken body all eat
‘Gbato has eaten the entire chicken’.

(69b) *Gbàtò yà tò bèè dò gbà bè.*
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken bunch one all eat
id.

(70a) *Dàdâ bè ɗè yà gbà yè wàâ ɗiŋ ɗò.*
pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred
*ɗò.*
one
‘The price of the entire pineapple is 500 francs’.

The wholeness meaning can be emphasized through adding a gerundive expression *tò dë-sùù,* lit. ‘remaining so’ (*dë ‘so’ is an adverbial; in Dan-Gwetëa the gerundive marker -sùù is normally added to the verb, and when a verb has an adverbial, to the adverbial):

(70b) *Dàdâ bè ɗè yà gbà tò.*
pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all remain

*dë-sùù yè wàâ ɗiŋ ɗò.*
so.REM-GER 3SG.EXI money hundred one
‘The price of the complete pineapple is 500 francs’.

3.2.1.1.2. Universal quantification of referent sets, the collective meaning (DEF- and INDEF-quantification)

The collective meaning of *gbà* is realized when the preceding NP has no definiteness marker (with some exceptions, see below). If the NP appears in the subject position, the co-referent auxiliary is necessarily plural (otherwise, the CMP reading is preferable). If the NP designates a set of objects with clearly defined limits, it normally has a plural marker -*dù* and expresses a definite universal meaning, cf. (71a). If it refers to a set with vague limits, the plural marker is absent (71b), and the indefinite universal meaning is expressed.

(71a) *Đëb-H-dù gbbā wā dū kwāɗās.*
woman-PL all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC
‘All the women gathered’ (e.g., all the members of an association).

(71b) *Đëb-H gbbā wā dū kwāɗās.*
woman all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC
‘All women gathered’.

In the former case, the limits of the group are clearcut (all the members of the association are known, and it is easy to establish that nobody is absent), and in the latter case, they are vague (it may be all women of a village, and some “natural” absentees, e.g. sick or too old people, can be easily disregarded).

Thus, if the plural marker of the subject noun in (72a) is omitted (*gô gbbā wā wluuû...*), the resulting sentence is hardly acceptable, as far as the space of the house where the elder entered defines the limits of the group of the men (“those who are in the house”).

(72a) *Gô-dù gbbā wā wluuû krà pè-dà yâ.*
male-PL all 3PL.PRF rise still village-father 3SG.PRF
dâ kô-dè.
go.up house-LOC
‘All the men rose when the elder entered the house’.

To the contrary, in (72b) the referent group is represented by the men of a village, and the limits of this set are vague: evidently, there may be some disabled or sick people who belong to the class of the men of the village but they will hardly go to the war, and therefore are disregarded. As a result, the subject NP carries no plural marker.

(72b) *Gô gbbā wā wluuû.*
male all 3PL.PRF rise
‘All the men have risen’ (to go to the war).
In the sentence (73), the referent group is “all those who are present at the moment of the accident”. The absence of the plural marker on the subject bɛ is indicative of the fact the group is perceived as open.

(73) Yɛ bɛ gbâ wó yâ gbô bɔ-sù gbâ.
CONS human all 3PL.JNT putJNT crying pass-GER on
‘Then everybody started crying’ [Zúa sàâe].

In certain contexts the opposition of definiteness (i.e., the clearcut or vague nature of its limits) seems to be irrelevant for the referent group, in such cases the presence or absence of the plural marker is optional (74a, b).

(74a) Gwëe yâ dû gbâ zà.
    leopard 3SG.PRF cow all kill
‘A leopard killed all the cows’.

(74b) Gwëe yâ dû-dû gbâ zà ‘id’.

Inanimate nouns realizing their wholeness meaning with count words (cf. 69, 70) represent a special case. When count words are missing, gbâ with such nouns expresses the collective meaning, and when the plural marker is missing, the noun is definite, and the auxiliary is singular (75).

(75) Dà-dà yâ gbâ yâ wîà kàññ dîò.
    pineapple this 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred one
‘The price of all these pineapples is 500 francs’.

Although the plural marker dû expresses at the same time the meaning of definiteness, it is not incompatible with the definite article bâ (76), however no NP with both a plural marker and an article followed by the universal quantifier gbâ appears in my corpus.

(76) Kâsɔ-gùtì-gù dû bâ wō kà dû zîâ yâ ‘.
    prison-in-human\IZF-PL ART 3PL.EXI RETR flee\NEUT road this-3SG.NSBJ
tà on
‘The prisoners fled away by this road’.

3.2.1.1.3. Quantifier gbâ with uncountable nouns

In Dan-Gwetâa most of mass and liquid nouns have alternative readings (realized when the plural marker is added, cf. 2.6.3.) ‘sort of X’ and ‘a recepient of X’. Used with the quantor gbâ, these nouns without plural marker and definiteness markers designate the entireness of the quantity available:

(77) Gbâtû yâ gbâ bûü.
    NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all drink
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’.

(78) lû bâ dà yâ sô gbà ðî-kû.
    2SG.NSBJ POSS child 3SG.PRF cloth all dirt-catch
‘Your child has dirtied all the clothes’.

(79) Yá bûû gbà kâ.
    1PL.EXCL.PRF rice all cut
‘We have mowed all the rice’.

If such a NP appears in the subject position, it is resumed by a singular auxiliary:

(80) Kâfû gbâ yâ sëê.
    coffee all 3SG.PRF spoil
‘All the coffee has spoiled’.

3.2.1.1.4. The distributive meaning of gbâ

Gbâ constructions with distributive and collective meanings do not differ formally, they depend on the general context. The referent group can be definite (if the NP has the plural marker dû, as in

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6 However, it should be mentioned that the use of the word bɛ ‘man, human’ without plural marker in combination with gbâ is preferable even in the contexts where, according to the general rule, one would expect -dû. This particularity should be probably explained through lexicalization.

7 The subject NP looks like a left-dislocated topic, however, this interpretation is not necessarily correct. In fact, the demonstrative determiner yâ stems from a demonstrative adverb used in a non-verbal relative clause (see 2.10.3.), and it is necessarily followed by a 3SG nonsubject resumptive pronoun (it can be elided, but its structural slot is there). Therefore, in the synchrony, this construction can be viewed as sufficiently grammaticalized and non-topical.
(81. 82b)), in which case we have a partitive construction, or indefinite (without plural marker, cf. (82a)).

(81) Pɛ-dù gbà wà gër.
   village-PL all 3PL.PRF burn
   ‘All the villages (of the canton) have burnt (one by one)’.

(82a) Yì gbàdù pɛďe gbà guú yvê
   1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM all in CONS

yì gbà ɗà.
1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’.

(82b) Yì gbàdù pɛďe-dù gbà guú yvê
   1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.ČMM-PL all in CONS

yì gbà ɗà.
1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
‘We stopped in each village (without exception) to repair the car’.

In (81) the distributive meaning is combined with partitive (‘all of the villages’). If the plural marker is removed (Pɛ gbà wà gër), we get a collective reading with a reference to an indefinite group with vague limits: ‘villages have burnt all at once, and the group of the villages which have burnt is not predefined’.

In (82b), the situation is represented in a way that the travellers stopped punctiliously in every village they met, in order to delve into raparation works, so that the entire set of the villages was brought into play. (82a) interprets the situation in a more realistic way: the travellers stopped many times, however, the speaker does not pretend that each village on the road was marked this way.

If necessary, the distributive meaning can be reinforced lexically, through the abovementioned adverb dòdò in its distributive meaning ‘one by one’.

(83) Dàdà (bê) gbà sù dòdò kër ú á gbà.
   pineapple fruit all take one by one that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ see
   (Here is a pile of pineapples, some are rotten.) ‘Take each pineapple and examine it’.

3.2.1.1.5. **Generic quantification**

*gbà*-constructions for generic quantification are formally similar to those for INDEF-quantification. Normally, the NP defined by *gbà* has no plural marker, and when it occupies the subject position, the plural auxiliary is used.

(84) Gwàdá gbà wò bɔ gwë=gë bà.
   cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on
   ‘All cats resemble leopard’.

(85) Gwàdá gbà wò bɔ kwàh.
   cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB
   ‘All cats are alike (resemble each other)’.

(86a) Bàjì gbà wò ɗ55ɗbê-dû kàp.
   Jula all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with
   ‘All Jula are merchants’.

Sometimes a generic reading is allowed for a NP with the plural marker (86b, 87), however, it coexists with a specific (definite) interpretation which is preferable.

(86b) Bàjì-dû gbà wò ɗ55ɗbê-dû kàp.
   Jula-PL all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with
   ‘All Jula are merchants’, two interpretations: (i) all the Jula who are included into a particular group of people are merchants; (ii) all Jula of the world are merchants.

(87) Wû dɔ yvê dà(-dû) gbà kàp.
   meat desire \3SG.EXI child(-PL) all do\NEUT
   ‘All children like meat’, with two interpretations: (i) all the children who are in the group in question; (ii) all children of the world.

3.2.1.1.6. **gbà in the free choice context**

When the free choice meaning (‘any’) is expressed, the NP defined by *gbà* carries no plural marker (88), and when this NP occupies the subject position, the auxiliary is singular (89, 90).

(88) Dà x yà yvê dò bɛ gbà
   child REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT human all

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8 Jula is generic name for all ethnic groups in Côte d’Ivoire speaking Manding languages.
sāā-bò́-’

‘This child will tire anyone’.

(89) Wù ŭ gbà yè̀ bò̀-pà̀ kà.
   meat all 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF with
   ‘Any meat is edible’.

(90) Bè̀ gbà yè̀ bò̀-à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à à
Uncountable nouns (masses, liquids) & words & singular & singular

3.2.1.2. *pêpê ~ pêê* a distributive modifier

Among both variants of the determiner, in my corpus the full one (*pêpê*) is much more frequent than the shorter one.

Most often, *pêpê* appears together with *gbà* (see in detail 3.2.1.3); in this section, however, an autonomous use of *pêpê* (without *gbà*) will be dealt with. *pêpê* has a distributive meaning, and it can also appear in the free choice contexts (both meanings being pretty close, they are sometimes difficult to delimit).

The NP determined by *pêpê* may have or miss the plural marker *dû*, and when this NP occupies the subject position, the auxiliary may be plural or singular. These factors seem to be independent of the semantics of the construction (unlike the *gbà*-construction), they are rather determined by general rules of the expression of plural in Dan-Gwètèe: for the names of human beings, the plural marker *dû* is rather obligatory; for the animals it is optional (for big “individualizable” animals it is preferable); for small animals and insects, as well as inanimate nouns, it is rarely used. If a subject NP has a marker *dû*, or if it represented by a coordinative construction, the auxiliary is obligatorily plural; otherwise, more complex rules are brought into play.9

3.2.1.2.1. **The distributive meaning of *pêpê***

Most often, the distributed set to which refers the NP determined by *pêpê* has indeterminate meaning (95), sometimes generic (96).

(95) Ɖàdà bê pêpê sù kê ú å gà.

pineapple fruit every take that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ look
‘Take every pineapple and examine it’ (every pineapple that you find).

(96) Ɓāj(-dû) pêpê wô dɔɗɔɓɓè kà.

Jula-(PL) every 3PL.EXI merchant c
‘Every Jula is a merchant’.

However, one can found in natural texts some instances of NP with a reference to semantically definite grops with clear limits (97).

(97) Ɓā g di, Gbàagwìi di sè wà wà Gwètèe sè,

Man land.CMM Biancouna.LOC land.CMM 3SG.and Sipilou land.CMM

3SG.NSBJ-PL POSS writing 3SG.EXI put-GER with Gwètèe voice

gué, yô wô pêpê x Ɖàdàjì sè guë,
in CONS voice every REL.3SG.JNT Danane land.CMM in

3SG.NSBJ-PL property be Blò voice in

‘The departments of Man, Biancouna, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwètèe dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blo dialect’ [Pame1肿awŋincome].

3.2.1.2.2. **Use of *pêpê* in free choice contexts**

Among all the contexts where one would expect the free choice meaning on the typological grounds (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155), constructions with *pêpê* realize it only in two ones, habitual (98-100) and generic (101-103).

(98) Gbàtò yô yî pêpê bù.

NOM.M 3SG.EXI water every drink\NEUT
‘Gbato drinks any water’.

In this particular case, noun *yî* appears in its countable meaning ‘sort of water’; see 2.6.3 about such a semantic shift of mass and liquid nouns in the pluralizing context.

(99) Yô yî pêpê kà.

3SG.EXI job every do\NEUT
‘He catches on any job’.

9 See in detail (Vydrin 2013).
(100) Bá d’a gblù yê zĩ̄-siá, yê
1SG.POSS child stomach 3SG.EXI pass-DUR 3SG.EXI
tò yê pà pépé dá ṭ dí.
remain\NEUT 3SG.EXI thing every rise\NEUT REFL.SG mouth
‘My child has diarrhea often, (because) he puts everything in his mouth’.
(101) Wù pépé yê bê-pà ká.
‘Any meat is edible’.
(102) Òwàá pépé yê kpê̄-siá.
cat every 3SG.EXI sly
‘Any cat is sly’.
(103) Bê pépé wô gâ-bê ká.
human every 3PL.EXI death-human\IZF with
‘Any human is mortal’.
The determiner pépé is inherently distributive, it does not appear with collective predicates.

3.2.1.3. Combination of gbà and pépé: an emphasis

Both determiners can go together, in any order: gbà pépé or pépé gbà (in natural texts the sequence gbà pépé seems to be preferable, while pépé gbà is used more rarely and is perceived as more fanciful). In this combination, pépé looses its individualization function and becomes an intensifier of gbà communicating the meaning of completeness: ‘all without exception’, ‘altogether’.

(104) Gbàdô yâ yî gbà pépé bû.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all every drink
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’ (nothing is left).
(105) Wë dô yê gbà pépé ká.
wine desire 3SG.EXI male all every do\NEUT
‘All the men (without exception) like palm wine’.
This “heavy” form tends to erode its intensive meaning, so that some people use gbà in combination with pépé more often than alone, as in (106).
(106) Sâsîáá gbà yê pâ-dú bâ x’-dú gbà pépé
immediately CONS thing-PL ART REL.3SG.NSBJ-PL all every
‘Immediately, all these things that were found...’ [Dùwá].

3.2.1.4. Replication with the connective morpheme dô (dô-reduplication): the free choice meaning

3.2.1.4.1. The structure and the syntax of the dô-reduplication construction

The noun undergoes a full reduplication, and the connective element dô is inserted between the reduplicands.

(107) Bê dô bê x dû, a
human any human REL.3SG.JNT come\JNT 1SG.EXI
dô a bâ-z.
go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ beat-INF
‘Whoever comes, I’ll beat him/her’.
The sequence of two reduplicands and their connective element should be undoubtedly interpreted as three words, rather than bound morphemes. An argument against the interpretation of this sequence as a single word is a possibility to define each reduplicand by an adjective (108a), or even by two adjectives (108b), or by a determiner (109).
(108a) Gbê zôbdê dô gbê zôbdê, sú.
dog red any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take

10 So, in the autobiographical narrative by Daan Dua (the entire volume of the text is 3438 words), the combination gbà pépé occurred 9 times, while the quantifier gbà alone appeared 4 times.

11 In (106), we have a participle construction, ‘all of the things in question’, where the noun pâ-dú ‘things’ has a definite article bâ which is regularly introduced through a relative clause followed by a resumptive pronoun; see 2.10.3.
‘Take any red dog’.

108b ́Gbɛ̀  zɔ̀ɓɗê ̀sɛ̃ɗá ̀yó  gbɛ̀  zɔ̀ɓɗê ̀sɛ̃ɗá  yá  dũ,  
   dog red small any dog red small 3SG.PRF come
bǎá ́  à  ká.  
1SG.PROS 3SG.NSBJ do
   ‘Whatever small red dog comes, I’m going to chase it away’.

109 ́Z̀á  yí  ɗá  bàì  óó  ɗá  ɗá  bàì  bàì  b́ y.  
   NOM.M 3SG.NEG.PFV thing certain any thing certain eat
   ‘Jean has eaten nothing (among all the kinds of food which were offered)’ [f186:7].
   Prototypically, ɗó-reduplication concerns nouns, however reduplication can also affect the 
dé ‘other’ following the head noun (110) or, in negative contexts, bà ‘any, other’ (111).

110 ́yá  dó  tó  dé  óó  dé  ́yó  d́ ́yó  
   3SG.EXI know\NEUT gravy other any other REL.3SG.JNT be
á  kí-dé  ká.  
3SG.NSBJ do-MSD with
   ‘She can cook any gravy’.

111 ́Kó  bàì  óó  bàì  yí  ɗá  bàì  bàì  yí  
   house certain any certain 3SG.NEG.PFV burn that 3SG.NEG.PFV
ká ́  n  bàì  ká.  
do 1SG.NSBJ one with
   ‘No house burnt, except for mine’.
   It seems that we observe here a lexicalization of dé óó dé and bà óó bà as quantifier expressions.
   ɗó-reduplication is possible for verbs, in this case the verb is nominalized and fronted, while its syntactic 
position is occupied by one of the dummy verbs wó or bó. However, not all the verbs are available for this 
construction (presumably, the limitation is of a lexical nature).

112 ́Dó  óó  dó  ́yó  ́Zá ́-́  wó  tá  guí,  
   go any go REL NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ doJNT walking in
yá  dó  ́yó  sáá  ká.  
3SG.EXI come\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ gift with
   ‘Any time Jean goes to a trip, he comes back with a gift for me’.
   The ɗó-reduplicated construction is often fronted (113) or relativized in situ (114), which 
reflects its pragmatically enhanced status.

113 ́Tó  óó  ́òá  sákpáá  yá  á  báyi.  
   chicken any chicken mangoose 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
   ‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.

114 ́Yá  dó  ká  kó  óó  kó  ́yó  ́á  
   3SG.PROS do way.CMM any way.CMM REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ
báì  gá  wó  dó  tà  á  báì  
   on death affair\IZF FOC remain\JNT-3SG.NSBJ on
   ‘However may it be, death will come anyway’ [f48:6].
   It seems that even when formal means of relativization (the relative marker ́yó; the 3SG auxiliary 
of the conjoint set ́yó; the resumptive personal pronoun) are absent (as in (115a)), we have cases of 
their omission typical of the allegro style (which is also attested in other constructions, such as 
focalization phrase, where the relativization mechanism is used). In a more careful pronunciation, 
these elements reappear (115b).

115a ́Báì  ɗá  óó  páì  báì  á  gwáddá  báì  
   1SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property
dúì.  
give\NEUT
   ‘Whatever I eat, I give to the cat its part’.

115b ́Báì  ɗá  óó  páì  ́yó  á  á  báì  á  
   1SG.PRF thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ eat 1SG.EXI
gwáddá  báì  dúì.  
cat property give\NEUT
   ‘Id.’

3.2.1.4.2. Semantics of the ɗó-reduplication
The core semantics of this construction is that of the free choice in the generic context (all the elements of the class in question existing in the world are available for the choice).

(116) Dá ɗó ɗó, wú ɗó yître ɗó kó.  
child any child meat desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT  
‘Any child likes meat’.

(117) Gwááɗá ɗó gwááɗá wó ɓó kwááɗá.  
cat any cat 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB  
‘All cats are alike’ (litt.: ‘Whatever is a cat, they all resemble each other’).

In the situations where the referent group for the free choice is definite, ɗó-reduplication is often not accepted. So, when translating into Dan the sentence ‘(Here are my children.) Any (of them) can help you’, my informant first suggested the phrase (118), then indicated that a generic reading of this phrase would be more appropriate.

(118) Bé ɗó bé dë ụ́́ tà-kú-`.  
human any human go\NEUT 2SG.NSBJ surface-catch-INF  
‘Anyone (any person in the world) will help you’.

This limitation seems to be strong, but not absolute. So, the informant allowed the example (119), where the reduplicated construction undoubtedly has a reference to a limited set of objects.

(119) Bó dë-gô dë gá. ụ́́ bó dë-gô dë bó  
1SG.POSS vehicle-PL look 2SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on ụ́́ dë ɗó dë sú.  
2SG.JNT other any other take\JNT

The cases when the reference group is specific indefinite, are not rare:

(120) Dáglóó ɗó dáglóó wó péé wá  
youth any youth 3PL.EXI village.this.in 3PL.EXI 3SG.NSBJ  
píř  wó  Yíɗë sú.  
to 3PL.LOG.JNT NOM.F take  
‘Any youth of this village desires to marry Yode’.

(121) N ṣó báá ɬóó, ɗó dádá ɗó dádá yître  
1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI  
wáá káá̃ ɗó.  
money hundred one  
‘Here in my farm, any pineapple is for five hundred francs’.

(122) Bó ɗó ká-`  píř ká ɗó ɬóó?  
what REL 2PL.SBJV-3SG.NSBJ to 2PL.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ eat  
Pá ɗó pà ɬóó bó-pà ká, ɗó  
think any thing REL.3SG.JNT eat-thing\IZF with 3SG.NSBJ  
dú yître ɗó.  
give 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ before  
‘What would you like to eat? — Give us any food’ (litt. ‘any thing which is a food, give it to us’).

The ɗó-reduplicated construction can express the free choice meaning in all the contexts attested in the typological literature (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155); modal probability (110, 118, 119), non-prospective future (107), imperative (122), habitual (112, 115), generic (116, 117), contrafactive modality (123).

(123) Dá yá yître tó yître, yître dó  
child this 3SG.EXI remain\NEUT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT  
bé ɗó bë ɬóó kó kó yître yître  
human any human REL.3SG.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI  
dó ɗó sáá-ɓó-`.  
go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-remuve-INF  
‘If the child would stay here, he would bother anyone who is here’.

3.2.1.5. šɗó-construction
3.2.1.5.1. Morphology

This construction consists of the relative marker ɬóó fused with the homonymous 3SG pronominal predicative marker (auxiliary) of the conjunctive series, and the verb of being ɗó going back to the movement verb dó ‘go, leave’. However, the fact that the tone of ɗó does not change to mid (which
would be necessary when the verb is preceded by an auxiliary of the conjunctive series) signifies that 
*d* is here not a verb, but a non-verbal copula (although of a verbal origin). However may it be, the 
original meaning of this construction is ‘which exists’.

The verb *d* displays various stages of grammaticalization in various constructions. When in its 
lexical meaning (112), it has vowel *o* and by its tonal behaviour it does not differ from other verbs. 
In the non-prospective future construction (107) where it appears as an auxiliary verb, a free 
variation of the vowel, *d* ~ *d* is attested (the latter form, with delabialization, dominates in neutral 
and allegro registers), the grammatical tonal alternation is kept: *d* ~ *d* in the conjoint construction, 
and *d* ~ *d* in the neutral aspect construction from which the future construction is derived. As for 
the construction *d* (and other constructions where *d* acquires the meaning of being), 
grammaticalization advances to the next degree. At the morphological level it leads to the abolition 
of the vocalic variation in favour of the non-labial (i.e., a reduced) vowel. At the same time, the high 
tone (which is the lexical one) of the lexeme is not replaced with the mid tone, as one would expect 
when a verb is preceded by an auxiliary belonging to the conjoint set, which signifies that in this 
context, *d* is not a verb any more.

### 3.2.1.5.2. Syntax

The complex determinant *d* follows a non-pluralized NP which cannot be pronominalized (a 
fact that can be easily explained by the etymology of the determinant). Such a NP is usually 
frontalized, and a resumptive pronoun appears in the original syntactic position (124), with the 
exception of the position of subject where no resumptive pronoun is possible, and the anaphoric 
function is fulfilled by the auxiliary (125; in this particular example, both *d*-reduplication and *d*- 
constructions are used, which is allowed in Dan-Gwetaa).

(124) *Wù, d* d* w* d* g*.

‘Children will eat any meat’.

(125) *Dù, d* d* y* d* ù, d* g*.

‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’.

The fronting of the NP with the determinant *d* is the most frequent strategy. However, it can 
be left in situ (126), but even in this case a resumptive pronoun is necessary.

(126) *Kùbù dì, y* w* w* d* t*.

‘The prefect has punished every family’.

### 3.2.1.5.3. Semantics

The principal quantifier meanings of the quantifier *d* are the distributive and the free choice 
one. However, the collective meaning proves to be possible too.

#### 3.2.1.5.3.1. Distributive meaning

Realized when the determined NP is specific and referential. In particular, when the verbal predicate appears in the perfect construction, the *d* construction necessarily has the distributive meaning (126, 127, 128).

(127) *Bì* *d* y* d* g*.

‘Everyone went home’ [f88:11].

(128) *Pì dì* *d* y* g*.

‘All the villages have burnt’ (one by one, not all at once).

#### 3.2.1.5.3.2. The free choice meaning

The construction *d* manifests itself in the following typical contexts (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155): modal probability (124, 125, 129, 130), non-prospective future (not very distinct from the modal probability meaning, cf. 124, 125, 130), imperative (131), habitual (132).
(129) ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ 
human REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on

ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́
REL.3SG.JNT work ART do\JNT

‘Anybody can do this job’.

(130) ɗʊ̀ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́
meat REL.3SG.JNT be 1SG.POSS dog 3SG.EXI go\NEUT

ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́
3SG.NSBJ catch-INF

‘My dog will catch any animal’.

(131) ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́
human\FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.SBJV REFL.SG self save

‘Run for your life!’ (litt.: “Man who exists, let him save himself”) [e16:7].

(132) ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́
food REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT

(Gbato is not fussy.) ‘He eats any food’.

In the generic context, ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ can appear only with a NP represented by the ɗō-reduplicative construction, so that the free choice meaning is expressed by both means at the same time (133).

(133) ɗʊ̀ ɗʊ̀ ɗʊ̀ ɗʊ̀ ɗʊ̀ ɗʊ̀ ɗʊ̀ ɗʊ̀
meat any meat REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI eat\thing\IZF with

‘Any meat is edible’.

In my data, there are no cases of expression of the contrafactive modality by the means of ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́.

This determinant cannot be used if the elements of the distributive set have no permanent status. So, the ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ construction has been rejected for the translations of the sentences ‘Any buyer will say that your goods are overpriced’ (because ‘buyer’ is a situational status, rather than permanent), and ‘This child will bother anyone’ (because the status of the person watching the child is temporary). This limitation can be explained by the original existential semantics of the expression ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́.

3.2.1.5.3.3. When expressing the collective meaning, the construction has a different syntax. First, the resumptive pronoun (or the auxiliary, if the NP in question occupies the subject position) is necessarily plural. Second, in the expression ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́, the 3SG.JNT auxiliary ɗɛ́ can be optionally replaced by 3PL.JNT auxiliary wọ́ (134a).

(134a) ɓɛ́ wọ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́
kwàà zààà gbè ìgbà t'àá.

RECP.SUB road ramification on

‘All who existed have gathered on the crossroad’.

If we have the variant of the expression with the plural auxiliary (wọ́), it can be preceded with the determiner gbà (134b).

(134b) ɓɛ́ gbà wọ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́
human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see

‘Id.’

3.2.1.6. Indefinite determiner ɓà as a universal quantifier

Free choice meaning in the imperative contexts (a request or a demand) can be expressed by the indefinite determiner ɓà. In this case, ɓà competes (with some semantic differences) with the determinant dò ‘one’ and the combination dò ɓà, but also with the determiners and constructions gbà (3.2.1.1) pépè (3.2.1.2), X dò X (3.2.1.4), ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ (3.2.1.5).

(135) ɗì ɗì ɗì ɗì ɗì ɗì ɗì ɗì
2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.POSS market-load this 3SG.NSBJ certain

ɗò-‘
buy-INF

‘You should buy anything from my goods’.

(136) ɓɛ́ ɓà ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́
human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.NSBJ put-INF village-father

ɗà́-ɗà́
at-LOC

‘Let anyone guide me to your elder’.

ɓà has a universal meaning under direct negation (137), where it undergoes competition with the constructions X dò X ɓà (138), which has an expressive meaning, and ɓà ɗà́ (139). The latter can be
regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned ɤ dɤ-construction, however, ɗɤ ɗɤ is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with ɓá.

(137) Wíi’ ɗá ɗláá wó ɓá ká.
3PL.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ teach affaire certain with
‘He has not been taught anything’.

(138) ɗé bée ɓá wíi ɗú.
human any human certain 3PL.NEG.PFV come
‘Not a single person has come’.

(139) ɗé bá yáá ɗé.
human self REL 3SG.PROS go 3SG.NEG.IPFV be
‘There is not a person who would like to leave’ [b188:6].

In the direct negation context, an emphatic reduplication of the entire NP (including the indefinite determiner) is possible, accompanied with the substitution of lexical tones with extra-low tone on the second reduplicand (140a). A superintensive triplication is also possible, in which case the first and the third reduplicands keep their lexical tones, while the second one carries the extralow tone (140b). A question rises, whether this reduplication (and triplication) is a sufficient argument to consider ɓá a bound morpheme (a suffix), making one lexeme with the preceding word? For a while, I restrain myself from a final decision on this point.

(140a) ɓé bá bá bá wíi ɗú.
human certain human\INT certain\INT 3SG.NEG.PFV come
‘Not a single person has come’.

(140b) ɓé bá bá bá bá wíi ɗú.
human certain human\INT certain\INT human certain 3SG.NEG.PFV come
‘Not even a single person has come’.

3.2.1.7. Universal D-quantifiers semantic map

Here is a semantic map of universal D-quantifiers (and also the indefinite determiner ɓá) based on Sergey Tatevosov’s matrix (with one modification: the distributive meaning has been included into the matrix, contrary to what Tatevosov suggests).

It turns out that the semantic map by Tatevosov does not explain the evolution of semantics of the elements in question in Dan-Gwéeetaa. The zone of ɓá occur to be split into three segments, and the zone of ɤ ɗɤ is split into two.

Explanation to the map:
The red zone: ɓá  The blue zone: gbá
The green zone: ɤ dɤ  The yellow zone: pépë.

3.2.2. Universal A-Quantifiers

Syntactically simple universal A-quantifiers are:
— kpëkwó ~ kpëkwó ~ kpëkëbó (intensive form: kpëkpëwó, kpëkpëwó) ‘always’, all the time’, ‘every time’. With predicates designating processes, the meaning of the quantifier is ‘always, permanently, continuously’ (without break) (141), and with verbs for punctual events, it is rather ‘every time’ (142). The quantifier contains an adverbial derivative suffix wó ~ bó (going back to
two dummy verbs, see for more details 2.10.4), and the initial element may be etymologically identical to the noun kpēē ‘rest, remainder’, however, this etymological link seems to be not perceivable in the synchrony;

— tôŋ tôŋdš ‘never’ (the intensive form: tôdôô tôŋdš) is a NPI appearing only in negative sentences (143), it cannot be used in non-negative clauses typical for NPI (a general question; a subordinate clause governed by a negative matrix clause, etc.). Another (non-quantifying) meaning of this adverb is ‘by no means’. The quantifier contains an adverbial derivative suffix -dš; however, there is no such word as * tôŋ tôŋ in Dan-Gwëetaa from which the quantifier could have been derived;

— dô ‘never, (not) yet’ (only about past events), can appear in negative clauses (144), in the context of general question (145a), in a dependent clause when the matrix clause is negative (145b). In negative clauses, tôŋ tôŋdš and dô can combine (145c). This adverb, coming back to the numeral dô, can express other adverbial meanings as well: ‘finally’ (an encouragement to act to a hesitating person), ‘directly’ (about a movement), ‘to the end’.

(141) A yâ kâ kpêëwô, tâ yâá n gô
1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ PP
kô á yî zá.
that 1SG.NSBJ sleeping kill|JNT
‘I work every day, I have no time to sleep’.

(142) Gbô tô yô bâ sâ sù kpêëwô.
NOM:M 3SG.EXI 1SG.POSS soap take\NEUT always
‘Gbato takes my soap every time’.

(143) Bäh dô kpô a bâ zû tôŋ tôŋdš dâa bâ
1SG.NEG.PVF go see\INF 3SG.NSBJ on more never nevertheless
‘Nevertheless, I will never see it any more’ [d147:3].

(144) Bë ü bî üâ pâ bë dô...
human REL 2SG.NEG.PVF 3SG.NSBJ POSS thing eat ever
‘Man whose food you have never eaten…’ [d165:13].

(145a) Bâ dô dô dô... dô?
2SG.PRF milk taste-look.at ever
‘Have you ever tested milk?’

(145b) Bâa â wâ dô dê yâ dô dô dô dô.
1SG.NEG.PVF 3SG.NSBJ matter know that 3SG.PRF milk taste-look.at ever
‘I don’t know if he has ever tested milk’.

(145c) Yâá n yâá dê bî dô dô dô dô dô dô.
1SG.NEG.PVF 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM know that 2SG.NEG.PVF milk taste-look.at ever
tôŋ tôŋdš dô never ever
‘I doubt you have ever tested milk’.

If kpêëwô appears in a negative clause, the scope of the sentential negation is the A-quantifier (146a); cf. the situation with tôŋ tôŋdš; where the scope is the predication (146b).

(146a) Gbê tô yâá s ã gû-zû kpêëwô.
NOM:M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL:SG head inside-wash always
‘It is not always (not every time) that Gbato washes his head’.

(146b) Gbê tô yâá s ã gû-zû tôŋ tôŋdš.
NOM:M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL:SG head inside-wash never
‘Gbato never washes his head’.

Dëdëwô, also used as a generalized existential A-quantifier (cf. 3.1.2), may have a universal meaning ‘completely, utterly’ (147).

(147) Bô bô pâ gwaëë kâ dëdë-wô.
bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV
‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.
Gbáádē ‘entirely’ is an adverb used in the universal meaning with verbs of time duration, such as ká ‘do; spend (time)’ or bá ‘put; observe (Ramadan)’, cf. (148). Its other (non-quantificational) meaning is ‘truly, absolutely, really’. The adverb is probably derived, with the means of the suffix -dê, from the determiner gbá ‘all, entire’ (a locative postposition may have been also involved, presumably bá ‘on’, so that the original form might have been *gbá-bá-dê). (148) Yê ká sú dô kâ yúá gù gbáádê. 3SG.EXI RETR moon one do\NEUT illness in entirely ‘He was ill a whole month’.

**Syntactically complex** general A-quantifier is têyn gbá gù ‘all the time’ ((149); probably, yê gbá kâ ‘every day’ should be also mentioned here).

(149) Sìáà zà yê kôjêô tô gbá gù. NOM as.for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in ‘Siao is at home all the time’ [f91:3].

Besides, óó-reduplicated construction can be also used as an A-quantifier (with the meaning ‘every time’), in which case the content verb is nominalized, fronted, and substituted by the dummy verb wô in the verbal position (150; more on this nominalization strategy in 2.10.4., 2.12). This strategy cannot be applied to any verb; limitation seem to be of lexical nature.

(150) Dû óó dû s’ Gbàtô s’ wô Bêêdê come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\INT Man.LOC yê sié Cô 3SG.EXI cigarette buy\NEUT ‘Every time Gbato comes to Man, he buys cigarettes’.

### 3.3. Proportional quantifiers

#### 3.3.1. Proportional D-quantifiers

Simplex proportional D-quantifiers are gbédê ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; kpûdê ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. Kpûdê can be supplemented by the universal determiner gbá ‘all’, the expression kpûdê gbá means ‘almost all’. Gbédê is derived by the abstraction suffix -dê from the generalized existential quantifier gbé ‘many’, and kpûdê is derived by the same suffix from the adjective kpû ‘big’. Both these quantifiers are relational nouns. If the NP containing a proportional D-quantifier occupies the subject position, a semantic agreement by number with the PPM is possible (152); its availability seems to be conditioned by the position of the dependent noun in the animacy hierarchy. So, in (152), lebélèle ‘rebel(s)’ designates humans, while in (153) ðláá ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) Dëtsëgô yà bê gbédê dë-kâ doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf- do sëdë k’ yáy yê p’ before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall ‘The doctor treated the majority of the people before the sunset’.

(152) Lëbélèle kpûdê wô bëg sô bô. rebel majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove\NEUT ‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) ðláá-dû wô yà à gbédê Ø kâ sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR gâ bëe-yô kâ, këe à gbá yàà bû. die\NEUT dry.season-day with but 3SG.NSBJ entire 3SG.NEG.IPfv be ‘Most of these sheep, but not all, died during the dry season’.

If there is a sentence negation in a clause including gbédê, its scope is limited to this quantifier:

(154) ðëbâ gbédê wáá tûrê sëu bá dà. woman majority 3PL.NEG.IPfv livestock kind certain go.up ‘Few women have any domestic animal’.
The meaning of ‘half of’ is expressed by the non-idiomatic phrase pɛɛ dọ ọ pɛɛ dọ ọ <half/part-one> (the noun pɛɛ ọ pɛɛ means ‘a part, a share’, and dọ means ‘one’). It goes with a countable noun, the latter appears in a plural form, and the construction has a partitive meaning (155).

(155) 꽃ɛɛ ɣa ɣi blάά-dụ pɛɛ dọ ɔa. 3SG.PRФ 1PL.EXCl.POSS leopard 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with ‘The leopard killed a half of our sheep’.

There are also morphosyntactically complex expressions pɛɛ kplụ ‘majority’ (litt. “big part”) and pɛɛ ọdọdị ‘minority’ (litt. “small part”), as in (156).

(156) Bɛ pɛɛ kpl-sụ wà bọ Gbαtọ kà, 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with human part big-SLA ‘only’

CONS yɛ ɛ ɛ pɛɛ ọdọdị-sụ wà bọ Zạ kà. 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with ‘A majority of the people has voted for Gbato, and a minority for Jean’.

3.3.2. Proportional A-quantifiers

There seem to be no specialized proportional A-quantifiers in Dan-Gwɛɛtα. sìr ~ sli ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier dόdό (cf. 3.1.2) can be used for ‘rarely’.

3.4. Morphosyntactically complex modifiers

3.4.1. Complex D-modifiers

3.4.1. Cardinal complex D-modifiers

Syntactically simple modifies of this type in Dan-Gwɛɛtα are few.

There are two synonymous restrictors, gbɛn and sɛn (both can undergo a full reduplication to express intensity) which go with numerals expressing the meaning ‘as little as’, ‘only’, ‘just’. Their distribution is lexical: sɛn appears with the numerals containing the element dọ ‘one’ (1, 11, 21 etc.),12 while gbɛn goes with all numerals, with the exception of dọ ‘one’:

(157) Wà kwάbɛ kόbų dọ gά dọ sɛn kù. 3PL.PRF thief ten one bone one only catch ‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

(158) Ya dụ pl salarié yaągą gbɛn. 3SG.RF come village.LOC three only ‘He has come to the village only thrice’ [g6:20].

There are three restrictors expressing the meaning ‘exactly’: kpeɛdị (-dị is an adverbial derivative suffix, the element kpeɛ is has no synchronic etymologization) (159), dɛbɛ ɛself-bunch> (160), which is otherwise used as a determiner ‘self’, and a floating restrictor zọ. (159) Wǎa gblụ plɛ wǎa wǎa kịŋ yịsịŋ
money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four

kpɛɛdị dà ń g7. exactly FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP
(The price of a rice bag is 12000 francs.) ‘I have exactly 12000 francs’.

(160) Bɛ kόbų dọ gά yịsịŋ dɛbɛ ɛbị ń dẹ. human 10 one bone four self search 1SG.NSBJ before ‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

A floating restrictor zọ ‘exactly’ can either follow a numeral (161a), or the verb (161b), or occupy sentence-penultimate position (161c). In any case, the final position in the sentence is normally occupied by a modal particle wà (expressing unpleasant astonishment, insistence, warning, and sometimes politeness).

(161a) Wọ kόbų dọ zọ ke kẹ wάa hɔdɔ ń bạ 3PL.EXI 10 one but.how but 3PL.NEG.IPFV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on kɔ wọ yǎ bạ ń kǐ wά. (161b) Bɛ kόbų dọ gά yịsịŋ dɛbɛ ɛbị ń dẹ. human 10 one bone four self search 1SG.NSBJ before ‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

(161c) Wọ kόbų dọ zọ ke kẹ wάa hɔdɔ ń bạ 3PL.EXI 10 one but.how but 3PL.NEG.IPFV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on kɔ wọ yǎ bạ ń kǐ wά.

12 Some people also allow combinations of the restrictor sẹn with numerals sọdụ ‘five’, sọdọ ‘six’ and kọbọ dọ ‘ten’, others do not accept them.
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do ouch!

(161b) Wô kòôŋ dô kēe wâá bɔɔ̃ yá̃ nà̃ ɓà bà ɗà kàŋ wâā.
(161c) Wô kòôŋ dô kēe wâá bɔɔ̃ ɗà bà kàŋ wô yà̃ bà ɗà kàŋ yá̃ wâā

‘They are exactly ten, but they cannot do this job’ [d80:15].

In other contexts, zɔɔ̃ (with the particle wâ in the sentence-final position) expresses an unpleasant surprise, or (with the particle wâ in the sentence-final position) a concessive meaning.

There are several verbal constructions expressing complex quantifying meanings (for which meanings there are no dedicated D- or A-quantifiers):

— ziŋ ‘pass; exceed’ with the superessive postposition tà ‘on (horizontal surface)’ for the meaning ‘more than’ (162) or, with a sentential negation, ‘maximum’ (163);

— bɔɔ̃ ‘be able; reach’ with the postposition bā ‘on (flat surface)’ in a negative sentence, for the meanings ‘less than’ (164) and ‘approximately, nearly’ (165). If the indirect object of the verb bɔɔ̃ is an alternative construction, the predication expresses the meaning ‘between’ (166). With the sentence negation, this verb expresses a value judgment meaning ‘insufficient’;

— yɔɔ̃ ‘approach’ with the postposition sɔɔ̃ ‘near’, for the meaning ‘almost’ (167);

— ɓɔ, a very polysemic verb (also used as a dummy verb) whose prototypical meaning is most probably ‘remove, take out’, can also mean ‘reach (a dimension, a quantity)’. It is in this meaning that it appears in the construction for ‘about, approximately’ (168).

(162) Débâ ɗ yà ɗ tɔ̃ ɗ ɓɔ̃ kàŋ yà ɗ tà.
woman REL.3SG.INT be chicken REL.3SG.INT-3SG.NSBJ buy\INT.
yà̃ ziŋ tɔ̃ kòôŋ dô tà.
3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on
‘Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.

(163) Tàsì ziŋ bɛ̃ sà̃ yá̃ ziŋ wâā
taxi pass human\IZF salary 3SG.NEG.IPFV pass money
gbû kòôŋ dô ɗ gâ plè tà.
thousand 10 one REFL.SG bone two on
‘A taxi driver gains here maximum 60000 fr.’

(164) Bɛ̃ wô lòò plé̃ r wéẽ bɔɔ̃ bɛ̃
human 3PL.JNT arrive\UNT village.LOC 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human
kòôŋ dô bâ sà̃ dû kàŋ yá̃ yà ɗ prâ:
10 one on before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall
‘Less than ten persons reached the village before the sunset’.

(165) Dûu ɗ bɔɔ̃ dû̃ kàŋ dô
tree REL. 3SG.JNT be.able\UNT tree hundred one
kẫ plè bâ yà gâ blàâ.
hand.CMM two on 3SG.EXI.3SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC field.LOC
‘There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.

(166) Kâŋtỗ dê ɗ ɗ r à bâ
cantón the other REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS
pû̃dẽ yà bɔɔ̃ sɔ5dû ɗ ɗ kòôŋ dô bâ.
village.CMM 3SG.EXI be.able\NEUT five or 10 one on
‘Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.

(167) Bɛ̃ wô pû̃ yà à gû̃ wô yɔɔ̃
human 3PL.JNT village this 3SG.NSBJ in 3PL.EXI move\NEUT
bɛ̃ kòôŋ plè sɔ5.
human 10 two near
‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.

(168) Bɛ̃ wô bɛ̃ pû̃ dô bô wô
human\FOC 3PL.JNT human part one remove\UNT 3PL.EXI
sâấdê dû̃.
paper know\NEUT
‘A half/About a half of the people are literate’.
3.4.1.2. Complex value judgment D-quantifiers
The meaning ‘too much’ is expressed by a combination of determiners gbē dēdē <many self>.

(169) Bà gbē gbē dēdē dā gō gyū.  
2SG.PRF human numerous self go.up vehicle in
‘You have put too many people into the car’.
The meaning ‘too few, not enough’ is expressed by the D-quantifier tʃɔbaksù already discussed in 3.1.1.2.

3.4.1.3. Exception modifiers
Practically all exception modifying meanings are expressed by complex sentences, such as ‘all houses burnt, but two did not’ (170) for ‘all but two houses burnt’, or ‘many coffee plantations have yielded, but some Gbato’s ones did not yield’ (171) for ‘most of plantations, except for Gbato’s ones…’

(170) Kè gbà wò kā gër, kēkēj ä yīlsī r dā
house all 3PL.EXI RETR burn\NEUT but 3SG.NSBJ two FOC
wī gër.
3PL.NEG.PFV burn
‘All the houses but two burnt’.

(171) Kāflēë dē gbē wà bā, kē Gbātō
coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M
bā dōdō dā wī bā.
one rare FOC 3PL.NEG.PFV fructify
‘Most of the coffee plantations, except some Gbato's ones, have yielded well’.

3.4.1.4. Proportional quantifiers
For the meanings ‘more than/exactly/nearly/less than’, see 3.4.1.1.
There are two ways to express the fractions in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa.
1) The denominator is marked by the postposition tà ‘on’ and followed by the numerator. The counted noun is mentioned both with the denominator and the numerator (172). This is a standard word order; it can be modified through regular syntactic transformations, such as topicalization (173).

(172) Pèdè, bē kōdtype dō tà bē yīlsī dā
village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC
wò siëti bű.
3PL.JNT cigarette drink/JNT
‘Four village dwellers out of ten smoke’.

(173) Dōgǔ blē-sù, bē sōsù tà yūā kā bē plë kū.
week first-ADJ human five on illness RETR human two catch\NEUT
‘The first week, two out of (every) five people grew ill’.

2) A gerundive construction of the disjoint verb pē-gù ‘to split’, with the denominator in the position of the indirect object (governed by the comitative/transformative postposition kā), while the numerator appears in the next clause as determiner of the noun pē ‘part’ (“by splitting X by denominator, it is numerator-part”), cf. example (174). This construction is descriptive, it is less frequently used than the previous one.

(174) Bē-dū pē guù-sù ñ yāgā kā, ā
human-PL split inside-GER REL.3SG.JNT three with 3SG.NSBJ
pē dō wà kwĩ wò bā.
part one 3PL.PRF Caucasian voice hear
‘One third of the people understand French’.
The meaning of ‘percent’ is expressed as follows: “from 100 existing object, X objects”.

(175) Bē kāŋ dō ñ dō, bē kōdtype yāgā
human hundred one REL.3SG.JNT be human 10 three
wō kwĩ wō bā.
3PL.EXI Caucasian voice hear\NEUT
‘Thirty percent of the people understand French’.
The meaning ‘a small minority’ is expressed by the expression *ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́lɛ́ ‘minority’* (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) \[ Pɛ̀ yà ɗù \ kà-dù wò \ dà, à ɓɛ́ ɗɛ́lɛ́ \] 

village this in house-PL 3PL.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ part small.INT

dù kù́rè́ \ ṣ-dù \ guù.

FOC electricity 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ-PL in

‘A small minority of the houses of this villages have electricity’.

### 3.4.1.5. Boolean compounds

(177) \[ Báù-dù \ gbà \ dù \ wàá sù́j \ bá. \] 

Jula-PL all FOC 3PL.NEG.IPFV Ramadan put

‘Not all Jula observe Ramadan’.

Note that the focalization determinant after *gbà* is obligatory.

(178) \[ Dá \ wò \ dɔ́ \ zi-ɛ́ ‘ bɛ́ \ plè \ tà \ wò \ dɔ́ \ gɛ́-ɛ́ ‘. \] 

two 3PL.JNT goJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.EXI go\NEUT gain-INF

‘More than two children will succeed’ (litt. ‘Children (who) will surpass two people, they will win’).

(179) \[ Klà̃jì̀ř-ù́ \ wò \ dɔ́ \ zi-ɛ́ ‘ bɛ́ \ plè \ tà \ wò \ dà \] 

school-child 3PL.JNT goJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.JNT enterJNT

bɛ́ kù́bè́ dò \ wà́s̀ \ wò \ dɔ́ \ gɛ́-ɛ́ ‘.

human 10 one under 3SG.EXI goJNT gain-INF

‘More than two, but less than ten students will succeed’ (litt. ‘Students (who) will surpass two people, they enter under ten people, they will win’).

(180) \[ Bé́ \ wò \ plà́s̀ \ à̃ \ kpà̃dë́ \ wà́ dù́ \] 

human 3PL.JNT village.LOC 3SG.NSBJ majority 3PL.PRF come

kà́bà́dà \ tòá̀-bò \ kë́ \ à́ \ gbà \ wí́́ \ dù́.

prefect greeting-remove but 3SG.NSBJ all 3PL.NEG.PFV come

‘The majority of the village dwellers, but not all of them, have come to greet the prefect’ (litt.: ‘People (who) are in the village, their majority has come to greet the prefect, but they all did not come’).

(181) \[ Pà́-bè́ \ zì́jà \ yà́ \ bù́-dɔ́-kà-sù́ \ zì́jà \ dɔ́, \] 

village-human\IZF self 3SG.NEG.IPFV wilderness-desire-do-GER path know

kà́ yà́ \ dù́ \ tò́ \ dè́j \ zà \ bá́.

that 3SG.SBJV PRSM remain stranger as.for on

‘Not every village dweller knows the way to the sacred forest, let alone a stranger’ (litt. ‘Village dweller himself does not know the path to the sacred forest, may it leave (alone) a stranger’).

(182) \[ Bù́-kà́-bè́ \ ṣɔ́bù́ \ tà́ \ bè́ \ yà́ \ zi-ɛ́ \ bè́ \] 

wilderness-do-human\IZF five on human 3SG.NEG.IPFV pass human

plè \ tà \ kà́ \ wò \ dɔ́ \ gɔ́ \ zi-ɛ́-dè́ \ kà́.

two on that 3PL.JNT knowJNT vehicle pass-MSD with

‘Not more than two hunters in five can drive’ (litt.: ‘On five hunters, a person does not surpass two people that they might know how to drive a car’).

### 3.4.1.6. Partitives

The partitive meaning can be expressed — within a NP, through the definiteness (expressed by different means) of the left noun which is interpreted as dependent in relation to the element to its right (which is thus interpreted syntactically as a noun), cf. examples (32) for a partitive construction with numerals, (81, 82b) for constructions with *gbà* ‘all of…’, (155) for a construction with *pà́ ‘half of’. Here is a partitive construction with the nominalized determinant *bá ‘any’*:

(183) \[ Bù́ dù́ bè́ yà́ bá́ dì-gà́. \] 

1SG.NEG.PFV tree fruit this certain taste-look.at

‘I haven’t tested any of these fruits’.

The definite left-side NP can be fronted and substituted with a resumptive pronoun:

(184) \[ Kwà́-bè́-ɗù \ wò \ guù \ bá́ \ wà́ à́ \ gbà \ kù́. \] 

theft-human\IZF-PL 3PL.JNT be.PST\JNT there 3PL.PRF 3SG.NSBJ all catch

‘All these thieves have been captured’.

Here are some examples of more complex partitive constructions.
(185) Bláá-dụ  wó  yá  ě  gbéđé  ká  gá  błyáyá  ká,  
sheep-PL  3PL.JNT  this  3SG.NSBJ  majority  RETR  die\NEUT  dry.season  with  
ụ  gbá  yáá  bụ.
but  3SG.NSBJ  entire  3SG.NEG.IPFV  be  
‘Most of these sheep, but not all, died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘A majority of these sheep died during the dry season, but all of them did not die’).

(186) À  bá  bláá-dụ  wó  gá  błyáyá  yá  ká  
3SG.NSBJ  POSS  sheep-PL  3PL.JNT  die\INT  dry.season  day  this  with  
á  bɛ  gá  błyáyá  yáá  ká  
3PL.NEG.PFV  be.able  sheep-PL  split\NMLZ-in.GER  REL.  3SG.JNT  three  with  
à  pɛ  dő  bá.
3SG.NSBJ  segment  one  on  
‘Not more than a third of his sheep died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘His sheep (which) died during the dry season, if they are split in three, they don’t reach one part of it’).

3.4.2. Complex A-modifiers
Kpêɛŋdër ‘exactly’ (also a D-quantifier, see 3.4.1) and dêbɛʁwó ‘exactly’ (derived from the D-quantifier dêbɛʁ) can specify numerals used as A-quantifiers:

(187) Kpêɛŋdër  Gbató  yá  wó  Býá  sùsìsìr.
exactly  NOM.M  3SG.PRF  appear  Abidjan  nine  
‘Gbato has been to Abidjan exactly nine times’.

(188) Gbató  yá  nù  pìɛʁwó  yáágá  dêbɛʁwó.
NOM.M  3SG.PRF  come  village.LOC  three  exactly  
‘Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice.

Dãbáwó which functions also as a simple cardinal A-quantifier ‘a little’ (see 3.1.2), may have a complex A-quantifier use signifying ‘at least’:

(189) Ká  pɛ  káá  dő  bláá  ká  ká  dãbáwó  bê  
2PL.PRF  say  2PL.PROS  go  field.LOC  2PL.IMP  do  a.little  human  
kòðí  dő  r  gá  sùsìdụ.
10  one  REFL.SG  bone  five  
‘If you go to the farm, you should be at least fifteen’.

The adverb zííwó ‘as many as’ is floating, it can change its position within the sentence, see (190a, b, c, d) with identical meaning. zííwó is derived from a determiner zíí ‘self’, ‘even’ by the adverbializing suffix wó (a dummy verb by origin).

(190a) Wó  kòðí  dő  këé  wáá  bɛ  ɗ  bá  
3PL.EXTI  10  one  but  3PL.NEG.PFV  be.able  3SG.NSBJ  on  
ká  wó  yá  bá  ě  ká  zííwó.
that  3PL.SBJV  work  ART  3SG.NSBJ  do  as.much.as  
(b) Wó  kòðí  dő  këé  wáá  bɛ  ɗ  bá  zííwó  ká  wó  yá  bá  ě  ká.
(c) Wó  kòðí  dő  këé  wáá  bɛ  ɗ  bá  zííwó  ě  bá  ká  wó  yá  bá  ě  ká.
(d) Wó  kòðí  dő  zííwó  këé  wáá  bɛ  ɗ  bá  ká  wó  yá  bá  ě  ká.
‘They are as many as ten, but they cannot do this job’ (although even 5 persons normally should be able to do it) [d80:14].

There are several ways to express the meaning of ‘almost’ in the A-context.
a) With numbers, ‘almost’ can be translated by the expression dê  pà  dë,  litt. ‘that a thing is so’, preceding the number (191); optionally, a count word kóta ‘time’ can be inserted before the numeral.

(191) Gbató  yá  gojí  stó  dê  pà  dë  (kóta)  kòðí  dô.
NOM.M  3SG.PRF  malaria  find  that  thing  so.REM  time  10  one  
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

b) An adverb gbâwó ‘almost’ (derived by the means of the adverbial suffix -wó from the quantifier gbá ‘all’) can appear both in numeral (192) and non-numerative (193) contexts. With sentence negation, this adverb expresses the meaning ‘almost never’ (194).

(192) Gbató  yá  gojí  stó  gbâwó  kòðí  dô.
NOM.M  3SG.PRF  malaria  find  almost  10  one
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

(193) Yà ɗwó ɗà ɓà gbàwó. 
3SG.PRF speak 3SG.NSBJ on almost
‘He has almost accepted it’.

(194) Gbàtò ɗáá dũ gbàwó pl’sê. 
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPfv come almost village.LOC
‘Gbato almost never comes to the village’.

c) In non-numerative contexts, the meaning ‘almost’ can be rendered by the expression pɗ V-
GER/V-MSD ɓà, where pɗ is an auxiliary verb (the original meaning is ‘to say’), ɓà is a postposition
governed by the auxiliary verb; the content verb appears in its masdar or gerundive form (195). The
verb pɗ in this meaning can also introduce a bare infinitive form of the content verb, as in (196),
where pɗ introducemes the bare infinitive ɓò ‘to finish’ (which, in its turn, introduces a gerundive form
of the verb kǎ ‘to cut’).

(195) Zà ɗáá pɗ ɗáá zúũ-ɓó-sú/-ɗè ɓà. 
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say work bottom remove-GER/-MSD on
‘Jean has almost begun to work’.

(196) Zà ɗáá pɗ ŋò bò dũ kǎ-sú kà. 
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say REFL.SG finish tree cut-GER with
‘Jean has almost finished cutting the tree’.

d) Still in non-numerative contexts, the meaning ‘almost’ can be expressed by a construction
with the verb kǎ ‘to do’ introducing a completive subordinate clause with the conjunction dê, where
the content verb appears in the prospective construction (197).

(197) Gwàáá ɗé ŋò kà dê yáá bò ɓò kù. 
cat 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT that 3SG.PROS mouse catch
‘The cat has almost caught the mouse’.

e) There is no specialized mean to express the sense ‘almost all, almost every’; the quantifier
kpǔdè ‘great majority’ is used instead (198).

(198) Gbàtò ɗó ɗú pl’sê tɛyɛɛ kpǔdè kà. 
NOM.M 3SG.EXI come\NEUT village.LOC Sunday majority with
‘Gbato comes to the village almost every Sunday’.

The meanings ‘more than’ and ‘less than’ are expressed with the verbs ziĩ ‘pass’ and bò ‘reach’,
in the same way as displayed in 3.4.1.1.

Examples for the bounding quantifiers have been translated as follows:

(199) Gbàtò ɗó yáá dà plè dɛk璞yí ɓà. 
NOM.M 3SG.EXI water measure\NEUT two day on
dɛk璞yí sɔdû dɔgɔ dû ɓà.
day five week one on
‘Gbato measures water twice a day, five days a week’.

(200) Yãdu̩ yáá kà dɛk璞yí sɔdû dɔgɔ dû gù, 
NOM.F 3SG.EXI work do\NEUT day five week one in
dɔgɔ kòdɔ yísi sà gà sɔdû kwè ɓà, sà ṣà bò.
week 10 four REFL.SG bone five year on 3SG.JNT appear\NEUT
kà dê kwè kòdɔ dû sà gà sɔdû kà.
3SG.NSBJ with so.REM year 10 one REFL.SG bone five with
‘Yode works five days a week, 45 weeks a year for 15 years’.

4. Selected topics

4.1. Comparative quantifiers

The comparative meaning ‘more than’ is rendered by a clausal verbal construction ziĩ (ā) kà X
tà (where X is the ground for the comparison), līt. “to pass with it on X” (201); cf. also 3.4.1.

(201) Gì-ɗú gbé wò sìtëüß ɓù wò ziĩ kà 
male-PL numerous 3PL.EXI cigarette drink\NEUT 3PL.JNT pass\JNT with
dëbà-ɗà tà.
woman-PL on
‘More men than women smoke’.
The meaning ‘as many as’ is expressed by a clausal intransitive construction with the verb ṃŋán ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) Klàŋdįĩŋ-dá-dũ bá pîŋ-gà-sòô wò-’ kwàlà à school-child-PL POSS iron-bone-horse 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ
dí wàà klàŋgà-bę-bí bá yú ɓáŋŋa.
mouth 3SG.and teacher-PL the.same 3SG.EXI search\NEUT

‘Just as many students as teachers’ bicycles were stolen’ (litt.: ‘students’ bicycle that one stole, its number and that of the teachers’ is in agreement’).

No way to say ‘proportionally more...’ have been found in Dan-Gwèetaa.

4.2. Type (2) quantifiers

(203a) ɓɛ ɗɛ ɗ’ ɗə ɗbɛ ɗ’ ɗə male that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM woman that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM

à dɔ yɔ́ a kɛ. 3SG.NSBJ desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT

‘Different men like different women’ (litt.: ‘A man who is so, a woman who is so, her love pursues him’).

(203b) Sɛ ɗɛ ɗ’ ɗə ɗbɛ ɗɛ ɗ’ land.CMM that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM food that REL.3SG.JNT
dí a dí yí a kɛ. so.REM 3SG.NSBJ desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT

‘People in different countries like different food’ (litt.: ‘A country, that is so, a food, that is so, its, love pursues it’).

(204) Búkàɓɛ dɛ ɗ’ də wà wù wù sù sù dòdó zí. hunter that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3PL.PRF meat kind rare kill

‘Each hunter has killed a different animal’ (litt.: ‘A hunter that is so, they have killed one-one sort of animal’).

(205a) Búkàɓɛ dɛ ɗ’ də wà wù wù sù sù dò zí. hunter that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3PL.PRF meat kind one kill

‘Each hunter has killed the same animal (animal of the same species)’.

(205b) Dɛba ɗ’ də yɛ’ tá dò bá dा bó. woman LOG.3SG.SBJV so.REM 3SG.PROS dance one ART FOC remove

‘Each woman is going to sing the same song’.

(205c) Klàŋdįĩŋ-dá’ ɗ’ də yɛ’ sàáɗɛ dó bá dà school.child REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV paper one ART FOC

wò pɔ. voice say

‘Let every student read the same book’.

Construction ɗ’ də used in the contexts (203-205) resembles to the ɗ’ də construction analyzed above, however they are different. ɗ’ with an extra-high tone is not a copula, but an adverb meaning ‘so, like’ (comparison with something distant in space or time).

(206) Bɛ bɛ’ ɗ ɗ’ yà bɛ’ kà? human which 3SG.JNT work which do\JNT

‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) Gɔ bɛ’ ɗ dɛba bɛ’ sù? male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\JNT

‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) Gbàtɔ wàà Zà wò pɔɗɛ wò wò NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI village.CMM 3PL.JNT PL.REFL

kò sàŋ guú. RECP.CMM near in

‘Gbato and Jean live in neighbouring villages’ (litt. ‘Gbato and Jean, they are in (a) village,, they, are in the neighbourhood of each other’).

(209) Gbàtɔ wàà Zà wò vòtò kà pɛɛ wëɛ plɛ kà. NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI elections do\NEUT part other two with
Gbato and Jean vote for different parties (litt.: ‘Gbato and Jean, they do vote with two different parts).

Different judges try the same cases differently (litt.: ‘Judges which are not one, they are going to do one-one way of solving cases with one kind of trial’).

Gbato and Jean talked, but no one else talked to anyone else.

Yode and Sayi have quarelled, but no one else has quarelled with no one.

Gbato (never) talks with the same person more than twice (lit. ‘Gbato does not climb his mouth on one person in a way that it overpasses two times’).

Let the prisoners be put into different prisons or to different prison cells.

Men are usually taller than women.

Dogs are usually heavier than cats.

4.3. Distributive numerals and binominal each

The judges have tried five cases each (litt. ‘Judges who are there, one person has tried five cases’).

The judges have tried five cases between them.

‘Men are usually taller than women’.

Dogs are usually heavier than cats.
‘I have sold two guns to each hunter’.

(218) Blúkáɓé plè, bɛ gbà wà b凝聚力 yàáɡá-yàáɡá sù. hunter two human all 3PL.PRF bag three-three take

‘Two hunters carry three bags each’.

(219) Blááɓé-dụ, bɛ gbà wà dụ tɔ plè-plè ká peasant-PL human all 3PL.PRF come chicken two-two with

kàɓáɗá s éc discourse dɛ.

prefect small before

‘Peasants have brought two chicken each to the sous-préfet’.

(220) Sòdá-dụ wà dà plè-plè yítàáɡá-dụ gù. soldier-PL 3PL.PRF go.up two-two water-on-vehicle\IZF-PL in

‘The soldiers have boarded the boats two by two’.

4.4. Mass quantifiers and noun classifiers

The system of noun classifiers in Dan-Gwëtaa is at an early stage of grammaticalization. There are three count words, gá ‘grain, bone, drop’, bɛ ‘fruit’, djá ‘child’ whose formalization is relatively advanced (although there is still a great deal of lexical limitations in their use), and certain other nouns (kpụ ‘ball’, gëð ‘dead body, carcass’, bër ‘bunch’) seem to evolve in this direction too. The low degree of grammaticalization manifests itself in the fact that the count words are obligatory with certain nouns only; with some others, they are optional; and a great number of Dan-Gwëtaa nouns are combined with numerals without count words. On the other hand, the situation is complicated by the fact that these elements are integrated into a number of compound words (ex., fàáɡa ‘comb’, làáɡa ‘moonfish’, sédága ‘needle’, pëégá ‘adze’, yëgá ‘savanna’, yëñbé ‘rattle’, yûbááɗá ‘cat’, biûdá ‘intestinal worm’, sëárdá ‘cicada’, etc.), and it is sometimes difficult to decide where we have a count word, and where it is a component of a compound noun.

gá ‘grain, bone’ is by far the most productive (and the most grammaticalized) count word. It appears with many collective nouns (names of insects, such as zëj ‘mosquito’; zëf ‘gravel’, kàá ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, wù ‘hair’, dë ‘leaves’, sàáɗé ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (bìá ‘rope’, dìj ‘rope, wire’, yì ‘river’), gbòn ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of gá vary, which seems to be conditioned both semantically and lexically. So, it seems to be obligatory with names of edible caterpillars (221), with nouns of small bodyparts (yn ‘eye’, sì ‘tooth’, në ‘tongue’ (222)), with bìá ‘rope’ (223), with the word wàá ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

(221) Yì yá kpá zòɓ/ɡôŋ gá/*ə sëáɗú bá. NOM.MF 3SG.PRF see caterpillar1/caterpillar2 bone five on

‘Yo has found five brown hairy/big black edible caterpillars’.

(222) Bá yá/sí/déé gá/*ə sëáɗú dë-kà. 1SG.PRF eye/tooth/tongue bone five leaf-do

‘I have tried (medically) 5 eyes/teeth/tongues’.

(223) Bá bìá gá/*ə sëáɗú dë. 1SG.PRF rope bone five buy

‘I have bought five ropes’.

(224) Bá wàá gá/*ə yàáɡá dũ à dë. 1SG.PRF 5.francs bone three give 3SG.NSBJ before

‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

With many other nouns, the count word gá is optional (225–227).

(225) Bá yì gá/ə yàáɡá kà. 1SG.PRF water bone three cut

‘I have crossed three rivers’.

(226) Bá nì kàá gá/ə sëáɗú wà. 1SG.PRF 1SG.NSBJ hair bone five extract

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13 For a detailed analysis of the semantics of gá ‘bone’ in Dan-Blo (a variety closely related to Dan-Gwëtaa) see (Erman 2005). In the same article, words for ‘grain’ in several other Mande languages are also analyzed.

14 Without the classifier gá, the lexeme yì may mean ‘water’ or ‘river’ (or any other water reservoir).
‘I have pulled out five of my body hair’.

(227) Bá tó-dë gā/ə sɔdǔ dē-kā.
1SG.PRF ear-leaf bone five leaf-do

‘I have tried (medically) 5 ears’.

Ɓɛ ‘fruit’ appears with nouns of fruits (where it realizes its original lexical meaning), but also with nouns for elongated and rather thick (oblong) objects: dǐ=`a ‘earthworm’, kpāŋ ‘multipede’, yūsɔ ‘fish’, blūt ‘bread’. With nouns other than names of fruits, this count word can be always omitted (or replaced with another count word, see below).

Dʒ ‘child’ is used with animate nouns. As a count word, it seems to be always optional.

Certain nouns (names of fishes, of some insects...) can be used with two or even three of the count words, with some semantic modifications, cf. (228), where ɓɛ appears if the fishes were rather big, ɡā is neutral (with some other nouns, this count word indicates a small size), and ɗʌ implies that the fishes were bought alive.

(228) Bá yūsɔ gā/bé/dù yāgā dù.
1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy

‘I have bought three fishes’.

The ‘embryo countwords’ kpə ‘ball’, ɡeə ‘dead body, carcass’, ɓɔ ɔ ɡ ‘bunch’ do not deviate from their original meaning (with the exception of ɓɔ ɔ ɡ). kpə can be also regarded as a natural segment noun (229). ɡeə and ɓɔ ɔ ɡ are used only with names of animals and imply that the animal is dead, and that its entire body is concerned.

(229) Yā ɓō ɡeə/bɔ ɔ ɡ yāgā dù.
3SG.PRF goat corps/bunch three buy

‘He has bought three entire goat carcasses’.

Mass nouns are quantified using container nouns (230, 231), natural segment nouns (232–234) and measure phrases (235).

(230) wē vēdē yāgā
palm.wine glass three

‘three glasses of palm wine’;

(231) kɔŋ būɔ yāgā
maize bag three

‘three bags of maize’;

(232) sāə ɡpə yāgā
soap ball three

‘three cakes of soap’;

(233) bāə dəkə yāgā
cassava root three

‘three cassava roots’;

(234) głoɔ ɡpə yāgā
banana bunch three

‘three bunches of banana’;

(235) kāfəkə yāgā
coffee kilogram three

‘three kilograms of coffee’.

A count word yə ‘contents’ (the original meaning is ‘eye’) is used with container nouns.

(236) yə kəɔ yə yāgă
water gourd eye three

‘three gourds of water’.

More precisely, this phrase designates the quantity of water equal to that in three gourds (while the water itself can be placed in a different container, or even spilled on the ground...). If yə is omitted (yə kəɔ yə yāgă), it means that water is necessarily placed in three gourds.

15 -ɗù is also a diminutive suffix, therefore, an alternative reading in this case is ‘three small fishes’.
If used with numerals without count nouns, the mass nouns undergo a semantic shift to the ‘kind of’ meaning: yí s₃₃ɗu ‘five sorts of water’, yee s₃₃ɗu ‘five sorts of sand’ (see 2.6.3 for the same semantic shift with the plural marker).

Possibilities of combination of D-quantifies with mass nouns are reflected in the Table 4.

For the use of noun classifiers with the universal quantifier expressing the CMP-quantification, see 3.2.1.1.3.

4.5. Existential constructions

There are three types of existential constructions in Dan-Gwënta.

a. A two-argument construction: (S) AUX X, where S is a subject NP (optional), AUX is an auxiliary of the existential series (see Table 1) for an affirmative (237, 238) sentence and of the negative imperfective series for a negative sentence (239); X is an oblique (a postpositional group, a locative noun, an adverb).

(237) Bàŋg½yɛn  ñ+dù bà. papaya. fruit 3SG.EI REFLSG tree on ‘Papaya fruits are on the papaya tree’ [c62:7] (litt. ‘Papaya fruit is on its tree’).

(238) Dàa dìg₃ɗé ɗù  try 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ PP ‘He has an extremely sharp knife’ [f86:7].

(239) A sé yáà ñ dè. 3SG.NSBJ choice 1PL.EXCL.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ before ‘I have no choice’ [f154:5] (litt. ‘Its choice is not before me’).

b. A one-argument construction: (S) AUX dè. where dè is a defective verb.

(240) Yàà yë dè dé. sun.CMM 3SG.EXI beNEUT today ‘It is very hot today’ [f57:8] (litt. ‘Sun exists today’).

(241) ... kɔ ñ dò dè wëe bà yáà dè. that 3SG.NSBJ go place other certain 3SG.NEG.IPFV be ‘... for he had no other place to go’ [f2:7] (litt. ‘that another place for him to go did not exist’).

The negation in the existential constructions is expressed by the negative imperfective series of auxiliaries, in the same way as in certain verbal and other non-verbal constructions.

As show respectively examles (237) and (238), the inalienable and alienable possession can be expressed by the existential construction.

4.6. Floating quantifiers

Only restrictor zilo ‘exactly’ (see 3.4.1.1) and adverb ñiìwò ‘as many as’ (see 3.4.2) can float.

4.7. Bare quantifiers

The following bare quantifiers can function as predicates: numerals (242), dòdò ‘a few, a small number’, gbé ‘many’ (243), gbé dèdèwò ‘very much, too much’, këe ‘few’, sëëdá ‘small quantity’, tìëbàsìì ‘a couple, a small number (with negation)’ (244).

(242) A bà kò yë yààgà. 3SG.NSBJ POSS house 3SG.EI three ‘He has three houses’ (litt. ‘his house is three’) [f77:14].

(243) Bàbà-kà-bë-dù wò yà-tò-sìì n ɡà wò gbé. work-do-humanIZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP 3PL.EXI numerous ‘The workers who are waiting for me are many’.

(244) Bàbà-kà-bë-dù wò yà-tò-sìì n ɡà work-do-humanIZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP ‘The workers who are waiting for me are not many’.

In the market, fish was not expensive, I bought two/all/many/some/most of them.

Bare quantifiers are less apt to appear in the subject position, where the quantifiers need to be determined at least by an anaphoric pronoun:

In Dan-Gwwɛɛtaa, no existential or negative pronouns are available. An indefinite pronoun does not exist either, there is a determiner bá ‘any’ instead (see 3.2.1.6).

There seems to be no restrictions on distribution of quantification NPs, they can assume all syntactic functions proper to NPs. There are no special positions reserved exclusively for quantifiers.

Scope ambiguity context are similar to those found in English.

‘Let each woman sing one song’, OWS: for each woman, identify her song; SWS: identify the unique song performed by all the women.

However, in the context “N hunters have checked N1 traps” (249), no scope ambiguities have been found.

‘Three hunters have checked fifteen traps (they checked every trap together)’.

‘Every grain I planted sprouted and grew into a big tree’.

Simple translations of ‘only’ are possible only with numerals, by the means of the restrictors gbɛɲ and sɛɲ ‘only’. As for the restrictor kpɛɛɲdɛ ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the argument position only, contrary to zɔɔ ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the predicate position.
(251) Y̓əd̓ də bə ʔəj̓ y̓ə gù t̓ə plə ziq̓gú. 3SG.CNTR one ART 3SG.EXI be.PSTNEUT mountain two between

‘It (the way) was the only one between two mountains’ [zuase.013].

(252) Sl̓aʔə y̓əʔə də də sʔ̓- də. pepper 3SG.CNTR one FOC 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buyJNT

‘She has bought only pepper’ [f56:5].

(253) B̵ə sʔ̓ kə yə̈ yáá tə kw̓ə̈ what 3SG.JNT doJNT CONS 3SG.NEG.IPFV remain Caucasian wə̈ wə̈ wə̈-w̓ə̈ wə̈ dəə̈ də sə̈ bə̈? voice 3SG.and voice other-PL 3PL.CNTR one only on

‘Why does it (newspaper) not remain only in French and other languages?’ [Pame1_Iwən_taəŋ.003].

If the restriction concerns a verbal predication, it is expressed through nominalization and focalization of the verb, as in (254). For transitive verbs, focalization of the direct object of the restricted verb can suffice (255).

(254) Z̵ə̈ d̵ə̈ d̵ə̈ sʔ̓ b̵ə̈, k̵ə̈ə̈ y̓f̵. NOM.M walk FOC REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ removeJNT but 3SG.NEG.PFV water drink

‘Jean only walked, he didn’t also drink wine’ (litt.: ‘Jean, it’s walking he did, but he did not drink wine’).

(255) Z̵ə̈ p̵ə̈ d̵ə̈ sʔ̓ b̵ə̈, k̵ə̈ə̈ y̓f̵. NOM.M thing FOC REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ eatJNT but 3SG.NEG.PFV water drink

‘Jean only ate, he did not also drink water’ (litt.: ‘Jean, it’s a thing that he ate, he didn’t drink water’).


In Dan-Gwertaa there is a productive mechanism of verbal derivation with elements, mainly of locative semantics, added to the verbal stems on the left. These elements, or preverbs, are of ambiguous nature. On one hand, they can be easily separated from the verbal stem by various grammatical and even content words, cf. (256b).

(256a) Gbət̓o yə̈ ʔə̈ gə̈-də. NOM.M 3SG.PRF work head-stand

‘Gbato has finished a work’.

(256b) Yə̈ bə̈ gə̈ yə̈ də. work ART head 3SG.PRF stand

‘The work has been finished’.

On the other, the preverbs display a high degree of semantic integrity with the verbal stem, in particular, in the scope of the preverb’s modifier (257b) and in reduplication (257c).

(257a) Gbət̓o yə̈ bə̈də̈ gù-də. NOM.M 3SG.PRF drug in-taste

‘Gbato has tested a drug’.

(257b) Gbət̓o yə̈ bə̈də̈ gù sə̈də̈ də. NOM.M 3SG.PRF drug in small taste

‘Gbato has tested a drug a little bit’.

(257c) Gbət̓o yə̈ bə̈də̈-də̈ gù-də̈-gù-də̈. NOM.M 3SG.PRF drug-PL in-taste-in-taste

‘Gbato has tested the drugs one by one’.

As can be seen from (257b), a modifier following a preverb, while preserving formal characteristics of a D-modifier, has the entire verb as its scope. Thus we have here a productive mechanism of adverbalization of D-modifiers. It is true that not every D-modifier is apt to appear after a preverb (which also depends very much on their semantic compatibility), however, it turns out to be possible for a good number of D-quantifiers, cf. (258b, c, d, e).
Gbato has helped his wife.
Gbato has helped his wife in some way.
Gbato has helped his wife by all means.
Gbato has helped his wife repeatedly.
Gbato has helped his wife very much.

5. Summary table
In Table 4, the quantifiers mentioned in this chapter are listed in an alphabetic order (syntactically complex ones are ranged according to their key word). If a lexeme also has non-quantifying meanings, these senses are given {in curly brackets}. In the columns to the right, indications are given concerning their ability to function as D-quantifiers and as A-quantifiers, and about their respective semantics in these functions. For D-quantifiers it is also indicated whether they can determine mass nouns, and whether the preceding NP can be pluralized. Other parameters have not been put into the table in order to avoid its surcharge; these informations can be found in the respective sections of the present chapter.

The adverbialization of D-quantifiers in the constructions with preverbal verbs is not represented in the Table 4, as well as the expression of quantifying meanings by verbal constructions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D-quantifiers</th>
<th>With mass nouns</th>
<th>With pl. form</th>
<th>A-quantifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gbé</td>
<td>many, enough</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>many, much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé dèdè</td>
<td>too many</td>
<td>too much</td>
<td>too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé dèdèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>too much, very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbèdè</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>major part</td>
<td>majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>këé</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpèèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpèèdè</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpûdè</td>
<td>overwhelming majority</td>
<td>the great part of</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpûdè gbà</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X oó X</td>
<td>any, whatever</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>(nominalization of the verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>è dè'ì</td>
<td>every; any; (all)</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pépé</td>
<td>every, (all)</td>
<td>(‘kind of’)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péé dò</td>
<td>a half (of one object or of a group)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>half of (the group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péé kpù</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péé sèèdá</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèŋ।</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèèdá bá</td>
<td>(small)</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>sometimes, often; usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siàsià</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà tɛ́ŋ bá-dùgù</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòŋtòŋdè̀ (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòŋbasù (NPI)</td>
<td>a couple, a small number</td>
<td>a small quantity</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòŋ gù (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>few, insufficiently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòŋ gbà gù</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>all the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zììawò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>as many as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zòò</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations**

ADJ – adjective; adjectivizer suffix (-sùù)
ADV – adverbial suffix (-wò ~ -bò)
ART – definite article bà
Atr – attribute
AUT – autonomous pronominal series
AUX – auxiliary
C – consonant
CMM – common case
References


