Quantifiers in Dan-Gw taa (South Mande)
Valentin Vydrin

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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 Biancounda, 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 quantifers’ 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 η.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Oral vowels</th>
<th>Back non-labial</th>
<th>Back labial</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Nasal vowels</th>
<th>Back non-labial</th>
<th>Back labial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
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<td>ɒ</td>
<td></td>
<td>æ̃</td>
<td>ʌ̃</td>
<td>ɒ</td>
<td>ɔ</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, η, but not *Cŋ. Nasalization is marked by a lower tilde, in order to leave space above the letter for tonal diacritics.

Consonants

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, i.e., ɐ, o, are realized as more closed allophones, [i, ɐ, o] under extra-high tone, cf. /wɛ/ [wɛ] ‘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 sʊ̃ ʌ ’to be afraid’, sʊ̃ ɔ is normally pronounced identically to the verb sʊ̃ ʌ ’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, ŋ, 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: kāā ‘scabies’,
- high: kāá ‘you (pl.)’, the negative imperfective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- mid: kāa ‘you (pl.)’, the prospective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- low: kāɔ ‘to scratch’ (a conjoint construction form),
- extra-low: kāɑ ‘reed’.

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

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

### 2.3. Syllabic structures

Allowed in Dan are: V, CV, C1C2V. The only consonant admissible in the C2 position is /l/, it cannot be preceded by /d, gw, l, v, y/.

The main rhythmical unit is **metric foot**. The types of feet attested in Dan are: V (including ɣ), 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

Non-verbal sentences are formed with copulae ɓʊʊ, ɓa, dɛ, dɔ́ (identification, negative identification, presentative, equative) and with PPM (negative identification, locative, qualitative, equative; on PPM, see 2.9).

Identification, S ɓʊʊ ‘it is S’ (if the object referred by S is in the range of visibility), S ɓáá ‘it is S’ (S is outside the range of visibility). One of the equative sentence type, S ɓʊʊ 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 ɓʊʊ ‘it is not S’.

Presentative sentence, S dɛ ‘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.

1. **Locative nouns** come from a fusion with postpositions; therefore, they are used in the circumstantial 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. **Relational and free nouns**
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) bâ ~ ā:

1. *Gbâtô bâ dî-dû*
   - NOM. M POSS child-PL
   - ‘Gbato’s children’.
   - Bâ is most often replaced by g3 if the NP appears in the circumstantial function:

   2. *nî gô kâ fôdôr*
   - 1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC house.LOC
   - ‘at my home’.

   If the possessed noun is relational, there is no connective word: *Gbâtô dî ‘Gbato’s father’.*

   Most of body part names and kinship terms belong to the class of relational nouns, however, there are some important exceptions: dà ‘child’, bêê ‘nephew, niece (sister’s child)’, wû ‘hair (head hair)’, fôdôr ‘sweat’ are free nouns, while bâî ‘child’ (a synonym of dî), kâ ‘body hair’, wêê ‘urine’ are relational.

2.5.3. Standard plural marker is -dû which follows the noun. The majority of locative nouns have no plural forms in the oblique cases. The plural marker dû 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. *zâ yî dôydô-sû-dû*
   - liana.sp. water viscous.substance-ADJ-PL
   - ‘bowls of sauce of the liana “zan”’ [e4:20].

   4. *dôi-dû wô kî dî â kà, wâá kî dî*
   - mud-PL 3PL.JNT house build 3SG INSTR 3PL.IPJV.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 (yôdô ‘blood’, gbô ‘excrement’, wêê ‘urine’), -dû may also express the meaning of emphatic plural (‘a great quantity of’):

   5. *Bê yôdô-dû wô slâa.
   - 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

   Syntax functions characteristic of adjectives are:

   - noun modifier in an attributive NP:

   7. *Yàiî gbêê yô fôdô fûdû bû bâ.*
   - sun.CMM difficult 3SG.EXI sweat bone arrive\NEUT human on
   - ‘Hot sun makes one sweat’ [d162:6].

   - predicate in a postpositionless construction:

   8. *Nî kô yô kpa kpa.*
   - 1SG.NSBJ hand.CMM 3SG.EXI numb
   - ‘My hand is numb’ [d163:7].

   - predicate in a postpositional construction:

   9. *A gê yô kpa 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).

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3 To the contrary, the word fôdô ‘sweat’ cannot have the plural marker.
For the adjectives, there are semi-regular derivative models for plural and intensive meaning based on reduplication, modification of tones, suffixification and transfixiation.

All adjectives have a selective form derived by the suffix –sụ (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: sụ plẹ ‘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 -ɗɑɑ (ɗɔɗu-ɗɑɑ ‘the fifth’). Only ‘first’ has a suppletive form, blɛɛsụ.

### 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: bɑɑ ɗu (lit. ‘cassava-tree’) ‘cassava stalk’, and (b) head-marked, where the syntactic connection is marked on the head noun by an extra-low tone: bɑɑ ɗu (‘cassava plant’). To the class of genitive-like NPs belong the postpositional NP, where the connection between the constituents is marked by a postposition: dʊsɛ bɑ gbiigɑ (lit.: ‘raffia palm tree’ or – caterpillar’) ‘raffia palm caterpillar’. Possessive NP (dʊʊtɪ bɑ dɑɑ ‘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: gbɛ tụ <dog black> ‘black dog’. In the attributive constructions, determiners (plural marker, definite article, etc.) normally follow the dependent word: gbɛ tụ-dɑɑ ‘black dogs’, gbɛ tụ bɑ ‘the black dog’. Rather atypically of Mande languages, the plural marker can optionally follow the head word (gbɛ-dɑɑ tụ ‘black dogs’) or appear in both positions (gbɛ-dɑɑ tụ-dɑɑ ‘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) 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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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Person, gloss</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Existential EXI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conjoint JNT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perfect PRF</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prospective PROS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative IMP</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subjunctive SBJV</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presumptive PRES</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative imperfective NEG.IPFV</td>
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<td>Negative perfective NEG.PFV</td>
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<td>Prohibitive PROH</td>
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</table>
2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs

2.10.1. Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
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<td>ñ/ñũ 3</td>
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<td>ñ/ñũ</td>
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<td>bù</td>
<td>bà</td>
<td>bù</td>
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<td>ñàñ 3</td>
<td>ñàñ</td>
<td>ñàñ</td>
<td>ñàñ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gweetaa

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) Kürí kú bá wáa ñàñ ñàñ dín. 

If you lose your money, I won't give other [e4:10].

(11) Ñàñ 3SG.NSBJ –PL.POSS sheep 3SG.PRIF die 3PL.PRIF 3SG.NSBJ new buy

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

(12) Bànn dëbày à wã ñì 1SG.CNTR self 3SG.NSBJ matter 3SG.EXI RETR 1SG.NSBJ astonish ‘The matter astonished me...’ [Dù wã].

2.10.2. Interrogative pronouns are used for special questions: dë ‘who?’, bág ‘what?’, dë ‘how many? how much?’ ñá ‘which?’, bë ‘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) Bàn à wã ñì 1SG.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: yë and ñà indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. Bà indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. Bù 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. T Pittë (the intensive form is Pittës) designates a remote object at the limit of visibility or just beyond, it is necessarily accompanied by an indication by hand or by finger.
Ya has undergone grammaticalization into a demonstrative pronoun, and a definite article has evolved from the adverb ɓa. In both cases, a relativization construction is involved, and the relativisation marker can be always restituted in a slow pronunciation:

(14a) kó ɗɤ yā... /ɓa → (14b) kó (ɗɤ ɗɤ yā /ɓa
‘house which is here/there (near the addressee)’ → ‘this house/ the house’.

Another definite article is ɗɛɛ. It is used exactly as ɓa, but it is characterized by a limited geographical distribution; unlike ɓa, it seems to be used only in the Gwɛɛta dialect. Still another definite article is ɓ 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, -ɗɤ and -wō ~ -ɓo.

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 -ɗɤ-adverbs are non-motivated, i.e., corresponding suffixless stems are lacking in Dan-Gwɛɛta.

The variants of the other suffix go back to two dummy verbs, wō and ɓo which are practically always interchangeable in Dan-Gwɛɛta. -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 ɓo (15a, b).

(15a) ɗɛɛ ɗɤ tésɛdu blù gwá guá.
3SG.EXI REFL.SG friend push\NEUT stone in
‘He pushed his friend to the stones’ [f4:13].

(15b) ɗɛɛ ɗɤ tésɛdu blù dā ɗa wō gwá guá.
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) Gbátō ɗa ɗu pépɛ ɗɛɛ wō ɗɛɛ
NOM.M 3SG.PRF come each REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ. do\JNT 3SG.EXI
ɗɛɛ dy ɗɛɛ
thing buy\NEUT
‘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-Gwɛɛta language that determiners frequently used with nominalized verbs end by merging with the dummy verb which brings forth a subsequent reinterpretation of -wō/-ɓo 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-Gwɛɛta:

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

— a gerund, formed with the marker -stù 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 -yɛɛ;

— 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-Gwɛɛta, 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) Gbātō ya bīlā dū.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF wound extinguish  
‘Gbato has washed a wound with warm water’.

(17b) Gbātō ya bīlā-dū dū-dū.  
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: gā ‘to pull’ \(\rightarrow\) gāāā, gb ‘to wrestle’ \(\rightarrow\) gbōō dūlā ‘to walk’ \(\rightarrow\) dūlā. The partial reduplication has an intensive meaning: ‘to pull’ \(\rightarrow\) ‘to pull with a force and for a long time’; ‘to wrestle’ \(\rightarrow\) ‘to wrestle with intensity’; ‘to walk’ \(\rightarrow\) ‘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 \(dā\) (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 dāj, dā ju ḍe ḍa ḍa, tō ḍa.  
3SG.NSBJ father FOC 3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ call\UNJT 3SG.NSBJ name with  
‘It is his father he addressed by name (once)’ [e16:13].

(19) Yē bāygīlō kōj, dā ju bō.  
3SG.EXI mango unripe.fruit FOC 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT  
‘It is an unripe mango he has eaten’ [e11:9].

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 \(wō\) or \(bō\) (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: -\(dē\) is added to adjectives, and the “actual selectivity” suffix –\(sū\) is added to nouns or adjectives. In both cases, forms with such suffixes are obligatorily followed by the focalization particle \(dā\).

2.13. Relativization

There are two relativization strategies.

1) Correlative strategy: a full-fledged relativized NP, followed by the relative conjunction \(j\) (sometimes \(k̈\)), 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-Gwée-taa also a reduced relative clause); such a repetition produces an emphatic effect.

(20) [Wū j ɦi-sū kā yē ú dū]  
meat REL.3SG.JNT smell-ADJ with CONS 2SG.JNT come\UNJT  
ā, kā ḍē?!
3SG.NSBJ with Q  
‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].

(21) Yē bēē n dē [n kwāj j ā gb j]  
3SG.EXI beg\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ before 1SG.NSBJ theft REL 3SG.NSBJ son  
ā ā bō bā/ ā, wō guū.  
3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ remove\UNJT ART 3SG.NSBJ matter\IZF in  
‘He is imploving me about the matter of a theft committed by his son against me’ [e10:1].

(22) [Dēbā j ɦlū kpā], ā dēbā bā  
woman REL.3SG.JNT rice boil\UNJT 1SG.EXI woman ART  
ā dō.  
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 dũ 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, dũ 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 a (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) \[ Bɛ \ bá \ yá \ ɗũ \ ū \ wó \ ɡú. \]

‘Someone came after you’.

b) interrogative context:

(24) \[ Bɛ \ bá \ yá \ wó \ dɔ \ ɗ e \ bũ \ dó \ dèè? \]

‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’

C conditional:

(25) \[ Bũ \ bá \ pũ\-gã-sãño \ sǐ\-ã \ dɔ \ bɛ \]

2SG.PROS 1SG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human

bá bã, ã pũ n yàgá.

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) \[ Yáá \ n \ yáá \ dè \ ɓɛ \ bá \ yá \]

3SG.NEG.IPFW 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that human certain 3SG.PRF dũ.

come

‘I don’t think that anybody has come’.

e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:

(27) \[ Gbãtò \ yá \ zãĩ \ dè \ yíi \ kpã \ ɓɛ \]

NOM.M 3SG.PRF deny that 3SG.NEG.PFV see human

bá bã zĩ\-ã tã.

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 r bũ, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).

(28) \[ Bɛ \ bá \ r \ bũ \ yè \ ā \ pũ \]

human certain REL.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ say\NEUT

yè\-rũ n dũ sú.

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 ðáá-dá 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 ðuí being, in fact, a determiner too), or with the universal determiner gbá (30a).

(30a) \( Y ſ \) biáŋ sú ſ zí ſ ká ſ
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
téébá gbá tà.
age-mate all on
‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’, or

(30b) \( Y ſ \) biáŋ sú ſ zí ſ ká ſ
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
téébá-duí tà.
age-mate-PL on
‘He runs faster than his age-mates’.

**Numerals**

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<td>100</td>
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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: \( pā yáága \) ‘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) Pólísíyè-duí wá kwá́bè yáága-duí kú.
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) Pólísíyè bá ã súnduí wá déŋ.
policemen ART 3SG.NSBJ five 3PL.PRF loose
‘Among the policemen, five have got lost’.

Other existential quantifiers in Dan-Gwétta also follow the noun. The meaning of ‘several’, ‘a couple of’, ‘a few’ is expressed by the morphologically complex determiners dábá <child/diminutive marker-some> (33) and séédá bá <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) Gbá́tò yá káá dábá dó.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF hoe a.little buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

(34) Gbá́tò yá káá/blú sáéédá bá dó.
NOM.M PRF hoe/rice small other buy
'Gbato has bought several hoes'/'Gbato has bought a small quantity of rice'.

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

(35) Gbáttɔ)yá káá dɛɓá-dɔ. ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

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

(36) Bláá dɛ dá wó dɔ bɛɛ gɔ? sheep how many FOC 3PL.JNT save\JNT dry.season PP
‘How many sheep have survived the dry season?’

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

(38) Yó ká yó- CONS.3SG.JNT do 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT so.REM there child how many yó wù gɔ?
3SG.JNT 2SG.NSBJ PP
‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

(39) Wɔ dɔ¬dɔ yá bɛɛ yó dá à guú 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, dɛ stops to be a quantifier; it expresses instead the meanings ‘why?’ and ‘how?’.

**Value judgement D-quantifiers**

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

(40) Bɛ gbɛ wá dó gblũ bã, bɛ kɛɛ dɔ wó dũ. 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 yákɔbɛ gbɛ sú kɛ wó bляá dɛɛ zú-bó. 1PL.EXCL.PRF worker many take that 3PL.SBJV field new bottom-remove
‘We have hired enough workers to launch a new plantation’.

dódó ‘few, rare’ (42) results from reduplication (accompanied by a tonal modification) of the numeral dɔ ‘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), dódó has a non-value judgement meaning ‘certain’s, some’ (43).

(42) Bɛ dódó dɔ wó dɔ kəbɛ bã dɔ-'. human rare FOC 3PL.JNT go\JNT thief ART know-INF
‘Few are those who know the thief’ [f154:10].

(43) Yɛ bɛ-dũ dódó dɔ3. 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) tɔŋbásɔ (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) tɔŋbásɔ is not allowed.

(44) A- pɛɛ á báŋ gbɛ dɔ, kɛɛ 1SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\JNT but
báŋ tɔŋbásɔ yáá á go. machete multitude 3SG.NEG.IPFW 3SG.NSBJ PP
'I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple'.

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

yɗ káá tɛŋbášũ ɗ5-
3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF

‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’.

(45b) *Zá yɗ dɗ káá tɛŋbášũ ɗ5-’ ɓɛʔ?
NOM.M 3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF Q

‘Will Jean buy many hoes?’

The quantifier gbé can add the plural marker, in which case the quantifier acquires an intensive meaning: blúkábè gbé-ɗũ ‘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 kpá uu bá dëbà bá dò.
1SG.PRF see 2SG.NSBJ POSS bá dò.

‘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), sèɛďá ‘little’ (49), and dòdò ‘occasionally, from time to time, with intervals’ (50).

(48) Dá-ɗũ wó gblá-siá gbé kó tàábãa.
child-PL 3PL.EXI yell-DUR much house behind

‘Children yell much behind the house’.

(49) ùl bá dëŋ-dũ wó pá bɛ sèɛďá.
2SG.NSBJ POSS guest-PL 3PL.EXI thing eat\NEUT little

‘Your guests eat little’.

(50) N gbé bléësũ yɗ n dë sîsîsê këë
1SG.NSBJ son first.ADJ 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT often.INT but
bɛ dɔ ã pîɛ yɗ n dë dòdò.
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’.

Dábáwo ã dábábo ‘a little’ is derived from the D-quantifier dábá by the means of the adverbial suffix -wó - -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 bá dû yɗ pûû dâbâbô.
3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a.little

‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:

— sîá ~ sîr 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 sîá by the adverb dòdò, and the combination of both adverbs expresses the meaning ‘from time to time, rarely’, cf. (53);

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

— dëdëwô ‘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 ni bɛ-ɗũ tûàà-bô sîá.
1SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ human-PL greeting-removelNEUT sometimes
‘I visit my relatives from time to time/often’.

(53) Ûlgbšyèyèkàblààsìàdódó.
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) Sààiyèiyùtkwààsìàsìà.
sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often
‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55) Këë-kà-gèèbàyèbàdëdë-wò.
threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV
‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

(56) Yèdùùgàdëdë-wòyààdfrè.
3SG.EXI put\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ PP true-ADV yesterday
‘Yesterday he waited for me for a long time’ [f9:15].

(57) Kèèkèdùsààdùsùkàùgà.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with REFL.SG POSS.LOC
dëdfrè dëdë-wò.
hamlet.LOC true-ADV
‘Kese has set traps a lot in his remote field’ [e18:15].

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

(58) Bådùàwòùnàbàsìàtšỳ̀.
1SG.POSS child-PL 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ on sometimes time
bà-dùguù.
certain-PL in
‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].

A syntactically complex NPI quantifier tšỳ̀guù<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) Bëëyààtšỳ̀guù.
human 3SG.NEG.IPFW time in
‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(60) Dàyùùbàtšỳ̀guù.
rain 3SG.NEG.PFW 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 pëpé ~ pëè 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 dòò (primarily a free choice meaning), and the expression ròdò (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 pronominalized, in which case we have a partitive construction (61a).

(61a) D55kwàà-dòòyùùrùùdùòòguùsààùàkà.
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR

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

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

(61b) *Dɔɔkʊwɔ̌-ɗ̣ ᥙyɨś ‘ɗ̣ gũ sã ɗ̣* ̒

market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI

kã gbà d5.

RETR all buy\NEUT

‘In the market, fish was not expensive, I bought all’.

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 -ɗũ which influences the semantics of quantifier (see below).

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

(62) *Bĩ gbàɗ bã yã.*

darkness all.3SG.PRIF put yere

‘It has got quite dark there’ [Dũwã 12].

(63) *Bũ gbàɗ dũ gẽeŋɗũ.*

human all.3PL.PRIF stand fixedly

‘Everyone was striken by stupor (after springing to one’s feet)’ [B182:5].

3.2.1.1. CMP-quantification

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 bã (64), the demonstrative determiner yã (65a), a possessor (66).

(64) *Dëkpũnųyì yỉsíw zìŋgũ Gbàtũ bã děbũ yã day four between NOM.M POSS woman 3SG.PRIF
dũ bã gbà gũ.*

treee ART all burn

‘During four days, Gbato’s wife burnt the entire tree’.

(65a) *Bũ ɗ̣ k₃ yã gbà gũ.*

15SG.PRIF house this all daub

‘I have daubed all this house’.

(66) *Dũbũ bã yã yó̌ gũ ṣ ḍ gbà bã.

woman ART 3SG.PRIF oil daub REF.L SG place all on

‘The woman has smeared her entire body with oil’.

If the NP determined by gbà has no definiteness markers, both CMP and collective readings are possible (65b).

(65b) *Bũ k₃ gbà gũ.*

15SG.PRIF house all smear

(i) ‘I have daubed the entire house’ or (ii) ‘I have daubed all the houses’.

The CMP meaning is also available if the subject NP designs a complex object, contains no plural marker -ɗũ, and the auxiliary (co-referent with the subject) is singular:

(67) *Pũdũ gbà yã gũ.*

village.CMM all 3SG.PRIF burn

‘The entire village has burnt’.

Cf. example (68) where a NP with similar characteristics appears in a position other than that of a subject (therefore, no auxiliary is available to remove the ambiguity), which makes the collective reading the only one possible.

(68) *Kũdũbũ yã ẉǒ ẉǒ k₃dũ gbà tã.

prefect 3SG.PRIF affair lie family all on

‘The prefect has punished all families’.

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5 In the example 62 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: gêè ‘carcass, body’ (69a), bêrô dô ‘one bunch’ (69b), bê ‘fruit’ (70a):

\[(69a)\] Gbå tô yá gbà tô gêè gbà bê.

NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken body all eat

‘Gbato has eaten the entire chicken’.

\[(69b)\] Gbå tô yá bêrô dô gbà bê.

NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken bunch one all eat

‘The price of the complete pineapple is 500 francs’.

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

\[(70a)\] Dâdâ bê tô gbà yá gbà yê gbà tô

pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred

dô.

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

\[(70b)\] Dâdâ bê tô gbà yá gbà tô

pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all remain\NMLZ

dê-sû yê wâ kîô dô.

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 -dû 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.

\[(71a)\] Dêbâ-dû gbâ wâ dû kwâlûô.

woman-PL all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC

‘All the women gathered’ (e.g., all the members of an association).

\[(71b)\] Dêbô gbâ wâ dû kwâlûô.

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 (’gbô gbâ wâ 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-dû gbâ wâ wluuû kê pê-dû yá

male-PL all 3PL.PRF rise still village-father 3SG.PRF
dô kô-dû.

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 gbâ wâ 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 ɓɛ is indicative of the fact the group is perceived as open.6

(73) ɓɛ ɓɛ gbå wó yå gbå bɔ-sùu gbå.

CONS human all 3PL.JNT putJNT crying pass-GER on

‘Then everybody started crying’ [Zuá səɓɛ].

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 yå dû gbå zà.

leopard 3SG.PRF cow all kill

‘A leopard killed all the cows’.

(74b) Gwëe yå dû-dû gbå zà ɗìd’.

Inanimate nouns realizing their wholeness meaning with count words (cf. 69, 70) represent a special case. When count words are missing, gbå with such nouns expresses the collective meaning, and when the plural marker is missing, the noun is definite, and the auxiliary is singular (75).7

(75) Dàɗå gbå yå ɗ gbå yó wílù kàññ dò.
ipineapple 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 ɓå (76), however no NP with both a plural marker and an article followed by the universal quantifier gbå appears in my corpus.

(76) Kàsò-gù-gù-dû ɓå wò kà nwàả ziàả yå-

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 gbå with uncountable nouns

In Dan-Gweetaa 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 gbå, these nouns without plural marker and definiteness markers designate the entireness of the quantity available:

(77) Gbåtò yå yí gbå bùù.

NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all drink

‘Gbato has drunk all the water’.

(78) lìl bå dà yå sò gbå ɗíí-kùù.

2SG.NSBJ POSS child 3SG.PRF cloth all dirt-catch

‘Your child has dirted all the clothes’.

(79) Yá bòlù gbå kà.

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) Kàfììì gbå yå sèè.

coffee all 3SG.PRF spoil

‘All the coffee has spoilt’.

3.2.1.1.4. The distributive meaning of gbå

Gbå 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 ɓɛ ‘man, human’ without plural marker in combination with gbå is preferable even in the contexts where, according to the general rule, one would expect -ɗù. 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 yā 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) Pṛ-dụ gbà wā gër.
    village-PL all 3PL.PRF burn
    ‘All the villages (of the canton) have burnt (one by one)’.

(82a) yí gbàɗdụ p̣ɗe gbà gù y ê
    1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM all in CONS
    yí gô bàà.
    1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
    ‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’.

(82b) yí gbàɗdụ p̣ɗe-dụ gbà gù y ê
    1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM-PL all in CONS
    yí gô bàà.
    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 (Pṛ gbà wā 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 dôdô in its distributive meaning ‘one by one’.

(83) Dàɗà (ɓẹ) gbà sù dôdô kër ú á gbà.
    pineapple fruit all take one.by.one that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBV 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) Gwàɗà gbà wô ḅ ḥ g̣ ẉ eẉ ḅ à.
    cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on
    ‘All cats resemble leopard’.

(85) Gwàɗà gbà wô ḅ ḥ kwâh.
    cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB
    ‘All cats are alike (resemble each other)’.

(86a) Bâj gbà wô d55d5ɓ̣e-dû kâ.
    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) Bâj-dû gbà wô d55d5ɓ̣e-dû kâ.
    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) Wù dô yê dâ(-ɗû) gbà kâ.
    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 yâ yê dô ḅ gbà
    child REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT human all

8 Jula is generic name for all ethnic groups in Côte d’Ivoire speaking Manding languages.
tiredness-remove-INF
‘This child will tire anyone’.
(89) \( W̃w̃ \ gb̃̃ \ ỹ̃ \ b̃̃̃-p̃̃ \ k̃. \)
meat all \( 3SG.EXI \) eat-thing\IZF with
‘Any meat is edible’.
(90) \( B̃̃ \ gb̃̃ \ ỹ̃ \ b̃̃̃ \ ā \ b̃ \ ā \ ỹ \ ỹ. \)
human all \( 3SG.EXI \) can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on 3SG.JNT work
\( b̃ \ k̃. \)
ART do\JNT
‘Any person can do this job’.
The singular auxiliary is the most remarkable feature of the free choice construction with \( gb̃ \) distinguishing it from the DEF- and GEN-constructions. For example, the singular auxiliary allows the free choice reading in (91a).
(91a) \( Đ̃b̃ \ gb̃ \ ỹ \ s̃̃-s̃ū. \)
woman all \( 3SG.EXI \) untruth-ADJ
‘Any woman is a liar’.
If the singular auxiliary is replaced by the plural one, the meaning of the construction is generic.
(91b) \( Đ̃b̃ \ gb̃ \ w̃ \ s̃̃-s̃ū. \)
woman all \( 3PL.EXI \) untruth-ADJ
‘All women are liars’.
So, a singular form of the auxiliary excludes all other interpretation, apart from the free choice one, the inverse is not true: a plural form of the auxiliary does not necessarily exclude the free choice reading in an appropriate context, cf. (92).
(92) \( Đ̃̃-d̃̃-b̃̃ \ gb̃ \ w̃ \ d̃̃-'. \)
market-buy-human\IZF all \( 3PL.EXI \) go\NEUT-3SG.NSBJ
\( p̃̃-'. \)
say-INF 2SG.NSBJ POSS market 3SG.EXI difficult
‘Any buyer will tell you that your goods are overpriced’.
If the semantics of the predicate (e.g., a reciprocal one) implies necessarily more than one participant, the plural auxiliary and even a plural marker on the subject NP may be obligatory and compatible with the free choice meaning (93).
(93) \( T̃̃̃̃-d̃̃-d̃̃ \ gb̃ \ w̃ \ w̃ \ k̃ \ w̃ \ ṡ̃̃-m̃. \)
friend-PL all \( 3PL.EXI \) PL.REFL RECP.CMM voice inside-hear\NEUT
‘Friends always understand each other’ (any couple of friends).
Lexical means, such as the noun \( s̃̃ū \) ‘sort’, can be brought to play in order to avoid ambiguity in favour of the free choice interpretation (94).
(94) \( Ỹ \ ỹ \ s̃̃ \ gb̃ \ k̃. \)
3SG.EXI work sort all do\NEUT
(Context: Jean horribly needs money.) ‘He catches at any job’.
Among all the contexts where the free choice meaning can be expected on typological grounds (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155), \( gb̃ \) expresses it in the following ones: modal probability (88, 90, 92), non-prospective future and habitual (94), generic (91a, 93).

3.2.1.1.7. Summary: formal means and semantics of the \( gb̃ \)-construction

| Table 3. Semantics of the \( gb̃ \)-construction in relation with the character of the NP and the choice of the auxiliary |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| **Semantics of the construction** | **Form of the NP** | **Auxiliary** |
| Quantification of definite groups, collective meaning (DEF-quantification) | plural (-\( d̃̃̃ \)) | plural |
| Distributive meaning, definite plural | plural | plural |
| Quantification of indefinite (referent) groups, collective meaning (INDEF-quantification) | singular | plural |
| Distributive meaning, indefinite group | singular | plural |
| Quantification of generic sets (GEN-quantification) | singular | plural |
| Free choice meaning | singular | singular (plural allowed) |
| Wholeness (CMP-quantification) | singular, definite; count | singular |
3.2.1.2.  **pépé ~ pépɛ** a distributive modifier

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

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

The NP determined by pépɛ may have or miss the plural marker ɗu, 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-Gwëtaa: for the names of human beings, the plural marker ɗu 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 ɗu, or if it is 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 pépɛ**

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

(95) [bàɗà bɛ pépɛ sù kɛ u ɗ gà]  
    pineapple fruit every take that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ look  
    ‘Take every pineapple and examine it’ (every pineapple that you find).

(96) [bàɗà(-ɗu) pépɛ wò dɔɗɔɓɛ 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) [bàɗà sè, gbàɗwà sè wàà sùpɛlɛ sè]  
    Man land.CMM Biancouma.LOC land.CMM 3SG.and Sipilou land.CMM  
    ɗ-dù bà bɛ yà yà-sù kà Gwëtaa wò  
    3SG.NSBJ-PL POSS writing 3SG.EXI put-GER with Gwëtaa voice  
    gù, yà wò pépɛ sè dàɗà sè gù,  
    in CONS voice every REL.3SG.JNT Danane land.CMM in  
    ɗ-dù bà dɔɗɔ Blò wò gù.  
    3SG.NSBJ-PL property be Blò voice in  
    ‘The departments of Man, Biancouma, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwëtaa dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blò dialect’ [Pame1_lwɔn_taang014].

3.2.1.2.2. **Use of pépɛ 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 pépɛ realize it only in two ones, habitual (98-100) and generic (101-103).

(98) [gbàɗà yà yà pépɛ bù]  
    NOM.M 3SG.EXI water every drink\NEUT  
    ‘Gbato drinks any water’.

In this particular case, noun yà 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) [yà yà pépɛ kà]  
    3SG.EXI job every do\NEUT  
    ‘He catches on any job’.

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9 See in detail (Vydrin 2013).
(100) Bā d’ā gblū yē zīr-sīā,yē
1SG.POSS child stomach 3SG.EXI pass-DUR 3SG.EXI
tō yē pā pépē dā ɗ.
remain\NEUT 3SG.EXI thing every rise\NEUT REFL.SG mouth
My child has diarrhea often, (because) he puts everything in his mouth’.

(101) Wū pépē yē bš-plà kā.
‘Any meat is edible’.

(102) Gwàdû pépē yē kpšësìu.
cat every 3SG.EXI sly
‘Any cat is sly’.

(103) Bê pépē wô gâ-bê kā.
human every 3PL.EXI death-human\IZF with
‘Any human is mortal’.
The determiner pépē is inherently distributive, it does not appear with collective predicates.

3.2.1.3. **Combination of gbâ and pépē: an emphasis**

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

(104) Gbâtô yâ yî gba pépê bû.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all every drink
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’ (nothing is left).

(105) Wê dʒ yê gâ gba pépê kâ.
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 gbâ in combination with pépê more often than alone10, as in (106).

(106) Sìsìsìhâ yê pl-dû bâ ɗ’-dû gbâ pépê
immediately CONS thing-PL ART REL.3SG.NSBJ-PL all every
z ɗsôt 3SG.JNT find
‘Immediately, all these things that were found...’ [Dùwɔ].11
The usages of the combination gbâ pépê are the same as those of gbâ alone; in any case, I have not found any divergence.

3.2.1.4. **Reduplication with the connective morpheme ðð(ðð-reduplication): the free choice meaning**

3.2.1.4.1. **The structure and the syntax of the ðð-reduplication construction**

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

(107) Bê ðð bê ɗ, 1SG.EXI
human any human REL.3SG.JNT come\JNT 3SG.EXI
dð â bâ-.’
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 as 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 zôpôrh gbê zôpôrh, ɗ su.
dog red any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take

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

11 In (106), we have a partitive construction, ‘all of the things in question’, where the noun pl-dû ‘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) ġbé zòòdè sègédá óó gbé zòòdè sègédá yà dũ, 
dog red small any dog red small 3SG.PRF come
bàâ ká.
1SG.PROS 3SG.NSBJ do

‘Whatever small red dog comes, I’m going to chase it away’.

(109) Zá yíí pá bá dòó pá bá bá bá. 
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 determinative dè ‘other’ following the head noun (110) or, in negative contexts, bà ‘any, other’ (111).

(110) Yà dòó tôó dè dòó dè dè yà dè 
3SG.EXI know\NEUT gravy other any other REL.3SG.JNT be
ã kí-dè ká. 
3SG.NSBJ do-MSD with
‘She can cook any gravy’.

(111) Ká bá dòó bá yíí gù yíí 
3SG.NEG.PFV burn that 3SG.NEG.PFV
ká n bá ká.
do 1SG.NSBJ one with
‘No house burnt, except for mine’.

It seems that we observe here a lexicalization of dè ɗó dè and bà ɗó 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 dòó dòó Yà-zà wó tã guú, 
go any go REL NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ do-JNT walking in
yà dû n sàã 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) Tá dòó tã yá kíkú já yíí à bá. 
chicken any chicken mangoose 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.

(114) Yá dû ká ká ɗó kó yà. 
3SG.PROS do way.CMM any way.CMM REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ
bá gá wó dã tó-y 
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 yá; the 3SG auxiliary of the conjoint set yá; 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) Bá pã dòó pã bá bá yà gwáďá bá 
1SG.PROF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property
dû. 
give\NEUT
‘Whatever I eat, I give to the cat its part’.

(115b) Bá pã dòó pã yà gwáďá bá dû. 
1SG.PROF thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ eat 1SG.EXI
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) Đả ṣọ đọ, wụ dọ yị ã kụ. child any child meat desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT

‘Any child likes meat’.

(117) Ọwàdọ ṣọ gwiọdọ wọ bọ kwà l. 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, ṣọ-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) Bẹọ ṣọ bẹọ ṣọ ù tọ-kụ-. 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) Bọ gọ-dọ gọ. Ìlì bọ bọ 1SG.POSS vehicle-PL look 2SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on ú dẹ ṣọ dẹ sù. 2SG.JNT other any other take\JNT

‘Here are my cars. You may take any’.

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

(120) Đọglọ ṣọ đọglọ wọ pẹẹ wà youth any youth 3PL.EXI village.this.in 3PL.EXI.3SG.NSBJ

Pị̀ wọ ụdẹ sù. to 3PL.LOG.JNT NOM.F take

‘Any youth of this village desires to marry Yode’.

(121) N ọ gọ bọ̀ká yị, ọ ụdàbà ṣọ ụdàbà yị 1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI

wà yẹ kà- ọ. money hundred one

‘Here in my farm, any pineapple is for five hundred francs’.

(122) Bọ yẹ kà- pị̀ kà ã bẹ? what REL 2PL.SBJV-3SG.NSBJ to 2PL.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ eat

Pà ṣọ pà yẹ bẹ̀-pà kà, ã thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT eat-thing\IZF with 3SG.NSBJ
dụ yì dẹ. 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 ṣọ-reduplicated construction can express the free choice meaning in all the contexts attested in the typological literature (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155); modal probabiliby (100, 118, 119), non-prospective future (107), imperative (122), habitual (112, 115), generic (116, 117), contrafactive modality (123).

(123) Đọ yà yì yà tọ ọ ụdàbà yị ã dọ child this 3SG.EXI remain\NEUT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT

bẹọ ṣọ bẹọ yẹ dọ kọ yị yì yì human any human REL.3SG.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI
dọ ã sà à-bọ̀-. go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-remove-INF

‘If the child would stay here, he would bother anyone who is here’.

3.2.1.5. ṣọ-construction
3.2.1.5.1. Morphology

This construction consists of the relative marker yẹ fused with the homonymous 3SG pronominal predicative marker (auxiliary) of the conjunctive series, and the verb of being dọ going back to the movement verb ṣọ ‘go, leave’). However, the fact that the tone of dọ does not change to mid (which
would be necessary when the verb is preceded by an auxiliary of the conjunctive series) signifies that
*ɗǝ*s 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 *ɗǝ* 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, *ɗǝ* ~ *ɗǝ*, is attested (the latter form, with delabialization, dominates in neutral
and allegro registers), the grammatical tonal alternation is kept: *dǝ* ~ *dǝ* in the conjoint construction,
and *ɗǝ* ~ *ɗǝ* in the neutral aspect construction from which the future construction is derived. As for
the construction *ɗǝ* *ɗǝ* (and other constructions where *ɗǝ* 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, *ɗǝ* is not a verb any more.

3.2.1.5.2. Syntax

The complex determinant *ɗǝ* *ɗǝ* 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 *ɗɓ*-reduplication and *ɗǝ*
stems-constructions are used, which is allowed in Dan-Gwėtama).

(124) *Wuɓi* *ɗǝ* *ɗǝ*, *ɗǝ*-ɗɓ *wǝ* *ɗǝ* *ɑi*
meat REL.3SG.JNT be child-PL 3PL.EXI go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ

ɓǝ-’
eat-INF

‘Children will eat any meat’.

(125) *ɗɓi* *ɗɓ* *ɗɓ* *ɗǝ* *yǝ* *ɗǝ* *uɓ* *ɗɓ-
child any child REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI go\NEUT 2SG.NSBJ stand-INF

ɓɓ-
mountain ART on

‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’.

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

(126) *Kwɓɓɗɓ* *yǝ* *wǝ* *wǝ* *ɗɓ* *ɗǝ* *ɑi* *tǝ.*
prefect 3SG.PRIF affair lie family REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ on

‘The prefect has punished every family’.

3.2.1.5.3. Semantics

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

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

(127) *ɓɓ* *ɗǝ* *ɗǝ* *yǝ* *ɗǝ* *ɔ* *ɗǝ* *kɔ* *ɗǝ*.
human\FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRIF go REL.FL

gǝ
POSS.LOC house.LOC

‘Everyone went home’ [f88:11].

(128) *Pɔɓɓ* *ɗǝ* *ɗǝ* *yǝ* *gǝ*.
village.CMM REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRIF burn

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

3.2.1.5.3.2. The free choice meaning of the construction *ɗǝ* *ɗǝ* 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) Ḇɛ ɗũ ɗşı yũ bũ bã human REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on
ỹ ỹά bã kā.
REL.3SG.JNT work ART do\JNT
‘Anybody can do this job’.
(130) Wũũ ỹ̱ dısı̱ bã̱ gbũ̱ yũ̱ dısı̱ meat REL.3SG.JNT be 1SG.POSS dog 3SG.EXI go\NEUT
ā̱ kū̱̱.
3SG.NSBJ catch-INF
‘My dog will catch any animal’.
(131) Ḇɛ ỹ̱̱ dısı̱̱ yũ̱̱ ẽ̱̱ dũ̱̱ dã̱̱ human/FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.SBJV REF\LSG self save
‘Run for your life!’ (litt.: “Man who exists, let him save himself”) [e16:7].
(132) P̱ãḇẽ̱̱ ỹ̱̱ dısı̱̱ yũ̱̱ ẽ̱̱ bũ̱̱ food REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
(Gbato is not fussy.) ‘He eats any food’.
In the generic context, ỹ̱ dısı̱ can appear only with a NP represented by the ū̱dũ-reduplicative
construction, so that the free choice meaning is expressed by both means at the same time (133).
(133) Wũũ dũ wũũ ỹ̱̱ dısı̱̱ yũ̱̱ bũ̱̱-pã̱̱ kã̱̱ 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 ỹ̱ dısı̱.
This determinant cannot be used if the elements of the distributive set have no permanent status.
So, the ỹ̱ dısı̱ 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 ỹ̱ dısı̱.
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 ỹ̱ dısı̱, the 3SG.JNT auxiliary ỹ̱ can be optionally
replaced by 3PL.JNT auxiliary wó (134a).
(134a) Ḇɛ̱ wó/ỹ̱̱ dısı̱ wã̱ kmã̱ wó̱̱ human/FOC 3PL.JNT/REL.3SG.JNT be 3PL.P see PL.REFL
kwũ̱̱ zũ̱̱ gũ̱̱̱ tã̱̱. 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 (wó), it can be preceded with the
determiner gbũ̱ (134b).
(134b) Ḇɛ gbũ̱ wó dısı̱ wã̱ kmã̱̱ human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see
‘Id.’
3.2.1.6. Indefinite determinant bã as a universal quantifier
Free choice meaning in the imperative contexts (a request or a demand) can be expressed by the
indefinite determiner bã. In this case, bã competes (with some semantic differences) with the
determinant dũ ‘one’ and the combination dũ bã, but also with the determiners and constructions gbũ̱
(3.2.1.1) pêpê (3.2.1.2), Xdũ X (3.2.1.4), ỹ̱̱ dısı̱ (3.2.1.5).
(135) Lũ̱ dũ bã dũ̱̱kũ̱̱̱ yã̱̱ bã̱ 2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.POSS market-load this 3SG.NSBJ certain
dũ̱-.’
buy-INF
‘You should buy anything from my goods’.
(136) Ḇɛ̱ bã yũ̱̱ dũ̱ ṉ̱ dũ̱- ̱̱ pũ̱-dã̱̱ human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.NSBJ put-INF village-father
pũ̱-dısı̱̱ at-LOC
‘Let anyone guide me to your elder’.
Bã has a universal meaning under direct negation (137), where it undergoes competition with the
constructions Xdũ Xbã (138), which has an expressive meaning, and yã̱̱ dısı̱ (139). The latter can be
regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned ɤ dɤ-construction, however, ɤá ɗɤ is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with ɓá.

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

(138) Bęg ɓó bęg ɓá wíí ɗű.
human any human certain 3PL.NEG.PFV come
‘Not a single person has come’.

(139) Bęg ɓ́g y ɗg ɗó yáá ɗ́g.
human self REL 3SG.PROS go 3SG.NEG.IPV 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) Bęg ɓá bęg ɓá wíí ɗű.
human certain human\INT certain\INT 3SG.NEG.PFV come
‘Not a single person has come’.

(140b) Bęg ɓá bęg ɓá bęg ɓá wíí ɗű.
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-Gweetaa. The zone of ɓá occur to be split into three segments, and the zone of ɤ dɤ is split into two.

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

3.2.2. Universal A-Quantifiers
Syntactically simple universal A-quantifiers are:
— kpééwó ~ kpééwó ~ kpééɓó (intensive form: kpékpéwó, kpékpéwó) ‘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 tôŋ-dś ‘never’ (the intensive form: tôōōŋ tôŋ-dś) 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 -dś, however, there is no such word as *tōŋ tôŋ in Dan-Gwéetaa from which the quantifier could have been derived;

— dō ‘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 tôŋ-dś and dō can combine (145c). This adverb, coming back to the numeral dō, can express other adverbial meanings as well: ‘finally’ (an encouragement to act a hesitating person), ‘directly’ (about a movement), ‘to the end’.

(141) A yā kā kpēēwō, tōŋ yāā n gō
1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ PP
kō ā yī zā.
that 1SG.SBJV sleeping kill\JNT
‘I work every day. I have no time to sleep’.

(142) Gbātō yū bā sāā sīā kpēēwō.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI 1SG.POSS soap take\NEUT always
‘Gbato takes my soap every time’.

(143) Bjjī dō kpā ā bā zuā tōŋ tôŋ-dś dāābā
1SG.NEG.PFV go see\INF 3SG.NSBJ on more never nevertheless
‘Nevertheless, I will never see it any more’ [d147:3].

(144) Bē’ y ū bū ā bā pā bō dō...
human REL 2SG.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ POSS thing eat ever
‘Man whose food you have never eaten…’ [d165:13].

(145a) Bā dōdō dī-gā dō?
2SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever
‘Have you ever tested milk?’

(145b) Bāā ā wū dō dē yāā dōdō dī-gā dō.
1SG.NEG.IPFW 3SG.NSBJ matter know that 3SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever
‘I don’t know if he has ever tested milk’.

(145c) Yāā n yāā dē bīī dōdō dī-gā dō.
1SG.NEG.IPFW 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that 2SG.NEG.PFV milk taste- look.at

tōŋ tôŋ-dś dō never ever
‘I doubt you have ever tested milk’.

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

(146a) Gbātō yāā ū gō gū-zū kpēēwō.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFW REL.SG head inside-wash always
‘It is not always (not every time) that Gbato washes his head’.

(146b) Gbātō yāā ū gō gū-zū tōŋ tôŋ-dś.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFW REL.SG head inside-wash never
‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) Błī bā gwaāēē kā dēē-wō.
bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV
‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.
Gbáaddò ‘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 -dà, from the determiner gbà ‘all, entire’ (a locative postposition may have been also involved, presumably bá ‘on’, so that the original form might have been *gbà-bá-dà*).

(148) Yê ᵗ ká sù dò kà yùá guù gbáaddò.
3SG.EXI RETR moon one do\NEUT illness in entirely
‘He was ill a whole month’.

**Syntactically complex** general A-quantifier is tshù gbà guù ‘all the time’ ((149); probably, yí gbá ká ‘every day’ should be also mentioned here).

(149) Síáá zà yê kókkó tshù gbà guù.
NOM as.for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in
‘Siao is at home all the time’ [F91:3].

Besides, ɗóó-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 wó 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 òó ðû sí Gbátò sí’ wó Bääddò
come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT Man.LOC
yê siétu dà.
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 gbédë ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; kpúdë ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. Kpúdë can be supplemented by the universal determiner gbà ‘all’, the expression kpúdë gbà means ‘almost all’. Gbédë is derived by the abstraction suffix -dë from the generalized existential quantifier gbé ‘many’, and kpúdë is derived by the same suffix from the adjective kpú ‘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), lèbélë ‘rebel(s)’ designates humans, while in (153) bláá ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) Dòthoòyì yà bë gbédë dë-kà
doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf-do
sàdë kù yàyì yê pù.
before even.if 3SG.SBJV fall
‘The doctor treated the majority of the people before the sunset’.

(152) Lèbélë kpúdë wò bëdë sàdë bò.
rebel majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove\NEUT
‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) Bláá-dû wò yà à gbédë-Ø kà.
sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR
gà bláá-yì kà, këh à gbà yàá bë.
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 gbédë, its scope is limited to this quantifier:

(154) Dëbá gbédë wáá tüßü 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 dɔ ~ pɛɛ dɔ* <half/part-one> (the noun *pɛɛ ~ pɛɛ* means ‘a part, a share’, and *dɔ* means ‘one’). It goes with a countable noun, the latter appears in a plural form, and the construction has a partitive meaning (155).

(155) Ꙏwèè yà yũ bláá-dũ pɛɛ dɔ Ꙏzà.
leopard 3SG.PRF 1PL.EXCL.POSS sheep-PL part one kill
‘The leopard killed a half of our sheep’.

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

(156) Bɛ pɛɛ kpì-sù wà bɔ Gbàtò kà,
human part big-SLA 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with
yɛ pɛɛ sɛɛdá-sù wà bɔ Zà kà.
CONS human part small-SLA 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-Gwèetaa. *siɛ ~ siɛ* ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier *dòdò* (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-Gwèetaa are few.

There are two synonymous restrictors, *gbèñ* and *sɛñ* (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: *sɛñ* appears with the numerals containing the element *dɔ* ‘one’ (1, 11, 21 etc.), while *gbèñ* goes with all numerals, with the exception of *dɔ* ‘one’:

(157) Wà kwàbè kòbò dɔ gà dɔ sɛñ kù.
3PL.PRF thief ten one bone one only catch
‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

(158) Yà dũ plɛ́ yàká gbèñ.
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’: *kpɛɛŋdɔ* (-dɔ is an adverbial derivative suffix, the element *kpɛɛŋ* has no synchronic etymologization) (159), *dèbɛ́ <self-bunch>* (160), which is otherwise used as a determiner ‘self’, and a floating restrictor *zɔɔ*.

(159) Wàà gblù plè wàà wàà kìñi yìisi
money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four
kpɛɛŋdɔ dà n gù.
exactly FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP
(The price of a rice bag is 12000 francs.) ‘I have exactly 12000 francs’.

(160) Bɛ kòbì dɔ gà yìisi dèbɛ́ bì ñ dè.
human 10 one bone four self search 1SG.NSBJ before
‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

A floating restrictor *zɔɔ* ‘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, insistance, warning, and sometimes politeness).

(161a) Wàà kòbì dɔ zɔɔ keë wàà bì bì ñ bà
3PL.EXI 10 one but how but 3PL.NEG.IPVF be.able 3SG.NSBJ on
kù wà yì bì ñ kì wà.

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12 Some people also allow combinations of the restrictor *sɛñ* with numerals *sɔɔdũ* ‘five’, *sɔɔdɔ* ‘six’ and *kòbì* dɔ ‘ten’, others do not accept them.
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSB onouch!

(161b) Wọ kòbọ dọ kẹẹ wáá bọ́ọ́ zọ́bá ă bá kẹ́ wọ́ yá bá ă ká wá.

(161c) Wọ kòbọ dọ kẹẹ wáá bọ́ọ́ zọ́bá ă bá kẹ́ wọ́ yá bá ă ká zọ́bá wá

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

In other contexts, zọ́bá (with the particle wá in the sentence-final position) expresses an unpleasant surprise, or (with the particle wè 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):

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

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

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

— bọ́, 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) Ðébá ́v ć rò ć tò ć rò ć dò ć
woman REL.3SG.INT be chicken REL.3SG.INT-3SG.NSBJ buy\INT

yà ć rò ć tò ć kòbọ́ dò ć tà.
3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on

‘Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.

(163) Tàsì ńfá bẹ́ sàà yàá ńfá wáá
taxi pass human\IZF salary 3SG.NEG.IPFV pass money
gbáà kòbọ́ dò ć gò pò tà.
thousand 10 one REL.5G bone 2 two on

‘A taxi driver gains here maximum 60000 fr.’

(164) Bẹ́ wó lòò pìỳ̀̀ sìí ńfá bọ́ọ́ bẹ́
human 3PL.INT arrive\INT village.LOC 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human

kòbọ́ dò ć báá sàà ć kò ć yàá ć yà ć pìì.
10 one on before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall

‘Less than ten persons reached the village before the sunset’.

(165) Dùú ́v bọ́ọ́ ñ dùú kàjì dò
tree REL. 3SG.INT be.able\INT tree hundred one

kò plè báá gò ć bláà.
hand.CMM two on 3SG.EXI.3SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC field.LOC

‘There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.

(166) Kà́ntò ́dè ́v dòò ć à bá
canton the other REL.3SG.INT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS

pìỳ̀̀ dòò ć yà ć bọ́ọ́ sììì dòò ć à kòbọ́ dò ć bá.
village.CMM 3SG.EXI be.able\NEUT five or 10 one on

‘Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.

(167) Bẹ́ wó pìì yà ć à gùú wó yà ć
human 3PL.INT village this 3SG.NSBJ in 3PL.EXI move\NEUT

bẹ́ kòbọ́ plè sììì.
human 10 two near

‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.

(168) Bẹ́ wó bẹ́ pìỳ̀̀ dò ć bò ć wó
human\FOC 3PL.INT human part one remove\UNT 3PL.EXI

sàá́dè dòò.
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 gbé dëdë <many self>.

(169) Bá bë gbé dëdë ña gô gù. 

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 ťřţbăsù 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) Kô gbâ wô kà gô, kěěŋ ña plè ña
house all 3PL.EXI RETR burn\NEUT but 3SG.NSBJ two FOC

wô gbô. 
3PL.NEG.PFV burn
‘All the houses but two burnt’.

(171) Kâflëë dë gbé wâ bâ, këë Gbătô 
coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M
bâ dôdô ña wîí bâ. 
one rare 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-Gwëetaa.
1) The denominator is marked by the postposition ťà ‘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) Pšëdë, bë kôôô dô tà bë yëlsë dà
village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC
wô sëttë bû. 
3PL.JNT cigarette drink/JNT
‘Four village dwellers out of ten smoke’.

(173) Đôôôôôô gbô-sû, bë sôôô ôôô tà yûà kà bë plè kù. 
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 pë-gù ‘to split’, with the denominator in the position of the indirect object (governed by the comitative/transformative postposition kà), while the numerator appears in the next clause as determiner of the noun pë ‘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) Bë-sû pë guî-sû yô yâagà kà, ña 
human-PL split inside-GER REL.3SG.JNT three with 3SG.NSBJ
pë dô wô kwë wô bâ. 
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) Bë kâô dô yô dë, bë kôôô yâagà 
human hundred one REL.3SG.JNT be human 10 three
wô kwë wô bâ. 
3PL.EXI Caucasian voice hear\NEUT
‘Thirty percent of the people understand French’.
The meaning ‘a small minority’ is expressed by the expression *pẽ sẽ̂ ddá* ‘minority’ (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) *Pũ̀ yá gū kó-du wó ɗ́, ã pẽ sẽ̂ ddá*

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

*dũ kũrà̀ ŋ ñ-dũ gū.*

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) *Bájí-du gba dũ wáá sú ŋ bá.*

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

‘Not all Jula observe Ramadan’.

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

(178) *Dá wó dɛ̀ ziř-‘ bè̕ plè tã wó dã ɗé̕ ỹ ỹ ‘.*

two 3PL.NEG.PFV human two on 3PL.NEG gain-INF

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

(179) *Klájìrì-dá wó dɛ̀ ziř ‘ bè̕ plè tã wó dã*

school-child 3PL.NEG.PFV pass-INF human two on 3PL.NEG.JNT

‘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) *Bé̕ wó plš̃ r á kpũ̀ ì́ dã g̃ wíí dũ. *

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

*prefect greeting-remove but 3SG.NSBG 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) *Pš-bé̕ yáá bṹ-dš-kã-sù̀ zìjá dũ, *

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

kɛ̀ yɛ̀ dũ tó dũ̀ ɗà̀ ŋ ɓà.

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) *Bũ̀-kã-bé̕ Hà s̃́dù tã bɛ́ gã́ ziř-dẽ̀ kã. *

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

two on that 3PL.NEG.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 *gba* ‘all of...’, (155) for a construction with *pẽ̀* ‘half of’. Here is a partitive construction with the nominalized determiner *bá* ‘any’:

(183) *Bũ̀ dṹ bè́ yá bá dĩ-gà. *

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) *Kwà-bé̕ dṹ wó gú bá wà́ ã gbà kú. *

theft-human\IZF-PL 3PL.NEG.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.
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’).

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

Kpeɛŋ ‘exactly’ (also a D-quantifier, see 3.4.1) and dɛbɛɛwo ‘exactly’ (derived from the D-quantifier dɛbɛɛ) can specify numerals used as A-quantifiers:

Gbàtò yà wò ɓỳà sùèsìr.

Gbàtò yà nù plɛr yàgà dɛbɛɛwo.

Gbàtò has been to Abidjan exactly nine times.

Gbàtò has come to the village exactly thrice.

Gbàtò yà wò kàa dàɓàwò bɛ.

Gbàtò three times to Abidjan.

If you go to the farm, you should be at least fifteen.

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

Wò kòɓò dò këɛ wàá bɔɔ ì bà 3PL.EXT 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPVF be.able 3SG.NSBJ on

That 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do as.much.as

(a) Wò kòɓò dò këɛ wàá bɔɔ ì bà 3PL.EXT 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPVF be.able 3SG.NSBJ on

(kòwò) sìlò dè (kòtà) kòɓò dò.

Gbàtò yà gòjì slò dè pà dè (kòtà) kòɓò dò.

Gbàtò yà gòjì slò gbàwò kòɓò dò.

Gbàtò yà gòjì slò gbàwò kòɓò dò.

Gbàtò yà gòjì slò gbàwò kòɓò dò.
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

(193) Yà wô à bà gbâwô.
   3SG.PRF speak 3SG.NSBJ on almost
   ‘He has almost accepted it’.

(194) Gbâtô yáá dü gbâwô plôô.
   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 pô V-GER/V-MSD bà, where pô is an auxiliary verb (the original meaning is ‘to say’), bà is a postposition governed by the auxiliary verb; the content verb appears in its masdar or gerundive form (195). The verb pô in this meaning can also introduce a bare infinitive form of the content verb, as in (196), where pô introduces the bare infinitive bô ‘to finish’ (which, in its turn, introduces a gerundive form of the verb kâ ‘to cut’).

(195) Zâ yá pô yà zu-ô-sû/-dê bà.
   NOM.M 3SG.PRF say work bottom remove-GER/-MSD on
   ‘Jean has almost begun to work’.

(196) Zâ yá pô ê bô dü kâ-sû ká.
   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 kâ ‘to do’ introducing a completive subordinate clause with the conjunction dê, where the content verb appears in the prospective construction (197).

(197) Gwâdû yê à kâ dê yê ê bû kû.
   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 kpûðù ‘great majority’ is used instead (198).

(198) Gbâtô yê dü plôô têyêê kpûðù ká.
   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 zîh ‘pass’ and bû ‘reach’, in the same way as displayed in 3.4.1.1.

Examples for the bounding quantifiers have been translated as follows:

(199) Gbâtô yê yê dü plê dêkpôôyê bà.
   NOM.M 3SG.EXI water measure\NEUT two day on
   dêkpôôyê sâô dü düô gô düô bà.
   day five week one on
   ‘Gbato measures water twice a day, five days a week’.

(200) Yôdô yê yê kâ dêkpôôyê sâô dü düô gô,
   NOM.F 3SG.EXI work do\NEUT day five week one in
   dëgô këôô yîsîhô ê gâ sâô dü düô kwë bà, ê bû
dëgô këôô kwë këôô dô ê gâ sâô dü düô ká.
   week 10 four REFL.SG bone five year on 3SG.JNT appear\NEUT
   ‘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 zîh (â) kâ X tamba (where X is the ground for the comparison), litt. “to pass with it on X” (201); cf. also 3.4.1.

(201) Gô-dû gbé wô slêtûtû bû wô zîh kâ
    male-PL numerous 3PL.EXI cigarette drink\NEUT 3PL.JNT pass\JNT with
dëbô-dëtâ tamba.
    woman-PL on
    ‘More men than women smoke’.
The meaning ‘as many as’ is expressed by a clausal intransitive construction with the verb ɓɔ̄ ɔ̄ ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) Klàŋďď̈-dď̈-dṹ bã̄ pũ'-gã-sóō wố-’ kwáá̄ ǎ̄ school-child-PL POSS iron-bone-horse 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ
dṹ wáá̄ klàŋgɔ́bẹ̣-dṹ bã̄ yấ ɓɔ̄ ɗṹ. 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-Gweëtaa.

4.2. Type (2) quantifiers

(203a) Gé̄ dè́ ɗ́ ɗ̈̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄̄ female that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM woman that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM

ǎ̄ dã̄̄ yâ̄̄ ǎ̄̄ ķ.̄̄̄̄̄̄ 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) Sè̄ dè́ ɗ́ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄̄ land.CMM that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM food that REL.3SG.JNT

dď̈̄̄̄ ǎ̄̄ dã̄̄ yâ̄̄ ǎ̄̄ ķ.̄̄̄̄̄̄ 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) Bůká̄bẹ̣ dè́ ɗ́ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄̄ 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) Bůká̄bẹ̣ dè́ ɗ́ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄̄ 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) Dẹ́bã̄ ɗ̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ yâ̄̄̄ tã̄̄ dã̄̄ bã̄̄ dã̄̄ bó̄. woman LOG.SG.SBJV so.REM 3SG.PROS dance one ART FOC remove

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

(205c) Klàŋďď̈̄̄̄-dã̄̄ ɗ̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄̄ school-child REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV paper one ART FOC

wố  pṹ. voice say

‘Let every student read the same book’.

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

(206) Bě̄̄ bě̄̄̄̄̄̄ ɗ̄̄ yâ̄̄ bě̄̄̄̄̄̄ kã̄̄ human which 3SG.JNT work which do\JNT

‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) Gé̄ bě̄̄̄̄̄̄ ɗ̄̄ dě̄̄̄̄̄̄ ɓɛ̄̄̄̄̄̄ sū̄̄̄̄̄ male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\JNT

‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) Gbà̄tò wáá̄ Zã̄̄ wô̄̄ ɓɔ̄ ɗ̈̄̄̄ wô̄̄ wô̄̄ NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI village.CMM 3PL.JNT PL.REFL

kó̄ sȭ̄̄ gû. 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) Gbà̄tò wáá̄ Zã̄̄ wô̄̄ vôtò̄̄ kã̄̄ ɓɛ̄̄̄̄̄̄ wã̄̄ plã̄̄ kã. 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).

(210) Zádábé-dū ɗá wáá dò, wóò zá gɔ-yɛ kɔ
judge-PL REL 3PL.NEG.IPFV one 3PL.PROS dispute head-break hand.CMM
dó dò kɔ zá dɔ kɔ dò ká.
rare do dispute construction hand.CMM one with
‘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’).

(211a) Gbáttɔ wáá ɗá ɗá wá bá bá bá
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV chat kill human certain with
‘Gbato and Jean talked, but no one else talked to anyone else’.

(211b) Yǒdè wáá ɗá wá dídáá bá, kɛ bɛ
NOM.F 3SG.NEG.IPFV quarrel put but human
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with
‘Yode and Sayi have quarrelled, but no one else has quarrelled with no one’.

(212) Gbáttɔ yáá ɗá dɛ dà
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REF.SG mouth go.up
dɛ dò tɔ kɛ yɛ zǐɛ plɛ tɔ.
human one on that 3SG.SBJV pass two on
‘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’).

(213) Kásɔ-gú-bé-dú wó dà kɔ gú dódɔ ɗɛ ɗɛ
prison-in-human\IZF-PL 3PL.SBJV go.up house in from.time.to.time or
zuuzu wó dà kɔ dɛ gú dódɔ.
more.INT 3PL.SBJV go.up house mouth in from.time.to.time
‘Let the prisoners be put into different prisons or to different prison cells’.

(214a) Gɔ-dú wó gbɛɛ siɛ wó zǐɛ ɗɛ
male-PL 3PL.EXI long sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ
ká dɛbá-dú tɔ.
with woman-PL on
‘Men are usually taller than women’.

(214b) Gbɛ-dú wó gbɛɛ siɛ wó zǐɛ ɗɛ
dog-PL 3PL.EXI heavy sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT
ɗ ɗá gwàdá-dú tɔ.
3SG.NSBJ with cat-PL on
‘Dogs are usually heavier than cats.

4.3. Distributive numerals and binominal each

(215) Zádábé wó bá, bɛ dò yà zá sɔdú gɔ-yɛ
judge 3PL.JNT ART human one 3SG.PRF dispute five head-break
‘The judges have tried five cases each’ (litt. ‘Judges who are there, one person has tried five cases’).

(216) Zádábé-dú wó bá, ɗ ɗ ɗá gbá pɛɛ wá zá
judge-PL 3PL.JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ entire each 3PL.PRF dispute
sɔdú gɔ-yɛ wó kw après.
five head-break REF.PL RECP.SUB
‘The judges have tried five cases between them’.

(217) ɗá buù plɛ gò bǔkàbɛ dé ɗá ɗá
1SG.PRF gun two sell hunter the.other REL.3SG.JNT so.REM
ɗá ɗá gɔ.
3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I have sold two guns to each hunter’.

(218) Błũkāgbɛ plɛ, bɛ gbà wá blɔɔ yààɡà-yààɡà sù. hunter two human all 3PL.PRF bag three-three take
‘Two hunters carry three bags each’.

(219) Błáábɛ-dù, bɛ gbà wá dü tɔ plɛ-plɛ ká peasant-PL human all 3PL.PRF come chicken two-two with
kàµàáà sɛɛdú dɛ.

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

(220) Sòòdù wá dà plɛ-plɛ yìtààɡà-dù gúù. soldier-PL 3PL.PRF go.up two-two water-on-vehicle|ZF-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-Gwetaa is at an early stage of grammaticalization. There are three count words, gà ‘grain, bone, drop’, bɛ ‘fruit’, dɔ ‘child’ whose formalization is relatively advanced (although there is still a great deal of lexical limitations in their use), and certain other nouns (kpɔ ‘ball’, gëë ‘dead body, carcass’, bɔɔ ‘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-Gwetaa 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., fààå ‘comb’, lààå ‘moonfish’, sèdà ‘needle’, pèè ‘adze’, èè ‘savanna’, yèè ‘rope’, yèè ‘cat’, bìåá ‘intestinal worm’, sìììá ‘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.

gà ‘grain, bone’ is by far the most productive (and the most grammaticalized) count word.13 It appears with many collective nouns (names of insects, such as zëì ‘mosquito’; zɔj ‘gravel’, kàà ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, wù ‘hair’, dè ‘leaves’, sàà ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (bìà ‘rope’, dɔ ‘rope, wire’, yì ‘river’14, gbɔɔ ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of gà 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 (yì ‘eye’, sì ‘tooth’, nèè ‘tongue’ (222), with bìà ‘rope’ (223), with the word wàà ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

(221) Yì yà kpɔ zòò/gòø gà/*ø sìììì bà. NOM.MF 3SG.PRF see caterpillar1/caterpillar2 bone five on
‘Yo has found five brown hairy/big black edible caterpillars’.

(222) Bà yà/sì/dëë gà/*ø sìììì dë-kà. 1SG.PRF eye/tooth/tongue bone five leaf-do
‘I have tried (medically) 5 eyes/teeth/tongues’.

(223) Bà bìà gà/*ø sìììì dì. 1SG.PRF rope bone five buy
‘I have bought five ropes’.

(224) Bà wàà gà/*ø yààɡà dìì à dìë. 1SG.PRF 5.francs bone three give 3SG.NSBJ before
‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

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

(225) Bà yì gà/*ø yààɡà kà. 1SG.PRF water bone three cut
‘I have crossed three rivers’.

(226) Bà nì kàà gà/*ø sìììì wà. 1SG.PRF 1SG.NSBJ hair bone five extract

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

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

(227) Bá to-dë gá/ø sëdë dë-kä.
1SG.PRF ear-leaf bone five leaf-do
‘I have tried (medically) 5 ears’.

ɓe ‘fruit’ appears with nouns of fruits (where it realizes its original lexical meaning), but also with nouns for elongated and rather thick (oblong) objects: dëtë ‘earthworm’, kpåŋ ‘multipede’, yëtë ‘fish’, blëtë ‘bread’. With nouns other than names of fruits, this count word can be always omitted (or replaced with another count word, see below).

ɗä ‘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 ɓe appears if the fishes were rather big, gā is neutral (with some other nouns, this count word indicates a small size), and ɗä implies that the fishes were bought alive15.

(228) Bá yëtë gá/ɓe/dä yëgä dö.
1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy
‘I have bought three fishes’.

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

(229) Yë bō gëë/bëë yëgä dö.
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) wë vëdë yëgä
palm.wine glass three
‘three glasses of palm wine’,

(231) këŋ bëjë yëgä
maize bag three
‘three bags of maize’,

(232) sëtë kpë yëgä
soap ball three
‘three cakes of soap’,

(233) bëë dëë yëgä
cassava root three
‘three cassava roots’,

(234) gëjë kpë yëgä
banana bunch three
‘three bunches of banana’,

(235) këfëë kidë yëgä
coffee kilogram three
‘three kilograms of coffee’.

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

(236) yë kpë yë yëgä
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 yë is omitted (yë kpë yëgä), it means that water is necessarily placed in three gourds.

15 -ɗä 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: ɗɛ sʒɔdə ‘five sorts of water’, ɓɛ 5ʒɔdə ‘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-Gweetaa.

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) Ɓɑŋɡɜ ŋə yɛ̃ ə dɪù bǎ.

papaya.fruit 3SG.EXI REFL.SG tree on

‘Papaya fruits are on the papaya tree’ [c62:7] (litt. ‘Papaya fruit is on its tree’).

(238) Ɗɑǎ dɪŋɜ ɗkɜ ŋkɜ yɛ̃ ə gɔ.

knife sharp.ExtINT 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ PP

‘He has an extremely sharp knife’ [f86:7].

(239) Ā sè yáá n ɗẹ.

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 ɗᵢ: where ɗᵢ: is a defective verb.

(240) Yɑ坳 yɛ̃ ɗᵢ: dɛ̃.

sun.CMM 3SG.EXI beNEUT today

‘It is very hot today’ [f57:8] (litt. ‘Sun exists today’).

4.6. Floating quantifiers

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

4.7. Bare quantifiers

The following bare quantifiers can function as predicates: numerals (242), dōdó ‘a few, a small number’, ɓɛ ‘many’ (243), ɓɛ dɛdɛwọ ‘very much, too much’, kɛ̀ ‘few’, sɛɛdá ‘small quantity’, tɛŋbásu ‘a couple, a small number (with negation)’ (244).

(242) Ā bǎ kó yɛ̃ yáagá.

3SG.NSBJ POSS house 3SG.EXI three

‘He has three houses’ (litt. ‘his house is three’) [f17:14].

(243) Ɓaɒdá-ká-bɛ̀-dʊ wó yå-tó-siĩ n ɗi wó ɓɛ.

work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP 3PL.EXI numerous

‘The workers who are waiting for me are many’.

(244) Ɓaɒdá-ká-bɛ̀-dʊ wó yå-tó-siĩ n ɗi

work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP

‘The workers who are waiting for me are not many’.

(245) $Dɔkwámiş\slant dɛ̊, yùsɛ̊ dʊ̊ gù̊ sà, ā̊$
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI
$kâ̊ plè̊/gbâ̊/gbé̊/bâ̊-dù̊/kpiù̊dè̊\ d$.  
RETR two/all/many/certain-PL/most buy\NEUT
‘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:

(246) $Bâ̊ kâ̊-dù̊ gâ̊. Ā gbâ̊/gbé̊dè̊/bâ̊-dù̊/gbé̊/dòddò\ 1SG.POSS hoe-PL see 3SG.NSBJ all/majority/certain-PL/many/rare
wâ̊ yê̊.  
3PL.PRF break
‘Here are my hoes. All/majority/some/many/few of them have broken’.

Bare numerals, in both predicate and argument functions, can be determined by the restrictors $gbéỳ$ and $sèỳ$ ‘only’. As for the restrictor $kpéỳdë̊$ ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the argument position only, contrary to $zò$ ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the predicate position.

4.8. Relation between different types of pronouns
In Dan-Gwëëttaa, no existential or negative pronouns are available. An indefinite pronoun does not exist either, there is a determiner $bâ$ ‘any’ instead (see 3.2.1.6).

4.9. Decreasing D-quantifiers are absent in Dan-Gwëëttaa.

4.10. Distribution
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.

4.11. Scope ambiguities
Scope ambiguity contexts are similar to those found in English.

(247) $Dëbâ̊ \ ŝ̊ d̂̊ ŷ̊ t̂̊ d̂̊ bô̊.\ woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV song one remove
‘Let each woman sing one song’, OWS: for each woman, identify her song; SWS: each woman should perform one and the same song;
SWS: each woman should perform one song of her choice.

Scope ambiguity in wh-questions:

(248) $Tâ̊ bëë̊ \ ŝ̊ dëbâ̊ \ ŝ̊ d̂̊ ŝ.\ dance which REL woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.JNT
ā bò?  
3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT
‘Which song did each woman sing?’ 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.

(249) $Blûkâbë̊ \ yââgâ̊\ wâ̊ dëỳ̊ kðöỳ̊ dô̊ gâ̊ sûdû̊ gâ.\ hunter three 3PL.PRF trap 10 one bone five look.at
‘Three hunters have checked fifteen traps (they checked every trap together)’.

4.12. One to one dependency

(250) $Dû̊ \ gâ̊ dë̊ ā̊ tâ̊ ā̊\ tree bone other 1SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ close\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ
gbâ̊ bô̊, yâ̊ kâ̊ dû̊ kpiù̊ kâ.\ entire.3SG.PRF appear\JNT 3SG.PRF do tree big with
‘Every grain I planted sprouted and grew into a big tree’.

4.13. Expression of the meaning ‘only’
Simple translations of ‘only’ are possible only with numerals, by the means of the restrictors $gbéỳ$ and $sèỳ$, see 3.4.1.1. With other NPs, the restricting meaning is expressed by combination of a personal pronoun of a special (“contrastive”) series with the numeral $dô$ ‘one’, usually followed by a definite article (251), a focalizer (252, in a contrastive context), or a restrictor (253).
It (the way) was the only one between two mountains’ [zuase.013].

She has bought only pepper’ [f56:5].

Why does it (newspaper) not remain only in French and other languages?

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).

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

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-Gwetaa 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).

Gbato has finished a work’.

Gbato has tested a drug’. ‘Gbato has tested the drug 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 nonquantifying 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>Numerals</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>kind of</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bá</td>
<td>certain; any; {other}</td>
<td>kind of</td>
<td>{other}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>débáwó</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals); {self}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{self}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>débáwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dédéwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ever; never (in negative sentences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dódó</td>
<td>rare, few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâbá</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>a little, some</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâbâbó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a little (small intensity); {at least}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbá</td>
<td>all, entire (see Table 1)</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbá pépé</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbá dësë</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{again}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbéj</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D-quantifiers</td>
<td>With mass nouns</td>
<td>With pl. form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé</td>
<td>many, enough</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>many, much (partitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé dèdè</td>
<td>too many</td>
<td>too much</td>
<td>too much (partitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé dèdèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbèdè</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>major part</td>
<td>majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kèè</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpèèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpèènjèè</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpùùdè</td>
<td>overwhelming majority</td>
<td>the great part of</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpùùdè gbà</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X òó X</td>
<td>any, whatever</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ý dý</td>
<td>every; any; (all)</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péèpè</td>
<td>every, (all)</td>
<td>(‘kind of’)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péè dò</td>
<td>a half (of one object or of a group)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>half of (the group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péè kpù</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péè sèèdà</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèè</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèèdà (small)</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèèdà bà</td>
<td>several, few</td>
<td>small quantity of</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà sìà</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà tòò hà-</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dû gù</td>
<td>tòòtòòjèè (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòòjèèsù</td>
<td>a couple, a small number</td>
<td>a small quantity</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>tòòjèèsù (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòòjèèsìì (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòòjèè sìì</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 (-sû)  
ADV – adverbal suffix (-wô ~ -bô)  
ART – definite article bà  
Atr – attribute  
AUT – autonomous pronominal series  
AUX – auxiliary  
C – consonant  
CMM – common case
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CNTR</td>
<td>contrastive pronominal series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONS</td>
<td>consequitive conjunction (yê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det</td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>durative verbal suffix -śūň</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXI</td>
<td>existential series of PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>1 pers. exclusive plural pronoun/PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>a) focalization particle (dâ ~ dũũ); b) grammatical high tone on certain focalized nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GER</td>
<td>gerundive suffix -šũũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative series of PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive marker (extralow tone suffixed to the verb stem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>intrumental/comitative/transformational postposition (ká)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IZF</td>
<td>isaphet marker (an extralow tone on the noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNT</td>
<td>conjoint series of PPM; tonal modification on the verbal stem in the conjoint construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOG</td>
<td>logophoric pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSD</td>
<td>suffix of masdar (verbal noun, -dê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEUT</td>
<td>neutral aspect marker (extralow tone on the verbal stem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM.F</td>
<td>female proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM.M</td>
<td>male proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPI</td>
<td>negative polarizing item (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSBJ</td>
<td>non-subject pronominal series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OO</td>
<td>oblique object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWS</td>
<td>object wide scope</td>
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<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive marker (bâ, gê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>postposition with a broad meaning (gê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPM</td>
<td>predicative pronominal marker (auxiliary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>presumptive series of PPM</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>perfect series of PPM</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>prohibitive series of PPM</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROS</td>
<td>prospective series of PPM</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>general question particle (êê or a copy of the final vowel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>reciprocal pronoun</td>
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<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relativization marker (S)</td>
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<td>REM</td>
<td>remote</td>
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<td>RETR</td>
<td>retrospective operator</td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBJV</td>
<td>subjunctive series of PPM</td>
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<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>selective marker (-śũũ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUB – subessive case or postposition (ɓã)
SWS – Subject Wide Scope
TOP – topicalization particle (zë)
V – (a) verb; (b) vowel
X – post-verbal arguments and circonstants

References