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Quantifiers in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa (South Mande)
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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 Biancouma, Tonkpi province).

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral vowels</th>
<th>Nasal vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front</td>
<td>Back non-labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Consonants

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, ie, ye, o/, are realized as more closed allophones, [i, y, 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, y seems to be on the way to phonologization: so, the neutral aspect form of the verb sùy ‘æy ‘to be afraid’, sùy is normally pronounced identically to the verb sùy ‘to get up early in the morning’ (in both lexical and neutral aspect form). However, some informants can hear the difference between the latter forms (probably, under the influence of the neighbouring dialect of Tee, where the contrast in question seems to be phonological).
In a nasal foot, any consonant is nasalized; the nasalization is especially prominent for the phonemes /b, d, y, w, gb/ which are represented in this case by their allophones [m, n, ɲ, w, gm]. Foot-internal -l- is realized as [-r-] when preceded by dental or palatal consonants, and as [-l-] after labial and velar consonants.

2.2. Suprasegmental phonology: tones
There are five level tones:
- extra-high: káá ‘scabies’,
- high: káá ‘you (pl.)’, the negative imperfective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- mid: káá ‘you (pl.)’, the prospective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- low: káá ‘to scratch’ (a conjoint construction form),
- extra-low: káá ‘reed’.  
Grammatical tones (tonal morphemes) substitute the lexical tone of a word (pɔ́ ‘to dig’ → pɔ́ ‘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, r/.

The main rhythmical unit is metric foot. The types of feet attested in Dan are: V (including ɲ), CV, CVV, CVŋ, CVVV, CVVŋ, CIV, CIVV, CIVŋ. 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 circumstantial. Dan is a null-subject language (explicit presence of a subject NP is unnecessary, for the subject is indexed in the PPM). Presence of a DO makes a verb transitive; if the DO position is void, the verb is intransitive.

2.4.2. Non-verbal sentences are formed with copulae ɓụ́, ɓá, ɗɛ́, ɗɛ́ (identification, negative identification, presentative, equative) and with PPM (negative identification, locative, qualitative, equative; on PPM, see 2.9).

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

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

Presentative sentence, S ɗɛ́ ‘here is S’.

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

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

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

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

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

2.5.1. Locative nouns come from a fusion with postpositions; therefore, they are used in the circumstance 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).
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) ɓa ~ ɓ:  

1. \(Gb\)ɓtō ɓa ɗ-ɗu  
\(NOM.M\) \(POSS\) \(child-PL\)  
‘Gbato’s children’.  

If the possessed noun is relational, there is no connective word: \(Gb\)ɓtō ɗ ‘Gbato’s father’.  
Most of body part names and kinship terms belong to the class of relational nouns, however, there are some important exceptions: ɗa ‘child’,ɓɓɛ ‘nephew, niece (sister’s child)’, ɓũ ‘hair (head hair)’, ɓáy ‘sweat’ are free nouns, while ɓáŋ ‘child’ (a synonym of ɗa ), ɓá ‘body hair’, ɓě “urine” are relational.

2.5.3. Standard plural marker is -ɗu which follows the noun. The majority of locative nouns have no plural forms in the oblique cases. The plural marker ɗu 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) ɓá yí ɗófdóf-sù-ɗu  
\(liana.sp.\) \(water\) \(viscous\) \(substance-ADJ-PL\)  
‘bowls of sauce of the liana “zan”’ [e4:20].

(4) ɓá wó ɗa ɓá ɗ ɗa ɗu  
\(mud-PL\) \(3PL.JNT\) \(house\) \(build\) \(3SG\) \(INSTR\) \(3PL.IPFV.NEG\) \(do\) \(so.CLOSE\)  
‘One does not build a house with such sorts of mud’ [f180:7].

With most names of physiological substances and excretions (yé ‘blood’, gbó ‘excrement’, ɓě “urine”3), -ɗu may also express the meaning of emphatic plural (‘a great quantity of”):

(5) ɓ₂  yé ɗu wó sìá.  
\(human\) \(blood-PL\) \(3PLEXI\) \(earth.SUB\)  
\(a\) ‘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 gbá, it may mean ‘and besides’, ‘on the top of everything’ (6).

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

2.6. Adjectives

Syntactic functions characteristic of adjectives are:

- noun modifier in an attributive NP:

(7) ɓá ɗu gbéé yé ɓáy ɗa ɗu gbé ɗa.  
\(sun.CMM\) \(difficult\) 3SG.\(EXI\) \(bone\) \(arrive\)\(\textsc{NEUT}\) \(human\) on  
‘Hot sun makes one sweat’ [d162:6].

- predicate in a postpositionless construction:

(8) ɗ ɗa ká ɗa.  
\(1SG.NSBJ\) \(hand.CMM\) 3SG.\(EXI\) \(nomb\)  
‘My hand is numb’ [d163:7].

- predicate in a postpositional construction:

(9) ɓá gbé yé ɗa.  
\(3SG.NSBJ\) \(foot\) 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 ɓáy ‘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 transfixation.

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 -ɗəg (sɗɗȡɗ-ɗəg ‘the fifth’). Only ‘first’ has a suppletive form, blẹęsụ.

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: bāā dūu (lit. ‘cassava-tree’) ‘cassava stalk’, and (b) head-marked, where the syntactic connection is marked on the head noun by an extra-low tone: bā within ‘cassava plant’. To the class of genitive-like NPs belong the postpositional NP, where the connection between the constituents is marked by a postposition: dūu bā gbți gà (lit. ‘raffia.palm – on – caterpillar’) ‘raffia palm caterpillar’. Possessive NP (dūu tī bā dā ‘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 tūi <dog black> ‘black dog’. In the attributive constructions, determiners (plural marker, definite article, etc.) normally follow the dependent word: gbɛ tūi-dū ‘black dogs’, gbɛ tūi bā ‘the black dog’. Rather atypically of Mande languages, the plural marker can optionally follow the head word (gbɛ-dū tūi ‘black dogs’) or appear in both positions (gbɛ-dū tūi-dū ‘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 1. Pronominal predicative markers (auxiliaries) in Dan-Gweetaa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person, gloss</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Logophoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential EXI</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/ṹ</td>
<td>yũ/yṹ</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjoint JNT</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/ṹ</td>
<td>ō/yũ/yṹ</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect PROS</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>yã/yã</td>
<td>yá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective PROS</td>
<td>bãã</td>
<td>bãĩ</td>
<td>yũũ</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative IMP</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ō/bã</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive SBJV</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/ṹ</td>
<td>ō/yũ</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive PRES</td>
<td>bãã</td>
<td>bãã</td>
<td>yãã</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperfective NEG.IPFV</td>
<td>bãã</td>
<td>bãã</td>
<td>yãã</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative perfective NEG.PFV</td>
<td>bãĩ</td>
<td>bãĩ</td>
<td>yĩĩ</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive PROH</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>yã</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs
2.10.1. Personal pronouns

Table 2. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gweetaa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>i/ü</td>
<td>á/ø</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>á bá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomou s</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>bí</td>
<td>yíí</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>báá</td>
<td>bíí</td>
<td>yíí</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple co-ordinate</td>
<td>yáá</td>
<td>káá</td>
<td>wáá</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fused co-ordinate</td>
<td>yáá</td>
<td>káá</td>
<td>wáá</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ordinate porte-manteau</td>
<td>yé</td>
<td>ké</td>
<td>wé</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(10) Kê kíi | bá wáágá déň, bíí
dó a wéé dů.'
go 3SG.NSBJ other give INF
‘If you lose your money, I won't give other’ [e4:10].

(11) À-dáá | báá yá á gá, wá á dů dů.
3NSBJ-PL.POSS sheep 3SG.PRF die 3PL.PRF 3SG.NSBJ new buy
‘Their sheep has died, they have bought a new one’.
The 3SG non-subject pronoun á is on the way of grammaticalization as a prepositional definite article (all other determinants in Dan are postpositional) (12).

(12) Báň | débář ē | yíí | ká | ká | ká
1SG.CNTR self 3SG.NSBJ matter 3SG.EXI RETR 1SG.NSBJ astonish
‘The matter astonished me...’ [Dů wá].

2.10.2. Interrogative pronouns are used for special questions: dê ‘who?’, bá ‘what?’, dê ‘how many? how much?’, bê ‘which?’, bê ‘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) Bář n | é | ü | bá | yíí | kóó | tā?
what REL 2SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ see.JNT road on
‘What have you seen on the road?’

2.10.3. Demonstrative pronouns, definite articles and adverbs

There are five demonstrative adverbs differentiated according to different parameters: yí and yá indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. Bá indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. Biü 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. Títí (the intensive form is titítí) 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 bəa. In both cases, a relativization construction is involved, and the relativisation marker can be always restituted in a slow pronunciation:

\[(14a)\] kó r̥ r̥ yə̊ /bəa \rightarrow (14b) kó (r̥ r̥) yə̊ /bəa

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

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

2.10.4. Other adverbs
There are two productive derivative suffixes of adverbs, -ɗɛ and -wọ ~ -bọ.

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 -ɗɛ-adverbs are non-motivated, i.e., corresponding suffixless stems are lacking in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa.

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

\[(15a)\] Yɛ̱ r̥ tɛɛdọ́ blù gwə́ gù́. 3SG.EXI REFL.SG friend push\NEUT stone in

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

\[(15b)\] Yɛ̱ r̥ tɛɛdọ́ blù də́ ā wọ́ gwə́ gù́. 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).

\[(16)\] Gbato yə a ɗɛ́ pépé r̥-’ wọ́ yɛ̱ NOM.M 3SG.PRF come each REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ. do\JNT 3SG.EXI

pə́ dɔ́ 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-Gwɛɛtaa language that determiners frequently used with nominalized verbs end by merging with the dummy verb which brings forth a subsequent reinterpretation of -wọ/-bọ as an adverbial suffix, while the verbal noun is again recursively interpreted as a verb.

2.11. Verb

2.11.1. Nominalizations
There are following means of nominalization in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa:

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

— a gerund, formed with the marker -sű 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 -yɛ̱;

— a masdar formed with the suffix -dɛ́;

— 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-Gwɛɛtaa, 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).
There are two relativization strategies.

1) Correlative strategy: a full-fledged relativized NP, followed by the relative conjunction \( \dot{\mathbf{y}} \) (sometimes \( k \dot{\mathbf{y}} \)), 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-Gwëetaa also a reduced relative clause): such a repetition produces an emphatic effect.

\[
(20) \quad \text{Wiù } \quad \dot{\mathbf{y}} \quad \text{hi-sùù } \quad \text{kà} \quad \text{yù } \quad \text{ü } \quad \text{dù}
\]

\[
\text{3SG.NSBJ with Q}
\]

\text{‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].}

\[
(21) \quad \text{Yù } \quad \text{bëë } \quad \text{nù } \quad \text{dù } \quad \text{hù } \quad \text{kwaù } \quad \dot{\mathbf{y}} \quad \text{gëù}
\]

\[
\text{3SG.NSBJ before 1SG.NSBJ theft REL 3SG.NSBJ son}
\]

\text{‘He is imploring me about the matter of a theft committed by his son against me’ [e10:1].}

\[
(22) \quad \text{Débù } \quad \dot{\mathbf{y}} \quad \text{blù } \quad \text{kpù } \quad \text{dù } \quad \text{dëbù } \quad \text{bù}
\]

\[
\text{woman REL 3SG.NSBJ rice boil JNT 1SG.NSBJ woman ART}
\]

\[
\text{3SG.NSBJ know JNT}
\]
'The very woman who has cooked rice, I know her' [f187:6].

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

3. Core quantifiers
3.1. Generalized Existential (Intersective) Quantifiers
3.1.1. D-quantifiers

The basic strategies for the expression of existential quantification are:
— bare NP that can express indiscriminately singular, plural or mass meanings (it can be said that the bare form has a neutral number meaning). The plural marker ɗu is normally not used if the plural meaning is already expressed by a numeral or another determiner; with names of pair body parts; most often, it is not used with names of inanimate objects, insects or small animals (percieved as “lacking individual identity”); in fact, ɗu expresses jointly the meanings of plurality and referentiality (see in more detail 2.6.2.). A bare NP in the subject position controls most often a singular PPM, although a semantic agreement by number is also possible (a bare NP may control a plural PPM).
— a NP with definite articles бa, ɗɔ (to the right of the NP) or ɗ (to the left of the NP), see 2.10.3.
— indefinite determiner бa appears in practically all indefinite and negative contexts, in particular:
  a) specific unknown:
     (23) ɓɛ̄ bɑ̄ yā ɗu ɗu wɔ̄ gu.  
     human certain 3SG.PRF come 2SG.NSBJ affair in  
     ‘Someone came after you’.
  b) interrogative context:
     (24) ɓɛ̄ bɑ̄ yā wɔ̄ d5 dɛ ɓu ɗo deɛ?  
     human certain 3SG.PRF affaire know that 2SG.PROS go today  
     ‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’
  c) conditional:
     (25) ɓu bɑ̄ pʁ̂-ɡɑ̄-ŝōd̂ d̲̅i̲ ɗɛ ɓɛ̄  
     2SG.PROS 1SG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human  
     bɑ̄ ɗā, ɗ ɗn̂ n̂ ŷ ɗ.  
     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) yɛ̄d̂ n̄ yɛ̄d̂ dɛ ɓɛ̄ bɑ̄ yā  
     3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that human certain 3SG.PRF  
     ɗu.  
     come  
     ‘I don’t think that anybody has come’.
  e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:
     (27) ɓɑtɔ̄ yā zʊd̂ dɛ ɗī kpɑ̄ bɛ̄  
     NOM.M 3SG.PRF deny that 3SG.NEG.PFV see human  
     bɑ̄ ɗā zĩd̂ ɗ.  
     certain on road on  
     ‘Gbato has denied (falsely) he had met anybody on the road’.
  f) in the typical context “specific known”, бa appears in the expression бa ɗ bʊ, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).
     (28) ɓɛ̄ bɑ̄ ɗ yɛ̄ ɓu ɗu yɔ̄ ɗ ɓ ɗu  
     human certain REL.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ say\NEUT  
     yɔ̄ ɗ ɗu sʊ.  
     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 бa 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:

\[ N \text{ gbá ðáá-ðá ká.} \]

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 ðu being, in fact, a determiner too), or with the universal determiner gbá (30a).

\[ Ỵ bíaŋ sú ŋ zí ŋ ká ŋ. \]
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’, or

\[ Ỵ bíaŋ sú ŋ zí ŋ ká ŋ. \]
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’.

**Numerals**

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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: pá yáågá ‘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):

\[ Pólísíyę-dú wá kwábę́ yáågà-dú kú. \]

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.

\[ Pólísíyę bá a sáådú wá dę́. \]

policemen ART 3SG.NSBJ five 3PL.PRF loose
‘Among the policemen, five have got lost’.

Other existential quantifiers in Dan-Gwërtaa also follow the noun. The meaning of ‘several’, ‘a couple of’, ‘a few’ is expressed by the morphologically complex determiners dáɓá <child/diminutive marker-some> (33) and sëëdá 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’.

\[ Gbátó yá káá dáɓá dō. \]
NOM.M 3SG.PRF hoe a.little buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

\[ Gbátó yá káá/ɓlú sëëdá bá dō. \]
NOM.M PRF hoe/rice small other buy
Gbato has bought several hoes’ / ‘Gbato has bought a small quantity of rice’.

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

(35) Gbàttô yà káaabá dəɓáɗ dō. ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

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

(36) Blâa dē dā wō dā bëɛ ɗɔ ɗə?
    sheep how many FOC 3PL.JNT save\JNT dry.season PP
    ‘How many sheep have survived the dry season?’

(37) Klâŋ dà bëɛ dà wô gizâbë pâsë?
    formation child which FOC 3PL.JNT examination pass\JNT
    ‘Which students have passed the exam?’

(38) Yô kâ ɗə˚ wô dəŋ bâ, dą dô
    CONJ.3SG.JNT do 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT so.REM there child how many
    ɗə˚ u ɗə?
    3SG.JNT 2SG.NSBJ PP
    ‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

(39) Wô dɔdɔdɔsû bëɛ ɗû wî guû yà?
    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, dê stops to be a quantifier; it expresses instead the meanings ‘why?’ and ‘how?’.

**Value judgement D-quantifiers**

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

(40) Bë gbë wâ dô gblû bâ, bë këë dâ wô dû.
    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) YA yâkâbë gbë sû kâ wô bîáá dëè zû-bó.
    1PL.EXCL.PRF worker many take that 3PL.SBJV field new bottom-remove
    ‘We have hired enough workers to launch a new plantation’.

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

(42) Bë dôdô dâ wô dû kwâbë bâ dû˚:
    human rare FOC 3PL.JNT go\JNT thief ART know-INF
    ‘Few are those who know the thief’ [f154:10].

(43) Yê bë-dû dôdô dû.
    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) təřbâsûi (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) təřbâsûi is not allowed.

(44) Â˚ pîﬁ ɗ å bâf gbë dû, këë
    1SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\JNT but
    bâf təřbâsûi yáå å gô.
    machete multitude 3SG.NEG.IPfv 3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple’.

‘Will Jean buy many hoes?’

The quantifier gbé can add the plural marker, in which case the quantifier acquires an intensive meaning: blúkábé gbé-dụ ‘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).

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

‘Children yell much behind the house’.

‘Your guests eat little’.

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

Dábáwó ~ dábábó ‘a little’ is derived from the D-quantifier dábá by the means of the adverbial suffix -wó ~ -bó (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).

‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:

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

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

— dédéwó ‘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 wó from the determinant dédé ‘self’.

‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’. 

‘Will Jean buy many hoes?’

I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple’.

(45a) Yáá yáá dá Zá
3SG.NEG IPFV 1SG.NSBJ eyes.COM that NOM.M

yáá dô káá tʃɹbʌsú d5-’
3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF

‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’.

(45b) *Zá yáá dô káá tʃɹbʌsú d5-’ ěè?
NOM.M 3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF Q

Will Jean buy many hoes?’

Children yell much behind the house’.

‘Your guests eat little’.

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

Dábáwó ~ dábábó ‘a little’ is derived from the D-quantifier dábá by the means of the adverbial suffix -wó ~ -bó (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 dô yáá púú dábábó.
3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a.little

‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:

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

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

— dédéwó ‘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 wó from the determinant dédé ‘self’.

(52) A n bɛ-dụ tʊ₃₃-bọ síá.
(53) "UL gbŋ yŋ yŋ ká ɓláá síá dódó.
2SG.NSBJ son 3SG.EXI work do\NEUT field.LOC sometimes one.by.one
‘Your son works in the field rarely/from time to time’.

(54) Sáá yí tó kwáá síá síá.
sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often
‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55) ɗɛ-gɛ-gɛ bá yí bɔ dèdè-wó.
threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV
‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

(56) Yí dɔ ní gɔ dèdè-wó yáádfró.
3SG.EXI put\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ PP true-ADV yesterday
‘Yesterday he waited for me for a long time’ [f9:15].

(57) Kè̂eè-ká-gè̂è bá dɔ̂ dɔ̂-sù ká ŋ̣ gɔ̣
NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with REFL.SG POSS.LOC
dè̂δó̂ dè̂dè-wó.
hamlet.LOC true-ADV
‘Kese has set traps a lot in his remote field’ [e18:15].

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

(58) ɗá dɔ̄-dʊ wó wó ní bá síá tʊŋ
1SG.POSS child-PL 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ on sometimes time
bá-dʊ guú.
certain-PL in
‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].

A syntactically complex NPI quantifier tʊŋ guú <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) Bɛ̂ yáá tʊŋ guú.
human 3SG.NEG.IPFV time in
‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(60) Dá yíí bá tʊŋ guú.
rain 3SG.NEG.PFV rain time in
‘It rained insufficiently’.

3.2. Generalized universal (Co-intersective) Quantifiers
3.2.1. Universal D-Quantifiers

There are two determiners expressing universal quantifying meanings, gbà which is an “all-
type” modifier, and pépé ~ péé which is a distributive (“every/each-type”) modifier. Apart from this,
universal meanings can be expressed by two syntactically complex quantifiers: a reduplication of the
determined noun with the connective morpheme ðð (primarily a free choice meaning), and the
expression tʊŋ dɔ̂ (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 bá.

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
pronounalized, in which case we have a partitive construction (61a).

(61a) Dɔṣk wäh-dɔ̄, yúṛ yí dɔ̄ sìá ɗá ká
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR

If the noun tʊŋ has a nominal or pronominal dependent to the left, it is interpreted in a non-idiomatic way, ‘in the time
of X’.
3SG.NSBJ all buy\NEUT
‘In the market, fish was not expensive, I bought it all’.

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

(61b) Ɖɔɔkwɔɗɔ dɔ yʊs ɗ ɗɔ ɗɪ sã ɗ ã
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI

kã gbà dʒ.
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 ɗʊ 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 gbàŋ.

(62) Ḅ ɗgbàɗ bâ yã.
darkness all.3SG.PRFF put yere
‘It has got quite dark there’ [Dúwɔ 12].

(63) Ḅ ḅ gbàɗ ḍ ɗ̣ ɗû ɗû.
human all.3PL.PRFF stand fixedly
‘Everyone was stricken 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) Ɗẽkpũbũiḍ yiṣ̌ịṣ zịŋgũu Gbâṭo bã dẽbã yã
day four between NOM.M POSS woman 3SG.PRFF
dû bã gbà gř.
treee ART all burn
‘During four days, Gbato’s wife burnt the entire tree’.

(65a) Ḅ ḅ kâ yã gbà gũj.
1SG.PRFF house this all daub
‘I have daubed all this house’.

(66) Ɗẽbã bã yã ɓ̣ gũj ṣ̌ ḍ gbà bã.
woman ART 3SG.PRFF oil daub REFL.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) Ḅ ḅ kâ gbà gũj.
1SG.PRFF 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 -ɗʊ, and the auxiliary (co-referent with the subject) is singular:

(67) Pãḍ gbã yã gũj.
village.CMM all 3SG.PRFF 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) Kûbãdã yã ẉ kâḍ gbà tã.
prefect 3SG.PRFF affair lie family all on
‘The prefect has punished all families’.

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; gèè ‘carcass, body’ (69a), bër kër ‘one bunch’ (69b), bë ‘fruit’ (70a):

(69a) Gbàtô yà tô gèè gbà bër.

NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken body all eat

‘Gbato has eaten the entire chicken’.

(69b) Gbàtô yà tô bër kër dô gbà bër.

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

id.

(70a) Dâdâ bë tê yâ â gbà yê wââ kîǹ

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

one

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

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

(70b) Dâdâ bë tê yâ â gbà tô

pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all remain\NMLZ
dër-sû yê wââ kîǹ dô.
sô.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) Dëbâ-dô gbà wâ dû kwáà-dêô.

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

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

(71b) Dëbâ gbà wâ dû kwáà-dêô.

woman all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC

‘All women gathered’.

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

Thus, if the plural marker of the subject noun in (72a) is omitted (’gô gbà wâ whûûû...), 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-dô gbà wâ whûûû kê pê-dô yâ
dô kô-dêô.

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 gbà wâ whûûû.

male all 3PL.PRF rise

‘All the men have risen’ (to go to the war).
In the sentence (73), the referent group is “all those who are present at the moment of the accident”. The absence of the plural marker on the subject bɛ is indicative of the fact the group is perceived as open.

(73) Yɛ bɛ gbà wó yā gbọ bɔ-sụụ bā.

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

‘Then everybody started crying’ [Zu a sẹ mā].

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) Gwēé yā dū gbà zā.

leopard 3SG.PRF cow all kill

‘A leopard killed all the cows’.

(74b) Gwēé yā dū-dū gbà zā ‘id’.

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

(75) Dādā yā ɓ u gbà yń wíi kā ɗā.

pineapple this 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred one

‘The price of all these pineapples is 500 francs’.

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

(76) Kāsō-ɡū-ɓē-dū bā wō kā dū idā zjāā yā-

prison-in-human\IZF-PL ART 3PL.EXI RETR flee\NEUT road this-3SG.NSBJ tā.

‘The prisoners fled away by this road’.

3.2.1.1.3. Quantifier gbà with uncountable nouns

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

(77) Gbātō yā yī gbā bṳ̄.

NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all drink

‘Gbato has drunk all the water’.

(78) lī bā dā yā sō gbā dī-kū.

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

‘Your child has dirtied all the clothes’.

(79) Yā bīlū gbā kā.

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) Kāfleē gbà yā sèē.

coffee all 3SG.PRF spoil

‘All the coffee has spoilt’.

3.2.1.1.4. The distributive meaning of gbà

Gbà 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 dū, as in

---

6 However, it should be mentioned that the use of the word bɛ ‘man, human’ without plural marker in combination with gbà is preferable even in the contexts where, according to the general rule, one would expect -dū. 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 (withouth plural marker, cf. (82a)).

(81) Ƿɛ-ɗũ gbã wå ɡũ.  
  village-PL all 3PL.PRF burn

‘All the villages (of the canton) have burnt (one by one)’.

(82a) Yĩ gbãɗdũ ɲәɗẽ gbã ɡũ yũ.  
  1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM all in CONS

yĩ gbũ bãà.  
  1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT

‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’.

(82b) Yĩ gbãɗdũ ɲәɗ-dũ gbã ɡũ yũ.  
  1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM-PL all in CONS

yĩ gbũ bãà.  
  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 (Ƿɛ gbã wå ɡũ), 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 dódó in its distributive meaning ‘one by one’.

(83) Đādā (be) gbã siú dōdō kũ ȗ ā gã.  
  pineapple fruit all take one.by.one that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ see

(Here is a pile of pineapples, some are rotten.) ‘Take each pineapple and examine it’.

3.2.1.1.5. **Generic quantification**

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

(84) Gwāɗá gbã wó bɔ gwēẽ bã.  
  cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on

‘All cats resemble leopard’.

(85) Gwāɗá gbã wó bɔ kwă.  
  cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB

‘All cats are alike (resemble each other)’.

(86a) Bājį gbã wó d55d5bɛ-dũ ká.  
  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) Bājį-dũ gbã wó d55d5bɛ-dũ ká.  
  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) Wu dɔ ȗ yũ d-a(-dũ) gbã kã.  
  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. **\[ gbã \] in the free choice context**

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

(88) Dā yũ ñũ dũ bɛ gbã  
  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.
sāā-bō-'.

tiredness- remove-INF

‘This child will tire anyone’.

(89) Wū gbā yī bō-pā kā.

meat all 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF with

‘Any meat is edible’.

(90) Bē gbā yī bōō a bā yā

human all 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on 3SG.JNT work

bā kā.

ART do\JNT

‘Any person can do this job’.

The singular auxiliary is the most remarkable feature of the free choice construction with gbā distinguishing it from the DEF- and GEN-constructions. For example, the singular auxiliary allows the free choice reading in (91a).

(91a) Dēbā gbā yī suā-suū.

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) Dēbā gbā wō suā-suū.

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) Dōō-gōō-pā gbā wō dōō-’

market-buy-human\IZF all 3PL.EXI go\NEUT-3SG.NSBJ

pō-’

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) Tōōŋā-dū gbā wō wō kō wō guā-mā.

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 suū ‘sort’, can be brought to play in order to avoid ambiguity in favour of the free choice interpretation (94).

(94) Yī yā suū gbā kā.

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), gbā 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 gbā-construction

Table 3. Semantics of the gbā-construction in relation with the character of the NP and the choice of the auxiliary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics of the construction</th>
<th>Form of the NP</th>
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<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distributive meaning, definite plural</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantification of indefinite (referent) groups, collective meaning (INDEF-quantification)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>singular</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
3.2.1.2. **pēpē ~ pēpē** a distributive modifier

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

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

The NP determined by pēpē may have or miss the plural marker dũ, 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 gbâ-construction), they are rather determined by general rules of the expression of plural in Dan-Gwëttaa: for the names of human beings, the plural marker dũ 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 dũ, or it represented by a coordinative construction, the auxiliary is obligatorily plural; otherwise, more complex rules are brought into play.9

3.2.1.2.1. **The distributive meaning of pēpē**

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

(95) Ɗâɗa bé pēpē sú kã ú ã gâ.
    pineapple fruit every take that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ look
    ‘Take every pineapple and examine it’ (every pineapple that you find).

(96) Ɓâŋ(-dũ) pēpē wô ɗɗɗɗɓɛ kã.
    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) Ɓaŋ së, Gbââagwïiŋ së wââ Sïïplï së,
    Man land.CMM Biancouma.LOC land.CMM 3SG.and Sipilou land.CMM
    ɗ-ɗũ bã bɛ yâ yâ-sũ kã Gwëttâ wô
    3SG.NSBJ-PL POSS writing 3SG.EXI put-GER with Gwëttaa voice
    ɗâɗaŋ së gũ,
    3SG.NSBJ-PL property every Ʉ.3SG.JNT Danane land.CMM in
    ‘The departments of Man, Biancouma, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwëttaa dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blo dialect’ [Pame1_1wɔnTaang,014].

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

(98) GbâNs yë yî pēpē ɓũ. Ʉ.3SG.EXI water every drink\NEUT
    ‘Gbato drinks any water’.

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

(99) Yê yĩ pēpē kã. 3SG.EXI job every do\NEUT
    ‘He catches on any job’.

---

9 See in detail (Vydrin 2013).
(100) Bà d'á gblushman yë zir’si, yë
1SG.POSS child stomach 3SG.EXI pass-DUR 3SG.EXI
tò yë pâ pépé dâ ṣ. dì.
remain\NEUT 3SG.EXI thing every rise\NEUT REFL.SG mouth
‘My child has diarrhea often, (because) he puts everything in his mouth’.
(101) Wù pépé yë bṣ-pâ kâ.
‘Any meat is edible’.
(102) Gwâdá pépé yë kpáyjû.
cat every 3SG.EXI sly
‘Any cat is sly’.
(103) Bë pépé wô gá-bë kâ.
human every 3PL.EXI death-human\IZF with
‘Any human is mortal’.
The determiner pépé is inherently distributive, it does not appear with collective predicates.

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

(104) Gbâtò yā yī gbâ pépé bû.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all every drink
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’ (nothing is left).
(105) Wē dû yë gbâ pépé 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 pépé more often than alone9, as in (106).
(106) Sâsâbà yë pâ-dû bâ s'dû gbâ pépé
immediately CONS thing-PL ART REL.3SG.NSBJ-PL all every
‘Immediately, all these things that were found...’ [Dûwâ].11
The usages of the combination gbâ pépé 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 ōō (ōō-reduplication): the free choice

3.2.1.4.1. The structure and the syntax of the ōō-reduplication construction
The noun undergoes a full reduplication, and the connective element ōō is inserted between the reduplicands.
(107) Bë ōō bë ṣ dû, ā
human any human REL.3SG.JNT come\JNT 1SG.EXI
dû ā bâ-itous.
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) Gbë zôpêdë ōō gbë zôpêdë, ā sù.
dog red any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take

10 So, in the autobiographical narrative by Daan Dua (the entire volume of the text is 3438 words), the combination gbâ pépé 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 pâ-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) ŋbɛ̀ zǔ́dɛ̀ sẹ̀dá́ ìòò gbɛ̀ zǔ́dɛ̀ sẹ̀dá́ yà dù,

dog red small any dog red small 3SG.PRF come

báá á ká.
1SG.PROS 3SG.NSBJ do

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

(109) Zá  yí́ pá́ bá́ ìòò pá́ bá́ bá́ bá́ bá́.

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, ìòò-reduplication concerns nouns, however reduplication can also affect the determinative dé ‘other’ following the head noun (110) or, in negative contexts, bá ‘any, other’ (111).

(110) Ỳ́ dò̤́ tò̤́ dé̀̄ óò dè́ yá̤́ dá́

3SG.EXI know\NEUT gravy other any other REL.3SG.JNT be

á́ ká-dé́ ká.
3SG.NSBJ do-MSD with

‘She can cook any gravy’.

(111) Ká  bá́ óò bá́ yí́ gá́ yí́ ká

house certain any certain 3SG.NEG.PFV burn that 3SG.NEG.PFV ká  á  bá́ ká.
do 1SG.NSBJ one with

‘No house burnt, except for mine’.

It seems that we observe here a lexicalization of dé óò dé and bá óò bá as quantifier expressions.

ìòò-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 wò or bò. However, not all the verbs are available for this construction (presumably, the limitation is of a lexical nature).

(112) Dó̤́ óò dò̤́ yá̤́ Zá́ wò́ tá́ guí,

go any go REL NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT walking in

ỳ́ dù́ ná́ sàá 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 ìòò-reduplicated construction is often fronted (113) or relativized in situ (114), which reflects its pragmatically enhanced status.

(113) Tá  óò bá yí́ sákpádá ý́ à bá́ bá́.

chicken any chicken mangoose 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT

‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.

(114) Ỳ́ Ná̤́ ká́ ká̤́ óò ká́ yá̤́ á

3SG.PROS do way.CMM any way.CMM REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ

bá̤́ gá́ wò̤́ dá́ tó̤́́ bá.
on death affair\IZF FOC remain\JNT-3SG.NSBJ on

‘However may it be, death will come anyway’ [f48:6].

It seems that even when formal means of relativization (the relative marker 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) Bá́ pá́ óò pá́ bá́ bá́ á gwá́dá́ bá

1SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property
dú.
give\NEUT

‘Whatever I eat, I give to the cat its part’.

(115b) Bá́ pá́ óò pá́ yá́ bá́ bá́ á

1SG.PRF thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ eat 1SG.EXI
gwá́dá́ bá́ dú.
cat property give\NEUT

‘Id.’

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

(116) \( Dá \ óó \ dò, \ wù \ dô \ y̱̱ \ ā \ kā. \)
child any child meat desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT
‘Any child likes meat’.

(117) \( Gwādā \ óó \ gwādā \ wō \ b̩̱ \ kwākā. \)
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, \( óó \)-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) \( Bė̱̱ \ óó \ bɛ̱̱ \ də̱̱ \ ū \ tā-kū-\). 
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) \( Bă \ g̃-dū \ gū. \ Il \ b̩̱̱ \ ā \ bā \)
1SG.POSS vehicle-PL look 2SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on
ú \ dé \ óó \ dé \ sū. 
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) \( Dáglą̱̱ \ óó \ dāglą̱̱ \ wō \ pē̱̱ \ wā \)
youth any youth 3PL.EXI village.this.in 3PL.EXI.3SG.NSBJ
pī̱̱ \ wō \ Yǐdē \ sū. 
to 3PL.LOG.JNT NOM.F take
‘Any youth of this village desires to marry Yode’.

(121) \( N \ gō \ b̩̱̱ \ y̱̱ \ ā \ dādā \ óó \ dādā \ y̱̱ \)
1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI
wā \ kā̱̱ \ dō. 
money hundred one
‘Here in my farm, any pineapple is for five hundred francs’.

(122) \( Bá \ ɓ̩̱ \ ɗā \ ɓ̩̱ \ kā \ ā \ b̩̱. \)
what REL 2PL.SBJV-3SG.NSBJ to 2PL.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ eat
Pá \ óó \ pā \ y̱̱ \ b̩̱-pā \ kā, \ ā 
thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT eat-thing\IZF with 3SG.NSBJ
dū \ y̱̱ \ dē. 
give 1PL.EXCLS.NSBJ before
‘What would you like to eat? — Give us any food’ (litt. ‘any thing which is a food, give it to us’).

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

(123) \( Dá \ yā \ y̱̱ \ tō \ y̱̱ \ y̱̱ \ dō \)
child this 3SG.EXI remain\NEUT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT
bē̱̱ \ óó \ bē̱̱ \ ā \ dō \ kē̱̱ \ y̱̱ \ y̱̱ \ y̱̱ \)
human any human REL.3SG.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI
dō \ ā \ sā́-bō-\).
go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-remove-INF
‘If the child would stay here, he would bother anyone who is here’.

3.2.1.5. ɗō-Construction

3.2.1.5.1. Morphology

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

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

3.2.1.5.2. Syntax

The complex determinant \(d\tilde{\delta} \sim d\tilde{\varepsilon}\) 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 \(\tilde{\delta}\tilde{\delta}\)-reduplication and \(d\tilde{\delta}\)-
constructions are used, which is allowed in Dan-Gwëetaa).

\[(124) \text{Wû}_i \ d\tilde{\delta} \ d\tilde{\varepsilon} \ d\tilde{\varepsilon} \text{ meat REL.3SG.JNT be child-PL 3PL.EXI go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ}\]

\(d\tilde{\varepsilon}\)‘. 

‘Children will eat any meat’.

\[(125) \text{Dû}_i \ d\tilde{\delta} \ d\tilde{\varepsilon} \ y\tilde{\varepsilon} \ d\tilde{\varepsilon} \ u\tilde{\varepsilon} \ d\tilde{\varepsilon}\text{ eat-INF}
\text{ child any child REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI go\NEUT 2SG.NSBJ stand-INF}
\text{ t\tilde{\varepsilon} b\tilde{\varepsilon} b\tilde{\varepsilon}.}
\text{ mountain ART on}
\text{ ‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’}.
\]

The fronting of the NP with the determiner \(d\tilde{\delta}\) is the most frequent strategy. However, it can
be left in situ (126), but even in this case a resumptive pronoun is necessary.

\[(126) \text{Kûb\tilde{\delta}\tilde{\varepsilon} y\tilde{\varepsilon} w\tilde{\varepsilon} w\tilde{\varepsilon} k\tilde{\varepsilon}\tilde{\delta}\tilde{\varepsilon} \text{ prefect 3SG.PRF affair lie family REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ on}
\text{ ‘The prefect has punished every family’}.
\]

3.2.1.5.3. Semantics

The principal quantifier meanings of the quantifier \(d\tilde{\delta} \sim d\tilde{\varepsilon}\) 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 \(d\tilde{\delta}\)
construction necessarily has the distributive meaning (126, 127, 128).

\[(127) \text{B\tilde{\varepsilon} y\tilde{\varepsilon} d\tilde{\varepsilon} y\tilde{\varepsilon} d\tilde{\varepsilon} \text{ humanFOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRF go REFL.SG}
\text{ g\tilde{\varepsilon} k\tilde{\varepsilon}\tilde{\delta}d\tilde{\varepsilon}.
\text{ POSS.LOC houseLOC}}
\]

‘Everyone went home’ [f88:11].

\[(128) \text{Ps\tilde{\varepsilon} y\tilde{\varepsilon} \text{ village.CMM REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRF burn}
\text{ ‘All the villages have burnt’ (one by one, not all at once).}
\]

3.2.1.5.3.2. The free choice meaning of the construction \(d\tilde{\delta} \sim d\tilde{\varepsilon}\) 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).
constructions at

(136) ɓé ɓá yɛ́ dō ń dô-’ pré-ɗá
human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.NSBJ put-INF village-father

ppré-ɗá:
at-LOC
‘Let anyone guide me to your elder’.

ɓá has a universal meaning under direct negation (137), where it undergoes competition with the constructions X dō Xɓá (138), which has an expressive meaning, and yáá ɗá (139). The latter can be

(135) ɓé gbá wó dő wá kpá... ɓá
human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see

(134b) ɓé gbá wó dő wá kpá...
human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see

‘Id.’

3.2.1.6. Indefinite determiner ɓá as a universal quantifier

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

(134a) ɓé wo/ɓá dő wá kpá wó
human\FOC 3PL.JNT/REL.3SG.JNT be 3PL.P see PL.REFL

kwáá zááá gbéŋ táá.
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 gbá (134b).

(133) Wù dő wù d่อย yɛ́ bɛ́-pá ɓá.
meat any meat REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT

‘Any meat is edible’.

In my data, there are no cases of expression of the contraactive modality by the means of ɗá. This determinant cannot be used if the elements of the distributive set have no permanent status. So, the ɗá dő 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 ɗá.

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 ɗá dő, the 3SG.JNT auxiliary ɗá can be optionally replaced by 3PL.JNT auxiliary wó (134a).

(132) Pábɛ́ ɗá ɗá yɛ́ ɓá.
food REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT

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

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

(131) ɓé ɗá wú ɗá yɛ́ ɗá dő dǎ! ɓá
human\FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.SBJV REF\SG self save

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

(130) Wù ɗá ɗá yɛ́ ɗá dő
meat REL.3SG.JNT be 1SG.POSS dog 3SG.EXI go\NEUT

‘Anybody can do this job’.

This limitation can be explained by the original existential semantics of the expression ɗá.

3.2.1.5.3. 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 ɗá dő, the 3SG.JNT auxiliary ɗá can be optionally replaced by 3PL.JNT auxiliary wó (134a).

(134a) ɓé wó/ɓá dő wá kpá wó
human\FOC 3PL.JNT/REL.3SG.JNT be 3PL.P see PL.REFL

kwáá zááá gbéŋ táá.
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 gbá (134b).

(134b) ɓé gbá wó dő wá kpá...
human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see

‘Id.’

3.2.1.6. Indefinite determiner ɓá as a universal quantifier

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

(135) lũ dů gbá dũŋkweɛ́ yáá ɓá
2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.POSS market-load this 3SG.NSBJ certain

ɗá-’.
buy-INF

‘You should buy anything from my goods’.

(136) ɓé ɓá yɛ́ dō ń dô-’ pré-ɗá
human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.NSBJ put-INF village-father

ppré-ɗá:
at-LOC
‘Let anyone guide me to your elder’.

ɓá has a universal meaning under direct negation (137), where it undergoes competition with the constructions X dō Xɓá (138), which has an expressive meaning, and yáá ɗá (139). The latter can be

(137) lũ dů gbá dũŋkweɛ́ yáá ɓá
2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.POSS market-load this 3SG.NSBJ certain

ɗá-’.
buy-INF

‘You should buy anything from my goods’.

(138) ɓé gbá wó dő wá kpá...
human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see

(139) ɓé gbá wó dő wá kpá...
human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see

‘Id.’
regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned ɗɗ-construction, however, yáá ɗɗ is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with ɓá.

(137) Wíí₀ dɛɗ ɗá ká. 3PL.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ teach affair certain with
‘He has not been taught anything’.

(138) ɗɡ́ ɓá wií₀ dʊ. human any human certain 3PL.NEG.PFV come
‘Not a single person has come’.

(139) ɗɡ́ ɓá wií₀ dʊ. human self REL 3SG.PROS go 3SG.NEG.IPFV be
‘There is not a person who would like to leave’ [b188:6].

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

(140a) ɗɡ́ ɓá wií₀ dʊ. human certain human\INT\ 3SG.NEG.PFV come
‘Not a single person has come’.

(140b) ɗɡ́ ɓá wií₀ dʊ. human certain\INT\ human\INT\ human\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-Gwɛɛtaa. The zone of ɓá occur to be split into three segments, and the zone of ɗɗ is split into two.

Explanation to the map:
The red zone: ɓá
The blue zone: gbá
The green zone: ɗɗ
The yellow zone: pépé.bá, X óó X bá, yáá ɗɗ

3.2.2. Universal A-Quantifiers
Syntactically simple universal A-quantifiers are:
— kpɛɛwó ~ kpɛɛwó ~ kpɛɛbó (intensive form: kpɛɛkpɛɛwó, kpɛɛkpɛɛwó) ‘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 kpěê ‘rest, remainder’, however, this etymological link seems to be not perceivable in the synchrony;

— tőŋtőŋdër ‘never’ (the intensive form: tǒǒŋtőŋdër) 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 -dër, however, there is no such word as *tőŋtőŋ in Dan-Gwéętaa from which the quantifier could have been derived;

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

(141) A yá kâ kpěêwô, tøj yáá n ñ gología
1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ PP

kâ á yá zá.
that 1SG.SBJV sleeping kill\JNT
‘I work every day. I have no time to sleep’.

(142) Gbató yá bâ sâ sû kpěêwô.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI 1SG.POSS soap take\NEUT always
‘Gbato takes my soap every time’.

(143) Bîj dô kpâ â bâ zû tőŋtőŋdër dââbâ
1SG.NEG.PFV go see\INF 3SG.NSBJ on more never nevertheless
‘Nevertheless, I will never see it any more’ [d147:3].

(144) Bê yí bû â bâ pâ bê dô...
human REL 2SG.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ POSS thing eat ever
‘Man whose food you have never eaten…’ [d165:13].

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

(145b) Bââ â wî dô dê yá dôdô dî-gâ dô.
1SG.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ matter know that 3SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever
‘I don’t know if he has ever tested milk’.

(145c) Yáá n yáá dê bîí dôdô dî-gâ
dôdô dî-gâ
dô.
1SG.NEG.IPFV 3SG.NSBJ eye.COM that 2SG.NEG.PFV milk taste- look.at
‘I doubt you have ever tested milk’.

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

(146a) Gbató yáá ū gû-zû kpěêwô.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REF\LS.G head inside-wash always
‘It is not always (not every time) that Gbato washes his head’.

(146b) Gbató yáá ū gû-zû tǒŋtǒŋdēs.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REF\LS.G head inside-wash never
‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) Bê yá pâ gwâêê kâ dêđê-wô.
bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV
‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.
Gbááɗď ‘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 -ɗď; from the determiner gbá ‘all, entire’ (a locative postposition may have been also involved, presumably bā ‘on’, so that the original form might have been *gbá-bā-dď).

(148) Yǐ ká sū dó ká yǔá gůu gbááɗď.
3SG.EXI RETR moon one do\NEUT illness in entirely
‘He was ill a whole month’.

Syntactically complex general A-quantifier is t’ý交易中心 gbá ‘all the time’ ((149); probably, yî gbá ká ‘every day’ should be also mentioned here).

(149) Síáá zi yź kóókō t’ý交易中心 gbá gůu.
NOM as.for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in
‘Siao is at home all the time’ [91:3].

Besides, dő-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 wō 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) Đũ ɗō dũ ź Gbátō ʁ’ wō Bźáăɗď
come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT Man.LOC
yź siéttī dɔ.
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 gbědď ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; kpũđě ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. Kpũđě can be supplemented by the universal determiner gbá ‘all’, the expression kpũđě gbá means ‘almost all’. Gbědď is derived by the abstraction suffix -dď from the generalized existential quantifier gbé ‘many’, and kpũđě is derived by the same suffix from the adjective kpũ ‘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), lébélɛ ‘rebel(s)’ designates humans, while in (153) bláá ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) Đɔtłɔξɔji yã bɛ gbědď dɛ-ká
doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf- do
sãddĩ kɛ yąŋ yź pɛ:
before even.if 3SG.SBJV fall
‘The doctor treated the majority of the people before the sunset’.

(152) Lébɛlɛ kpũđě wō bābĩ sã bɔ.
rebel majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove\NEUT
‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) Bláá-dũ wō yã ā gbědď Ō ká
sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR
gā błaá-ỹi ká, kẽ ẽ ā gbá yáă bũ.
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 gbědď, its scope is limited to this quantifier:

(154) Đèbã gbědď wáá tūrřĩ sůú bá dã.
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 \( pɛɛ \ dɔ \sim pɛɛ \ dɔ \) (\( \text{half/part-one} \)) (the noun \( pɛɛ \sim pɛɛ \) 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) \( \text{Gwɛɛ yà yù blàà-dù pɛɛ dɔ zà.} \)

The 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 \( pɛɛ \ kpɛ \) ‘majority’ (litt. “big part”) and \( pɛɛ \ sɛɛddi \) ‘minority’ (litt. “small part”), as in (156).

(156) \( \text{Bɛ pɛɛ kpɛ-sù wà bɔ Gbåtò kà,} \)

human part big-SLA 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with

\( yró bɛ pɛɛ sɛɛddi-sù wà bɔ Zà kà. \)

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-Gwɛɛtæa. \( sìɛ \sim sìɛ \) ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier \( dódò \) (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-Gwɛɛtæa are few.

There are two synonymous restrictors, \( gbɛŋ \) and \( sɛŋ \) (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: \( sɛŋ \) appears with the numerals containing the element \( dɔ \) ‘one’ (1, 11, 21 etc.),\(^\text{12}\) while \( gbɛŋ \) goes with all numerals, with the exception of \( dɔ \) ‘one’:

(157) \( \text{Wà kwàbɛ kòbɔ dɔ gà dɔ sɛŋ kù.} \)

3PL.PRF thief ten one bone one only catch

‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

(158) \( \text{Yà dù plɛ́ yàgà gbɛŋ.} \)

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), \( dɛbɔ \) <self-bunch> (160), which is otherwise used as a determiner ‘self’, and a floating restrictor \( zɔ̀ \).

(159) \( \text{Wàà gblù plè wàà wàà kàŋ yìisírì \)

money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four

\( kpɛɛŋdɔ \ dà n gɔ. \)

exactly FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP

(The price of a rice bag is 12000 francs.) ‘I have exactly 12000 francs’.

(160) \( \text{Bɛ kòbɔ dɔ gà yìisírì dɛbɔ bɔɔ n dɛ.} \)

human 10 one bone four self search 1SG.NSBJ before

‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

A floating restrictor \( zɔ̀ \) ‘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) \( \text{Wò kòbɔ dɔ zɔ̀ kẹɛ wàà bɔɔ n dà bà} \)

3PL.EXI 10 one but.how but 3PL.NEG.IPFV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on

\( kɔ̀ wò yà bà á kà wà. \)

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\( ^{12} \) Some people also allow combinations of the restrictor \( sɛŋ \) with numerals \( sɔdɔ \) ‘five’, \( sɔdɔ \) ‘six’ and \( kòbɔ \) dɔ ‘ten’, others do not accept them.
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do ouch!

(161b) Wọ kọdd ọ̀ kẹ̀ẹ̀ wáá bọ̀ bá kā yā bá à kā wáá.

(161c) Wọ kọdd ọ̀ kẹ̀ẹ̀ wáá bọ̀ bá kā wọ̀ yā bá à kā bọ̀ wáá

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

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

— ziř ‘pass; exceed’ with the superessive postposition tā ‘on (horizontal surface)’ for the meaning ‘more than’ (162) or, with a sentential negation, ‘maximum’ (163);
— bọ̀ ‘be able; reach’ with the postposition bā ‘on (flat surface)’ in a negative sentence, for the meanings ‘less than’ (164) and ‘approximately, nearly’ (165). If the indirect object of the verb bọ̀ is an alternative construction, the predication expresses the meaning ‘between’ (166). With the sentence negation, this verb expresses a value judgment meaning ‘insufficient’;
— yě́ bọ́ ‘approach’ with the postposition sáá ‘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) Débá ọ́ dọ́ tā. dọ́
woman REL.3SG.JNT be chicken REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buy\INT
yě́ ziř tó kọdd dọ́ tā. 3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on 
‘Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.

(163) Táá ziř bẹ̀ sàá yáá ziř wáá
taxi pass human\IZF salary 3SG.NEG.PFV pass money 
gbłü kọdd dọ̀ gá plé tā. thousand 10 one REFL.SG bone two on 
‘A taxi driver gains here maximum 60000 fr.’

(164) Bẹ̀ wọ̀ lòò plě́ bě́ wíí bọ̀ bẹ̀
human 3PL.JNT arrive\INT village.LOC 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human 
kọdd dọ̀ bā sāá b kā yā́ ọ́ pẹ́k 10 one on before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall 
‘Less than ten persons reached the village before the sunset’.

(165) Dů- ọ́ bẹ́ dů kā jā dō
tree REL. 3SG.JNT be.able\INT tree hundred one 
kā plè́ bā yā́ gā bááá hand.CMM two on 3SG.EXI.3SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC field.LOC 
‘There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.

(166) Káá̄ntjó dě́ ọ́ dě́ á bā
canton the other REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS 
pě́ dę́ yě́ bě́ sááá dě́ ẹ́ kọdd dọ̀ bā. village.CMM 3SG.EXI be.able\NEUT five or 10 one on 
‘Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.

(167) Bẹ̀ wọ̀ pě́ yā́ ā guú wọ̀ yě́ bẹ̀
human 3PL.JNT village this 3SG.NSBJ in 3PL.EXI move\NEUT 
kọdd plè́ sááá. human 10 two near 
‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.

(168) Bẹ̀ wọ̀ bẹ̀ pě́ dṓ bṓ wọ̀
human\FOC 3PL.JNT human part one remove\INT 3PL.EXI 
sááddé dṓ. 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 dèdè <many self>.
(169) Bá gbé gbé gbé dèdè dà gbó gbú.
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 tɔŋbɔsù 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) Kò gbà wò kà gë, këëj à plè dà
house all 3PL.EXI RETR burn\NEUT but 3SG.NSBJ two FOC
wùi gbë.
3PL.NEG.PFV burn
‘All the houses but two burnt’.
(171) Kàflëë dë gbé wà bà, këë Gbàtò
coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M
bà dòdó dà wùi bà.
one rare FOC 3PL.NEG.PFV fructify
‘Most of the coffee plantations, except some Gbato's ones, have yielded well’.

3.4.1.4. Proportional quantifiers
For the meanings ‘more than/exactly/nearly/less than’, see 3.4.1.1.
There are two ways to express the fractions in Dan-Gweetaa.
1) The denominator is marked by the postposition tà ‘on’ and followed by the numerator. The counted noun is mentioned both with the denominator and the numerator (172). This is a standard word order; it can be modified through regular syntactic transformations, such as topicalization (173).
(172) Pòùù, bë kòôô dò tà bë yìlsìr dà
village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC
wò sìëtiì bùu.
3PL.JNT cigarette drink/JNT
‘Four village dwellers out of ten smoke’.
(173) Dòòòò gbë sìëë-tà, bë yìlsìr tà yùùà 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-du ë ë wà kwë wò bà.
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 kàñ dò ë dò, bë kòôô yìlsìr
human hundred one REL.3SG.JNT be human 10 three
wò kwë wò bà.
3PL.EXI Caucasian voice hear\NEUT
‘Thirty percent of the people understand French’.
The meaning ‘a small minority’ is expressed by the expression *pēē sēēdā* ‘minority’ (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) *Pēē yā gū kó-dū wó dỳ, ă pēē sēēdā*

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

dū kūrānj ș'-dū 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) *Bāy-dū gbā dū ūwā sūŋ bā.*

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

‘Not all Jula observe Ramadan’.

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

(178) *Dā wó dỳ ziř'-bē plē tā wó dỳ géyē'-'*

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

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

(179) *Klāŋfī-dā wó dỳ ziř'-bē plē tā wó dỳ*

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

bē kōdōŋ dō wīř′ wō dỳ géyē'-'.

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

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

(180) *Bē wó plš̆ś̆ ā kpl̆dē wā dū*

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

kāōdāŋ tūā-bō kēē ā gbā wī ū dū.

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

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

(181) *Pš-bē yā yá yá bū-d̆-k̆-suū zič̆ dō,*

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

kō yā dū tō děŋ zā bā.

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) *Bū-ka-bē sōōdū tā bē yā dā ziř'-bē*

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

plē tā kō wō dō ğ ziř-dē kā.

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

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

### 3.4.1.6. Partitives

The partitive meaning can be expressed

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

(183) *Bū dū bē yā bā dīgā.*

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) *Kwā-bē-dū wō gū bā wā ā gbā kū.*

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

‘All these thieves have been captured’.

Here are some examples of more complex partitive constructions.
(185) **Bláá-dű wó yá ɑ̄ gbédè ká gá bleeiyi ká, sheep-PL 3PL.NJT this 3SG.NSBJ majority RETR die\NEUT dry.season with kée ɑ̄ gbà yáá ɓù. but 3SG.NSBJ entire 3SG.NEG.IPFV be.

‘Most of these sheep, but not all, died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘A majority of these sheep died during the dry season, but all of them did not die’).

(186) ɗá bááá-dű wó gá bleeiyi yá ká
3SG.NSBJ POSS sheep-PL 3PL.NJT die\INT dry.season day this with \i wí ɓó ɓléá-dű pê-gû-suú ɗ yáááá gá
3PL.NEG.PFV be.able sheep-PL split\NMLZ-in-GER REL. 3SG.NJT three with

ɗá pě dô bá. 3SG.NSBJ segment one on

‘Not more than a third of his sheep died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘His sheep (which) died during the dry season, if they are split in three, they don’t reach one part of it’).

### 3.4.2. Complex A-modifiers

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

(187) Kpeêñɗé ḃáά́̄ yá wó ɓiáá sùësirí.

‘Gbató has been to Abidjan nine exactly.

(188) ḃáά́̄ yá nù plèr wáááá ɗébrɛ́wó.

‘Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice.

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

(189) Ká prè kááá dô bááá ká ká dâbáwó bê
2PL.PRF say 2PL.PROS go field.LOC 2PL.IMP do a.little human

kôôñj dô ɗ gá s55dű. 10 one REFL.SG bone five

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

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

(190a) Wô kôôñj dô kée wáá bô ɔ́ á bá
3PL.LEXI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPFV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on

kô wó yá bá á kí zìáawa.

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

(b) Wô kôôñj dô kée wáá bô ɔ́ á bá zìáawa kô wó yá bá á ká.

(c) Wô kôôñj dô kée wáá bô ɔ́ á bá zìáawa á bá kô wó yá bá á ká.

(d) Wô kôôñj dô zìáawa kée bô ɔ́ á bá kô wó yá bá á ká.

‘They are as many as ten, but they cannot do this job’ (although even 5 persons normally should be able to do it) [d80:14].

There are several ways to express the meaning of ‘almost’ in the A-context.

a) With numbers, ‘almost’ can be translated by the expression dè pà də́́̄, litt. ‘that a thing is so’, preceding the number (191); optionally, a count word kótá ‘time’ can be inserted before the numeral.

(191) ḃáάá ŋá gôj sìło dè pà dè́̄ (kótá) kôôñj dô.

NOM.M 3SG.PRF malaria find that thing so.REM time 10 one

‘Gbató has had malaria almost ten times’.

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

(192) ḃáάá ŋá gôj sìło gbàwó kôôñj dô.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF malaria find almost 10 one
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times.’

‘He has almost accepted it’.

‘Gbato almost never comes to the village’.

c) In non-numerative contexts, the meaning ‘almost’ can be rendered by the expression $p\ddot{e} V$-GER/V-MSD $b\ddot{a}$, where $p\ddot{e}$ is an auxiliary verb (the original meaning is ‘to say’), $b\ddot{a}$ is a postposition governed by the auxiliary verb; the content verb appears in its masdar or gerundive form (195). The verb $p\ddot{e}$ in this meaning can also introduce a bare infinitive form of the content verb, as in (196), where $p\ddot{e}$ introduces the bare infinitive $b\ddot{o}$ ‘to finish’ (which, in its turn, introduces a gerundive form of the verb $k\ddot{a}$ ‘to cut’).

The comparative meaning is rendered by a clausal verbal construction $z\ddot{e}$ ‘pass’ and $b\ddot{o}$ ‘reach’, in the same way as displayed in 3.4.1.

The meanings ‘more than’ and ‘less than’ are expressed with the verbs $z\ddot{e}$ ‘pass’ and $b\ddot{o}$ ‘reach’, in the same way as displayed in 3.4.1.1.

Examples for the bounding quantifiers have been translated as follows:

‘Gbato measures water twice a day, five days a week’.

‘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 $z\ddot{e}$ ‘pass’ and $b\ddot{o}$ ‘reach’ (where X is the ground for the comparison), litt. “to pass with it on X” (201); cf. also 3.4.1.
The meaning ‘as many as’ is expressed by a clausal intransitive construction with the verb bɔɔŋ ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) Klàŋɗ̱ḏs-ḏy-ḏu bà p̱s-g̱s-s̱ḏ w̱-’ kwàḏ à
school-child-PL POSS iron-bone-horse 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ
ḏ w̱áá klàŋg̱ḇg̱-ḏu bà y̱ɔ bɔɔŋ.
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-Gwéetaa.

4.2. Type (2) quantifiers

(203a) Gɔ̌ ḏc̱ ɗ ɗ̱ ɗḇḏ ḏc̱ ɗ y̱ c̱ ḏṟ
male that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM woman that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM
á ḏḏ y̱ ɗ ḵ̄.
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) S̱c̱ ḏc̱ ɗ ɗ̱ p̱ḇḇḏ ḏc̱ ɗ y̱
land.CMM that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM food that REL.3SG.JNT
ḏṟ á ḏ ḏ y̱ ɗ á ḵ̄
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) Ḇûḵḇḇ ḏc̱ ɗ ɗ̱ w̱á w̱u̱ ẃ̱ ɗ̱ ḏḏ́ ɗ ẕ.
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) Ḇûḵḇḇ ḏc̱ ɗ ɗ̱ w̱á w̱u̱ ẃ̱ ɗ̱ ḏḏ́ ɗ ẕ.
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) Ḏḇḏ ɗ y̱ y̱ ɗ̱ ṯ̄ ɗ̱ ḇ ḏ ḏ ḇ.
woman LOG.SG.SBJV so.REM 3SG.PROS dance one ART FOC remove
‘Each woman is going to sing the same song’.

(205c) Klàŋɗ̱ḏs-ḏy ɗ ɗ̱ y̱ s̱á̄ḏḏ ḏ ɗ ḇ ḏ
school-child REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV paper one ART FOC
w̱á p̱ ɗ.
voice say
‘Let every student read the same book’.

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

(206) Ḇ p̱ḇ ḇc̱ ɗ y̱á ḇḇ p̱ḵ.
human which 3SG.JNT work which do\JNT
‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) Gɔ̌ ḇc̱ ɗ ḇḏḇ ɗ ḇ p̱ ḵ.
male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\JNT
‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) Gḇṯḏ w̱áá Zá w̱o̱ p̱ḏḏ w̱o̱ w̱ o̱
NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI village.CMM 3PL.JNT PL.REFL
ḵó s̱ḏ gu̱.
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) Gḇṯḏ w̱áá Zá w̱o̱ v̱ṯḏ̄ ḵ p̱ ḇ w̱̄ p̱ḻ ḵ.
NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI elections do\NEUT part other two with
Gbato and Jean vote for different parties’ (litt.: ‘Gbato and Jean, they do vote with two different parts).

Different judges try the same cases differently (litt. ‘Judges which are not one, they are going to do one-one way of solving cases with one kind of trial’).
‘I have sold two guns to each hunter’.

(218) ɓlǔkäɓe plè, bɛ gbà wà ɓlɔɔ yɑ̄gã-yɑ̄gã sù. hunter two human all 3PL.PRF bag three-three take
‘Two hunters carry three bags each’.

(219) ɓląɓę-dù, bɛ gbà wà dũ tɔ plè-plè ká peasant-PL human all 3PL.PRF come chicken two-two with
kɑːbɑːdɑ əɛɛ dɛ.

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

(220) ɬɔdə-dù wà dã plè-plè ɤ̯tɑ̃gɑ̃-dù gù. soldier-PL 3PL.PRF go.up two-two water-on-vehicle\IZF-PL in
‘The soldiers have boarded the boats two by two’.

4.4. Mass quantifiers and noun classifiers

The system of noun classifiers in Dan-Gwetaa is at an early stage of grammaticalization. There are three count words, gã ‘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 (kɒt ‘ball’, gɛ ‘dead body, carcass’, bɛɓ ‘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., fãːɡã ‘comb’, ɗɑːɡɑ ‘moonfish’, ɗɛ̃ɡɑ ‘needle’, pɛɛɡɑ ‘adze’, yɛgɑ ‘savanna’, yɒbɛ ‘rattle’, yûbɑːdɑ ‘cat’, ɓiːdɛ ‘intestinal worm’, sɬɛɛdɛ ‘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.

gã ‘grain, bone’ is by far the most productive (and the most grammaticalized) count word.\footnote{For a detailed analysis of the semantics of gã ‘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.} It appears with many collective nouns (names of insects, such as zɛ́ɛ ‘mosquito’; zɔ̃j ‘gravel’, kãa ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, wù ‘hair’, dɛ̀ ‘leaves’, sɬάdɛ̀ ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (ɓiː ‘rope’, dɔ́j ‘rope, wire’, yɪ ‘river’\footnote{Without the classifier gã, the lexeme yɪ may mean ‘water’ or ‘river’ (or any other water reservoir).}, gbɔːj ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of gã 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 (yɔ ‘eye’, sɔ ‘tooth’, nɛ ‘tongue’) (222), with ɓiː ‘rope’ (223), with the word wã ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

(221) Yɔŋ yà kpə zɔdə/goŋ gã/*/ø sɔdù bã. NOM.MF 3SG.PRF see caterpillar1/caterpillar2 bone five on
‘Yo has found five brown hairy/big black edible caterpillars’.

(222) Bã y̩/s̩/dɛ́ jì gã/*/ø sɔdù dɛ̀-kã. 1SG.PRF eye/tooth/tongue bone five leaf-do
‘I have tried (medically) 5 eyes/teeth/tongues’.

(223) Bã bìi gã/*/ø sɔdù dɔ. 1SG.PRF rope bone five buy
‘I have bought five ropes’.

(224) Bã wâ gã/*/ø yảɡã dũ ã dã. 1SG.PRF 5.francs bone three give 3SG.NSBJ before
‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

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

(225) Bã yɪ gã/*/ø yǎɡã kã. 1SG.PRF water bone three cut
‘I have crossed three rivers’.

(226) Bã nũ kãa gã/*/ø sɔdù wɔ. 1SG.PRF 1SG.NSBJ hair bone five extract
‘I have pulled out five my bodyhair’.

(227) Bá tó-dé gá/ø sá-dú dí-ki.
1SG.PRF ear-leaf bone five leaf-do
‘I have tried (medically) 5 ears’.

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

Dá ‘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 ɓé appears if the fishes were rather big, gá is neutral (with some other nouns, this count word indicates a small size), and dí implies that the fishes were bought alive.15

(228) Bá yááá gá/ɓé/dí dáágá dí.
1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy
‘I have bought three fishes’.

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

(229) Yá báá gáé/báá yáágá dí.
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) wé védé yáágá
glass three
‘three glasses of palm wine’,

(231) káá báá yáágá
bag three
‘three bags of maize’,

(232) sáá kpáá yáágá
soap ball three
‘three cakes of soap’,

(233) báá d'éé yáágá
root three
‘three cassava roots’,

(234) glóó kpáá yáágá
bunch three
‘three bunches of banana’,

(235) káá lóó yáágá
coffee kilogram three
‘three kilograms of coffee’.

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

(236) yáá káá yáá yáágá
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 yáá is omitted (yáá káá yáágá), it means that water is necessarily placed in three gourds.

---

15 -dí is also a diminutive suffix, therefore, an alternative reading in this case is ‘three small fishes’.
If used with numerals without count nouns, the mass nouns undergo a semantic shift to the ‘kind of’ meaning: yí s53dù ‘five sorts of water’, yéɛ s53dù ‘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-Gwëetaa.

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) Bâŋɡlɔɔrɔŋ yɔŋ ɗëvi ɓà.  
  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) Dàa dìye-rɔrɔkë fɔ  yɔŋ ɗə ɡì.  
  knife sharp.ExtINT 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ PP
  ‘He has an extremely sharp knife’ [f86:7].

(239) À së  yáá  n  dë.  
  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 dër, where dër is a defective verb.

(240) Yàñ  yɔŋ  dër  dë.  
  sun.CMM 3SG.EXI beNEUT today
  ‘It is very hot today’ [f57:8] (litt. ‘Sun exists today’).

(241) ... kɔ́  a  dò  dë  weë  bá  yáá  dë́.  
  that 3SG.NSBJ go place other certain 3SG.NEG.IPFV be
  ‘... for he had no other place to go’ [f2:7] (litt.: ‘that another place for him to go did not exist’).

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

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

4.6. Floating quantifiers

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

4.7. Bare quantifiers

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

(242) À bà kò yɔŋ yàágàa.  
  3SG.NSBJ POSS house 3SG.EXI three
  ‘He has three houses’ (litt. ‘his house is three’) [f77:14].

(243) Bàdà-kà-ɓé-dù wò yà-tó-sií n gì wò gbé.  
  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) Bàdà-kà-ɓé-dù wò yà-tó-sií n gì  
  work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP
  ‘The workers who are waiting for me are not many’.

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

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

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 g ɛ /g ɛ /gb ɛ /ɗɛ /ɓ /ɗu.

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

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

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

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

Simple translations of ‘only’ are possible only with numerals, by the means of the restrictors gbɛŋ and sɛŋ ‘only’. As for the restricter kpɛŋɗɛ ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the argument position only, contrary to zɔ ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the predicate position.
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?’ [Pame1_Iwong_taong.003].

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

In Dan-Gwetta 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).

As can be seen from (256b), 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).
(258a) Gbátó yà ã ɓā dēbā tā-kú.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface catch  
‘Gbato has helped his wife’.

(258b) Gbátó yà ã ɓā dēbā tā bā kú.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface any catch  
‘Gbato has helped his wife in some way’.

(258c) Gbátó yà ã ɓā dēbā tā gbà kú.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface all catch  
‘Gbato has helped his wife by all means’.

(258d) Gbátó yà ã ɓā dēbā tā-dũ kú.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface-PL catch  
‘Gbato has helped his wife repeatedly’.

(258e) Gbátó yà ã ɓā dēbā tā gbé kú.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface many catch  
‘Gbato has helped his wife very much’.

5. Summary table

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

The adverbialization of D-quantifiers in the constructions with preverbial verbs is not represented in the Table 4, as well as the expression of quantifying meanings by verbal constructions.

Table 4. Summary for quantifiers in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa

<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>ɓá</td>
<td>certain; any; {other}</td>
<td>{other}</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɓáwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēbə́́ŕ̥</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals); {self}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{self}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēbə́́ŕ̥wó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēdə́wó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dō</td>
<td>certain, a</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dódó</td>
<td>rare, few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dábá</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>a little, some</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dábábó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a little (small intensity); {at least}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbà</td>
<td>all, entire (see Table 1)</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbà pépé</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbááds̀</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbéý</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D-quantifiers</td>
<td>With mass nouns</td>
<td>With pl. form</td>
<td>A-quantifiers</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>too much, very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbédè</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>major part</td>
<td>majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>këë</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpëëwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpëëdè</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpëëdè gbà</td>
<td>overwhelming majority</td>
<td>the great part of</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X óó X</td>
<td>any, whatever</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y dë’</td>
<td>every; any; (all)</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëëpë</td>
<td>every, (all)</td>
<td>(‘kind of’)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëë dò</td>
<td>a half (of one object or of a group)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>half of (the group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëë kpù</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>major part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëë sëëdá</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëŋ</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëëdá</td>
<td>(small)</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëëdá bà</td>
<td>several, few</td>
<td>small quantity of</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sià</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>sometimes, often; usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sià sìà</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sià tông bà-dù gü</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôŋtôŋdë</td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôŋbásìì (NPI)</td>
<td>a couple, a small number</td>
<td>a small quantity</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tông gü (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>few, insufficiently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôŋ gbà gü</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>all the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziãwò</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 (-sùì)
- ADV – adverbial suffix (-wó ~ -bó)
- ART – definite article bà
- Attr – attribute
- AUT – autonomous pronominal series
- AUX – auxiliary
- C – consonant
- CMM – common case
CNTR – contrastive pronominal series
COM – comitative case
CONS – consequitive conjunction (γφ’)
COP – copula
Det – determiner
DIM – diminutive suffix
DO – direct object
DUR – durative verbal suffix -sʊʊ
EXI – existential series of PPM
EXCL – 1 pers. exclusive plural pronoun/PPM
FOC – a) focalization particle (ɗ₃ ~ ɗʊʊ); b) grammatical high tone on certain focalized nouns
GER – gerundive suffix -sʊʊ
IMP – imperative series of PPM
INF – infinitive marker (extralow tone suffixed to the verb stem)
INSTR – instrumental/comitative/transformational postposition (ká’)
INT – intensive
IPFV – imperfective
IZF – isaphet marker (an extralow tone on the noun)
JNT – conjoint series of PPM; tonal modification on the verbal stem in the conjoint construction
LOC – locative case
LOG – logophoric pronoun
MSD – suffix of masdar (verbal noun, -ɗɛ)
N – noun
NEG – negative
NEUT – neutral aspect marker (extralow tone on the verbal stem)
NOM.F – female proper noun
NOM.M – male proper noun
NP – noun phrase
NPI – negative polarizing item (?)
NSBJ – non-subject prounominal series
OO – oblique object
OWS – object wide scope
PST – past
PFV – perfective
PL – plural
POSS – possessive marker (ɓa, gɔ̌)
PP – postposition with a broad meaning (gɔ̌)
PPM – predicative pronominal marker (auxiliary)
PRES – presumptive series of PPM
PRF – perfect series of PPM
PROH – prohibitive series of PPM
PROS – prospective series of PPM
Q – general question particle (ɗɛ or a copy of the final vowel)
RECP – reciprocal pronoun
REFL – reflexive pronoun
REL – relativization marker (s’)
REM – remote
RETR – retrospective operator
S – subject
SBJV – subjunctive series of PPM
SG – singular
SLA – selective marker (-sʊʊ)
SUB – subessive case or postposition (ɓã)
SWS – Subject Wide Scope
TOP – topicalization particle (zũ)
V – (a) verb; (b) vowel
X – post-verbal arguments and circonstants

References