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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>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>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê</td>
<td>A</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 [ŋ] 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, /e, y, o/, are realized as more closed allophones, [i, y, u] under extra-high tone, cf. /we/ [wi] ‘to speak’ (the lexical form) vs. /we/ [we] ‘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 səɔ ɛ [sʊŋɛ] ‘to be afraid’, səɔ is normally pronounced identically to the verb səɔ ɔ ‘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, n̥, 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: ɓaa ‘scabies’,
- high: ɓa ‘you (pl.)’, the negative imperfective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- mid: ɓa ‘you (pl.)’, the prospective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- low: ɓa ‘to scratch’ (a conjoint construction form),
- extra-low: ɓa ‘reed’.

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

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

### 2.3. Syllabic structures

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

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

### 2.4. Basic syntax

#### 2.4.1. The basic word order

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

#### 2.4.2. Non-verbal sentences

Non-verbal sentences are formed with copulae ɓuŋ, ɓa, dę, d’ (identification, negative identification, presentative, equative) and with PPM (negative identification, locative, qualitative, equative: on PPM, see 2.9). Identification, S ɓuŋ ‘it is S’ (if the object referred by S is in the range of visibility), S ɓa ‘it is S’ (S is outside the range of visibility). One of the equative sentence type, S ɓuŋ OO ka ‘S is OO’ (OO is for Oblique object), can be regarded as a variety of the identification sentence.

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

Presentative sentence, S dę ‘here is S’.

In the (affirmative) identification and the presentative sentences, a subject is obligate 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

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

#### 2.5.2. Relational and free nouns
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 possessor) is a free noun, it is connected to the possessor noun by a connective word (a postposition) \( \text{ɓ} \sim \text{a} \):

(1) \text{Gbất}ò ɓá dâɗú
NOM.M POSS child-PL
‘Gbato’s children’.

\( \text{ɓá} \) is most often replaced by \( \text{g}3 \) if the NP appears in the circumstant function:

(2) \text{n} \ 3SG.NSBJ g3 POSS.LOC house.LOC
‘at my home’.

If the possessed noun is relational, there is no connective word: \text{Gbất}ò dÌ ‘Gbato’s father’.

Most of body part names and kinship terms belong to the class of relational nouns, however, there are some important exceptions: dá ‘child’, bêɓ ‘nephew, niece (sister’s child)’, wù ‘hair (head hair)’, fáyì ‘sweat’ are free nouns, while báŋ ‘child’ (a synonym of dá ’), kàà ‘body hair’, wëe ‘urine’ are relational.

2.5.3. Standard plural marker is -ɗú which follows the noun. The majority of locative nouns have no plural forms in the oblique cases. The plural marker -ɗú 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) zá yí ɗéfdóf-sù-gù
liana.sp. water viscous.substance-ADJ-PL
‘bowls of sauce of the liana "zan"’ [e4:20].

(4) ɓùs-ɗù wò kí dò á ká, wáá kí ɗì.
mud-PL 3PL.JNT house build 3SG INSTR 3PL.IPV.NEG do so.CLOSE
‘One does not build a house with such sorts of mud’ [f180:7].

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

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

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

(6) Zà-ɗú gbà́ kà zú.
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) Yáŋ gbèé yè fáyì gà lòò bëé bà.
sun.CMM difficult 3SG.EXI sweat bone arrive\NEUT human on
‘Hot sun makes one sweat’ [d162:6].

– predicate in a postpositionless construction:

(8) N kò ɗë pàñ kpàł kpâà
1SG.NSBJ hand.CMM 3SG.EXI numb
‘My hand is numb’ [d163:7].

– predicate in a postpositional construction:

(9) A gë ɗë kpàñ kà.
3SG.NSBJ foot 3SG.EXI bare with
‘He is barefoot’ [d162:13].

In most cases, both predicative uses of adjectives are more or less equivalent, and sometimes, there are some subtle differences. See in more detail (Vydrin 2007, 2010).

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3 To the contrary, the word fáyì ‘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 –sű (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: sű plè ‘two months’. About the context where a numeral is followed by the plural marker, cf. 3.1.1.1.

Ordinal numbers are adjectives. They are derived by the suffix -ɗāa (ɗīɗūɗāa ‘the fifth’). Only ‘first’ has a suppletive form, blēsű.ū.

### 2.8. NP structure

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

(N₁ – (Atr – Det)) – N₂ – (Atr – Det)

In a **genitive-like construction**, the head noun follows the dependent one. Genitive constructions are of two types: (a) unmarked: bāā dūū (lit. ‘cassava-tree’) ‘cassava stalk’, and (b) head-marked, where the syntactic connection is marked on the head noun by an extra-low tone: bāā dūū ‘cassava plant’. To the class of genitive-like NPs belong the postpositional NP, where the connection between the constituents is marked by a postposition: dūū bā gbīgā (lit.: ‘raffia.palm – on – caterpillar’) ‘raffia palm caterpillar’. Possessive NP (ɗūūtī bā dāā ‘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: gbē tū <dog black> ‘black dog’. In the attributive constructions, determiners (plural marker, definite article, etc.) normally follow the dependent word: gbē tū-dū ‘black dogs’, gbē tū bā ‘the black dog’. Rather atypically of Mande languages, the plural marker can optionally follow the head word (gbē-dū tū ‘black dogs’) or appear in both positions (gbē-dū tū-dū ‘black dogs’); both strategies are subject to numerous lexical restrictions.

The **coordinate NP** is constructed with coordinate pronouns, cf. 2.10.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>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>1 exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential EXI</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/ū</td>
<td>ỹ/ỹ</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjoint JNT</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/ū</td>
<td>ɗ/ɗ̣/ỹ</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect PRF</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>ỹ/ỹ</td>
<td>yā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective PROS</td>
<td>bāā</td>
<td>bii</td>
<td>ỹỹ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative IMP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ø/Ø̣</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive SBJV</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/ū</td>
<td>ɗ/ɗ̣</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive PRES</td>
<td>bāā</td>
<td>bāā</td>
<td>yāā</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperfective NEG.IPVF</td>
<td>bāā</td>
<td>bāā</td>
<td>yāā</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative perfective NEG.PVF</td>
<td>bii</td>
<td>bii</td>
<td>yii</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive PROH</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs

2.10.1. Personal pronouns

Table 2. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gwéêtaa

<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>Refle-xive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ĩ/ũ</td>
<td>ā/Ø</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>yï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomou s</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>bï</td>
<td>yï</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>bï</td>
<td>yï</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple co-ordinalive</td>
<td>yãã</td>
<td>kã</td>
<td>wã</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fused co-ordinalive</td>
<td>yãã</td>
<td>kã</td>
<td>wã</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ordinative porte-manteau</td>
<td>yëñ / këñ</td>
<td>wëñ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yëñ/ yëñ (1&amp;3)+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwëñ/kwëñ (1&amp;2)+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwëñ/kwëñ (3&amp;3)+3</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) Kẽ kũí bã wāŋgā dēŋ, bũí
dō ṣé wēŋ dũ.
go 3SG.NSBJ other give INF
‘If you loose your money, I won’t give other’ [e4:10].

(11) Ɂ-dãã bãá Ɂ yã gã, wã á dēŋ dô.
3NSBJ–PL.POSS sheep 3SG.PRJ die 3PL.PRJ 3SG.NSBJ new buy
‘Their sheep has died, they have bought a new one’.
The 3SG non-subject pronoun ā is on the way of grammaticalization as a prepositional definite article (all other determinants in Dan are postpositional) (12).

(12) Bãŋ dēb̥ rā ẉ yã kã ṇ ḳ
1SG-CNTR self 3SG.NSBJ matter 3SG.EXI RETR 1SG.NSBJ astonish
‘The matter astonished me...’ [Dũ ẉ].

2.10.2. Interrogative pronouns are used for special questions: dē ‘who?’, bã ‘what?’, dē ‘how many? how much?’, bẽ ‘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) ḑ̣ ti ũũ ti ỵ Ɂ̣ ḳ ṇ tã?
what REL 2SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ see.JNT road on
‘What have you seen on the road?’

2.10.3. Demonstrative pronouns, definite articles and adverbs

There are five demonstrative adverbs differentiated according to different parameters: ỵ and yã indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. Bã indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. Bũ 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. T̥ t̥ d̥ (the intensive form is t̥ t̥ t̥ d̥) 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 bâ. In both cases, a relativization construction is involved, and the relativisation marker can be always restituted in a slow pronunciation:

(14a) kô yə yə... /bâ → (14b) kô (yə yə) yâ /bâ

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

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

2.10.4. Other adverbs

There are two productive derivative suffixes of adverbs, -dë and -wô ~ -bô.

The former 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 -dë-adverbs are non-motivated, i.e., corresponding suffixless stems are lacking in Dan-Gwëetaa.

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

(15a) Yâ yə têêdô blû gwâ .gnu.

3SG.EXI REFLSG friend push\NEUT stone in

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

(15b) Yâ yə têêdô blû dâ ɓâ wô gwâ .gnu.

3SG.EXI REFLSG friend push FOC 3SG.NSBJ do\UNT 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) Gbâ tô yâ dû pfê pfê yə... wô yə.

NOM.M 3SG.PRF come each REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ. do\UNT 3SG.EXI

pô dô.

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-Gwëetaa language that determiners frequently used with nominalized verbs end by merging with the dummy verb which brings forth a subsequent reinterpretation of –wô/-bô as an adverbial suffix, while the verbal noun is again recursively reinterpreted as a verb.

2.11. Verb

2.11.1. Nominalizations

There are following means of nominalization in Dan-Gwëetaa:

— a name of the result of action formed with the suffix -dê (homonymous to several other suffixes) which also serves a means of phrasal nominalization;
— a gerund, formed with the marker -sû 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 -yê;
— a masdar formed with the suffix -dê;
— 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-Gwëetaa, full and partial.

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

(17b) Gbärō ya bɨːɬa-dʊ  dʊu-dʊ.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF wound extinguish-extinguish  
‘Gbato has washed (numerous) wounds with warm water’.

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

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

2.12. Focalization strategies

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

(18) A ḏa ɗa, ḏa ṭy ɗi ḏe ɗi tɔ ɗa.  
3SG.NSBJ father FOC 3SG.NSBJ 3SG.NSBJ call\JNT 3SG.NSBJ name with  
‘It is his father he addressed by name (once)’ [e16:13].

(19) Yr ɓəɡgilo bpo, ḏa ḏi bʃ.  
3SG.EXI mango unripe.fruit FOC 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT  
‘It is an unripe mango he has eaten’ [e11:9].

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

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

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

2.13. Relativization

There are two relativization strategies.

1) Correlative strategy: a full-fledged relativized NP, followed by the relative conjunction ḏy (sometimes kɔ), 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-Gwẹetaa also a reduced relative clause): such a repetition produces an emphatic effect.

(20) [Wũy, ḏy hî-sìù kàj yv ̩ ú dũ  
meat REL.3SG.JNT smell-ADJ with CONS 2SG.JNT come\JNT  
âi kà ḏe?!  
3SG.NSBJ with Q  
‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].

(21) Yr ɓe b̩e n d̩e jn kwày ̩ ḏy â gb̩  
3SG.EXI beg\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ before 1SG.NSBJ theft REL 3SG.NSBJ son  
â ɓó b̩a âi wɔ ɡù.  
3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ matter\IZF in  
‘He is imploring me about the matter of a theft committed by his son against me’ [e10:1].

(22) [D̩e̩b ̩ a ḏy b̩lu k̩ap, â d̩e̩b ̩ a b̩a  
woman REL.3SG.JNT rice boil\JNT 1SG.EXI woman ART  
â dɔ.  
3SG.NSBJ know\NEUT
‘The very woman who has cooked rice, I know her’ [f187:6].

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

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

The basic strategies for the expression of existential quantification are:
— bare NP that can express indiscriminately singular, plural or mass meanings (it can be said that the bare form has a neutral number meaning). The plural marker ɗu is normally not used if the plural meaning is already expressed by a numeral or another determiner; with names of pair body parts; most often, it is not used with names of inanimate objects, insects or small animals (percieved as “lacking individual identity”); in fact, ɗu expresses jointly the meanings of plurality and referentiality (see in more detail 2.6.2.). A bare NP in the subject position controls most often a singular PPM, although a semantic agreement by number is also possible (a bare NP may control a plural PPM).
— a NP with definite articles bà, dɔ (to the right of the NP) or à (to the left of the NP), see 2.10.3.
— indefinite determiner bà appears in practically all indefinite and negative contexts, in particular:
  a) specific unknown:
(23) Bà ɗu yā dû wô guû.
  ‘Someone came after you’.
  b) interrogative context:
(24) Bà yâ wô d5 dê bû dô dêe?
  ‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’
  c) conditional:
(25) Bû bà pîgâ-sôdô sîã bê d5 bà
  2SG.PROS 1SG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human
  ‘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) Yâ ɗu bà yâ dê bê bà yâ
  3SG.NEG.IPfv 1SG.NSBJ say that human certain 3SG.PRf
  dû.
  ‘I don’t think that anybody has come’.
  e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:
(27) Gbâtô yâ zoû dê yî kpâ bê
  NOM.M 3SG.PRf deny that 3SG.NEG.PFV see human
  bà bà zîã tâ.
  ‘Gbato has denied (falsely) he had met anybody on the road’.
  f) in the typical context “specific known”, bà appears in the expression bà ɗu, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).
(28) Bà ɗu bà yô bû yô à pî à
  human certain REL.TOP.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ say\NEUT
  yô bà ɗu sû.
  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 bà and its usage in the free choice contexts, see 3.2.1.6.
 Bá is not allowed in only two contexts typical for indeterminate pronouns in other languages:
— non-specific irreal; in this case, the noun is used without determiners:

\[
(29) \quad \text{Ng} \quad \text{gbā} \quad \text{dā-dā} \quad \text{kā}.
\]

1SG.NSBJ give knife-DIM with
‘Give me any whatever knife (you have)’.

— a standard for comparison, in which case the NP is used either in its plural form ((30b), the plural marker dũ being, in fact, a determiner too), or with the universal determiner gbā (30a).

\[
(30a) \quad \text{Yg} \quad \text{bīāŋ} \quad \text{sū} \quad \text{ũ} \quad \text{żĩr} \quad \text{kā} \quad \text{jā} \quad \text{ũ}.
\]

3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
tēēbā  gbā tā.
age-mate all on
‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’, or

\[
(30b) \quad \text{Yg} \quad \text{bīāŋ} \quad \text{sū} \quad \text{ũ} \quad \text{żĩr} \quad \text{kā} \quad \text{jā} \quad \text{ũ}.
\]

3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
tēēbā-dũ tā.
age-mate-PL on
‘He runs faster than 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: pā yaāgā ‘three things’. On the other hand, a numeral can have a plural marker, in which case it acquires an ‘exactly’ interpretation (it can be regarded as contrastive focalization of the numeral):

\[
(31) \quad \text{Pōlisiyē-dũ} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{kwōbẽ} \quad \text{yaāgā-dũ} \quad \text{kũ}.
\]

policeman-PL 3PL.PRF thief three-PL catch
‘The policemen caught exactly three thieves’ (the context: One knows that three thieves have fled a prison. One learns that, later on, the police have caught thieves. It is not clear whether these are the same thieves or not, but the number of the thieves is the same as of those who had fled) [f181:3].

A noun determined by a numeral can appear with a definite article. More precisely, in this case we have a leftside transposition of the noun with the article, with its substitution by a resumptive pronoun which is determined by the numeral (32). The construction has a partitive meaning.

\[
(32) \quad \text{Pōlisiyē} \quad \text{bā} \quad \text{a} \quad \text{sā5dũ} \quad \text{wā} \quad \text{dēh}.
\]

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

Other existential quantifiers in Dan-Gwéetaa also follow the noun. The meaning of ‘several’, ‘a couple of’, ‘a few’ is expressed by the morphologically complex determiners dābā <child/diminutive marker-some> (33) and sēdā bā <small-some> (34), the latter includes however a semantic component of evaluation, ‘less than expected’. With uncountable nouns, it expresses the meaning ‘a small quantity of’.

\[
(33) \quad \text{Gbātọ} \quad \text{yā} \quad \text{kā} \quad \text{dābā} \quad \text{dō}.
\]

NOM.M 3SG.PRF hoe a.little buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

\[
(34) \quad \text{Gbātọ} \quad \text{yā} \quad \text{kā}/\text{blũ} \quad \text{sēdā} \quad \text{bā} \quad \text{dō}.
\]

NOM.M PRF hoe/rice small other buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’ / ‘Gbato has bought a small quantity of rice’.

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

(35) Gbatório wá káá daɓá-daɗ dɔ. ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

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

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

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

(38) Yé ká ɗɔ̀ wó dɔ̀ bá, dá dɛ CONS.3SG.JNT do 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT so.REM there child how many ɗ u gɔ? 3SG.JNT 2SG.NSBJ PP ‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

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

**Value judgement D-quantifiers**

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

(40) Bɛ gbé wá dò gbłù bá, bɛ kɛɛ dà wó dũ. human many 3PL.PRF go war on human several FOC 3PL.JNT come\JNT ‘Many people have gone to the war, few have come back’.

(41) Ya yákáɓɛ gbé sù kɛ wó blää dɛɛ zù-ɓò. 1PL.EXCL.PRF worker many take that 3PL.SBJV field new bottom-remove ‘We have hired enough workers to launch a new plantation’.

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

(42) Bɛ dóɗó dà wó dɔ̀ kwáɓɛ bá dɔ̀-ɛː human rare FOC 3PL.JNT go\JNT thief ART know-INF ‘Few are those who know the thief’ [f154:10].

(43) Yɛ bɛ-ɗũ dóɗó dɔ. 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) tɔrʧbáςù (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) tɔrʧbáςù is not allowed.

(44) Aː pɛɛ ɗ báŋ gbé dɔ, kɛɛ 1SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\JNT but báŋ tɔrʧbáςù yáá ɗ gɔ. machete multitude 3SG.NEG.IPfv 3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple’.

(45a) Yáá ŋá yáá dě Zá 3SG.NEG.IPfv 1SG.NSBJ eyes.COM that NOM.M
yɛ́ dɔ́ káá tɛ̀rɛ̀básù ɗ́ɛ́-
3SG.EXI go\NEUT how multitude buy-INF
‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’.

(45b) ‘Zá yɛ́ dɔ́ káá tɛ̀rɛ̀básù ɗ́ɛ́-’ ëë?
NOM.M 3SG.EXI go\NEUT how multitude buy-INF Q
‘Will Jean buy many hoes?’

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

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

(46) Bá kpa ŋá bá dɛbɛ́ bá dɔ́. 1SG.PRF see 2SG.NSBJ POSS thing many one
‘I have seen your wife once’.

(47) Yá sɔ́ sɔ́ yáágá. 3SG.PRF cane.rat kill three
‘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), sɛ̀ɛ̀dá ‘little’ (49), and dódó ‘occasionally, from time to time, with intervals’ (50).

(48) Dá-dʊ wò gblá-siá gbé kó tààbá. child-PL 3PL.EXI yell-DUR much house behind
‘Children yell much behind the house’.

(49) ðú bá dɔ́-dʊ wò pò bɔ́ sɛ̀ɛ̀dá. 2SG.NSBJ POSS guest-PL 3PL.EXI thing eat\NEUT little
‘Your guests eat little’.

(50) N̄ gbé bɛ́lɛ́sù yɛ́ ŋá dɛ́ sì́sì́ yɛ́ kɛ́kɛ́ 1SG.NSBJ son first.ADJ 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT often.INT but
bɛ́ dɔ́ á pɔ́- yɛ́ ŋá dɛ́ dódó.
human put 3SG.NSBJ at 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT from.time.to.time
‘My first son calls me often, and the next one calls me from time to time’.

Dábáwó ~ dábábó ‘a little’ is derived from the D-quantifier dábá by the means of the adverbial suffix -wò ~ -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 dû yɛ́ pûú dábábó. 3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a.little
‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:
— sì́lá ~ sì́lɔ́ 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 sì́lá by the adverb dódó, and the combination of both adverbs expresses the meaning ‘from time to time, rarely’, cf. (53);
— sì́slá ~ sì́slɔ́ ‘often, frequently’ can be regarded as a reduplicated form of sì́lá. Unlike the latter, sì́slá is not ambiguous and refers only to the events of a high frequency, cf. (54);
— dédɛ́wó ‘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 wò from the determinant dɛ̀dɛ́ ‘self’.

(52) A ŋá bɛ̀-dʊ́ tùàà-bó ɗìlá.
1SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ human-PL greeting-removel\NEUT sometimes
‘I visit my relatives from time to time/often’.

(53) ̀ũ \gb\ũ yë yā kā blāā siā dōdō.
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) Sāā yē yī tō kwāā siāsīā.
sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often
‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55) Ṫeē-kā-gēē bā yē bō dēdē-wō.
threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV
‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

(56) Yē dō u gā dēdē-wō yāādfrē.
3SG.EXI put\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ PP true-ADV yesterday
‘Yesterday he waited for me for a long time’ [f9:15].

(57) Ṫēsē yē dśē ādo-sū kā sī gā
NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with RELF.SG POSS.LOC
dēdē-yē dēdē-wō.
hamlet.LOC true-ADV
‘Kese has set traps a lot in his remote field’ [e18:15].

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

(58) Bā dā-dū wō wō n bā siā tśē
1SG.POSS child-PL 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ on sometimes time
bā-dū guū.
certain-PL in
‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].

A syntactically complex NPI quantifier tśē guū <time in> is used in negative sentences and
expresses the meaning ‘(too) few, insufficiently’ (59, 60).4 It is not allowed in other contexts typical
of NPI elements (general question; dependent clause with a negation in the matrix clause, etc.).

(59) Bēē yāā tśē guū.
human 3SG.NEG.IPFV time in
‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(60) Dā yū yā bā tśē guū.
rain 3SG.NEG.PFV rain time in
‘It rained insufficiently’.

3.2. Generalized universal (Co-intersection) Quantifiers

3.2.1. Universal D-Quantifiers

There are two determiners expressing universal quantifying meanings, gbā which is an “all-
type” modifier, and pépé ~ pēē 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 őō (primarily a free choice meaning), and the
expression ū dōō (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 bā.

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

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

(61a) Dōōkwāō-dōō yūū sī gū sā ā kā
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR

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

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

(61a) Dɔsɔkwaɗ-dɔאשר yu}sɛɗɔ ɗũ ɓã ɗã
market-LOC fish fish be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI

kã ɓã d5.

RETR all buy\NEUT

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

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

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

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

(62) Bĩ gbàɗ ɓã yã.
darkness all.3SG.PRFR put yere
‘It has got quite dark there’ [Dũwɔ 12].

(63) Bẽ gbàɗ dũ gẽɛŋɗã.
human all.3PL.PRFR stand fixedly
‘Everyone was striken by stupor (after springing to one’s feet)’ [B182:5].

3.2.1.1. CMP-quantification

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

(64) Dãkũbũyĩ yĩliɔŋũ zĩŋgũ ɗã ɓã dãbã yã
day four between NOM.M POSS woman 3SG.PRFR
dũũ ɓã gbà ɗũ.
treee ART all burn
‘During four days, Gbato’s wife burnt the entire tree’.

(65a) ɓã kĩ yã gbà ɗũ.
1SG.PRFR house this all daub
‘I have daubed all this house’.

(66) Dãbã bã yã yã ɗũ ɗũ gũ ɗũ ɗũ gbà bã.
woman ART 3SG.PRFR 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) Bã kĩ gbà ɗũ.
1SG.PRFR house all smear
(i) ‘I have daubed the entire house’ or (ii) ‘I have daubed all the houses’.

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

(67) Pẽdẽ gbã yã gũ.
village.CMM all 3SG.PRFR 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) Kũbũdã yã ɗũ ɗũ ɗũ gbã tã.
prefect 3SG.PRFR affair lie family all on
‘The prefect has punished all families’.

5 In the example 62 gbà expresses a high degree of intensity. This meaning seems to be reserved to this particular expression (‘quite dark’), it does not appear in other similar contexts.
Single object nouns may require a noun classifier word in order to express the CMP meaning of gbà; göë ‘carcass, body’ (69a), bërër dô ‘one bunch’ (69b), bë ‘fruit’ (70a):

(69a) Gbàtô yà tô göë gbà bër:
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken body all eat

‘Gbato has eaten the entire chicken’.

(69b) Gbàtô yà tô bërër dô gbà bër:
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken bunch one all eat

id.

(70a) Dâdà bë ŋ yà ã gbà yë wîlî kîjî
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-Gwëttaa the gerundive marker -sû is normally added to the verb, and when a verb has an adverbial, to the adverbial):

(70b) Dâdà bë ŋ yà ã gbà tô
pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all remain\NMLZ

dër-sû yë wîlî kîjî dô.
so.REM-GER 3SG.EXI money hundred one

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

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

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

(71a) Déba-ðû gbà wà dû kwàâ-ðês:
woman-PL all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC

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

(71b) Déba gbà wà dû kwàâ-ðês:
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 wà wîlûû...), 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-ðû gbà wà wîlûû kê pês-dô yà
male-PL all 3PL.PRF rise still village-father 3SG.PRF
dô kês-dês:
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 wà wîlûû.
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.6

(73) *Yɛ bɛ gbə wọ yã gbɔ bɔ-su ɓa.*

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

‘Then everybody started crying’ [Zuɑ sæɓ].

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) *Gwée yã ðu gbə ɓa.*

leopard 3SG.PRF cow all kill

‘A leopard killed all the cows’.

(74b) *Gwée yã ðu ɓu gbə zá id’.*

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

(75) *Dáɗã yã ðu gbə yɛ wiá kâɲ dò.*

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

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

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

(76) *Kåló-gu bâ wò kâ dû zìã yã–*’

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

tã.

‘The prisoners fled away by this road’.

### 3.2.1.1.3. Quantifier gbə 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 recipient of X’. Used with the quantor gbə, these nouns without plural marker and definiteness markers designate the entireness of the quantity available:

(77) *Gbâtô yã yi gbə ɓû.*

NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all drink

‘Gbato has drunk all the water’.

(78) *li bâ dâ yã sɔ gbə dî-kû.*

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

‘Your child has dirtied all the clothes’.

(79) *Yá bi lû gbə kã.*

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) *Kåliē gbə yã sêè.*

coffee all 3SG.PRF spoil

‘All the coffee has spoilt’.

### 3.2.1.1.4. The distributive meaning of gbə

Gbə 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 ðu, as in

---

6 However, it should be mentioned that the use of the word bɛ ‘man, human’ without plural marker in combination with gbə is preferable even in the contexts where, according to the general rule, one would expect -ðu. 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 yã stems from a demonstrative adverb used in a non-verbal relative clause (see 2.10.3.), and it is necessarily followed by a 3SG nonsubject resumptive pronoun (it can be elided, but its structural slot is there). Therefore, in the synchrony, this construction can be viewed as sufficiently grammaticalized and non-topical.
(81, 82b), in which case we have a partitive construction, or indefinite (without plural marker, cf. (82a)).

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

(82a)  
Yi gbàɗdũ pɛ́ɗɛ gbà gu̯ yũ.     
1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM all in CONS
yĩ gọ bà.  
1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’.

(82b)  
Yi gbàɗdũ pɛ́ɗɛ-dũ gbà gu̯ yũ.     
1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM-PL all in CONS
yĩ gọ bà.  
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 (Pɛ́ gbà wà gũ, 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 dốdố in its distributive meaning ‘one by one’.

(83)  
Dâɗũ (ɓɛ) gbà sú dốdố kɛ́ ū ā gbà.     
pineapple fruit all take one.by.one that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ see
(Here is a pile of pineapples, some are rotten.) ‘Take each pineapple and examine it’.

3.2.1.5. Generic quantification

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

(84)  
Gbâɗa gbà wò bɔ̒ gwéë bã.     
cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on
‘All cats resemble leopard’.

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

(86a)  
Bâỳ gbà wò d55d5ɓɛ-ɗũ kà.     
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)  
Bâỳ-ɗũ gbà wò d55d5ɓɛ-ɗũ kà.     
Jula-PL all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with
‘All Jula are merchants’, two interpretations: (i) all the Jula who are included into a particular group of people are merchants; (ii) all Jula of the world are merchants.

(87)  
Wù dɔ yũ dà(-dũ) gbà kà.     
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.

3.2.1.6. gbà in the free choice context

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

(88)  
Dà yã yũ yũ dɔ bɛ gbà     
child REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT human all

Jula is generic name for all ethnic groups in Côte d’Ivoire speaking Manding languages.
This child will tire anyone’.

(89) Wú gbá ɣr̥ bɔ̀ŋ̥-pɔ̀ ká.
meat all 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF with
‘Any meat is edible’.

(90) ɓɛ̞ gbá ɣr̥ bɔ̀ŋ̥ ɗa̞ ɓa̞ ɣ r̥ ɣ ɗa.
human all 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on 3SG.JNT work

ɓa̞ ká.

ART do\JNT
‘Any person can do this job’.

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

(91a) Dèbá̂ gbá ɣr̥ sùù-sùù.
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) Dèbá̂ gbá wù̞ sùù-sùù.
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) Dò̧ dò̧-bọ̀ gbá wù̞ dò̧-’
market-buy-human\IZF all 3PL.EXI go\NEUT-3SG.NSBJ
pɔ̣̀-’
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) Tọ̧̀ dò̧ gbá wù̞ wù̞ kó̞ wù̞ gu̞-má.
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 sùù ‘sort’, can be brought to play in order to avoid ambiguity in favour of the free choice interpretation (94).

(94) Y̥ r̥ sùù gbá ká.
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), gbá 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 gbá-construction

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.2.1. **The distributive meaning of pêpê**

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

(95) *Dàɗà* bê pêpê suũ kɔ ụ ả gbà.
   
   pineapple fruit every take that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ look
   ‘Take every pineapple and examine it’ (every pineapple that you find).

(96) *Bàšà(-dû)* pêpê wô dɔdɔdɔbê kà.
   Jula-(PL) every 3PL.EXI merchant c
   ‘Every Jula is a merchant’.

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

(97) *Bàšà sê, Gbàagwjìì* sê wàâ Sùplèvìì sê,
   Man land.CMM Biancouma.LOC land.CMM 3SG.and Sipilou land.CMM
   ì-dû bâ bê yà yà-suũ kà Gwëtëa wô
   3SG.NSBJ-PL POSS writing 3SG.EXI put-GER with Gwëtëa voice
   guũ, yù wô pêpê x Dàɗàìì sê gù,
   in CONS voice every REL.3SG.JNT Danane land.CMM in
   ì-dû bâ dì Blò wô guũ.
   3SG.NSBJ-PL property be Blö voice in
   ‘The departments of Man, Biancouma, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwëtëa dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blo dialect’ [Pame1_1wóna_taang.014].

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

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

(98) *Gbàtô yî yî pêpê buu.*
   NOM.M 3SG.EXI water every drink\NEUT
   ‘Gbato drinks any water’.

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

(99) *Yî yî pêpê kà.*
   3SG.EXI job every do\NEUT
   ‘He catches on any job’.

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9 See in detail (Vydrin 2013).
The sequence of two reduplicands and their connective element 'Whoever comes, I’ll beat him/her'.

This "heavy" form tends to erode its intensive meaning, so that some people use 'All the men (without exception) like palm wine'.

Any human is mortal
Any cat is sly
Any meat is edible

Immediately, all these things that were found...' [Dùwɔ].

The usages of the combination gbɔ pépɛ are the same as those of gbɔ alone; in any case, I have not found any divergence.

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

The structure and the syntax of the ðð-reduplication construction

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).

dog red any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take

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

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

(108b) Gbê ṣéhôdë ẹgbá òó gbê ṣéhôdë ẹgbá yá dû, 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 yíí pâ ba ôô pâ bá bê. 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, ôô-reduplication concerns nouns, however reduplication can also affect the determinative dê ‘other’ following the head noun (110) or, in negative contexts, bá ‘any, other’ (111).

(110) Yê dô tôô dê ôô dê s’ dê 3SG.EXI know\NEUT gravy other any other REL.3SG.JNT be

á kí-dê ká.
3SG.NSBJ do-MSD with

‘She can cook any gravy’.

(111) Ká bá ôô bá yíí gê, kê yíí house certain any certain 3SG.NEG.PFV burn that 3SG.NEG.PFV

ká n bá ká.
do 1SG.NSBJ one with

‘No house burnt, except for mine’.

It seems that we observe here a lexicalization of dê ôô dê and bá ôô bá as quantifier expressions.

ôô-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 wô or bô. However, not all the verbs are available for this construction (presumably, the limitation is of a lexical nature).

(112) Dô ôô dô s’ Zá-’ wô tâ guí, do any go REL NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT walking in

yê dû n sââ 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 ôô-reduplicated construction is often fronted (113) or relativized in situ (114), which reflects its pragmatically enhanced status.

(113) Òó sâkpâdá yê à bê. chicken any chicken mangoose 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT

‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.

(114) Ysê s’ ká kô ôô kô s’-’ 3SG.PROS do any way.CMM any way.CMM REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ

bá, gâ wô dà tô-’ bà.
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 s’; the 3SG auxiliary of the conjoint set s’; 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) Bà pâ ôô pâ bê, á gwâd’á bá 1SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property

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

(115b) Bà pâ ôô pâ gbá à bê, á 1SG.PRF thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ eat 1SG.EXI

gwâd’á bá dû.
cat property give\NEUT

‘Id.’

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

(116) Dá ɗó dɔ̃, wū ɗɔ̃ ỵɔ̆ ɗ kɔ̕.

‘Any child likes meat’.

(117) Ꙃwɔ̃dɔ̃ ɗɔ̃ Ꙃwɔ̃dɔ̃ ẉɔ̃ bɔ̃ kẉɔ̕.

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, ɗɔ̃-reduplication is often not accepted. So, when translating into Dan the sentence ‘(Here are my children.) Any (of them) can help you’, my informan first suggested the phrase (118), then indicated that a generic reading of this phrase would be more appropriate.

(118) Bẹ̀ ɗó bẹ̀ dɔ̃ ɗ ụ̀ tə-kụ-\.

human any human go\NEUT\ 2SG.NSBJ surface-catch-INF

‘Anyone (any person in the world) will help you’.

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

(119) Bạ́ gɔ̃-dɔ̃ gá. ȳl l l ɗ̀ n bạ́

1SG.POSS vehicle-PL look 2SG.EXI can\NEUT\ 3SG.NSBJ on

ú dé ɗó dé sù̀.

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) Dágláá ɗó dágłáá ẉɔ̃ pëẹ̣ ẉà

youth any youth 3PL.EXI village.this.in 3PL.EXI.3SG.NSBJ

pị̀ n ẉó Ỵdẹ́ sù̀.

to 3PL.LOG.JNT NOM.F take

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

(121) Ṇ̃ ɗ̣ ɓláá ỵɔ̆ dàdà ɗó dàdà ỵɔ̆

1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI

wáá káŋ dọ̀.

money hundred one

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

(122) Bạ́ ỵ ká-\ ɗọ́ pị̀ ká ɗ ỵ

what REL 2PL.SBJV-3SG.NSBJ to 2PL.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ eat

Pạ́ ɗọ́ pạ̀ ɗ ỵ bọ̀-pạ́ ká, ɗ̣

thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT eat\thing\IZF with 3SG.NSBJ

djà ỵí dë̀.

give 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ before

‘What would you like to eat? — Give us any food’ (litt. ‘any thing which is a food, give it to us’).

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

(123) Dá yạ̄ ỵɔ̆ tọ̀ ỵɔ̆ ỵò ɗọ́

child this 3SG.EXI remain\NEUT\ here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT\

bẹ̀ ɗọ́ bẹ̀ ỵ̣ dọ̀ kə́ ɗ ỵò ỵò

human any human REL.3SG.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI

dọ̀ ɗ ỵ sáá-bọ́-\.

go\NEUT\ 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-\remove-INF

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

3.2.1.5. ɗọ́-construction

3.2.1.5.1. Morphology

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

3.2.1.5.2. Syntax

The complex determinant $ď \ dť$ 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 frontialized, 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 $đđ$-reduplication and $ď \ dť$-constructions are used, which is allowed in Dan-Gweetaa).

(124) Wuu, $ď$ dť, dđ-dű wō dō āi
meat REL.3SG.JNT be child-PL 3PL.EXI go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ

$ďdť$-

‘Children will eat any meat’.

(125) Đuu, őđ đđ $ď$ yđ $ď$ $ďdť$ uū $ďď$-
child any child REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI go\NEUT 2SG.NSBJ stand-INF

tđ bā bā.

mountain ART on

‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’.

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

(126) Kūbāđā yā wō wō kőđū $ď$ ř $ďdť$ āi āi tā.
prefect 3SG.PRF affair lie family REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ on ‘The prefect has punished every family’.

3.2.1.5.3. Semantics

The principal quantifier meanings of the quantifier $ď \ dť$ 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 $ď \ dť$ construction necessarily has the distributive meaning (126, 127, 128).

(127) Bē $ď$ $ďdť$ yā $ďdť$ ř
human=FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRF go RELF.SG

gś kőđďś.
POSS.LOC house.LOC

‘Everyone went home’ [188:11].

(128) Pďđē $ď$ $ďdť$ yā gś
village.CMM REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRF burn

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

3.2.1.5.3.2. The free choice meaning of the construction $ď \ dť$ manifests itself in the following typical contexts (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155): modal probability (124, 125, 129, 130), non-prospective future (not very distinct from the modal probability meaning, cf. 124, 125, 130), imperative (131), habitual (132).
(129) ṛ ɗɔ ɔ yɛ ɓɔŋk ɗá
human 3SG.EXI 3PL.P 3SG.NSBJ
dá ɓá

REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on

‘Anybody can do this job’.

(130) Wiǔ ɗ ɗá ɓá ɗũ gɓɛ ɣɛ ɗá
meat REL.3SG.JNT be 1SG.POSS dog 3SG.EXI go\NEUT

ɓá ɗũ ká.

3SG.NSBJ catch-INF
‘My dog will catch any animal’.

(131) ṛ ɗɔ ɔ yɛ ɓó ɗá ɗá ɗá
human FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.SBJV REFL.SG self save

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

(132) Páɓɛɛ ɗá ɗá ɣɛ ɗá ɗá 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 ɗá can appear only with a NP represented by the ɗo̞-reduplicative construction, so that the free choice meaning is expressed by both means at the same time (133).

(133) Wiǔ ɗó wú ɗá ɗá ɣɛ ɗá ɗá ɓá.
meat any meat REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF with

‘Any meat is edible’.

In my data, there are no cases of expression of the contrafactive modality by the means of ɗá ɗá. This determinant cannot be used if the elements of the distributive set have no permanent status. So, the ɗá ɗá 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 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 ɗá, the 3SG.JNT auxiliary ɗá can be optionally replaced by 3PL.JNT auxiliary wó (134a).

(134a) ṛ wó/ɗá ɗá wó ɗá kpá wó
human\FOC 3PL.JNT/REL.3SG.JNT be 3PL.P see PL.REFL

kwáá 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) ṛ gbá wó ɗá wó 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 ɗó ‘one’ and the combination ɗó ɓá, but also with the determiners and constructions gbá (3.2.1.1) pépê (3.2.1.2), X ɗó X (3.2.1.4), ɗá ɗá (3.2.1.5).

(135) Lí ɗó ɗá ɗá ɗó ɗó ɗó ɗó ɗá ɗá ɓá
2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.POSS market-load this 3SG.NSBJ certain

ɗá-.

buy-INF

‘You should buy anything from my goods’.

(136) ṛ ɓá yɛ ɗó n ɗá- prɛ-ɗá
human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.NSBJ put-INF village-father

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 ɗó X ɓá (138), which has an expressive meaning, and yáá ɗá (139). The latter can be
regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned \(l')d'-construction, however, \(yáádyáád\) is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with \(bá\).

(137) \(Wií 'á dláá wáá wáá báá káá.\)

3PL.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ teach affair certain with

‘He has not been taught anything’.

(138) \(báá báá báá báá wíí dúú.\)

human any human certain 3PL.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

(139) \(báá báá báá báá báá báá yáá dúú.\)

human self REL 3SG.PROS go 3SG.NEG.IPV be

‘There is not a person who would like to leave’ [b:188:6].

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 \(bá\) 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) \(báá báá báá báá wíí dúú.\)

human certain human\INT certain\INT 3SG.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

(140b) \(báá báá báá báá báá báá báá wíí dúú.\)

human certain human\INT certain\INT human\INT 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 \(bá\)) based on Sergey Tatevosov’s matrix (with one modification: the distributive meaning has been included into the matrix, contrary to what Tatevosov suggests).

It turns out that the semantic map by Tatevosov does not explain the evolution of semantics of the elements in question in Dan-Gweetaa. The zone of \(bá\) occur to be split into three segments, and the zone of \(l')d'yá\) is split into two.

Explanation to the map:

The red zone: \(bá\)

The blue zone: \(gbá\)

The green zone: \(l')d'yá\)

The yellow zone: \(pèpé\).

3.2.2. Universal A-Quantifiers

Syntactically simple universal A-quantifiers are:

— \(kpèpé\) ~ \(kpèpé\) ~ \(kpèpé\) (intensive form: \(kpèkpèpé\), \(kpèkpèpé\)) ‘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 \(wáá báá\) (going back to
two dummy verbs, see for more details 2.10.4), and the initial element may be etymologically identical to the noun *kpêe* ‘rest, remainder’, however, this etymological link seems to be not perceivable in the synchrony;

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

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

(141) A ŋ   ŋ 1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ  PP

kɔ́ á yì  ŋ   ŋ that 1SG.SBJV sleeping kill\JNT

‘I work every day, I have no time to sleep’.

(142) Gbàtô ŋ 3SG.EXI bā 1SG.POSS 3SG.NEG.IPFV \take\NEUT always

‘Gbato takes my soap every time’.

(143) Êüp  dō 3SG.NEG.IPFV  kpêe\wò. 1SG.POSS 3SG.EXI  dā\dā

‘Nevertheless, I will never see it any more’ [d147:3].

(144) Êgǘ  yì  Êgǘ  á 3SG.NEG.PFV \go see-\INF 3SG.SBJV  on more never nevertheless

human REL 2SG.NEG.PFV 3SG.SBJV thing eat ever

‘Man whose food you have never eaten…’ [d165:13].

(145a) ɗâ  dō 3SG.PRF milk taste-\look.at  ever

‘Have you ever tested milk?’

(145b) ɗâá  wá  dō 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.EXI matter know that 3SG.PRF milk taste-\look.at  ever

‘I don't know if he has ever tested milk’.

(145c) Yáá  ŋ 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.SBJ  yâá  dë 3SG.PRF  dī-gâ 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.EXI  eye.COM  that 2SG.NEG.PFV  milk taste-\look.at

‘I doubt you have ever tested milk’.

If *kpêe\wò* appears in a negative clause, the scope of the sentential negation is the A-quantifier (146a); cf. the situation with *tôŋtôŋdś*; where the scope is the predication (146b).

(146a) Gbàtô  yáá  ŋ 3SG.NEG.IPFV  REF\LSG  head inside-wash always

‘It is not always (not every time) that Gbato washes his head’.

(146b) Gbàtô  yáá  ŋ 3SG.NEG.IPFV  REF\LSG  head inside-wash never

‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) Blô  yá  pà  gwaêe  ká  dëdë-wò.  bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV

‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.
Gbáádér ‘entirely’ is an adverb used in the universal meaning with verbs of time duration, such as kā ‘do; spend (time)’ or bā ‘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 -dér, 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-dér*.

(148) Yê kā sū dō kā yūá gu du gbáádér.
3SG.EXI RETR moon one do\NEUT illness in entirely
‘He was ill a whole month’.

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

(149) Sǎāo zā yê kōôkō tšòŋ gbá guú.
NOM as.for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in
‘Siao is at home all the time’ [f91:3].

Besides, ŏô-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) Dû ŏô dû ō Gbáțō ō ‘ wō Bǎǎdér
come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT Man.LOC
yê sìětī du 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 gbédé ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; kpúndé ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. Kpúndé can be supplemented by the universal determiner gbá ‘all’, the expression kpúndé gbá means ‘almost all’. Gbédé is derived by the abstraction suffix -dě from the generalized existential quantifier gbé ‘many’, and kpúndé is derived by the same suffix from the adjective kpú ‘big’. Both these quantifiers are relational nouns. If the NP containing a proportional D-quantifier occupies the subject position, a semantic agreement by number with the PPM is possible (152); its availability seems to be conditioned by the position of the dependent noun in the animacy hierarchy. So, in (152), lěbélс ‘rebel(s)’ designates humans, while in (153) bláá ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) Dǒltôsôjí yā bē gbédé dē-kâ
doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf- do
sá̄dî kê yâjí yê pê before even.if 3SG.SBJV fall
‘The doctor treated the majority of the people before the sunset’.

(152) Lěbélс kpúndé wō bǒbǒ sâ̄ bô.
rebel majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove\NEUT
‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) Bláá-dû́ wō yā ā gbédé Ø kâ
sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR
gâ błoáé-yî kâ, kěē ā gbá yâá bů.
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 gbédé, its scope is limited to this quantifier:

(154) Děbā gbédé wáá tūkā sū bâ dâ.
women 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 p̄ɛɛ d̄o ~ p̄ɛɛ d̄o <half/part-one> (the noun p̄ɛɛ ~ p̄ɛɛ means ‘a part, a share’, and d̄o means ‘one’). It goes with a countable noun, the latter appears in a plural form, and the construction has a partitive meaning (155).

(155) 깛wɛɛ yã yũ b̄lã̄-ɗũ p̄ɛɛ d̄o žã.
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 p̄ɛɛ kpĩũ ‘majority’ (litt. “big part”) and p̄ɛɛ ṣε̣ḍã ‘minority’ (litt. “small part”), as in (156).

(156) B̄ɛ p̄ɛɛ kpĩ-suũ wã bɔ Gbãt ô kã,
human part big-SLA 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with
yũ bɛ p̄ɛɛ ṣε̣ḍã-suũ wã bɔ Žã kã.
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-Gwɛe tua. si̱r ~ si̱ ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier d̄o d̄o (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 modifiers of this type in Dan-Gwɛe tua are few.

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

(157) Wã kwâbê köðõ d̄o gã d̄o sẽñ kũ.
3PL.PRF thief ten one bone one only catch
‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

(158) Yã dũ plũ yããgã gbẽñ.
3SG.RF come village.LOC three only
‘He has come to the village only thrice’ [gã:20].

There are three restrictors expressing the meaning ‘exactly’: k̄p̄ẹn̄d̄ẹ (-d̄ẹ is an adverbial derivative suffix, the element k̄p̄ẹn̄- has no synchronic etymologization) (159), dẽbẽñ <self-bunch> (160), which is otherwise used as a determiner ‘self’, and a floating restrictor zɔẑɔ.

(159) Wãñ gblũ plẽ wãñ wãñ kĩñ yũsĩñ
money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four
k̄p̄ẹn̄d̄ẹ dã nã gẽ.
exactly FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP
(The price of a rice bag is 12000 francs.) ‘I have exactly 12000 francs’.

(160) B̄ɛ köðõ d̄o gã yũsĩñ dẽbẽñ bũũ nã dẽ.
human 10 one bone four self search 1SG.NSBJ before
‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

A floating restrictor zɔẑɔ ‘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 wã (expressing unpleasant astonishment, insistence, warning, and sometimes politeness).

(161a) Wã köðõ d̄o zɔẑɔ kẽwã hũũ a bã
3PL.EXI 10 one but.how but 3PL.NEG.IP4V be.able 3SG.NSBJ on
kõ wã yã bã a kã wã.

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12 Some people also allow combinations of the restrictor sẽñ with numerals ṣḍo ‘five’, sũdũ ‘six’ and köðõ d̄o ‘ten’, others do not accept them.
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do ouch!
(161b) Wọ kọ̀bọ̀ dọ̀ kẹ́ kẹ̀ wáá ṣùù jùù à bá Ṿù̀ wọ̀ yá bá à ká wà.
(161c) Wọ́ kọ̀bọ̀ dọ̀ kẹ́ kẹ̀ wáá ṣùù jùù à bá Ṿù̀ wọ́ yá bá à ká jùù wà
‘They are exactly ten, but they cannot do this job’ [d80:15].

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

There are several verbal constructions expressing complex quantifying meanings (for which meanings there are no dedicated D- or A-quantifiers):
— ụ̀fr ‘pass; exceed’ with the superessive postposition tà ‘on (horizontal surface)’ for the meaning ‘more than’ (162) or, with a sentential negation, ‘maximum’ (163);
— ọ̀ṣù ‘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 ọ̀ṣù is an alternative construction, the predication expresses the meaning ‘between’ (166). With the sentence negation, this verb expresses a value judgment meaning ‘insufficient’;
— ọ̀ṣù ‘approach’ with the postposition sùù ‘near’, for the meaning ‘almost’ (167);
— bó, 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 ọ̀́ yá dọ̀́ tà ọ̀́ jùù
woman REL.3SG.INT be chicken REL.3SG.INT-3SG.NSBJ buy\INT
yá ọ̀́ jùù tà kọ̀bọ̀ dọ́ tà.
3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on
‘Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.

(163) Táá ọ̀́ bó bá sàá yábá jùù wáá
taxi pass human\IZF salary 3SG.NEG.IP¥V pass money
gblàá kọ̀bọ̀ dọ́ ọ̀́
thousand 10 one REL.3SG bone two on
‘A taxi driver gains here maximum 60000 fr.’

(164) Bó wó lóó plé\ğer wií bóó bó
time 3PL.NEG.PFV arrive\INT village.LOC 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human
kọ̀bọ̀ dọ́ bá sähú kí yáń yá ọ́
10 one on before even if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall
‘Less than ten persons reached the village before the sunset’.

(165) Dúù ọ̀́ bóó dúù káàjí dọ́
tree REL.3SG.INT be.able\INT tree hundred one
ká plé bá ọ́ gá báá.
hand.CMM two on 3SG.EXI.3SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC field.LOC
‘There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.

(166) Kájíjá dẹ̀ ọ̀́ dọ̀́ à bá
canton the other REL.3SG.INT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS
pà́dè yá bóó sáá ọ̀́ dọ́ kọ̀bọ̀ dọ́ bá.
village.CMM 3SG.EXI be.able\NEUT five or 10 one on
‘Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.

(167) Bó wó pà́ yá à gú wó yá jùù
time 3PL.NEG.PFV move\NEUT
bó kọ̀bọ̀ plé sáájá
human 10 two near
‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.

(168) Bó wó nó pè́g dọ̀ bó wó
time 3PL.NEG.PFV move\JSON
sáádè dọ́
paper know\NEUT
‘A half/About a half of the people are literate’.
3.4.1.2. Complex value judgment D-quantifiers
The meaning ‘too much’ is expressed by a combination of determiners gbé dëdë <many self>.
(169) Bà gbé gbé dëdë dà 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 təŋbásù 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 gbó wó kà gbá, këëj à plè dà
house all 3PL.EXI RETR burn\NEUT but 3SG.NSBJ two FOC
wú gbá.
3PL.NEG.PFV burn
‘All the houses but two burnt’.
(171) Kàflëë gbó wà bá, këë Gbató
coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M
bá dòdó dà wú bá.
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-Gwétaa.
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) Pàló, bë kòój dò tà bë yììsìì dà
village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC
wó sììtì bù.
3PL.JNT cigarette drink/JNT
‘Four village dwellers out of ten smoke’.
(173) Dòògò blëë-sùù, bë sèëdù tà yùù 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 pëë ‘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-dù pë guú-sùù ž yààgà kà, à
human-PL split inside-GER REL.3SG.JNT three with 3SG.NSBJ
pëë dò wà kwí wó bá.
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 kàñj dò ž dò, bë kòój yààgà
human hundred one REL.3SG.JNT be human 10 three
wó kwí wó bá.
3PL.EXI Caucasian voice hear\NEUT
‘Thirty percent of the people understand French’.

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 pëë ‘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.
The meaning ‘a small minority’ is expressed by the expression *pɛɛ sɛɛɛdá’ minority’ (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) *Pɛɛ yá gú dú-dú wó dú, á pɛɛ sɛɛɛɛdá*

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

dú kúràŋŋ sɛ-dú gú.

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) *Báŋy-dú gbà dú wáá súŋ bá.*

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

‘Not all Jula observe Ramadan’.

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

(178) *Dá wó dɛ ziɛ-zíɛ*’ bè plè tâ wó dɛ gëyɛ-zíɛ’.

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) *Klâŋfɛ-dá wó dɛ ziɛ-zíɛ*’ bè plè tâ wó dâ school-child 3PL.JNT goJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.JNT enterJNT

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) *Bɛ wó plɔsɛ ká kpündɛ wá dú* human 3PL.JNT village.LOC 3SG.NSBJ majority 3PL.PRF come

kâŋdâŋ tâá-bɔ̃ kɛ̃ á gbà wîí dú.

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-bɛ ziɔ âá yáá bùu-dɔ-kã-sùu ziɔ dɔ*, village-human\IZF self 3SG.NEG.IPfv wilderness-desire-do-GER path know

kɛ̃ yáâ dú tɔ déj̃ zã bà.

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) *Bùu-kã-bɛ ɔɔdã dú tã bɛ yáá ziɛ bɛ* wilderness-do-human\IZF five on human 3SG.NEG.IPfv pass human

plè tã kɔ̃ wó dɔ gɔ ziɛ-rde kã.

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

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

### 3.4.1.6. Partitives

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

(183) *Bú dú bɛ yá bá dì-gà.*

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

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

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

(184) *Kwà-bɛ dú wó gú bá wâ á gbà kú.*

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

Most of his sheep (which) died during the dry season, but all of them did not die.

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

3.4.2. Complex A-modifiers

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

Gbâtô yâ wô Bỳâ sùësiião. ‘Gbato has been to Abidjan exactly nine times’.

Gbâtô yâ nû plëri yàlgâ dëbërâwô. ‘Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice’.

Dâbâwô 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’:

Ká pë kàa dô báà kã kã dàbâwô bë 2PL.PRF say 2PL.PROS go field.LOC 2PL.IMP do a.little human

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

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

Wô kôôjî dô këë wáà bòò à báà 3PL.EXI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPVF be.able 3SG.NSBJ on

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

(190a) Wô kôôjî dô këë wáà bòò à báà 3PL.EXI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPVF be.able 3SG.NSBJ on

kë wô yâ bâ à kã ziââwô.

(190b) Wô kôôjî dô këë wáà bòò à báà ziââwô kë wô yâ bâ à kã.

(190c) Wô kôôjî dô këë wáà bòò ziââwô à bâ kë wô yâ bâ à kã.

(190d) Wô kôôjî dô ziââwô këë wáà bòò à báà kë wô yâ bâ à kã.

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 dë pâ dë, litt. ‘that a thing is so’, preceding the number (191); optionally, a count word kôtà ‘time’ can be inserted before the numeral.

Gbâtô yâ gojî sîjô dë pâ dë (kôtà) kôôjî dô. NOM.M 3SG.PRF malaria find that thing so.REM time 10 one

‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

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

Gbâtô yâ gojî sîjô gbâwô kôôjî dô. NOM.M 3SG.PRF malaria find almost 10 one
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

(193) Yà wò ě bà gbàwò.
3SG.PRF speak 3SG.NSBJ on almost
‘He has almost accepted it’.

(194) Gbàdò yáá dũ gbàwò plɛɔyɛ.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPVF come almost village.LOC
‘Gbato almost never comes to the village’.

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

(195) Zã yá pɛ yá zuũ-bũ-sũ/-dũ bã.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say work bottom remove-GER/-MSD on
‘Jean has almost began to work’.

(196) Zã yá pɛ ɛ bô dũ kã-sũ ká.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say REFL.SG finish tree cut-GER with
‘Jean has almost finished cutting the tree’.

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

(197) Gwàdú yɛ ě kã dũ yɛɛ bũkú.
cat 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT that 3SG.PROS mouse catch
‘The cat has almost caught the mouse’.

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

(198) Gbàdò yɛ dũ plɛɔyɛ tɛŋyɛɛ kpũdɛ ká.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI come\NEUT village.LOC Sunday majority with
‘Gbato comes to the village almost every Sunday’.

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

Examples for the bounding quantifiers have been translated as follows:

(199) Gbàdò yɛ yɛ dũ plɛ dũkunu bã.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI water measure\NEUT two day on
dũkunu sũdũ dũgũ dũ bã.
day five week one on
‘Gbato measures water twice a day, five weeks a day’.

(200) Yódú yɛ yɛ kã dũkunu sũdũ dũgũ dũ gũ,
NOM.F 3SG.EXI work do\NEUT day five week one in
dũgũ kũdũ yũsũ yɛ gũ sũdũ kwũ bã, ɛ bũ
week 10 four REFL.SG bone five year on 3SG.NJT appear\NEUT
kã dũ kwũ kũdũ dũ ɛ gũ sũdũ ká.
3SG.NSBJ with so.REM year 10 one REFL.SG bone five with
‘Yode works five days a week, 45 weeks a year for 15 years’.

4. Selected topics
4.1. Comparative quantifiers

The comparative meaning ‘more than’ is rendered by a clausal verbal construction ziũ (ā) kã X tã (where X is the ground for the comparison), litt. “to pass with it on X” (201); cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(201) Gĩ-dũ gbũ wũ sũtũ bũ dũ wũ ziũ kã
male-PL numerous 3PL.EXI cigarette drink\NEUT 3PL.NJT pass\NJT with
dũbũ-dũ tã.
woman-PL on
‘More men than women smoke’.
The meaning ‘as many as’ is expressed by a clausal intransitive construction with the verb ɓpraak ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) Klàŋɗę́-ɗà-ɗú bà pěf-gà-sàà̀ wô-’ kwàà à school-child-PL POSS iron-bone-horse 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ

ɗí wàà klàŋgòɓé-ɗú bà yëŋ bòò.

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-Gweetaa.

4.2. Type (2) quantifiers

(203a) Gô dë ě j ɗfr, dèbà dë ě j ɗfr

male that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM woman that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM

à dë yëŋ à kà. 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) Sè dë ě j ɗfr, pàɓée dë ě j

land.CMM that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM food that REL.3SG.JNT

dë ě ɗfr à dë yëŋ à kà. 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) Bùkàɓé dë ě j ɗfr wà wù wùsùù dódó zà.

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) Bùkàɓé dë ě j ɗfr wà wù wùsùù dó zà.

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) Ðèɓà ě j ɗfr yëŋ tà dó bà dà bò.

woman LOG.3SG.SBJV so.REM 3SG.PROS dance one ART FOC remove

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

(205c) Klàŋɗé-ɗà ě j ɗfr yëŋ sàáɗé dò bà dà

school-child REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV paper one ART FOC

wô pfr.

voice say

‘Let every student read the same book’.

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

(206) Bę bęɓé ě j yà bęɓé kà?

human which 3SG.JNT work which do\JNT

‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) Gó bęɓé ě j dèɓà bęɓé sùù?

male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\JNT

‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) Gbàtò wàà Zà wô pòɗé wô wô

NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI village.CMM 3PL.JNT PL.REFL

kò sàà́ guù.

RECP.CMM near in

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

(209) Gbàtò wàà Zà wô vòtòé kà pęɓé wéé plè kà.

NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI elections do\NEUT part other two with
Gbato and Jean vote for different parties (litt. ‘Gbato and Jean, they do vote with two different parts). (210) Zãdãɓe-dũ ʃ ɔ awa dɔ, woɔ ɔ gɔ-γe kɔ judge-PL REL 3PL.NEG.IPFV one 3PL.PROS dispute head-break hand.CMM dɔdɔ ɔ kã ɔ dɔ ɔ kɔ dɔ kã rare do dispute construction hand.CMM one with ‘Different judges try the same cases differently’ (litt. ‘Judges which are not one, they are going to do one-one way of solving cases with one kind of trial’). (211a) Gbãtò wàa ɔ Żã wà ɔ gbêɛtã ɔ zã, ke ɗe ɗe NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.PRF chat kill but human bã yì ɔ gbêɛtã ɔ ɗe Bounds certain 3SG.NEG.PFV chat kill human certain with ‘Gbato and Jean talked, but no one else talked to anyone else’. (211b) Yɔdẽ wàa ɔ Sààyẽ wã ɗiɗã ɔ bã, ke ɗe ɗe NOM.F 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.PRF quarrel put but human bã yì ɔ diɗã ɔ bã ɔ bã ɔ kã. certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with ‘Yode and Sayi have quarrelled, but no one else has quarrelled with no one’. (212) Gbãtõ yá ɔ dã ɗa NOM.M 3SG.NEG.PFV mouth go.up bã ɗo tã ɔ kã ɗe ɗã zĩɛ plɛ tã. certain 3SG.NEG.PFV put head.CMM human one on that 3SG.SBJV pass two on ‘Gbato (never) talks with the same person more than twice’ (lit. ‘Gbato does not climb his mouth on one person in a way that it overpasses two times’). (213) Kãsɔ-gu-ɓe-dũ wɔ ɗa kɔ gu ɗdɔ ðɛ prison-in-human\IZF-PL 3PL.SBJV go.up house in from.time.to.time or zũũzũ wɔ ɗ ɗa kɔ dã gu ɗdɔ. more.INT 3PL.SBJV go.up house mouth in from.time.to.time ‘Let the prisoners be put into different prisons or to different prison cells’. (214a) Gɔ-dũ wɔ ɔ ɓblɛɛ ʈir wɔ ɔ zĩɛ ɗã male-PL 3PL.EXI heavy sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ ɗa dɛbã-dũ ʈã. with woman-PL on ‘Men are usually taller than women’. (214b) Gbɛ-ɗũ wɔ ɔ ɓblɛɛ ʈir wɔ ɔ zĩɛ ɗã dog-PL 3PL.EXI heavy sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT ɗã ɔ kã gwaɗã-dũ ʈã. 3SG.NSBJ with cat-PL on Dogs are usually heavier than cats. 4.3. Distributive numerals and binominal each (215) Zãdãɓe wɔ ɔ bã, ɓe ɗo yã ɔ zã 55dũ gɔ-γe judge 3PL.JNT ART human one 3SG.PROF dispute five head-break ‘The judges have tried five cases each’ (litt. ‘Judges who are there, one person has tried five cases’). (216) Zãdãɓe-dũ wɔ ɔ bã, ɗka gbã pɛɛ ɗa ɗe ɗa ju ɗ法官 3PL.JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ entire each 3PL.PROF dispute 55dũ gɔ-γe wɔ kwãa. five head-break REFLE.PL RECP.SUB ‘The judges have tried five cases between them’. (217) Bã buũ plɛ gɔ ɓuƙãɓe dɛ ɗe ɗe 1SG.PROF gun two sell hunter the.other REL.3SG.JNT so.REM ɗa 3SG.NSBJ ˄
’I have sold two guns to each hunter’.

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

(219) Bláábbé-dù, bɛ gbà wà dù tɔ plè-plè kà peasant-PL human all 3PL.PRF come chicken two-two with
kàɓádá sɛçďá dɛ.

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

(220) Sòdá-dù wà dà plè-plè yǐtāgò-dù gù. soldier-PL 3PL.PRF go.up two-two water-on-vehicle|ZF-PL in
‘The soldiers have boarded the boats two by two’.

4.4. Mass quantifiers and noun classifiers

The system of noun classifiers in Dan-Gwéetaa is at an early stage of grammaticalization. There are three count words, gâ ‘grain, bone, drop’, bɛ ‘fruit’, dɔ ‘child’ whose formalization is relatively advanced (although there is still a great deal of lexical limitations in their use), and certain other nouns (kpɔ ‘ball’, gëè ‘dead body, carcass’, bɔːɔ ‘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-Gwéetaa 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., fàágà ‘comb’, láagà ‘moonfish’, sèdàágà ‘needle’, pèègà ‘adze’, yègà ‘savanna’, yõɔɓé ‘rattle’, yùbàɗà ‘cat’, bùùɗà ‘intestinal worm’, sììrdà ‘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

gâ ‘grain, bone’ is by far the most productive (and the most grammaticalized) count word13. It appears with many collective nouns (names of insects, such as zèf ‘mosquito’; zòf ‘gravel’, kàa ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, wù ‘hair’, dè ‘leaves’, sàďďé ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (bìá ‘rope’, dɔŋ ‘rope, wire’, yì ‘river’14, gbɔŋ ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of gâ vary, which seems to be conditioned both semantically and lexically. So, it seems to be obligatory with names of edible caterpillars (221), with nouns of small bodyparts (yì ‘eye’, sɔ ‘tooth’, nèé ‘tongue’ (222)), with bìá ‘rope’ (223), with the word wà ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

(221) Yɔ yà kpɔ zòď/gɔñ gâ/*ɔ sɔďdu bà. NOM.MF 3SG.PRF see caterpillar1/caterpillar2 bone five on
‘Yo has found five brown hairy/big black edible caterpillars’.

(222) Bá yà/sì/dè dì gâ/*ɔ sɔďdu dì-kà. 1SG.PRF eye/tooth/tongue bone five leaf-do
‘I have tried (medically) 5 eyes/teeth/tongues’.

(223) Bá bìá gâ/*ɔ sɔďdu dì. 1SG.PRF rope bone five buy
‘I have bought five ropes’.

(224) Bá wà lì gâ/*ɔ yàágà dì dú dì. 1SG.PRF 5.francs bone three give 3SG.NSBJ before
‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

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

(225) Bá yì gâ/*ò yàágà kà. 1SG.PRF water bone three cut
‘I have crossed three rivers’.

(226) Bá nì kàa gâ/*ò sɔďdu wà. 1SG.PRF 1SG.NSBJ hair bone five extract

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

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

(227) Bá tó-dé gá/ø sáóðú dé-ká.
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: dáá ‘earthworm’, kpáá ‘multipede’, yááááá ‘fish’, bláá ‘bread’. With nouns other than names of fruits, this count word can be always omitted (or replaced with another count word, see below).

Đá ‘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 Đá implies that the fishes were bought alive.

(228) Bá yááááá gá/ɓé/dá yááááá do.
1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy

‘I have bought three fishes’.

The “embryo countwords” kpá ‘ball’, gèè ‘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. gèè and báá are used only with names of animals and imply that the animal is dead, and that its entire body is concerned.

(229) ɗá báá gèè/báá yááááá do.
3SG.PRF goat corps/bunch three buy

‘He has bought three entire goat carcasses’.

Mass nouns are quantified using container nouns, natural segment nouns, and measure phrases.

(230) wé védde yááááá
glass three

‘three glasses of palm wine’;

(231) káá bááá yááááá
doe bag three

‘three bags of maize’;

(232) sáá kpáá yááááá
ball three

‘three cakes of soap’;

(233) báá dëëè yááááá
cassava root three

‘three cassava roots’;

(234) gláá kpáá yááááá
bunch three

‘three bunches of banana’;

(235) kááááá kíddí yááááá
kilogram three

‘three kilograms of coffee’.

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

(236) yá kááááá yá yááááá
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 yá is omitted (yá ‘káá yááááá), it means that water is necessarily placed in three gourds.

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15 - Đá 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: yì sɔɔdú ‘five sorts of water’, yëë sɔɔdú ‘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 3.2.1.3.

4.5. Existential constructions

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

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) Bàŋgiŋ ɗ  báá  gbáá  ɗul xáá.

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) Dà wà  dír kór kór yì  gù.  ɓ  ɗù  photographer sharp.ExtiINT 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ PP

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

(239) À sè  yáá  n  dë.  3SG.NSBJ choice 1PL.EXCL.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ before

‘I have no choice’ [t154:5] (litt. ‘Its choice is not before me’).

b. A one-argument construction: (S) AUX X, where ‘is’ is a defective verb.

(240) Yàŋ  yì  dë  dë.  sun.CMM 3SG.EXI beNEUT today

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

4.6. Floating quantifiers

Only restrictor zì ð ‘exactly’ (see 3.4.1.1) and adverb zìglewò ‘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’, këë ‘few’, sëëdá ‘small quantity’, tèŋbàsì ‘a couple, a small number (with negation)’ (244).

(242) À bá  kò  yì  yáá  gbáá.  3SG.NSBJ POSS house 3SG.EXI three

‘He has three houses’ (litt. ‘his house is three’) [f77:14].

(243) Bàdà-kà  bë  dë  wò  yà-tó-síí  n  gù  wò  gbé.  work-do-humanIZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP 3PL.EXI numerous

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

(244) Bàdà-kà  bë  dë  wò  yà-tó-síí  n  gù  work-do-humanIZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP

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

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

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

Here are my hoes. All/majority/some/many/few of them have broken.

Scope ambiguity in wh-questions:

Which song did each woman sing? OWS: for each woman, identify her song; SWS: identify the unique song performed by all the women.

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

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

Expression of the meaning ‘only’

Simple translations of ‘only’ are possible only with numerals, by the means of the restrictors gbéŋ and sëŋ ‘only’. As for the restrictor kpéŋdër ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the argument position only, contrary to zɔ́ ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the predicate position.

4.8. Relation between different types of pronouns

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

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

4.10. Distribution

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

4.11. Scope ambiguities

Scope ambiguity contexts are similar to those found in English.

‘Let each woman sing one song’, OWS: for each woman, identify her song; SWS: each woman should perform one and the same song; SWS: each woman should perform one song of her choice.

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).

4.12. One to one dependency

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

Expression of the meaning ‘only’

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

She has bought only pepper’ [f56:5].

‘Why does it (newspaper) not remain only in French and other languages?’ [Pame1_Iw_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).

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

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


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

Gbato has finished a work’. ‘The work has been finished’.

Gbato has tested the drug one by one’. ‘Gbato has tested the drug a little bit’.

Gbato has tested the drugs one by one’.

As can be seen from (257b), a modifier following a preverb, while preserving formal characteristics of a D-modifier, has the entire verb as its scope. Thus we have here a productive mechanism of adverbalization of D-modifiers. It is true that not every D-modifier is apt to appear after a preverb (which also depends very much on their semantic compatibility), however, it turns out to be possible for a good number of D-quantifiers, cf. (258b, c, d, e).
(258a) Gbató yà ɓà dèbà tà-kú.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface-catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife’.

(258b) Gbató yà ɓà dèbà tà ɓà kú.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface any catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife in some way’.

(258c) Gbató yà ɓà dèbà tà gbà kú.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface all catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife by all means’.

(258d) Gbató yà ɓà dèbà tà-dű kú.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface-PL catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife repeatedly’.

(258e) Gbató yà ɓà dèbà tà 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 preverbal verbs is not represented in the Table 4, as well as the expression of quantifying meanings by verbal constructions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<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>partitive (+)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bà</td>
<td>certain; any; {other}</td>
<td>{other}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{again}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dèbàrśś</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals); {self}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{self}</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dèbàrśśwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dèdèwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>utterly; often; for a long time; in great number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dó</td>
<td>certain, a</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ever; never (in negative sentences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dódó</td>
<td>rare, few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>occasionally; rarely; one by one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dábá</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>a little, some</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dábábó</td>
<td>–</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>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbà pépé</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbàádśś</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>entirely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbéj</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D-quantifiers</td>
<td>With mass nouns</td>
<td>With pl. form</td>
<td>A-quantifiers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<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>
<td>much, often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé dèdè</td>
<td>too many</td>
<td>too much</td>
<td>too much (partitive)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé dèdèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>too much, very much</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbédè</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>major part</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kẹẹ</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpẹẹwọ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpẹẹdọ́ dọ́</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpūdè</td>
<td>overwhelming majority</td>
<td>the great part of</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpūdè gbà</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X óó X</td>
<td>any, whatever</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>(nominalization of the verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọ́ đụ́</td>
<td>every; any; (all)</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pépé</td>
<td>every, (all)</td>
<td>(‘kind of’)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péé dọ́</td>
<td>a half (of one object or of a group)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>half of (the group)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péé kpù</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péé sẹẹdá</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sẹn</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sẹẹdá (small)</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>little</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sẹẹdá bó</td>
<td>several, few</td>
<td>small quantity of</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sọ́</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>sometimes, often; usually</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìа sìа</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìа trị́ bó-</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dụ́ gụ́</td>
<td>tọ́nụ́nị́dụ́</td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tọ́nụ́nị́dụ́ (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tọ́nụ́ básụ</td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>a couple, a small number</td>
<td>a small quantity</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tọ́nụ́ básụ (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>few, insufficiently</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tọ́nụ́ gụ́</td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>all the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tọ́nụ́ gbà gụ́</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>as many as</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zọ̀</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations**

ADJ – adjective; adjectivizer suffix (-sụ́)
ADV – adverbial suffix (-wọ́ ~ -bọ́)
ART – definite article bà
Atr – attribute
AUT – autonomous pronominal series
AUX – auxiliary
C – consonant
CMM – common case
CNTR – contrastive pronominal series
COM – comitative case
CONS – consequitive conjunction (yɛ̃)
COP – copula
Det – determiner
DIM – diminutive suffix
DO – direct object
DUR – durative verbal suffix -sūʔ
EXI – existential series of PPM
EXCL – 1 pers. exclusive plural pronoun/PPM
FOC – a) focalization particle (ɗǎ ~ ɗū); b) grammatical high tone on certain focalized nouns
GER – gerundive suffix -sùʔ
IMP – imperative series of PPM
INF – infinitive marker (extralow tone suffixed to the verb stem)
INSTR – intrumental/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, -ɗɛ̃)
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 pronominal series
OO – oblique object
OWS – object wide scope
PST – past
PFV – perfective
PL – plural
POSS – possessive marker (ɓã, ɡɔ̃)
PP – postposition with a broad meaning (ɡɔ̃)
PPPM – 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 (ɗēʔ or a copy of the final vowel)
RECP – reciprocal pronoun
REFL – reflexive pronoun
REL – relativization marker (ʃ’)
REM – remote
RETR – retrospective operator
S – subject
SBJV – subjunctive series of PPM
SG – singular
SLA – selective marker (-sùʔ)
SUB – subessive case or postposition ($\delta$ą)
SWS – Subject Wide Scope
TOP – topicalization particle ($z\ddot{e}$)
V – (a) verb; (b) vowel
X – post-verbal arguments and circonstants

References


