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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Oral vowels</th>
<th>Back labial</th>
<th>Back non-labial</th>
<th>Nasal vowels</th>
<th>Back labial</th>
<th>Back non-labial</th>
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</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 [ɨ] triggered by morphologically conditioned alternation of tones.² /ŋ/ is a vowel of a limited distribution: it can appear in the feet of the types CVŋ, CVVŋ, ŋ, but not *Cŋ. Nasalization is marked by a lower tilde, in order to leave space above the letter for tonal diacritics.

Consonants

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

² In Dan-Gwɛɛtaa, mid-closed vowels, ie, ye, o/, are realized as more closed allophones, [i, y, v] under extra-high tone, cf. /wɛ/ [w[i] ‘to speak’ (the lexical form) vs. /wɛ/ [w[ɨ] ‘to speak’ (the regular form in neutral aspect construction). Among the abovementioned allophones, ɨ seems to be on the way to phonologization: so, the neutral aspect form of the verb sʊdɔ ‘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).
2.2. Suprasegmental phonology: tones

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

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

Grammatical tones (tonal morphemes) substitute the lexical tone of a word (pɔ̀ ‘to dig’ → pɔgetPath ‘to dig’, the neutral aspect) or are suffixed (→ pɔ̀ ‘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 j), CV, CVV, CVŋ, CVVV, CVVŋ, CV, CIV, CIVV, CIVŋ. A foot is characterized by nasal harmony, restrictions on vowel combinations, restrictions on tonal combinations.

2.4. Basic syntax

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

2.4.2. Non-verbal sentences are formed with copulae bû˘u, bã˘a, dê˘e, d˘ê (identification, negative identification, presentative, equative) and with PPM (negative identification, locative, qualitative, equative; on PPM, see 2.9.).

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

Negative identification, (S) NEG.IPFV bû˘u ‘it is not S’.

Presentative sentence, S dê˘e ‘here is S’.

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

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

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

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

2.5. Nouns

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

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

2.5.2. Relational and free nouns
There are some important exceptions: $\text{då} \ ' \text{child}', \text{bëë} \ ' \text{nephew, niece (sister’s child)}$, $\text{wë} \ ' \text{hair (head hair)}$, $\text{fëyë} \ ' \text{sweat}$ are free nouns, while $\text{båïj} \ ' \text{child}$ (a synonym of $\text{då}$), $\text{kåå} \ ' \text{body hair}$, $\text{wëë} \ ' \text{urine}$ are relational.

Most of body part names and kinship terms belong to the class of relational nouns, however, there are some important exceptions: $\text{då} \ ' \text{child}$, $\text{bëë} \ ' \text{nephew, niece (sister’s child)}$, $\text{wë} \ ' \text{hair (head hair)}$, $\text{fëyë} \ ' \text{sweat}$ are free nouns, while $\text{båïj} \ ' \text{child}$ (a synonym of $\text{då}$), $\text{kåå} \ ' \text{body hair}$, $\text{wëë} \ ' \text{urine}$ are relational.

2.5.3. Standard plural marker is $\text{-då}$ which follows the noun. The majority of locative nouns have no plural forms in the oblique cases. The plural marker $\text{då}$ 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):

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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 –sū (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: sū plē ‘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 from the suffix -ɗɑ (sһɗуɗ-ɗɑ ‘the fifth’). Only ‘first’ has a suppletive form, blеɛsū.

2.8. NP structure

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

(N2 (– Atr – Det)) – N1 – (Atr – Det)

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

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

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

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

Table 1. Pronominal predicative markers (auxiliaries) in Dan-Gweetaa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person, gloss</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Existential EXI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conjoint JNT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perfect PROS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative IMP</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subjective SBJV</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presumptive PRES</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative imperfective NEG.PVF</td>
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<td>Negative perfective NEG.PVF</td>
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<td>Prohibitive PROH</td>
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</table>
2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs

2.10.1. Personal pronouns

Table 2. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gweeetaa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Refle-xive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
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<td>ā/ø</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>ɓã</td>
<td>ụ</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomouns</td>
<td>ɓã</td>
<td>bĩ</td>
<td>yũ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>bãŋ</td>
<td>bĩ</td>
<td>yũŋ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple co-ordinative</td>
<td>yãã</td>
<td>kã</td>
<td>wã</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fused co-ordinative</td>
<td>yãã</td>
<td>kã</td>
<td>wã</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ordinative porte-manteau</td>
<td>yẽŋ</td>
<td>kẽŋ</td>
<td>wẽŋ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(10) ɗó ɓũ wéŋ dũ: ‘If you loose your money, I won't give other’ [e4:10].
(11) ɗó ɓũ wéŋ dũ: ‘Their sheep has died, they have bought a new one’.

2.10.2. Interrogative pronouns are used for special questions: dě ‘who?’, ɓã ‘what?’, dě ‘how many? how much?’, ɓã ‘which?’, ɓã ‘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) ɗí ɓũ ɓũ yũŋ kũŋ tã?: ‘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: yũŋ and yũ indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. ɓã indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. ɓũ 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. ɓũ ɗũ (the intensive form is ɓũ ɗũ) designates a remote object at the limit of visibility or just beyond, it is necessarily accompanied by an indication by hand or by finger.
Yâ has undergone grammaticalization into a demonstrative pronoun, and a definite article has evolved from the adverb ɓâ. In both cases, a relativization construction is involved, and the relativisation marker can be always restituted in a slow pronunciation:

(14a) kó ȳ ȳ ȳ... /ɓâ → (14b) kó ȳ ȳ ȳ /ɓâ

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

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

2.10.4. Other adverbs

There are two productive derivative suffixes of adverbs, -ɗs and -wɔ ~ -ɓɔ.

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

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

(15a) Ȳ ɗ ɗeɛ ɓlǔ gwá gú. 3SG.EXI REL.SG friend push\NEUT stone in ‘He pushed his friend to the stones’ [f4:13].

(15b) Ȳ ɗ ɗeɛ ɓlǔ dà ɗà, wɔ gwá gú. 3SG.EXI REL.SG friend push FOC 3SG.NSBJ do\JNT stone in ‘What he did is to push his friend on the stones’ [f4:12].

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

(16) Gbâto ȳ ȳ dǝ ɗpɛɛ ȳ. wɔ ȳ

Gw. 3SG.PRF com each REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ. do\JNT 3SG.EXI

pâ ɗ5.

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

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

2.11. Verb

2.11.1. Nominalizations

There are following means of nominalization in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa:

— a name of the result of action formed with the suffix -ɗe (homonymous to several other suffixes) which also serves a means of phrasal nominalization;
— a gerund, formed with the marker -stû 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 -yɛ;
— a masdar formed with the suffix -ɗe;
— an extralow grammatical tone on the verbal root marking nominalization with the retention of the post-verbal arguments.

2.11.2. Reduplication

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

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

(17b) \( \text{Gbåtò yà bììà-dũù dũù-dũù.} \)
   NOM.M 3SG.PRF wound extinguish-extinguish
   ‘Gbatò has washed (numerous) wounds with warm water’.

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

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

2.12. Focalization strategies

1) The main means of contrastive focalization is the particle \( d̄j \) (with a dialectal variant \( d̄j \)). 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) \( A \) \( d̄j \), \( d̄j \) \( ȳ \) \( āj \) \( d̄e \) \( āj \) \( t̄ô k̄à \).
   3SG.NSBJ father FOC 3SG.NSBJ 3SG.NSBJ call\UNJT 3SG.NSBJ name with
   ‘It is his father he adressed by name (once)’ [e16:13].

(19) \( ȳ \) \( báγglób̄ k̄p̄ôj \) \( d̄j \) \( āj \) \( b̄s \).
   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 \( w̄o \) or \( b̄o \) (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: -\( d̄e \) is added to adjectives, and the “actual selectivity” suffix -\( s̄ū \) is added to nouns or adjectives. In both cases, forms with such suffixes are obligatorily followed by the focalization particle \( d̄j \).

2.13. Relativization

There are two relativization strategies.

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

(20) \( \text{[Wũü ȳ f̄ĩ-s̄ū k̄ạ ȳ ụ́ dṹ]} \)
   meat REL.3SG.NJT smell-ADJ with CONS 2SG.NJT come\UNJT
   3SG.NSBJ with Q
   ‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].

(21) \( \text{[Ȳ ɓ̄ē ń̄ d̄ē ń̄ k̄w̄āj̄ ȳ ạ̄  gb̄s̄]} \)
   3SG.EXI beg\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ before 1SG.NSBJ theft REL 3SG.NSBJ son
   3SG.NJT 3SG.NSBJ remove\UNJT 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) \( \text{[Déb̄ā ȳ b̄l̄ũ˘ k̄p̄āj̄ ạ́ d̄ēb̄ā b̄ā]} \)
   woman REL 3SG.NJT rice boil\UNJT 1SG.EXI woman ART
   3SG.NSBJ know\NEUT
‘The very woman who has cooked rice, I know her’ [f187:6].

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

3. Core quantifiers

3.1. Generalized Existential (Intersective) Quantifiers

3.1.1. D-quantifiers

The basic strategies for the expression of existential quantification are:
— bare NP that can express indiscriminately singular, plural or mass meanings (it can be said that the bare form has a neutral number meaning). The plural marker dũ is normally not used if the plural meaning is already expressed by a numeral or another determiner; with names of pair body parts; most often, it is not used with names of inanimate objects, insects or small animals (percieved as “lacking individual identity”); in fact, dũ expresses jointly the meanings of plurality and referentiality (see in more detail 2.6.2.). A bare NP in the subject position controls most often a singular PPM, although a semantic agreement by number is also possible (a bare NP may control a plural PPM).
— a NP with definite articles bā, dɔ̃ (to the right of the NP) or å (to the left of the NP), see 2.10.3.
— indefinite determiner bá appears in practically all indefinite and negative contexts, in particular:
  a) specific unknown:
  (23) Bë bā yà dũ ú wò gú.
  human certain 3SG.PRF come 2SG.NSBJ affair in
  ‘Someone came after you’.
  b) interrogative context:
  (24) Bë bā yà wò dũ dē bũ dō dēe?
  human certain 3SG.PRF affaire know that 2SG.PROS go today
  ‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’
  c) conditional:
  (25) Bũ bā pũ-ga-sóó siĩũ dũ bë
  2SG.PROS 1SG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human
  bā bā, ̀pũ n yā.ŋ.
  certain on 3SG.NSBJ say 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM
  ‘If you are going to lend my bike to anybody, tell me’.
  d) indirect negation (the negation is in the main clause, and the indefinite determiner is in the dependent clause):
  (26) Yā bë yā.ŋ dē bë bā yà
dũ, come
  3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that human certain 3SG.PRF
  ‘I don’t think that anybody has come’.
  e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:
  (27) Gbato yà zōũ dē yíí kpa bë
  NOM.M 3SG.PRF deny that 3SG.NEG.PFV see human
  bā bā zũũ ŋ tā.ŋ.
  certain on road on
  ‘Gbaton has denied (falsely) he had met anybody on the road’.
  f) in the typical context “specific known”, bā appears in the expression bā ́x bũũ, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).
  (28) Bë bā ́x bũũ yū ̀pũ å prũ
  human certain REL.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ say\NEUT
  yũ ŋ dũ sũ.ŋ.
  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 bā and its usage in the free choice contexts, see 3.2.1.6.
 Bá is not allowed in only two contexts typical for indeterminate pronouns in other languages:
— non-specific irreal; in this case, the noun is used without determiners:
(29) \( N \) ɓá dā-dā ká.
1SG.NSBJ give knife-DIM with
‘Give me anything whatever knife (you have)’. 
— a standard for comparison, in which case the NP is used either in its plural form ((30b), the plural marker dů being, in fact, a determiner too), or with the universal determiner ɓá (30a).
(30a) Yỳ biáŋ sù ŋ \( \) ɗá ŋ ká ŋ
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
teeɓá ɓá tā.
age-mate all on
‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’, or
(30b) Yỳ biáŋ sù ŋ \( \) ɗá ŋ ká ŋ
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
teeɓá-dů tā.
age-mate-PL on
‘He runs faster than his age-mates’.

Numerals

| 1 dó | 10 kòôŋ dó | 90 kòôŋ sùēsiŋ |
| 2 plɛ ~ pɛédà | 11 kòôŋ dó \( \) ɗá gá dó | 100 kàj dó |
| 3 yàáğā | 12 kòôŋ dó \( \) ɗá gá plɛ | 200 kàj plɛ |
| 4 yíişiŋ | 13 kòôŋ dó \( \) ɗá yàáğā | 1000 gblú dó |
| 5 sùôdú | 20 kòôŋ plɛ | 2000 gblú plɛ |
| 6 sùôdó | 21 kòôŋ plɛ \( \) ɗá gá dó | 10 000 gblú kòôŋ dó |
| 7 sùôplɛ | 22 kòôŋ plɛ \( \) ɗá gá plɛ ~ pɛédà | 100 000 gblú kàj dó |
| 8 sàáğā | 30 kòôŋ yàáğā | 1 000 000 gblú bɛč dó |
| 9 sùēsiŋ | 40 kòôŋ yíişiŋ |

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: pà yàáğā ‘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) Pùlísìyë-dů \( \) wà kwàɓę yàáğā-dů kù.
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) Pùlísìyë ɓá \( \) sùôdú wà déŋ.
policemen ART 3SG.NSBJ five 3PL.PRF loose
‘Among the policemen, five have got lost’.

Other existential quantifiers in Dan-Gweetaa also follow the noun. The meaning of ‘several’, ‘a couple of’, ‘a few’ is expressed by the morphologically complex determiners dàbá <child/diminutive marker-some> (33) and sèędá ɓá <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) Gbàtô yà kàá dàbá dò.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF hoe a.little buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.
(34) Gbàtô yà kàá/błũ sèędá ɓá dò.
NOM.M PRF hoe/rice small other buy
Gbato has bought several hoes’/Gbato has bought a small quanitity of rice’.

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

(35) Gbâɗò yâ kââ dâɓá-ɗò dò. ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

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

(36) Blâa dê dà wó dà bîléé gò? sheep how.many FOC 3PL.JNT save\UNT dry.season PP ‘How many sheep have survived the dry season?’

(37) Klâŋ dà bêê dà wó gîzábê pâsê? formation child which FOC 3PL.JNT examination pass\UNT ‘Which students have passed the exam?’

(38) Yô kâ zê’ wó dê bâ, dà dê CONS.3SG.JNT do 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\UNT so.REM there child how.many zê uû gò? 3SG.JNT 2SG.NSBJ PP ‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

Value judgement D-quantifiers

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

(40) Bê gbê wà dò gbïù bà, bê kêê dà wó dû. human many 3PL.PRF go war on human several FOC 3PL.JNT come\UNT ‘Many people have gone to the war, few have come back’.

(41) Yà yâkâbê gbê sû kê wó blââ dêê zû-bô. 1PL.EXCL.PRF worker many take that 3PL.SBJV field new bottom-remove ‘We have hired enough workers to launch a new plantation’.

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

(42) Bê dôôô dà wó dê kwâbê bà dêê: human rare FOC 3PL.JNT go\UNT thief ART know-INF ‘Few are those who know the thief’ [f154:10].

(43) Yô bê-dû dôôô dà, 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) tîrîbâsù (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) tîrîbâsù is not allowed.

(44) Á: pîê à bàiî gbê dà, kêê 1SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\UNT but bàîî tîrîbâsù yáá à gô. machete multitude 3SG.NEG.IPFV 3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple’.

(45a) Yáá  n  yáá  dɛ  Zá
3SG.NEG.IPV 1SG.NSUB eyes.COM that NOM.M

yɛ  dɔ̌  káá  tɔ́ɹɓáɔu  dɛ́-
3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF

‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’.

(45b) zá  yɛ  dɔ̌  káá  tɔ́ɹɓáɔu  dɛ́-  ẽʔ?
NOM.M 3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF Q

‘Will Jean buy many hoes?’

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

3.1.2. A-quantifiers

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

(46) Bá  kpá  ü  bá  dɛ́ɓá  bá  dó.
1SG.PRF see 2SG.NSUB POSS hand \ hand \ hand

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

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

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

‘Children yell much behind the house’.

(49) ǘ  bá  dɛ́-ɗu  wó  pá  bɔ́  sɛɛɗá.
2SG.NSUB POSS guest-PL 3PL.EXI thing eat\NEUT little

‘Your guests eat little’.

(50) ŋ́  gb́  bléɛ̃siu  yɛ́  ń  dɛ́  sɛ́síɛ́  kɛɛ́
1SG.NSUB son first.ADJ 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSUB call\NEUT often.INT but

bɛ́  dɔ́  ā́  pĩ́  yɛ́  ń  dɛ́  dódó.
human put 3SG.NSUB at 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSUB call\NEUT from.time.to.time

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

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

(51) A  bá  dù  yɛ́  pṹ  dáɓáɓó.
3SG.NSUB POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a.little

‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:

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

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

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

(52) A  ń  bɛ́-dʊ́  tʊ́ɑ̃-bó  sìá.
1SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ human-PL greeting-remove\NEUT sometimes
‘I visit my relatives from time to time/often’.

(53) слим ɣbɛ ᵃɤ ᵃɤ ᶨɬɛɬɛ siʌ dودó.
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) Ṣáɬ yɬ yɬ tɬ kwáɬ siʌsiʌ.
sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often
‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55) Kɛɛ-ɗɛɬ-gɛɬ bɬ yɬ bɬ dɛɗɛ-wɬ.
threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV
‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

(56) ɗɛɬ dɬ nɬ gɬ dɛɗɛ-wɬ yɛɗɬɛɬɬ.
3SG.EXI put\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ PP true-ADV yesterday
‘Yesterday he waited for me for a long time’ [f9:15].

(57) Kɛɛɬ yɬ dɛɬɬ-dɬɛɬ-sɬɬ kɬ ɬɬ gɬɬ
NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with REFL.SG POSS.LOC
dɛɬɬ ɗɬɛɬ wɬɬ.
hamlet.LOC true-ADV
‘Kese has set traps a lot in his remote field’ [e18:15].

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

(58) Bɬ dɬ-dɬɬ wɬɬ wɬɬ nɬ bɬ siɬ tɬɛɬ
1SG.POSS child-PL 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ on sometimes time
bɬ-dɬɬ guɬ.

certain-PL in
‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].

A syntactically complex NPI quantifier tɬɛɬ guɬ <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) Bɛɬ yaɬ tɬɛɬ guɬ.
human 3SG.NEG.IPFV time in
‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(60) Đa yɬɬ bɬ tɬɛɬ guɬ.
rain 3SG.NEG.PFV rain time in
‘It rained insufficiently’.

3.2. Generalized universal (Co-intersective) Quantifiers

3.2.1. Universal D-Quantifiers

There are two determiners expressing universal quantifying meanings, ɣbɛ which is an “all-
type” modifier, and pɛpɛ ~ pɛɛ 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 ɗɬ (primarily a free choice meaning), and the
expression ɗɬ ɗɬ (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 bɬɬ.

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

3.2.1.1. ɣbɛ 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) Đa5kwɬɬ-dɬɬ yɬɬɬɬ dɬɬɬ guɬ sɬɬ ɬɬ kɬɬ market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR

4 If the noun tɬɛɬ 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 all its.

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

(61b) ɗɔ kwɗ-yuɓ dɔ ɗu sɓ ɗa
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI

RETR all buy\NEUT

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

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 ɗu which influences the semantics of quantifier (see below).

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

(62) ṃ gbà yá
darkness all.3SG.PRIF put yere
‘It has got quite dark there’ [Dùwó 12].

(63) Bù gbà dà yà
human all.3PL.PRIF stand fixedly
‘Everyone was struck 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 ñà (64), the demonstrative determiner yà (65a), a possessor (66).

(64) Dèkù bì yà yà dà gbà dà yà
day four between NOM.M POSS woman 3SG.PRIF
treee ART all burn
‘During four days, Gbato’s wife burnt the entire tree’.

(65a) ñà gbà gù
1SG.PRIF house this all daub
‘I have daubed all this house’.

(66) Édù bà yà yà gbà gù ñà
dà gbà bà
woman ART 3SG.PRIF 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) ñà gbà gù
1SG.PRIF house all smear
(i) ‘I have daubed the entire house’ or (ii) ‘I have daubed all the houses’.

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

(67) Pì gbà yà gù
town.CMM all 3SG.PRIF burn
‘The entire village has burnt’.

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

(68) Kùdù gbà wà wà káɗ gbà ñà.
prefect 3SG.PRIF 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: gèè ‘carcass, body’ (69a), bër dò ‘one bunch’ (69b), bè ‘fruit’ (70a):

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

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

id.

(70a) Dàdà bè ɗ ɗ gbà yè ɗ gbà bè gbà ɬ Ga di.
    pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred dò.
    one
    ‘The price of the entire pineapple is 500 francs’.

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

(70b) Dàdà bè ɗ yè ɗ gbà tò gbà bè gbà ɬ Ga di.
    pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all remain\NMLZ
    dër-sùù yè ɗ gbà bè gbà ɬ Ga di.
    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 -dùù 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) Dëbà-dùù gbà wà dùù kwààdùù.
    woman-PL all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC
    ‘All the women gathered’ (e.g., all the members of an association).

(71b) Dëbà gbà wà dùù kwààdùù.
    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 (gò gbà wà wluùùu...), 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) Gò-dùù gbà wà wluùùu kë pë-dùù yà dà kë-dùù.
    male-PL all 3PL.PRF rise still village-father 3SG.PRF
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) Gò gbà wà wluùùu.
    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 gbɛ wɔ yã gbô bɔ-suũ bã.

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

‘Then everybody started crying’ [Zuũ sëbã].

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) Gwëɛ yã dũ gbã zã.

leopard 3SG.PRF cow all kill

‘A leopard killed all the cows’.

(74b) Gwëɛ yã dũ-dũ gbã zã ’id’.

Inanimate nouns realizing their wholeness meaning with count words (cf. 69, 70) represent a special case. When count words are missing, gbã 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) Dã-dã yã a gbã yɛ wiũ kũŋ dũ.

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

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

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

(76) Kãsũ-ɡũ-ɡũ-dũ bã wɔ kã dũũ ziũ yã-

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

on

‘The prisoners fled away by this road’.

3.2.1.1.3. **Quantifier gbã with uncountable nouns**

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

(77) Gbatóũ yã yĩ gbã bũũ.

NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all drink

‘Gbato has drunk all the water’.

(78) ûũ bã dã yã sõ gbã dũ-kũ.

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

‘Your child has dirted all the clothes’.

(79) Yã bũũ gbã 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) Kãflé bũũ yã sëeũ.

coffee all 3SG.PRF spoil

‘All the coffee has spoilt’.

3.2.1.1.4. **The distributive meaning of gbã**

Gbã 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 dũ, as in

---

6 However, it should be mentioned that the use of the word bɛ ‘man, human’ without plural marker in combination with gbã is preferable even in the contexts where, according to the general rule, one would expect -dũ. 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) **Pɛ-ɗù gbà wà ɗɛ:**
    village-PL all 3PL.PRF burn
    ‘All the villages (of the canton) have burnt (one by one).’

(82a) Yɪ gbàɗdù pɛɗɛ gbà ɗú yär
    1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM all in CONS
    yɪ gɔ bàà.
    1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
    ‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’.

(82b) Yɪ gbàɗdù pɛɗɛ-dù gbà ɗú yär
    1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM-PL all in CONS
    yɪ gɔ bàà.
    1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
    ‘We stopped in each village (without exception) to repair the car’.

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

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

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

(83) Dàɗa (be) gbà sû dòdò kɛ ɣú ɗ ɓà.
    pineapple fruit all take one by one that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ see
    (Here is a pile of pineapples, some are rotten.) ‘Take each pineapple and examine it’.

3.2.1.1.5. **Generic quantification**

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

(84) Gwàɗa gbà wò ɓɔ gwèɛ gbà.
    cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on
    ‘All cats resemble leopards’.

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

(86a) Bâj gbà wò d55d5ɓɛ-dù ká.
    Jula all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with
    ‘All Jula are merchants’.

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

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

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

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

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

(88) Dá ŋā yɔ yɔ dɔ ɓɛ 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.
tiredness-remove-INF

‘This child will tire anyone’.

(89) Wū gbà yā bǔ-pā ká.
meat all 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF with
‘Any meat is edible’.

(90) Bẹgbẹ gbà yā bēdī à gbà ụr ụr
human all 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on 3SG.JNT work

Any meat is edible.

‘Any person can do this job’.
The singular auxiliary is the most remarkable feature of the free choice construction with gbà distinguishing it from the DEF- and GEN-constructions. For example, the singular auxiliary allows the free choice reading in (91a).

(91a) Dégbà gbà yā sū-sū.
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) Dégbà gbà wọ sū-sū.
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) Ðs-sú-sú gbà gbà dō-s’
market-buy-human\IZF all 3PL.EXI go\NEUT-3SG.NSBJ
pu yā gbè gbà ọt ọt
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 reading (93).

(93) Tōñgbà dū gbà wọ wọ kọ wọ gbù-mà.
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 sū-sū ‘sort’, can be brought to play in order to avoid ambiguity in favour of the free choice interpretation (94).

(94) Yā yā sū-sū gbà kā.
3SG.EXI work sort all do\NEUT
( Context: Jean horribly needs money.) ‘He catches at any job’.

Among all the contexts where the free choice meaning can be expected on typological grounds (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155), gbà 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 gbà-construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics of the construction</th>
<th>Form of the NP</th>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quantification of definite groups, collective meaning (DEF-quantification)</td>
<td>plural (-dụ)</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributive meaning, definite plural</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantification of indefinite (referent) groups, collective meaning (INDEF-quantification)</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributive meaning, indefinite group</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantification of generic sets (GEN-quantification)</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free choice meaning</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>singular (plural allowed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholeness (CMP-quantification)</td>
<td>singular, definite; count</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Uncountable nouns (masses, liquids) | words | singular | singular
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3.2.1.2. **pèpè ~ pèpè** a distributive modifier

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

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

The NP determined by pèpè 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-Gwètæa: 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 pèpè**

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

(95) Ɗàɗà bè pèpè sù kà ú á gà.

Pineapple fruit every take that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ look

‘Take every pineapple and examine it’ (every pineapple that you find).

(96) Bàŋ(­dû) pèpè wò ðëëõđbê ká.

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) Bàŋ së, Gbàŋgwiŋ së wàā Sиɪ́pɛ̀ së,

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

á-dû bā bê yà yà-sù ká Gwètæa wò,

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

Gû, yà wò pèpè sá Dàdàŋ së gû,

in CONS voice every REL.3SG.JNT Danane land.CMM in

á-dû bā d’ò Blò wò gû.

3SG.NSBJ-PL property be Blo voice in

‘The departments of Man, Biancouma, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwètæa dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blo dialect’ [Pame1_1wɔn_taang.014].

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

(98) Gbàtò yà yî pèpè bù.

NOM.M 3SG.EXI water every drink\NEUT

‘Gbato drinks any water’.

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

(99) Yà yà pèpè kà.

3SG.EXI job every do\NEUT

‘He catches on any job’.

\(^9\) See in detail (Vydrin 2013).
(100) Bã d`á ṣblũ yê ńru-síá, yê 1SG.POSS child stomach 3SG.EXI pass-DUR 3SG.EXI
tò yê pã pépè dá ɗí. remain\NEUT 3SG.EXI thing every rise\NEUT REFL.SG mouth
‘My child has diarrhea often, (because) he puts everything in his mouth’.

(101) ÿù pèpè yê ɓ̀-p̀á ká. ‘Any meat is edible’.

(102) ÿwáda pèpè yê kpsíǹsu. cat every 3SG.EXI sly
‘Any cat is sly’.

(103) Ṡé pèpè wò ṣá-ɓé ká. human every 3PL.EXI death-human\IZF with
‘Any human is mortal’.

The determiner pèpè is inherently distributive, it does not appear with collective predicates.

3.2.1.3. Combination of gbà and pépè: an emphasis

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

(104) Gbádtó yá ńgí gbà pépè bũ. NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all every drink
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’ (nothing is left).

(105) Ṭé d`í yê gbà pépè ká. wine desire 3SG.EXI male all every do\NEUT
‘All the men (without exception) like palm wine’.

This “heavy” form tends to erode its intensive meaning, so that some people use gbà in combination with pépè more often than alone, as in (106).

(106) Sìsísìhá yê pá-dú bá s`-dú gbà pépè immediately CONS thing-PL ART REL.3SG.NSBJ-PL all every
‘Immediately, all these things that were found...’ [Dùwá].

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

3.2.1.4. Replication with the connective morpheme òó(òó-replication): the free choice meaning

3.2.1.4.1. The structure and the syntax of the òó-replication construction

The noun undergoes a full replication, and the connective element òó is inserted between the reduplicands.

(107) Ṡé òó ɓé ɗí, á 1SG.POSS any human REL.3SG.JNT come\JNT 1SG.EXI
dò ɗí. go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ beat-INF
‘Whoever comes, I’ll beat him/her’.

The sequence of two reduplicands and their connective element should be undoubtedly interpreted as three words, rather as bound morphemes. An argument against the interpretation of this sequence as a single word is a possibility to define each reduplicand by an adjective (108a), or even by two adjectives (108b), or by a determiner (109).

(108a) Gbè zópòe òó gbè zópòe, á sú. dog red any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take

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

11 In (106), we have a partitive construction, ‘all of the things in question’, where the noun pà-dú ‘things’ has a definite article ṣá which is regularly introduced through a relative clause followed by a resumptive pronoun; see 2.10.3.
‘Take any red dog’.
(108b) Gaɓe zọ́ddee sẹ́ẹ́dá ɓa ɗa ɗbẹ́ zọ́ddee sẹ́ẹ́dá ɗa dʊ, 
dog red small any dog red small 3SG.PRF come
ɓaɓa ɗa ká.
1SG.PROS 3SG.NSBJ do
Whatever small red dog comes, I’m going to chase it away’.
(109) Za yí́ pá ɓá ɗo ɗa ɓá ɗá ɓá ɗá.
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, ɗɓ-reduplication concerns nouns, however reduplication can also affect the
determinative dé ‘other’ following the head noun (110) or, in negative contexts, ɓá ‘any, other’
(111).
(110) Yí́ dʊ toó dé ɗa dé ŋá dá.
3SG.EXI know\NEUT gravy other any other REL.3SG.JNT be
ɓá ká-
3SG.NSBJ do-MSD with
‘She can cook any gravy’.
(111) Ká ɓá ɗo ɗa ɓá yí́ gá, ká yí́
house certain any certain 3SG.NEG.PFV burn that 3SG.NEG.PFV
ká ŋá ɓá ká.
do 1SG.NSBJ one with
‘No house burnt, except for mine’.
It seems that we observe here a lexicalization of dé ɗo dé and ɓá ɗo ɓá as quantifier expressions.
ɗɓ-reduplication is possible for verbs, in this case the verb is nominalized and fronted, while its syntactic
position is occupied by one of the dummy verbs wó or bó. However, not all the verbs are available for this
construction (presumably, the limitation is of a lexical nature).
(112) Dó ɗo dó ŋá Za-wó tá gú,
3SG.EXI go any go REL NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ do-JNT walking in
yí́ dʊ ŋá sáá ká.
3SG.EXI come\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ gift with
‘Any time Jean goes to a trip, he comes back with a gift for me’.
The ɗɓ-reduplicated construction is often fronted (113) or relativized in situ (114), which
reflects its pragmatically enhanced status.
(113) Tá ɗo bá, sákpáɗá yí́ dʊ bá.
chicken any chicken mangoose 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.
(114) Yí́ dʊ ká ká ɗa ɗa yí́.
3SG.PROS do way.CMM any way.CMM REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ
ɓá gá wó dá tó ŋá.
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 ŋá, the 3SG auxiliary
of the conjoint set ŋá, the resumptive personal pronoun) are absent (as in (115a)), we have cases of
their omission typical of the allegro style (which is also attested in other constructions, such as
focalization phrase, where the relativization mechanism is used). In a more careful pronunciation,
these elements reappear (115b).
(115a) Bá ɗa pá ɗo pá bá ŋá gwáɗá bá
1SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property
dá.
give\NEUT
‘Whatever I eat, I give to the cat its part’.
(115b) Bá ɗa pá ɗo pá ŋá bá ŋá bá yí́
1SG.PRF thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ eat 1SG.EXI
gwáɗá bá dʊ.
cat property give\NEUT
‘Id.’

3.2.1.4.2. Semantics of the ɗɓ-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) ɗá ɗòó ɗóó wū dɔ yɛ́ à kà
child any child meat desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT
‘Any child likes meat’.

(117) ɗwàɗá ɗòó gwàɗá wò ɗɛ kwàà
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, ɗòó-reduplication is often not accepted. So, when translating into Dàn the sentence ‘(Here are my children.) Any (of them) can help you’, my informant first suggested the phrase (118), then indicated that a generic reading of this phrase would be more appropriate.

(118) ɗèe ɗòó ɗèe dɔ́ uù tà-kù-.’
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) ɗá gá-dú gá. Yìl ɗɔ ɗà ɗà
1SG.POSS vehicle-PL look 2SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on
ú dé ɗòó dé suù.
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) ɗágíyòó ɗágíyòó wò péé wà
youth any youth 3PL.EXI village.this.in 3PL.EXI.3SG.NB
pìì wò Yìdë suù.
to 3PL.LOG.JNT NOM.F take
‘Any youth of this village desires to marry Yode’.

(121) Nì ɗòó bìáá ɗòó ɗòó ɗòó ɗòó ɗòó ɗòó ɗòó
1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI
wìá kàà dòó.
money hundred one
‘Here in my farm, any pineapple is for five hundred francs’.

(122) ɗá yìí kà-’ pìì kà a bìì?
what REL 2PL.SBJV-3SG.NSBJ to 2PL.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ eat
Pá ɗóó pà ɗì bìì-ɗà kà, a
thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT eat-thing\IZF with 3SG.NSBJ
dìì yìí dé.
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 ɗòó-reduplicated construction can express the free choice meaning in all the contexts attested in the typological literature (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155): modal probability (110, 118, 119), non-prospective future (107), imperative (122), habitual (112, 115), generic (116, 117), contraactive modality (123).

(123) ɗá yáà yìí tòó yìí, yìí dòó
child this 3SG.EXI remain\NEUT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT
bìì ɗòó bìì yìí dòó kàà yìí yìí
human any human REL.3SG.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI
dòó à sàà-bò-’
go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-remove-INF
‘If the child would stay here, he would bother anyone who is here’.

3.2.1.5. ɗòó-construction
3.2.1.5.1. Morphology

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

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

3.2.1.5.2. Syntax

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

(124) \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}} \) \hspace{1em} eat-INF

‘Children will eat any meat’.

(125) \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}} \) \hspace{1em} eat-INF

‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’.

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

(126) \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}} \) \hspace{1em} eat-INF

‘The prefect has punished every family’.

3.2.1.5.3. Semantics

The principal quantifier meanings of the quantifier \( d\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}} \) are the distributive and the free choice
ones. However, the collective meaning proves to be possible too.

3.2.1.5.3.1. Distributive meaning is realized when the determined NP is specific and
referential. In particular, when the verbal predicate appears in the perfect construction, the \( d\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}} \-
construction necessarily has the distributive meaning (126, 127, 128).

(127) \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}} \) \hspace{1em} eat-INF

‘Everyone went home’ [f88:11].

(128) \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}} \) \hspace{1em} eat-INF

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

3.2.1.5.3.2. The free choice meaning of the construction \( d\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}} \) 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).
3.2.1.6. **Indefinite determiner bà as a universal quantifier**

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

(135) ɗs gbà dō dō kwè ɗà nga bà.

2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.Poss market-load this 3SG.SBJJ certain

dō-‘.

buy-INF

‘You should buy anything from my goods’.

(136) Bè bà yà ɗō n dà pś-dà.

human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.SBJJ put-INF village-father

pś-dà.

at-LOC

‘Let anyone guide me to your elder’.

bà has a universal meaning under direct negation (137), where it undergoes competition with the constructions ṭô ṭô bà (138), which has an expressive meaning, and yàà dà (139). The latter can be
regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned ę ɗɛ-construction, however, ɗɛ is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with ɓá.

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

‘He has not been taught anything’. 

137.

138. ɗɛ human certain 3PL.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

139. ɗɛ self 3SG.NSBJ come

‘There is not a person who would like to leave’ [1.18:6].

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

140a. ɗɛ ɓá ɓá ɓá 3SG.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

140b. ɗɛ ɓá ɓá ɓá 3SG.NEG.PFV come

‘Not even a single person has come’.

3.2.1.7. Universal D-quantifiers semantic map

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

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

Explanation to the map:
The red zone: ɓá
The blue zone: gbá
The green zone: ę ɗɛ
The yellow zone: pépé.

3.2.2. Universal A-Quantifiers

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

— tôŋtōŋdś ‘never’ (the intensive form: tôddōŋtōŋdś) 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 * tôŋtōŋ in Dan-Gwëetaa 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, tôŋtōŋdś 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 yā ᵁ kā kpēēwō, tŋ yā ᵃ ŋ ɡ̂̃
1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ PP

k̂ ŋ á yī za.
that 1SG.SBJV sleeping kill\JNT

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

(142) Gbātō yā bā sāa sū kpēēwō.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI 1SG.POSS soap take\NEUT always

‘Gbato takes my soap every time’.

(143) B̃j̃ dō kpā̃ a bā zu tōŋtōŋdś dāābā
1SG.NEG.PVF go see\INF 3SG.NSBJ on more never nevertheless

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

(144) B̃e ŋ b̃ĩ a b̃a pā b̃ē dō…
human REL 2SG.NEG.PVF 3SG.NSBJ POSS thing eat ever

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

(145a) Bā dō dō dī-gā dō?
2SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever

‘Have you ever tested milk?’

(145b) B̃ā a w̃ dō dē yā dō dō dō dō.
1SG.NEG.PVF 3SG.NSBJ matter know that 3SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever never
tōŋtōŋdś
dō never ever

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

(145c) Yāa ŋ yāa dē b̃ĩ dō dō dō dō dī-gā
taste- look.at
1SG.NEG.IPVF 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that 2SG.NEG.PVF milk never ever

tōŋtōŋdś

‘I doubt you have ever tested milk’.

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

(146a) Gbātō yāa ŋ gō gu-zū kpēēwō.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPVF REL.SG head inside-wash always

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

(146b) Gbātō yāa ŋ gō gu-zū tōŋtōŋdś.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPVF REL.SG head inside-wash never

‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) B̃l̃ yā pā gw̃ēē kā dēdē-wō.
bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV

‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.
Gbáāɗɗ ‘entirely’ is an adverb used in the universal meaning with verbs of time duration, such as ká ‘do; spend (time)’ or gbá ‘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 -ɗɗ, from the determiner gbá ‘all, entire’ (a locative postposition may have been also involved, presumably bá ‘on’, so that the original form might have been *gbá-bá-ɗɗ).

(148) Y ธ ká sú dò kà yùá gbá gbáɗɗ.
3SG.EXI RETR moon one do\NEUT illness in entirely
‘He was ill a whole month’.

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

(149) Sááɗ zá yɤ kókáá ká tɛ́n gbá gù.
NOM as.for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in
‘Siao is at home all the time’ [F91:3].

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

(150) Dụ́ ɗó dú́ sá Gbáttó sá ‘ wó Bǎǎɗɗ
come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ die\NEUT Man.LOC yɤ sìɛ́tũ dɔ.
3SG.EXI cigarette buy\NEUT
‘Every time Gbato comes to Man, he buys cigarettes’.

3.3. Proportional quantifiers

3.3.1. Proportional D-quantifiers

Simplex proportional D-quantifiers are gbéɗe ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; kpìɗe ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. Kpìɗe can be supplemented by the universal determiner gbá ‘all’, the expression kpìɗe gbá means ‘almost all’. Gbéɗe is derived by the abstraction suffix -ɗe from the generalized existential quantifier gbé ‘many’, and kpìɗe is derived by the same suffix from the adjective kpù ‘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), lébélɗ ‘rebel(s)’ designates humans, while in (153) bláá ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) Dọtł̀ddî́ yà bê gbéɗe dè-kà
doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf- do
sàáɗ kà yáŋ yɤ pɤ.
before even.if 3SG.SBJV fall
‘The doctor treated the majority of the people before the sunset’.

(152) Lébélɗ kpìɗe wó b̀já sàá bó.
rebel majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove\NEUT
‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) Bláá-dù wó yà gbéɗe Ø kà
sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR
gà blááɗí yì́ kà, kèè å gbá yàá bù.
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 gbéɗe, its scope is limited to this quantifier:

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

(155) Gwɛɛ yä  yũ bláá-dũ pɛɛ dọ  zã.
leopard 3SG.PRF 1PL.EXCL.POSS sheep-PL part one kill
‘The leopard killed a half of our sheep’.

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

(156) Bɛ̃ pɛɛ kpil-su wã bọ Gbãtõ kã,
human part big-SLA 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with
yõ bɛ̃ pɛɛ ɛɛɛdã-su wã bọ Zã 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-Gwɛɛtæa. siɛ̃ ~ siɛ ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier dọdọ (cf. 3.1.2) can be used for ‘rarely’.

3.4. Morphosyntactically complex modifiers

3.4.1. Complex D-modifiers

3.4.1. Cardinal complex D-modifiers

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

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

(157) Wã kwàbɛ̃ kðóñ dọ gã dọ sẽŋ kũ.
3PL.PRF thief ten one bone one only catch
‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

(158) Yã dũ plẽ yàãɡã gbẽŋ.
3SG.RF come village.LOC three only
‘He has come to the village only thrice’ [g6:20].

There are three restrictors expressing the meaning ‘exactly’: kpẽŋdɔ (−dɔ is an adverbial derivative suffix, the element kpẽŋ ‘has no synchronic etymologization) (159), dẽrɔ <self-bunch> (160), which is otherwise used as a determiner ‘self’, and a floating restrictor zãð. (159) Wãà gblũ plẽ wàà wàà kĩŋ yĩñĩũ
money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four
kpẽŋdɔ dã n gĩ.
exactly FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP
(The price of a rice bag is 12000 francs.) ‘I have exactly 12000 francs’.

(160) Bɛ̃ kðóñ dọ gã yĩñĩũ dẽrɔ bãñ n dẽ.
human 10 one bone four self search 1SG.NSBJ before
‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

A floating restrictor zãð ‘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) Wõ kðóñ dọ zãð kẽwâá hũũ ã bã
3PL.EXI 10 one but.how but 3PL.NEG.IPFV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on
kũ wõ yã bã ã kĩ wã."
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do ouch!

(161b) Wô kôôŋ dô kêe wáá bôôŋ zôô bô wô yâ bâ a kâ wâ.

(161c) Wô kôôŋ dô kêe wáá bôôŋ zôô bô wô yâ bâ a kâ zôô wâ.

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

In other contexts, zôô (with the particle wâ in the sentence-final position) expresses an unpleasant surprise, or (with the particle wê 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):

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

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

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

— bôôŋ 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) Débấ yô tô kôôŋ dô tâ.
3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on
woman REL.3SG.JNT be chicken REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buy\INT

(163) Tâsi zi bô sôô yáá zi wáá.
Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.
3SG.NEG.IPFV pass money 3SG.NEG.IP.
Tâsi zi bô sôô yáá zi wáá.
Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.

(164) Bôôŋ wô lôô plôô wíí bôôŋ bôôŋ human 3PL.JNT arrive\INT village.LOC 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human

kôôŋ dô bâ sô ôô kÊ yáí yî yô plô:
Less than ten persons reached the village before the sunset’.
10 one on before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall

(165) Dûô yô bôôŋ dûô kôôŋ dô.
There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.
3SG.NSBJ tree hundred one
tree REL 3SG.JNT be.able\INT tree hundred one

(166) Kàíîtô dé yô dô a bâ.
Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.
canton the.other REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS

(167) Bôôŋ wô plôô yô a guú wô yôôŋ human 3PL.JNT village this 3SG.NSBJ in 3PL.EXI move\NEUT

bôôŋ kôôŋ plôô sôô.
‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.

(168) Bôôŋ wô bôôŋ pôô dô bô wô human\FOC 3PL.JNT human part one remove\INT 3PL.EXI

sôô plôô dô.
A half/About a half of the people are literate’.
3.4.1.2. Complex value judgment D-quantifiers

The meaning ‘too much’ is expressed by a combination of determiners gbé dëdë <many self>.

(169) Bá bë gbé dëdë dâ gô guá.
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 tŭɓôsŭ already discussed in 3.1.1.2.

3.4.1.3. Exception modifiers

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

(170) Kô gbâ wô kâ gê, kêêj a plè dâ
house all 3PL.EXI RETR burn\NEUT but 3SG.NSBJ two FOC
wî gbê.
3PL.NEG.PFV burn
‘All the houses but two burnt’.

(171) Kâflêê dê gbê wâ bá, kêê Gbâ tô
coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M
bâ dôdó dâ wî bâ.
one rare 3FOC 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-Gwëttaa.

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) Pšètê, bë kôôô dô tà bë yîlsîrâ dâ
village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC
wô siêtê bû.
3PL.JNT cigarette drink/JNT
‘Four village dwellers out of ten smoke’.

(173) Dôsâô blëê-sû, bë sôôô tà yûâ kâ bë plè kû.
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 pê-gû ‘to split’, with the denominator in the position of the indirect object (governed by the comitative/transformative postposition kâ), while the numerator appears in the next clause as determiner of the noun pê ‘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) Bê-dû pê guû-sû ́ y yââgâ kâ, á
human-PL split inside-GER REL.3SG.JNT three with 3SG.NSBJ
pê dô wâ kwî wô bâ.
part one 3PL.PRF Caucasian voice hear
‘One third of the people understand French’.

The meaning of ‘percent’ is expressed as follows: “from 100 existing object, X objects”.

(175) Bê kâñ dô é dô, bê kôôô yââgâ
human hundred one REL.3SG.JNT be human 10 three
wô kwî wô bâ.
3PL.EXI Caucasian voice hear\NEUT
‘Thirty percent of the people understand French’.
The meaning ‘a small minority’ is expressed by the expression pɛɛ sɛɛdá ‘minority’ (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) Pɛɛ yá gú kó-dú wó dɔ́, á pɛɛ sɛɛɛɛdá
village this in house-PL 3PL.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ part small.INT

dú kúráŋ ŋ-s-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) Bąɲ-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 dɔ́ zíí-‘ bè plè tā wó dɔ́ gɛɛɛ-‘.
two 3PL.JNT goJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.EXI go\NEUT gain-INF
‘More than two children will succeed’ (litt. ‘Children (who) will surpass two people, they will win’).

(179) Klàŋdī-ŋ-dá wó dɔ́ zíí-‘ bè plè tā wó dā
school-child 3PL.JNT goJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.JNT enterJNT
human 10 one under 3SG.EXI go\JNT 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) Bè wó plěšɔ́ kíɲdè wá dù
human 3PL.JNT village.LOC 3SG.NSBJ majority 3PL.PRF come
kàñdàñà tụà-bó kíɛ ā gbà wíí dù.
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-bè zìà yáá bù-dʒ-kà-suù zìà dò,
that 3SG.SBJV PRSM remain stranger as.for on
village-human\IZF self 3SG.NEG.IPFV wilderness-desire-do-GER path know
kè yà dù tó dèŋ zà bá.
‘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) Bù-ŋà-bè sɔɔdù tā bè yáá zíí bè
wilderness-do-human\IZF five on human 3SG.NEG.IPFV pass human
plè tā kɔ́ wó dɔ́ gɔ́ zíí-zè ká.
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 bá ‘any’:

(183) Bù dù bè 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-bè-dù wó gú bà wà 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.
3.4.2. Complex A-modifiers

\[ \text{Kpɛɛ́ŋə́r ’exactly’ (also a D-quantifier, see 3.4.1) and dɛbɛ́ɾwɔ́ ’exactly’ (derived from the D-quantifier dɛbɛ́ř) can specify numerals used as A-quantifiers:} \]

\[ \text{(187) Kpɛɛ́ŋə́r Gbá́tɔ yá wó Býá sů́ěśír. } \]

\[ \text{exactly NOM.M 3SG.PRФ appear Abidjan nine} \]

\[ \text{’Gbato has been to Abidjan exactly nine times’.} \]

\[ \text{(188) Gbá́tɔ yá nú plʃ́r } yá́ŋágá́ dɛbɛ́ɾwɔ́. } \]

\[ \text{NOM.M 3SG.PRФ come village.LOC three exactly} \]

\[ \text{’Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice’.} \]

\[ \text{Dɔ́báwɔ́ which functions also as a simple cardinal A-quantifier ‘a little’ (see 3.1.2), may have a} \]

\[ \text{complex A-quantifier use signifying ‘at least’:} \]

\[ \text{(189) Ká plʃ́r káa dó bλáá ká ká bɔ́wɔ́ bɛ́ 2PL.PRФ say 2PL.PROS go field.LOC 2PL.IMP do a.little human} \]

\[ \text{kɔ́ŋŋí dó ʒ́ gá sɔ́ɔ̃dú. 10 one REFL.SG bone five} \]

\[ \text{’If you go to the farm, you should be at least fifteen’.} \]

\[ \text{The adverb zịáwɔ́ ‘as many as’ is floating, it can change its position within the sentence, see} \]

\[ \text{(190a) Wó kɔ́ŋŋí dó kɛ́ɛ́ waá bɔ́jɔ́ ʒ́ bá 3PL.EXI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPVF be.able 3SG.NSBJ on} \]

\[ \text{kɛ́ wó yá bá á ká zịáwɔ́. that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do as.much.as} \]

\[ \text{b) Wó kɔ́ŋŋí dó kɛ́ɛ́ waá bɔ́jɔ́ ʒ́ zịáwɔ́ kɛ́ wó yá bá á ká.} \]

\[ \text{c) Wó kɔ́ŋŋí dó kɛ́ɛ́ waá bɔ́jɔ́ zinyáwɔ́ ą bá kɛ́ wó yá bá á ká.} \]

\[ \text{d) Wó kɔ́ŋŋí dó zinyáwɔ́ kɛ́ɛ́ waá bɔ́jɔ́ ą bá kɛ́ wó yá bá á ká.} \]

\[ \text{’They are as many as ten, but they cannot do this job’ (although even 5 persons normally should} \]

\[ \text{be able to do it) [d80:14].} \]

\[ \text{There are several ways to express the meaning ‘almost’ in the A-context.} \]

\[ \text{a) With numbers, ‘almost’ can be translated by the expression dɛ́ pà dʃ́,} \]

\[ \text{litt.: ‘that a thing is so’, preceding the number (191); optionally, a count word kɔ́tá ‘time’ can} \]

\[ \text{be inserted before the numeral.} \]

\[ \text{(191) Gbá́tɔ yá gɔ́ŋŋí sł́ɔ́ dɛ́ pà dʃ́ (kɔ́tá) kɔ́ŋŋí dó. } \]

\[ \text{NOM.M 3SG.PRФ malaria find that thing so.REM time 10 one} \]

\[ \text{’Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.} \]

\[ \text{b) An adverb gɔ́bɔ́wɔ́ ‘almost’ (derived by the means of the adverbial suffix –wɔ́ from} \]

\[ \text{the quantifier gɔ́bá ‘all’) can appear both in nominative (192) and non-nominate (193) contexts. With} \]

\[ \text{sentence negation, this adverb expresses the meaning ‘almost never’ (194).} \]

\[ \text{(192) Gbá́tɔ yá gɔ́ŋŋí sł́ɔ́ gɔ́bɔ́wɔ́ kɔ́ŋŋí dó. } \]

\[ \text{NOM.M 3SG.PRФ malaria find almost 10 one} \]

\[ \text{Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.} \]

\[ \text{’Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.} \]

\[ \text{3.4.2. Complex A-modifiers} \]

\[ \text{Kpɛɛ́ŋə́r ’exactly’ (also a D-quantifier, see 3.4.1) and dɛbɛ́ɾwɔ́ ’exactly’ (derived from the D-quantifier dɛbɛ́ř) can specify numerals used as A-quantifiers:} \]

\[ \text{(187) Kpɛɛ́ŋə́r Gbá́tɔ yá wó Býá sů́ěśír. } \]

\[ \text{exactly NOM.M 3SG.PRФ appear Abidjan nine} \]

\[ \text{’Gbato has been to Abidjan exactly nine times’.} \]

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\[ \text{NOM.M 3SG.PRФ come village.LOC three exactly} \]

\[ \text{’Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice’.} \]

\[ \text{Dɔ́báwɔ́ which functions also as a simple cardinal A-quantifier ‘a little’ (see 3.1.2), may have a} \]

\[ \text{complex A-quantifier use signifying ‘at least’:} \]

\[ \text{(189) Ká plʃ́r káa dó bλáá ká ká bɔ́wɔ́ bɛ́ 2PL.PRФ say 2PL.PROS go field.LOC 2PL.IMP do a.little human} \]

\[ \text{kɔ́ŋŋí dó ʒ́ gá sɔ́ɔ̃dú. 10 one REFL.SG bone five} \]

\[ \text{’If you go to the farm, you should be at least fifteen’.} \]

\[ \text{The adverb zịáwɔ́ ‘as many as’ is floating, it can change its position within the sentence, see} \]

\[ \text{(190a) Wó kɔ́ŋŋí dó kɛ́ɛ́ waá bɔ́jɔ́ ʒ́ bá 3PL.EXI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPVF be.able 3SG.NSBJ on} \]

\[ \text{kɛ́ wó yá bá á ká zịáwɔ́. that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do as.much.as} \]

\[ \text{b) Wó kɔ́ŋŋí dó kɛ́ɛ́ waá bɔ́jɔ́ ʒ́ zinyáwɔ́ kɛ́ wó yá bá á ká.} \]

\[ \text{c) Wó kɔ́ŋŋí dó kɛ́ɛ́ waá bɔ́jɔ́ zinyáwɔ́ ą bá kɛ́ wó yá bá á ká.} \]

\[ \text{d) Wó kɔ́ŋŋí dó zinyáwɔ́ kɛ́ɛ́ waá bɔ́jɔ́ ą bá kɛ́ wó yá bá á ká.} \]

\[ \text{’They are as many as ten, but they cannot do this job’ (although even 5 persons normally should} \]

\[ \text{be able to do it) [d80:14].} \]

\[ \text{There are several ways to express the meaning ‘almost’ in the A-context.} \]

\[ \text{a) With numbers, ‘almost’ can be translated by the expression dɛ́ pà dʃ́,} \]

\[ \text{litt.: ‘that a thing is so’, preceding the number (191); optionally, a count word kɔ́tá ‘time’ can} \]

\[ \text{be inserted before the numeral.} \]

\[ \text{(191) Gbá́tɔ yá gɔ́ŋŋí sł́ɔ́ dɛ́ pà dʃ́ (kɔ́tá) kɔ́ŋŋí dó. } \]

\[ \text{NOM.M 3SG.PRФ malaria find that thing so.REM time 10 one} \]

\[ \text{’Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.} \]

\[ \text{b) An adverb gɔ́bɔ́wɔ́ ‘almost’ (derived by the means of the adverbial suffix –wɔ́ from} \]

\[ \text{the quantifier gɔ́bá ‘all’) can appear both in nominative (192) and non-nominate (193) contexts. With} \]

\[ \text{sentence negation, this adverb expresses the meaning ‘almost never’ (194).} \]

\[ \text{(192) Gbá́tɔ yá gɔ́ŋŋí sł́ɔ́ gɔ́bɔ́wɔ́ kɔ́ŋŋí dó. } \]

\[ \text{NOM.M 3SG.PRФ malaria find almost 10 one} \]
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

(193) Yā wō ā bā gbāwō.  
3SG.PRF speak 3SG.NSBJ on almost  
‘He has almost accepted it’.

(194) Gbātō yáá dũ gbāwō plɛt.  
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.PFV come almost village.LOC  
‘Gbato almost never comes to the village’.

c) In non-numerative contexts, the meaning ‘almost’ can be rendered by the expression pɛ V-GER/V-MSD bā, where pɛ is an auxiliary verb (the original meaning is ‘to say’), bā 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 bɔ ‘to finish’ (which, in its turn, introduces a gerundive form of the verb kā ‘to cut’).

(195) Zā yā pɛ yā zū-bō-sū/-dē bā.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say work bottom remove-GER/-MSD on  
‘Jean has almost began to work’.

(196) Zā yā pɛ s bō dũ kā-sū kā.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say REFL.SG finish tree cut-GER with  
‘Jean has almost finished cutting the tree’.

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

(197) Gwādī yɛ kā dē yɛɛ bɔ bū kū.  
cat 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT that 3SG.PROS mouse catch  
‘The cat has almost caught the mouse’.

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

(198) Gbātō yɛ dũ plɛt teŋyɛɛ kpūdē kā.  
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 zǐɛ ‘pass’ and bɔs ‘reach’, in the same way as displayed in 3.4.1.1.

Examples for the bounding quantifiers have been translated as follows:

(199) Gbātō yɛ yɛ dũ plɛ dɛkɛpɔyũ bā,  
NOM.M 3SG.EXI water measure\NEUT two day on  
dɛkɛpɔyũ sɔɔdũ dɔɔgɔ dũ bā.  
day five week one on  
‘Gbato measures water twice a day, five days a week’.

(200) Yɔdī yɛ yɛ kā dɛkɛpɔyũ sɔɔdũ dɔɔgɔ dũ gu,  
NOM.F 3SG.EXI work do\NEUT day five week one in  
dɔɔgɔ kɔdũ yilsĩɛ s bā, s  
week 10 four REFL.SG bone five year on 3SG.JNT appear\NEUT  
ā kā dũ kwũ kɔdũ dũ s bā, s 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 zǐɛ (ā) kā X tā (where X is the ground for the comparison), litt. “to pass with it on X” (201); cf. also 3.4.1.

(201) Gj-dũ gbẽ wō sëtũ bũũ wō zĩɛ kā  
male-PL numerous 3PL.EXI cigarette drink\NEUT 3PL.JNT pass\JNT with  
dẽbũ dũ tā.  
woman-PL on  
‘More men than women smoke’.
The meaning ‘as many as’ is expressed by a clausal intransitive construction with the verb bɔɔצע ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) Klàŋdịdị-dà-dù bà pị̀-gà-sòò wò- kwàà ã
school-child-PL POSS iron-bone-horse 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ
dì wàà klàŋgùbù-dù bà y抝 bɔɔצע.
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) G dị dè ɗ y抝 dì ðe bì dì y抝 dì ðe bì
dì ðe bì dì y抝 a kì.
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 dè ɗ y抝 dì ðe bì dì y抝
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) Bùkàbè dè ɗ y抝 dì ðe wà wù wù sùú dòdò zì.
hunter that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 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) Bùkàbè dè ɗ y抝 dì ðe wà wù wù sùú dò zì.
hunter that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM meat kind one kill
‘Each hunter has killed the same animal (animal of the same species)’.

(205b) Ìbàbà ɗì y抝 y抝 tì dò 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) Klàŋdịdị-dà ɗ y抝 sákàbì dò bà dà
school-child REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV paper one ART FOC
wò pì.
voice say
‘Let every student read the same book’.

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

(206) Bẹ bẹ bẹ ɗ y抝 bẹ kì?
human which 3SG.JNT work which do\JNT
‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) G dị bẹ bẹ ɗ bì bẹ sù?
male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\JNT
‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) Gbàtó wàà Zà wò pìdè wò wò
NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI village.CMM 3PL.JNT PL.REFL
kò sà fù.
RECP.CMM near in
‘Gbato and Jean live in neighbouring villages’ (litt. ‘Gbato and Jean, they are in (a) village., they, are in the neighbourhood of each other’).

(209) Gbàtó wàà Zà wò vòtò ɗ kì pìì wìì 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) Záɗɓɛ-dù ŋ waá dó, wóò zá gɔ-ye kò judge-PL REL 3PL.NEG.IPFV one 3PL.PROS dispute head-break hand.CMM
dó dó kò zá dó kò dó ká.

dó 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’).

(211) Gbá yí gbéɛtɑ̀ zá bɛ bá ká.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV chat kill human certain with
‘Gbato and Jean talked, but no one else talked to anyone else’.

(211a) Gbá yí gbéɛtɑ̀ zá bɛ bá ká.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV chat kill human certain with
‘Gbato (never) talks with the same person more than twice’ (litt. ‘Gbato does not climb his mouth on one person in a way that it overpasses two times’).

(212) Gbá yí gbéɛtɑ̀ zá bɛ bá ká.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with
‘Yode and Sayi have quarreled, but no one else has quarreled with no one’.

(213) Gbá yí gbéɛtɑ̀ zá bɛ bá ká.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with
‘Gbato (never) talks with the same person more than twice’ (litt. ‘Gbato does not climb his mouth on one person in a way that it overpasses two times’).

(214) Gbá yí gbéɛtɑ̀ zá bɛ bá ká.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with
‘Men are usually taller than women’.

(215) Gbá yí gbéɛtɑ̀ zá bɛ bá ká.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with
‘Men are usually taller than women’.

(216) Gbá yí gbéɛtɑ̀ zá bɛ bá ká.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with
‘Men are usually taller than women’.

4.3. Distributive numerals and binominal each

(217) Gbá yí gbéɛtɑ̀ zá bɛ bá ká.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with
‘Men are usually taller than women’.
‘I have sold two guns to each hunter’.

(218) **Blǔkāɓę** plę, bę gbą wą **ɓlɔɔ yáągá-yáągá sù.**

‘Two hunters carry three bags each’.

(219) **Blááɓé-dǔ, bę gbą wą dũ tɔ plę-plę ká**

prefect small before

peasant-PL human all 3PL.PRF come chicken two-two with káɓáɗá sɛɛɗá dɛ.

(220) **Sɔdá-dǔ wá dă plę-plę yɪtɑgʊ-dǔ gʊ.**

soldier-PL 3PL.PRF go.up two-two water-on-vehicle\IZF-PL in

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

4.4. Mass quantifiers and noun classifiers

The system of noun classifiers in Dan-Gwetaa is at an early stage of grammaticalization. There are three count words, gá ‘grain, bone, drop’, bë ‘fruit’, dà ‘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’, gëɛ ‘dead body, carcass’, bɔbɔ ‘bunch’) seem to evolve in this direction too. The low degree of grammaticalization manifests itself in the fact that the count words are obligatory with certain nouns only: with some others, they are optional; and a great number of Dan-Gwetaa nouns are combined with numerals without count words. On the other hand, the situation is complicated by the fact that these elements are integrated into a number of compound words (ex., fãągã ‘comb’, láagã ‘moonfish’, sɛɗãgã ‘needle’, pɛɛgã ‘adze’, yɛgã ‘savanna’, yɔŋbɛ ‘rattle’, yùbãɗá ‘cat’, bùdá ‘intestinal worm’, sɪrɔdá ‘cicada’, etc.), and it is sometimes difficult to decide where we have a count word, and where it is a component of a compound noun.

gá ‘grain, bone’ is by far the most productive (and the most grammaticalized) count word\(^\text{13}\). It appears with many collective nouns (names of insects, such as zɛɛ ‘mosquito’; zɔŋ ‘gravel’, kàa ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, wũ ‘hair’, dɛ ‘leaves’, sãɛɛ ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (ɓiá ‘rope’, ðɔŋ ‘rope, wire’, yí ‘river’\(^\text{14}\), gbɔŋ ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of gá vary, which seems to be conditioned both semantically and lexically. So, it seems to be obligatory with names of edible caterpillars (221), with nouns of small bodyparts (yɛ ‘eye’, sɔ ‘tooth’, nɛɛ ‘tongue’ (222)), with biá ‘rope’ (223), with the word wã ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

(221) **Yɔ yá kpã zòðò/gɔŋ** gá/ɔ sɔɔdũ bã.  

NOM.MF 3SG.PRF see caterpillar1/caterpillar2 bone five on

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

(222) **Bá yá/sí/ɗɛɛ gá/ɔ sɔɔdũ dɛ-ká.**  

1SG.PRF eye/tooth/tongue bone five leaf-do

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

(223) **Bá biá gá/ɔ sɔɔdũ dɔ.**  

1SG.PRF rope bone five buy

‘I have bought five ropes’.

(224) **Bá wã gá/ɔ yáągá dũ ɗ dé.**  

1SG.PRF 5.francs bone three give 3SG.NSBJ before

‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

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

(225) **Bá yí gá/ɔ yáągá ká.**  

1SG.PRF water bone three cut

‘I have crossed three rivers’.

(226) **Bá nũ kãa gá/ɔ sɔɔdũ wã.**  

1SG.PRF 1SG.NSBJ hair bone five extract

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

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

(227) Bá tó-dë gā/ø sänder dë-ka.  
1SG.PRF ear-leaf bone five leaf-do

'I have tried (medically) 5 ears'.

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

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

Certain nouns (names of fishes, of some insects...) can be used with two or even three of the count words, with some semantic modifications, cf. (228), where ɓɛ appears if the fishes were rather big, gâ is neutral (with some other nouns, this count word indicates a small size), and ɗù implies that the fishes were bought alive\(^\text{15}\).

(228) Bá yùsùrsù gâ/ɓɛ/ɗù yâągâ dō.  
1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy

'I have bought three fishes'.

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

(229) Yā bō gêe/bɔɔ yâągâ dō.  
3SG.PRF goat corps/bunch three buy

'He has bought three entire goat carcasses'.

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

(230) wē vêdë yâągâ  
palm.wine glass three

'three glasses of palm wine',

(231) kɔɔ bãsɔ yâągâ  
maize bag three

'three bags of maize',

(232) sāā kpā yâągâ  
soap ball three

'three cakes of soap',

(233) bâā dëe yâągâ  
cassava root three

'three cassava roots',

(234) gãsɔ kpā yâągâ  
banana bunch three

'three bunches of banana',

(235) kãfïlëe kïdë yâągâ  
coffee kilogram three

'three kilograms of coffee'.

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

(236) yâ kãsɔ yâ yâągâ  
water gourd eye three

'three gourds of water'.

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

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\(^\text{15}\) -ɗù is also a diminutive suffix, therefore, an alternative reading in this case is ‘three small fishes’.  


If used with numerals without count nouns, the mass nouns undergo a semantic shift to the ‘kind of’ meaning: yíɔ sɔɔɗu ‘five sorts of water’, yëë sɔɔɗu ‘five sorts of sand’ (see 2.6.3 for the same semantic shift with the plural marker).

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

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

4.5. Existential constructions

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

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) Bãŋgiŋɣɔŋ ɣə Yə ɗiù bã.
   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) Dãã di��kɔɔɗiŋkɔŋ ɣə ɗiù gɔ.
   knife sharp.ExtINT 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ PP
   ‘He has an extremely sharp knife’ [f86:7].

(239) A ɗɛ ɗɛ ɗiù n dɛ.
   3SG.NSBJ choice 1PL.EXCL.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ before
   ‘I have no choice’ [f154:5] (litt.: ‘Its choice is not before me’).

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

(240) Yãŋ ɣə ɗiù ɗɛ dɛ.
   sun.CMM 3SG.EXI beNEUT today
   ‘It is very hot today’ [f57:8] (litt. ‘Sun exists today’).

(241) ... kɔŋ ɗiù ɗɛ wɛɛ bã ɣə ɗiù ɗɛ:.
   ... for he had no other place to go [f2:7] (litt. ‘that another place for him to go did not exist’).

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

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

4.6. Floating quantifiers

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

4.7. Bare quantifiers

The following bare quantifiers can function as predicates: numerals (242), dɔdo ‘a few, a small number’, gbɛ ‘many’ (243), gbɛ dɛdɛwɔ ‘very much, too much’, kɛɛ ‘few’, sɛɛdã ‘small quantity’, tɔŋbãsù ‘a couple, a small number (with negation)’ (244).

(242) A bã kɔŋ ɣə yǝŋ yǝŋgã.
   3SG.NSBJ POSS house 3SG.EXI three
   ‘He has three houses’ (litt. ‘his house is three’) [f77:14].

(243) Bɑdã-kã-bɛ-dũ wɔ yã-tɔ-siĩ n ɡǐ wɔ gbɛ.
   work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP 3PL.EXI numerous
   ‘The workers who are waiting for me are many’.

(244) Bɑdã-kã-bɛ-dũ wɔ yã-tɔ-siĩ n ɡǐ
   work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP

wãá tɔŋbãsù.
   3PL.NEG.IPFV multitude
   ‘The workers who are waiting for me are not many’.

(245) Dɔɔkwá-dɔ, yúụrɛ dɔ̀ gụ sà, ả
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI
kà plè\gbà/\gbé/bá-dù/kpùdè d3.
RETR two/all/many/certain-PL/most buy\NEUT

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

Bare quantifiers are less apt to appear in the subject position, where the quantifiers need to be
determined at least by an anaphoric pronoun:
(246) Ɓā kà-ɗù gà. Ā gbà\gbé\dù\gbè\dòdò
1SG.POSS hoe-PL see 3SG.NSBJ all/majority/certain-PL/many/rare
wà yè.
3PL.PRF break

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

Bare numerals, in both predicate and argument functions, can be determined by the restrictors
gbèŋ and sèŋ ‘only’. As for the restrictor kpèŋdè ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the
argument position only, contrary to ẓɔ ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the
predicate position.

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

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

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

4.11. Scope ambiguities
Scope ambiguity contexts are similar to those found in English.
(247) Dēbà ˵ dèr yɛ̀ tà dò ɓô.
woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV song one remove

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

SWS: each woman should perform one song of her choice.

Scope ambiguity in wh-questions:
(248) Tà bɛ̀ ˵ dēbà ˵ dà yɛ̀
dance which REL woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.JNT

ä ɓô?
3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT

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

However, in the context “N hunters have checked N1 traps” (249), no scope ambiguities have
been found.
(249) Błùkàbè yàāgà wà dàŋ kôòò dò gà sòśù du gà.
hunter three 3PL.PRF trap 10 one bone five look at

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

4.12. One to one dependency
(250) Dùgà dà cò à à tà ả
tree bone other 1SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ close\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ
gbà à ɓɔ̀, yà kì dù kpù kà.
entire.3SG.PRF appear\JNT 3SG.PRF do tree big with

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

4.13. Expression of the meaning ‘only’
Simple translations of ‘only’ are possible only with numerals, by the means of the restrictors
gbèŋ and sèŋ, 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 dò ‘one’, usually followed by a
definite article (251), a focalizer (252, in a contrastive context), or a restrictor (253).
It (the way) was the only one between two mountains [zuase.013].

She has bought only pepper [f56:5].

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

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

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

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


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

Gbató has finished a work.

Gbató has tested the drug one by one.

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

(258b) Gbàtò yà ɗà dēbà tà ɓá kú.
NOM.M 3SG.PRIF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface any catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife in some way’.

(258c) Gbàtò yà ɗà dēbà tà gbà kú.
NOM.M 3SG.PRIF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface all catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife by all means’.

(258d) Gbàtò yà ɗà dēbà t’à-dù kú.
NOM.M 3SG.PRIF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface-PL catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife repeatedly’.

(258e) Gbàtò yà ɗà dēbà tà gbé kú.
NOM.M 3SG.PRIF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife 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 adverbalization of D-quantifiers in the constructions with preverbial verbs is not represented in the Table 4, as well as the expression of quantifying meanings by verbal constructions.

Table 4. Summary for quantifiers in Dan-Gwëtëa

<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><strong>Numerals</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>kind of</td>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bá</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>dëbër’</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals); {self}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{self}</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëbër’wó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëdëwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>utterly; often; for a long time; in great number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dô</td>
<td>certain, a</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ever; never (in negative sentences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dôdô</td>
<td>rare, few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>occasionally; rarely; one by one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâbâ</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>a little, some</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâbâbô</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>gbâaɗ’s</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>entirely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbēj</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 dèdèwɔ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>too much, very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbèdè</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>major part</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɛɛ</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpoowɔ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpoɔdɔ</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpǔdè</td>
<td>overwhelming majority</td>
<td>the great part of</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpǔdè gbɔ</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X oɔX X</td>
<td>any, whatever</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>(nominalization of the verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y dɔy</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 dɔ</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 seɛdɔ</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɛŋ</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seɛdɔ</td>
<td>(small)</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seɛdɔ bɔ</td>
<td>several, few</td>
<td>small quantity of</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìa</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>sometimes, often; usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìlsìa</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìa tɔŋ bɔ-dʊ́</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔŋtɔŋdɔ      (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔŋbɔsìu      (NPI)</td>
<td>a couple, a small number</td>
<td>a small quantity</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔŋ gù      (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>few, insufficiently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔŋ gbɔ gù</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>all the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zìsìwɔ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>as many as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zɔɔ</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations**

ADJ – adjective; adjectivizer suffix (-sʊʊ)
ADV – adverbial suffix (-wɔ ~ -bɔ)
ART – definite article bɔ
Atr – attribute
AUT – autonomous pronominal series
AUX – auxiliary
C – consonant
CMM – common case
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CNTR</td>
<td>contrastive pronominal series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONS</td>
<td>consequitive conjunction (yë)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det</td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>durative verbal suffix -sūñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXI</td>
<td>existential series of PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>1 pers. exclusive plural pronoun/PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>a) focalization particle (ɗà ~ dëù); b) grammatical high tone on certain focalized nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GER</td>
<td>gerundive suffix -sìù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative series of PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive marker (extralow tone suffixed to the verb stem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrumental/comitative/transformational postposition (kà)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IZF</td>
<td>isaphet marker (an extralow tone on the noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNT</td>
<td>conjoint series of PPM; tonal modification on the verbal stem in the conjoint construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOG</td>
<td>logophoric pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSD</td>
<td>suffix of masdar (verbal noun, -ɗê)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEUT</td>
<td>neutral aspect marker (extralow tone on the verbal stem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM.F</td>
<td>female proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM.M</td>
<td>male proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPI</td>
<td>negative polarizing item (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSBJ</td>
<td>non-subject pronominal series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OO</td>
<td>oblique object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWS</td>
<td>object wide scope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive marker (ɓà, gɔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>postposition with a broad meaning (gɔ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPM</td>
<td>predicative pronominal marker (auxiliary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>presumptive series of PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>perfect series of PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>prohibitive series of PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROS</td>
<td>prospective series of PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>general question particle (ɗèê or a copy of the final vowel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>reciprocal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relativization marker (ˈ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REM</td>
<td>remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RETR</td>
<td>retrospective operator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJV</td>
<td>subjunctive series of PPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>selective marker (-sìù)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUB – subessive case or postposition (ɓạ)
SWS – Subject Wide Scope
TOP – topicalization particle (zẹ)
V – (a) verb; (b) vowel
X – post-verbal arguments and circonstants

References


