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

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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 Biancounou, 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 ƞ.

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

Consonants

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

² In Dan-Gwɛɛtaa, mid-closed vowels, [i, ɹ, ʊ, ø], are realized as more closed allophones, [i, ɹ, ʊ, ø] under extra-high tone, cf. /wɛ/ /wɛ/ ‘to speak’ (the lexical form) vs. /wɛ/ /wɛ/ ‘to speak’ (the regular form in neutral aspect construction). Among the abovementioned allophones, ɹ seems to be on the way to phonologization: so, the neutral aspect form of the verb sɨdɨ ‘to be afraid’, sɨdɨ is normally pronounced identically to the verb sɨdɨ ‘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: káá ‘scabies’,
- high: káá ‘you (pl.)’, the negative imperfective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- mid: káá ‘you (pl.)’, the prospective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- low: káá ‘to scratch’ (a conjoint construction form),
- extra-low: káá ‘reed’.

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

2.3. Syllabic structures allowed in Dan are: V, CV, C1C2V. The only consonant admissible in the C2 position is /l/, it cannot be preceded by /d/, /g/ (including l, v, ∞).

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

2.4. Basic syntax

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

2.4.2. Non-verbal sentences are formed with copulae bʊ́, bā, dɛ́, dɔ́ (identification, negative identification, presentative, equative) and with PPM (negative identification, locative, qualitative, equative; on PPM, see 2.9.).

Identification, (S) NEG.IPFV bʊ́ ‘it is not S’.

Presentative sentence, S dɛ́ ‘here is S’.

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

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

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

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

2.5. Noun

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

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

2.5.2. Relational and free nouns
This distinction is valid for both the nouns proper and the locative nouns; it manifests itself in a possessive NP where the possessor (the dependent word) is a person. If the head (the possessum) is a free noun, it is connected to the possessor noun by a connective word (a postposition) ɓà ~ ɗì:

(1) Gbàtò ɗà bà-dû
dì.
NOM.M POSS child-PL
‘Gbato’s children’.

ɓà is most often replaced by ɗì if the NP appears in the circumstantial function:

(2) nì gò kó-kó
1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC house.LOC
‘at my home’.

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

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

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

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

(3) ɗà yì dòfòfò-sù-dû
liana.sp. water viscous.substance-ADJ-PL
‘bowls of sauce of the liana "zan”’ [e4:20].

(4) Bëë-sa-dû wọ kì dò lá kà, wáá kì dû.
mud-PL 3PL.JNT house build 3SG.INSTR 3PL.IPFV.NEG do so.CLOSE
‘One does not build a house with such sorts of mud’ [f180:7].

With most names of physiological substances and excretions (yòò ‘blood’, gbô ‘excrement’, wëë ‘urine’3), -dû may also express the meaning of emphatic plural (‘a great quantity of’):

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

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

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

2.6. Adjectives

Syntactic functions characteristic of adjectives are:

– noun modifier in an attributive NP:

(7) Yàù gbëë yì láyì gà lòò bëë bà.
sun.CMM difficult 3SG.EXI sweat bone arrive\NEUT human on
‘Hot sun makes one sweat’ [d162:6].

– predicate in a postpositionless construction:

(8) Nò kò ɓì ɓà
1SG.NSBJ hand.CMM 3SG.EXI numb
‘My hand is numb’ [d163:7].

– predicate in a postpositional construction:

(9) À gbì yì ɓì ɓà
3SG.NSBJ foot 3SG.EXI bare with
‘He is barefoot’ [d162:13].

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

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

All adjectives have a selective form derived by the suffix –siu (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: sii plê ‘two months’. About the context where a numeral is followed by the plural marker, cf. 3.1.1.1.

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

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: baa ðu (lit. ‘cassava-tree’) ‘cassava stalk’, and (b) head-marked, where the syntactic connection is marked on the head noun by an extra-low tone: baa ðu ‘cassava plant’. To the class of genitive-like NPs belong the postpositional NP, where the connection between the constituents is marked by a postposition: duða baa gbii (lit. ‘raffia.palm – on – caterpillar’) ‘raffia palm caterpillar’. Possessive NP (duðti baa ða ‘village chief’s knife’) can be also regarded as a variety of the postpositional NP.

In an attributive construction, the head word precedes the dependent one: gbé tii <dog black> ‘black dog’. In the attributive constructions, determiners (plural marker, definite article, etc.) normally follow the dependent word: gbé tii-duu ‘black dogs’, gbé tii baa ‘the black dog’. Rather atypically of Mande languages, the plural marker can optionally follow the head word (gbé-duu tii ‘black dogs’) or appear in both positions (gbé-duu tii-duu ‘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></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2/3</td>
<td>1 ex.</td>
<td>incl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Existential EXI</td>
<td>ða i/uu yi/yi /ði</td>
<td>ði yi kò kwá kà wò wò</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conjoint JNT</td>
<td>ða i/uu Ø/Ø/Ø</td>
<td>ði yi kò kwá kà wò wò</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perfect PRF</td>
<td>baa ba ya/yà yà yà kò kwá kà wà/wà wà</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prospective PROS</td>
<td>baa bii yìgìgì – yi kò kwá kà wò wò –</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative IMP</td>
<td>– Ø/bé – – – kò kwá kà – –</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subjunctive SBJV</td>
<td>ða i/uu Ø/Ø/Ø</td>
<td>ði yi kò kwá kà wò wò –</td>
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<tr>
<td>Presumptive PRES</td>
<td>baa baa ya – ya kò kwá kà wà –</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative imperfective NEG.IPFV</td>
<td>baa baa yà – yà kò kwá kà wà –</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative perfective NEG.PPFV</td>
<td>bii bii yi – yi kò kwii kí wí wí –</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prohibitive PROH</td>
<td>baa ba yà – yà kò kwá kà wà –</td>
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</table>
2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs

2.10.1. Personal pronouns

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<td>Non-subject</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
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Table 2. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gwëeetaa

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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) $Kɛ$ kũí bã wā’gã dēŋ, bũí dô $á$ $wé$ $dũ$. ‘If you loose your money, I won't give other’ [e4:10].

(11) $A$-$dâ$ bâ $yã$ gâ, wâ $ã$ dê $dã$. ‘Their sheep has died, they have bought a new one’.

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

(12) $bã$ n $dê$ $tã$ wã yê $kã$ $n$ kã... 1SG.CNTR self 3SG.NSBJ matter 3SG.EXI RETR 1SG.NSBJ astonish ‘The matter astonished me...’ [Dũ wã].

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

(13) $bã$ $t$ $ů$ $ã$ $yê$ $kã$ $kã$... what REL 2SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ see.JNT road on ‘What have you seen on the road?’

2.10.3. Demonstrative pronouns, definite articles and adverbs

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

(14a) kó ɛɛ yə... /bə → (14b) kó (ɛɛ ɛɛ) yə /bə

house REL 3SG.NSBJ here there house REL 3SG.NSBJ this ART

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

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

2.10.4. Other adverbs

There are two productive derivative suffixes of adverbs, -ɗɛ and -wó ~ -bó.

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

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

(15a) Yə ɛɛ tɛɛdɔ blùu gwɔ ɗúu ɡúu.

NOM.M REFL.SG friend push\NEUT stone in

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

(15b) Yə ɛɛ tɛɛdɔ blùu dɔɔ ɑ ɡwɔ ɗúu ɡúu.

3SG.EXI REFL.SG friend push FOC 3SG.NSBJ do\JNT stone in

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

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

(16) Gbató yà ɗü pépé ɛɛ wó yə.

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

pə d5.

thing buy\NEUT

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

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

2.11. Verb

2.11.1. Nominalizations

There are following means of nominalization in Dan-Gwëetaa:

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

2.11.2. Reduplication

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

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

(17b)  Gbâ tô  yâ  bîlâ-dû  dûû-dûû.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF wound extinguish-extinguish
‘Gbato has washed (numerous) wounds with warm water’.

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

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

2.12. Focalization strategies

1) The main means of contrastive focalization is the particle dû (with a dialectal variant dûû). 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  dâ  dâ  i  dâ  i  dê  t ô  kâ.  
3SG.NSBJ father FOC 3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ call\JNT 3SG.NSBJ name with
‘It is his father he addressed by name (once)’ [e16:13].

(19)  Yô  bûyô  kôô  dêô  i  bôô.  
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 wô or bô (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: -dê is added to adjectives, and the “actual selectivity suffix” -sû is added to nouns or adjectives. In both cases, forms with such suffixes are obligatorily followed by the focalization particle dû.

2.13. Relativization

There are two relativization strategies.

1) Correlative strategy: a full-fledged relativized NP, followed by the relative conjunction ɗ (sometimes kô), 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)  [Wiû  ɗ  hî-sû  kâ]  yô  ú  dû  
meat REL.3SG.JNT smell-ADJ with CONS 2SG.JNT come\JNT 
â  kà  bôê?!
3SG.NSBJ with Q
‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].

(21)  Yô  bûbê  nô  dê  îô  kwôô  ɗ  gbô  
3SG.EXI beg\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ before 1SG.NSBJ theft REL 3SG.NSBJ son 
ô  â  bô  bêô  îô  wô  gbû.  
3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ matter\IZF in
‘He is imploring me about the matter of a theft committed by his son against me’ [e10:1].

(22)  [Dêbê  ɗ  bûbê  kôô],  â  dêbê  bô  
woman REL. 3SG.JNT rice boil\JNT 1SG.EXI woman ART  
â  dôô.  
3SG.NSBJ know\NEUT
The very woman who has cooked rice, I know her’

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

3. Core quantifiers
3.1. Generalized Existential (Intersective) Quantifiers
3.1.1. D-quantifiers
The basic strategies for the expression of existential quantification are:
— bare NP that can express indiscriminately singular, plural or mass meanings (it can be said that the bare form has a neutral number meaning). The plural marker ɗu is normally not used if the plural meaning is already expressed by a numeral or another determiner; with names of pair body parts; most often, it is not used with names of inanimate objects, insects or small animals (percieved as “lacking individual identity”); in fact, ɗu expresses jointly the meanings of plurality and referentiality (see in more detail 2.6.2.). A bare NP in the subject position controls most often a singular PPM, although a semantic agreement by number is also possible (a bare NP may control a plural PPM).
— a NP with definite articles bà, dɔ in the right of the NP) or ā (to the left of the NP), see 2.10.3.
— indefinite determiner bà appears in practically all indefinite and negative contexts, in particular:
a) specific unknown:
(23) Bà ɓá yá dũ ǔ wó guú.
human certain 3SG.PRF come 2SG.NSBJ affair in
‘Someone came after you’.
b) interrogative context:
(24) Bà ɓá yá wó dũ dě bũ dö dë ɗu?
human certain 3SG.PRF know that 2SG.PROS go today
‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’
c) conditional:
(25) Bà dũ ɓá pǐš-ɡã-sôdui siĩ ɗũ dũ bã
2SG.PROS 1SG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human
bá ɗu ɗã ro ɲi yáá.
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) Bà yáá bà yáá dũ pĩš ɗũ ɗũ ɗu ɗu.
3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ 3SG.NEG.IPFV that human certain 3SG.PRF
‘I don’t think that anybody has come’.
e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:
(27) Gbã ɗũ ɓá yáá dũ kũ dũ yíi kpã bã
NOM.M 3SG.PRF deny that 3SG.NEG.PFV see human
bá ɗu ɗã ro ɲi yáá.
certain on 3SG.NSBJ say 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM
‘Gbato has denied (falsely) he had met anybody on the road’.
f) in the typical context “specific known”, bà appears in the expression bà ɗu, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).
(28) Bà yáá bà yáá bĩ ɓũ yɔ ɗũ ɗũ ɗu ɗu.
human certain REL.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ say\NEUT
yɔ ɗu ɗu ɗu.
3SG.PROS 1SG.NSBJ take
‘Someone (“certain person who is there”) says, he is going to marry my daughter’.
About the expression of the negative universal meaning by bà and its usage in the free choice contexts, see 3.2.1.6.
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) 1SG.NSBJ give knife-DIM with
‘Give me any whatever knife (you have)’.
— a standard for comparison, in which case the NP is used either in its plural form ((30b), the plural marker dũ being, in fact, a determiner too), or with the universal determiner gbã (30a).

(30a) Yã biãŋ sũ ŋ zĩŋ kã ŋ
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
têêbã gbã tã.
age-mate all on
‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’, or
(30b) Yã biãŋ sũ ŋ zĩŋ kã ŋ
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
têêbã-dũ tã.
age-mate-PL on
‘He runs faster than his age-mates’.

**Numerals**

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<td>10 kübã dô  90 kübã sũsĩĩ</td>
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<td>2 plë ~ peëdã</td>
<td>11 kübã dô ŋ gã dô  100 kübã dô</td>
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<td>3 yâãgã</td>
<td>12 kübã dô ŋ gã plë  200 kübã plë</td>
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<td>4 yũũĩĩ</td>
<td>13 kübã dô ŋ gã yâãgã  1000 gblũ dô</td>
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<td>5 sũũdũ</td>
<td>20 kübã plë  2000 gblũ plë</td>
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<td>6 sũũdô</td>
<td>21 kübã plë ŋ gã dô  10 000 gblũ kübã dô</td>
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<td>7 sũũplë</td>
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<td>8 sããgã</td>
<td>30 kübã yâãgã  1 000 000 gblũ bã õg dô</td>
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<td>9 sũũsĩĩ</td>
<td>40 kübã yũũĩĩ</td>
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As it was mentioned in 2.7, cardinal numerals function as determiners. A noun with a numeral normally lacks plural marking or any other determiner: pã yâãgã ‘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) Pólisíyãũ-dũ wê kwâbẽ yããgã-dũ kũ.
policeman-PL 3PL.PRF thief three-PL catch
‘The policemen caught exactly three thieves’ (the context: One knows that three thieves have fled a prison. One learns that, later on, the police have caught thieves. It is not clear whether these are the same thieves or not, but the number of the thieves is the same as of those who had fled) [f181:3].

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

(32) Pólisíyẽ bã a sũũdũ wê dũŋ.
policemen ART 3SG.NSBJ five 3PL.PRF loose
‘Among the policemen, five have got lost’.

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

(33) Gbåtô yã kãã dãbã dô.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF hoe a.little buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

(34) Gbåtô yã kãã/ũũ sãũdã bã dô.
NOM.M PRF hoe/rice small other buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’/‘Gbato has bought a small quantity of rice’.

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

(35) *Gbátò yá káá də̀bá-dɔ̥ dɔ́.* ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

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

(36) *Báà də̀ dɔ́ wó dà błéę gɔ́?*

sheep how.many FOC 3PL.JNT save\JTNT dry.season PP

‘How many sheep have survived the dry season?’

(37) *Kláī dɔ́ bɛ̀x̂ dà wó gɪzábɛ̄x̂ pàx̂?*

formation child which FOC 3PL.JNT examination pass\JTNT

‘Which students have passed the exam?’

(38) *Ý ɗ眨́ kà’ t̀-’ wó dɔ́ bà, dɔ́ də̀*

CONS.3SG.JNT do 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JTNT so.REM there child how.many

ष̣ ụ gɔ́?

3SG.JNT 2SG.NSBJ PP

‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

(39) *Wɔ́ dɔ́dɔ́́dɔ́sɔ́ bɛ̀ x̂ ỳ dà ə́ gú yá?*

matter clinging which 3SG.JNT go.up\JTNT 3SG.NBJS in here

“What is the very sticky matter that he is stuck in?” [e2:16].

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

**Value judgement D-quantifiers**

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

(40) *Bɛ̀ gbé wá dɔ́ gbìlù bà, bɛ̀ kɛ̀ kɛ̀ dà wó dû.*

human many 3PL.PRF go war on human several FOC 3PL.JNT come\JTNT

‘Many people have gone to the war, few have come back’.

(41) *Yá yàkábɛ̀ gbé sù kì wó blàà dë́e zù́-bò.*

1PL.EXCL.PRF worker many take that 3PL.SBJV field new bottom-remove

‘We have hired enough workers to launch a new plantation’.

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

(42) *Bɛ̀ dódó dɔ́ wó dɔ́ kɔ̀wàbɛ̀ bà dɔ́ dɔ́.*

human rare FOC 3PL.JNT go\JTNT thief ART know-INF

‘Few are those who know the thief’ [f154:10].

(43) *Ý bàgà-dù bɛ̀ dódó dɔ́.*

3SG.EXI human-PL rare know\NEUT

‘He knows certains among the people’.

A value judgment meaning “few” can be also rendered by an expression with a negatively polarized item (NPI) *tɔ̀jɓásù tɔ̀jɓásù* (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) *tɔ̀jɓásù* is not allowed.

(44) *À́ pɔ̀́ a bájì gbé dɔ́, kɛ̀*

1SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\JTNT but

báŋ tɔ̀jɓásù yáá à gɔ́.

machete multitude 3SG.NEG.IPFW 3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple’.

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

ỵṛ ḍỵ kāā ṭéḷf̣áṣū ḍỵ’-
3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF

‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’.

(45b) *Ẓạ́ ỵṛ ḍỵ ḳạ̄ ṭéḷf̣áṣū ḍỵ’-ëë?
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: blúkáðé gbé-dú ‘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) Ḅạ́ ḳp̣ạ́ ụ̀ ḅạ́ ḍēḅạ́ ḅạ́ ḍọ́.
1SG.PRF see 2SG.NSBJ POSS woman on one

‘I have seen your wife once’.

(47) Ỵạ́ ṣ̄j̣̄ ẓạ́ ỵā̄g̣ạ́.
3SG.PRF cane.rat kill three

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

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

(48) Ḍạ́-ḍụ́ ẉọ́ g̣ḅḷạ́-ṣịạ́ gḅẹ́ ḳọ́ ṭạ́ḅạ́.
child-PL 3PL.EXI yell-DUR much house behind
‘Children yell much behind the house’.

(49) Ụ̂ ḷụ́ ḅạ́ ḍ̄̄j̣̄-ḍụ́ ẉọ́ p̣ạ́ ḅ̄j̣̄ ṣẹ̈ẹ̈’ḍạ́.
2SG.NSBJ POSS guest-PL 3PL.EXI thing eat\NEUT little

‘Your guests eat little’.

(50) Ṇ̄ ṣ̄j̣̄ ḅạ́ ḍ ạ̄ p̣ị́ ṣ̄j̣̄ ỵ̄ n̄ ḍ̄  ṣ̄j̣̄ṣ̄j̄ ḳ̄ẹ́ẹ̈
1SG.NSBJ son first.ADJ 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT often.INT but

ḅẹ́ ḍọ́ n̄ p̣ị́ ṣ̄j̣̄ ỵ̄ n̄ ḍ̄  ḍọ́ḍọ́.

human put 3SG.NSBJ at 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT from.time.to.time

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

Dạ́bạ́ẉọ́ ~ dạ́bạ́ḅọ́ ‘a little’ is derived from the D-quantifier dạ́bạ́ 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) Ạ́ ḅạ́ ḍ ụ́ ỵ̄ p̣ụ́ ụ́ ḍábạ́ḅọ́.
3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a.little

‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:
— sìạ́ ~ sìṝ 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 sìạ́ by the adverb dódó, and the combination of both adverbs expresses the meaning ‘from time to time, rarely’, cf. (53);
— sìạ́sìạ́ ~ sìṝsìṝ ‘often, frequently’ can be regarded as a reduplicated form of sìá. Unlike the latter, sìạ́sìạ́ is not ambiguous and refers only to the events of a high frequency, cf. (54);
— dédèwó~ ‘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 dédè ‘self’.

(52) Ạ́ n̄ ḅẹ́-ḍụ́ ṭụ́ạ́-ḅọ́ ṣìạ́.
1SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ human-PL greeting-remove\NEUT sometimes
‘I visit my relatives from time to time/ofen’.

(53) ŋũ gbɛ yɛ yɛ kɛ ɓlɛɛ sɪa dʊdʊ.
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) Sɛɛ yɛ yɛ tɔ kʊwɔ sɪa sɪa.
sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often
‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55) Kɛɛɛ-kɛɛɛ bá yɛ yɛ ɗɛ dɛɗɛ-wó.
threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV
‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

(56) Yɛ̕ dɔ ʊ gʊ dɛɗɛ-wó yɛɗɛr̩.
3SG.EXI put\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ PP true-ADV yesterday
‘Yesterday he waited for me for a long time’ [f9:15].

(57) Kɛɛ ɓɔ dɛɗɛ-sɪu ká ɗ ɡʊ.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with REF.L-SG POSS.LOC
ɗɛɗɛr̩ ɗɛɗɛ-wó.
hamlet.LOC true-ADV
‘My children visit me often’ [e184:15].

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

(58) bá-ɗʊ wʊ bá ɱɛ̃
human 3SG.NEG.IP-FV time in
‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(59) ɗɛ-yi bá tɔŋ ɡʊ.
rain 3SG.NEG.IP-FV rain time in
‘It rained insufficiently’.

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

There are two determiners expressing universal quantifying meanings, gbɛ which is an “all-
type” modifier, and pɛɛɛ ~ pɛɛɛ 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 ɗʊ (primarily a free choice meaning), and the
expression ɗɛ ɗʊ (distributive and free choice meanings). Certain combinations of these means are
also possible. Besides, meanings contiguous to universal quantification are expressed by some
constructions with the indefinite determinant bá.

In this section, the semantics and contexts of use of these means will be analysed in more detail.
3.2.1.1. gbɛ is the default universal “all-type” quantifier capable to appear also, marginally, in
distributive and free choice contexts. It is used mainly as a determinant of a NP which can be
pronounialized, in which case we have a partitive construction (61a).

(61a) ɗɛ-gbɛ yɛ yɛ ká ɗɛ ɗʊ
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR

4 If the noun tɔŋ 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."

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

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

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

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

(62) Ɓї gbàdà bá yà.
   darkness all.3SG.PRF put yere
   ‘It has got quite dark there’ [Dùwɔ́́̀ 12].

(63) Ɓї gbàdà dó gëgëñdè.
   human all.3PL.PRF 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 bà (64), the demonstrative determiner yà (65a), a possessor (66).

(64) Ɗëkpìyì yììsì̀ zììgù̀ Gbàtò bà dëbà yà
    day four between NOM.M POSS woman 3SG.PRF
dùù bà gbà gù.
   treee ART all burn
   ‘During four days, Gbato’s wife burnt the entire tree’.

(65a) Bà̀ kà yà gbà gùì.
    1SG.PRF house this all daub
   ‘I have daubed all this house’.

(65b) Bà̀ kà gbà gùì.
    1SG.PRF house all smear
   (i) ‘I have daubed the entire house’ or (ii) ‘I have daubed all the houses’.

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

(66) Dëbà bà yà yìì gùì sì dë gbà bá.
    woman ART 3SG.PRF 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).

(67) Pììdè gbà yà gùì.
    village.CMM all 3SG.PRF 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) Kǘdáá yà wò wò káɗi gbà tà.
    prefect 3SG.PRF 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: gbé ‘carcass, body’ (69a), bɔ̀ɓó dò ‘one bunch’ (69b), bɛ ‘fruit’ (70a):

\[(69a) \text{Gbàtò yà tò gbé gbà bɛ.} \quad \text{NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken body all eat} \]

‘Gbato has eaten the entire chicken’.

\[(69b) \text{Gbàtò yà tò bɔ̀ɓó dò gbà bɛ.} \quad \text{NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken bunch one all eat} \]

id.

\[(70a) \text{Dàdà bɛ yà gbà yò wà gbà yò kwàfà.} \quad \text{fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred} \]

dò.

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

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

\[(70b) \text{Dàdà bɛ yà gbà tò kwàfà.} \quad \text{fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all remain\textbackslash NMLZ} \]

dɔ̀-sùù yù gù kàŋ dò.

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

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

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

\[(71a) \text{Débà-dù gbà wà dù kwàfàdù.} \quad \text{woman-PL all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC} \]

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

\[(71b) \text{Débà gbà wà dù kwàfàdù.} \quad \text{woman all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC} \]

‘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 whùùù...), 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”).

\[(72a) \text{Gò-dù gbà wà whùùù kù pù-dù yà} \quad \text{male-PL all 3PL.PRF rise still village-father 3SG.PRF} \]

dà kù-dù.

\text{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.

\[(72b) \text{Gò gbà wà whùùù.} \quad \text{male all 3PL.PRF rise} \]

‘All the men have risen’ (to go to the war).
In the sentence (73), the referent group is “all those who are present at the moment of the accident”. The absence of the plural marker on the subject ɓɛ is indicative of the fact the group is perceived as open 6.

(73) Yɛ  bɛ  gbà  wó  yā  gbū  bɔ-su  bā.  
CONS human all 3PL.JNT putJNT crying pass-GER on 
‘Then everybody started crying’ [Zu supplementation]sēbā].

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) Gwēē  yā  dū  gbā  zā.  
lion 3SG.PRF cow all kill 
‘A leopard killed all the cows’.

(74b) Gwēē  yā  dū-dū  gbā  zā  iid’.  
Inanimate nouns realizing their wholeness meaning with count words (cf. 69, 70) represent a special case. When count words are missing, gbā 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) Dādā  yā  ā  gbā  yē  wîl  kāmp  dō.  
pineapple this 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred one 
‘The price of all these pineapples is 500 francs’.

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

(76) Kāsō-bū-gū-dū  bā  wō  kā  dū-dū  zīā  yā-.  
prison-in-human\IZF-PL ART 3PL.EXI RETR flee\NEUT road this-3SG.NSBJ tā. 
‘The prisoners fled away by this road’.

3.2.1.1.3. Quantifier gbā with uncountable nouns

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

(77) Gbātō  yā  yī  gbā  bū.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all drink 
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’.

(78) Ilī  bā  dā  yā  sō  gbā  dī-kū.  
2SG.NSBJ POSS child 3SG.PRF cloth all dirt-catch 
‘Your child has dirted all the clothes’.

(79) Yā  bīlū  gbā  kā.  
1PL.EXCL.PRF rice all cut 
‘We have mowed all the rice’.

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

(80) Kāfleē  gbā  yā  sēbē.  
coffee all 3SG.PRF spoil 
‘All the coffee has spoilt’.

3.2.1.1.4. The distributive meaning of gbā

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

---

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

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

(81) PREFIX-PL$^3$ gbà wà gô$^9$
    village-PL all 3PL.PRF burn
  ‘All the villages (of the canton) have burnt (one by one)’.

(82a)  Yì gbàɗɗ̕u p̕êɗ̕e gbà guû yû
  1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM all in CONS
  ‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’.

(82b)  Yì gbàɗɗ̕u p̕êɗ̕e-du gbà guû yû
  1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM-PL all in CONS

It is not always obvious whether the distributive meaning is combined with partitive (‘all of the villages’). If the plural marker is removed (PREFIX gbà wà gbà), 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 dîdô in its distributive meaning ‘one by one’.

(83)  Dîdô (bê) gbà siû dîdô kô u ɗ gô.
  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)  Gwàɗ̕a gbà wô bê ɓe gbè gbà.
  cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on
  ‘All cats resemble leopard’.

(85)  Gwàɗ̕a gbà wô bê kwà/articles.
  cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT REC\.SUB
  ‘All cats are alike (resemble each other)’.

(86a)  Bâjî gbà wô d55ɗ5ɓe-dû kà.
  Jula all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with
  ‘All Jula are merchants’.

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

(86b)  Bâjî-dû gbà wô ɗ55ɗ5ɓe-dû kà.
  Jula-PL all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with

‘All Jula are merchants’, two interpretations: (i) all the Jula who are included into a particular group of people are merchants; (ii) all Jula of the world are merchants.

(87)  Wû dô yû dâ(-ɗû) gbà kà.
  meat desire 3SG.EXI child(-PL) all do\NEUT
  ‘All children like meat’, with two interpretations: (i) all the children who are in the group in question; (ii) all children of the world.

3.2.1.1.6. 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)  Dâ ɗ ɗ yû yû dû bê gbà
  child REL.3SG.EXI here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT human all

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

‘Any meat is edible’.

‘Any woman is a liar’.

‘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) \begin{align*}
\text{Débà} & \quad \text{gbà} \quad \text{yùr} \quad \text{sùà-sùù.} \\
\text{woman all} & \quad \text{3SG.EXI} \quad \text{untruth-ADJ} \\
\text{‘Any woman is a liar’}
\end{align*}

‘Any thing, including meat, is edible’.

(90)  ɓ̀ɓ́ yùr \text{human all} 3SG.EXI \text{càm\NEUT} 3SG.NSBJ on 3SG.JNT work

\text{bà} \quad \text{kà.} \\
\text{ART do\JNT}

If the singular auxiliary is replaced by the plural one, the meaning of the construction is generic.

(91b) \begin{align*}
\text{Débà} & \quad \text{gbà} \quad \text{wò} \quad \text{sùà-sùù.} \\
\text{woman all} & \quad \text{3PL.EXI} \quad \text{untruth-ADJ} \\
\text{‘All women are liars’}
\end{align*}

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) \begin{align*}
\text{Dóó-dó-ɓé} & \quad \text{gbà} \quad \text{wò} \quad \text{ɗé-’} \\
\text{market-buy-human\IZF all} & \quad \text{3PL.EXI go\NEUT-3SG.NSBJ}
\end{align*}

\text{pù} \quad \text{ùù} \quad \text{ɓà} \quad \text{ɗùù \text{yùr} \quad \text{gbéé.}}

\text{say-INF 2SG.NSBJ POSS market 3SG.EXI difficult}

‘Any buyer will tell you that your goods are overpriced’.

If the semantics of the predicate (e.g., a reciprocal one) implies necessarily more than one participant, the plural auxiliary and even a plural marker on the subject NP may be obligatory and compatible with the free choice meaning (93).

(93) \begin{align*}
\text{Tóójá-dú} & \quad \text{gbà} \quad \text{wò} \quad \text{wò} \quad \text{kò} \quad \text{wò} \quad \text{gú-mà.} \\
\text{friend-PL all} & \quad \text{3PL.EXI PL.REFL RECP.CMM voice inside-hear\NEUT}
\end{align*}

‘Friends always understand each other’ (any couple of friends).

Lexical means, such as the noun sùù ‘sort’, can be brought to play in order to avoid ambiguity in favour of the free choice interpretation (94).

(94) \begin{align*}
\text{Yùr} & \quad \text{yù} \quad \text{sùù} \quad \text{gbà} \quad \text{kà.} \\
\text{3SG.EXI work sort all} & \quad \text{do\NEUT}
\end{align*}

(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 {-ɗù}</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>
3.2.1.2. *pépé* ~ *pẹẹ* a distributive modifier

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

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

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

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

(95) *Dãdã bɛ́ pépé sú kɛ́ ú́ ɗá gã.*

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

(96) *Bã́y(-ɗu) pépé wô dɔ́ɔdɔ́bɛ́ kã.*

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

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

(97) *Bã́ gã́ sɛ́, Gbã́agwiyɛ́ sɛ́ wã́á Sã́uldrɛ́ sɛ́.*

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

\(á-ɗu\) bã́ bɛ́ yɛ́ yã-súũ kã́ Gwɛ́ɛtãá wô 3SG.NSBJ-PL POSS writing 3SG.EXI put-GER with Gwɛ́ɛtãá voice
gù, yɛ́ wô pépé šá Dã́dã́y sè guú,
in CONS voice every REL.3SG.JNT Danane land.CMM in

\(á-ɗu\) bã́ dɔ́ yô Blô wô guú.

3SG.NSBJ-PL property be Blo voice in
‘The departments of Man, Biancouma, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwɛ́ɛtãá dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blo dialect’ [Pame1_1wɔn_taaŋ.014].

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

(98) *Gbàtô yɛ́ yî pépé hũ.*

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

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

(99) *Yɛ́ yã pépé kã.*

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

\(^9\) See in detail (Vydrin 2013).
(100) Bā d’á gblū yĕ zîř-sîā, yĕ
1SG.POSS child stomach 3SG.EXI pass-DUR 3SG.EXI
tō yĕ pā pêpê dā v ā 
remain\NEUT 3SG.EXI thing every rise\NEUT RELF.SG mouth
‘My child has diarrhea often, (because) he puts everything in his mouth’.

(101) Wū pépê yĕ bē-pāl kā.
3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF c
‘Any meat is edible’.

(102) Ɗwādā pépê yvê kpsëŋsiû.
cat every 3SG.EXI sly
‘Any cat is sly’.

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

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

(104) Gbâdô yâ yî gbâ pêpê bû.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRIF water all every drink
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’ (nothing is left).

(105) Wê dÔ yvê gbâ gbâ pêpê kâ.
wine desire 3SG.EXI male all every do\NEUT
‘All the men (without exception) like palm wine’.

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

(106) Sîsîlôbâ yvê pâ-dû bâ s’-dû gbâ pêpê  
immediately CONS thing-PL ART.3SG.NSBJ-PL all every
3SG.JNT find
‘Immediately, all these things that were found...’ [Dûwâ].

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

3.2.1.4. Reduplication with the connective morpheme ôô (ôô-reduplication): the free choice meaning
3.2.1.4.1. The structure and the syntax of the ôô-reduplication construction
The noun undergoes a full reduplication, and the connective element ôô is inserted between the reduplicands.

(107) Bê ôô bê ô sû, dû,  
human any human REL.3SG.JNT come\JNT 1SG.EXI
dô ã bô- .
go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ beat-INF
‘Whoever comes, I’ll beat him/her’.

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

(108a) Gbê zôpôdê ôô gbê zôpôdê, â sû.  
dog red any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take
(108b) Gbê zôpôdê, gbê zôpôdê, â sû.  
dog red, dog red, any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take

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

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

(108b) Gbê zôôɗëɗë sè̱ɛdá à oò gbê zôôɗë sè̱ɛdá à yà dû, dog red small any dog red small 3SG.PRF come

birds à kà.

1SG.PROS 3SG.NSBJ do

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

(109) Zà yû yì pàs bá oò pàs bá bë. NÔM.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, óô-reduplication concerns nouns, however reduplication can also affect the determinative dé ‘other’ following the head noun (110) or, in negative contexts, bà ‘any, other’ (111).

(110) Yë dë tôô dë oò dë sì dë 3SG.EXI know\NEUT gravy certain any other REL.3SG.JNT be

à kà-dë kà. 3SG.NSBJ do-MSD with

‘She can cook any gravy’.

(111) Kà bá oò bà sàì kpàà à yû bà yû house certain any certain 3SG.NEG.PFV burn that 3SG.NEG.PFV

kà à bà kà.

do 1SG.NSBJ one with

‘No house burnt, except for mine’.

It seems that we observe here a lexicalization of dé oò dé and bà oò bà as quantifier expressions.

óô-reduplication is possible for verbs, in this case the verb is nominalized and fronted, while its syntactic position is occupied by one of the dummy verbs wò or bò. However, not all the verbs are available for this construction (presumably, the limitation is of a lexical nature).

(112) Dò oò dò sì Zà wò tà gû, go any go REL.NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ doJNT walking in

yë dû ñ sàì kà. 3SG.EXI come\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ gift with

‘Any time Jean goes to a trip, he comes back with a gift for me’.

The óô-reduplicated construction is often fronted (113) or relativized in situ (114), which reflects its pragmatically enhanced status.

(113) Tà oò yû, sàì kpàà à 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT

‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.

(114) Yë sàì kà kà òo kà sì 3SG.PROS do way.CMM any way.CMM REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ

bà gà dà à 3SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property

on death affair\IZF FOC remain\INT-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 sì, the 3SG auxiliary of the conjoint set à, 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) ɗà 3SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property
gwàdá à 1SG.PROS thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ eat 1SG.EXI
gwàdá bà à dû. cat property give\NEUT

‘Id.’

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

(116) Dá ḏó ḏó ṭwú ḏó ṭy̱ ḏó ḏó ṭká. 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ ḏó NEUT
   ‘Any child likes meat’.

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

(118) Bé ḏó bë ḏé ṭu ṭá-kú-. 1SG.POSS 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) Bá ḏá-ɗú ɗá. Líl á ḏá bá 2PL.EXI look 3PL.NSBJ ɗá NEUT on
   ú ḏé ḏó ṭísú. ú ḏí 1SG.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) Dágjá ḏó ḏágjá ṭwó ṭbá ḏárá. 3PL.EXI youth any youth 3PL.EXI village this in 3PL.EXI.3SG.NSBJ
   píř ɗó ṭu. 2SG.NSBJ to 3PL.JNT NOM.F take
   ‘Any youth of this village desires to marry Yode’.

(121) Ná ḏá píř ká-’ ɗé ḏárá 3SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI
   wáá ḏó ḏó ṭísú. 1SG.POSS money hundred one
   ‘Here in my farm, any pineapple is for five hundred francs’.

(122) Bá ḏó ḏó ṭíř á bá. 3PL.EXI child this 3SG.NSBJ remain NEUT 3PL.EXI 3SG.EXI eat
   Pá ḏó ḏó ḏó ḏó ɗá-ĩ ɗá ɗá-ɔ. 3PL.EXI thing any thing REL 3SG.NSBJ.JNT eat thing IZF with 3SG.NSBJ
   ḏó ḏó ḏó ḏó ṭíř á bá. 3PL.EXI.3SG.NSBJ before
   ‘What would you like to eat? — Give us any food’ (litt. ‘any thing which is a food, give it to us’).

   The ḏó-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), contrafactual modality (123).

(123) Dá ṭy̱ ě 3SG.EXI.3SG.NSBJ remain NEUT 3SG.EXI 3SG.EXI go NEUT
   bë ḏó bë ḏó ṭy̱ ṭá ě bá. 3SG.EXI human any human REL 3SG.NSBJ.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI
dó ḏó 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-remove-INF
   ‘If the child would stay here, he would bother anyone who is here’.

3.2.1.5. ḏó-construction

3.2.1.5.1. Morphology

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

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

**3.2.1.5.2. Syntax**

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

\((124)\) Wụi $d’$ ụ $d’$ y $d’$ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$$’$

meat REL.3SG.JNT be child-PL 3PL.EXI go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ
di-’
eat-INF

‘Children will eat any meat’.

\((125)\) ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$$’$

child any child REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI go\NEUT 2SG.NSBJ stand-INF
ti$b’$ b’a b’a.

mountain ART on

‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’.

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

\((126)\) kụb’b’d’ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$$’$

prefect 3SG.PRIF affair lie family REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ on

‘The prefect has punished every family’.

**3.2.1.5.3. Semantics**

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

\((127)\) ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$$’$

human\FOC 3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRIF go RELF.SG

poss.LOC house.LOC

‘Everyone went home’ \([f88:11]\).

\((128)\) ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$ ụ $d’$$’$

village.CMM REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRIF burn

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

**3.2.1.5.3.2. The free choice meaning** of the construction $’ d’$ manifests itself in the following typical contexts \((Tatevosov 2002, 147-155)\): modal probability \((124, 125, 129, 130)\), non-prospective future (not very distinct from the modal probability meaning, cf. \(124, 125, 130)\), imperative \((131)\), habitual \((132)\).
constructions

(130) *Wiò ɗɔ yɛ dɔ́ ɓǎ ɗɡɛ yɛ́ ɗɔ́*

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

‘Anybody can do this job’.

(131) *Bè́ ɗɔ́ ɓǎ kw ɗɡɛ yɛ́ ɗɔ́*

human FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.SBJV REFL.SG self save

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

(132) *Pàbè́ ɓ ɗɔ́ ɗɛ́ yɛ́ ɗɡɛ́ ɓɛ́ń ɗɡɛ́*

food REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT

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

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

(133) *Wiò ɗò wù́ ɗɛ́ yɛ́ yɛ́ ɓɛ́ń ɗɡɛ́ ɗɡɛ́*

meat any meat REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI eat\thing\IZF with

‘Any meat is edible’.

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

So, the ɗɛ́ construction has been rejected for the translations of the sentences ‘Any buyer will say that your goods are overpriced’ (because ‘buyer’ is a situational status, rather than permanent), and ‘This child will bother anyone’ (because the status of the person watching the child is temporary). This limitation can be explained by the original existential semantics of the expression ɗɛ́.

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

(134a) *Bè́ ɗò wù́ ɗɛ́ yɛ́ wò ɗɛ́ ɗɡɛ́ ɗɡɛ́*

human\FOC 3PL.JNT/REL.3SG.JNT be 3PL.P see PL.REFL

kwàá ɗɛ́ ɗɡɛ́ tàá.

RECP.SUB road ramification on

‘All who existed have gathered on the crossroad’.

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

(134b) *Bè́ gbà wò ɗɛ́ ɗɡɛ́ ɗɡɛ́*

human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see

‘Id.’

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 dò́ ‘one’ and the combination dò bà, but also with the determiners and constructions gbà (3.2.1.1) pépe (3.2.1.2), X dò X (3.2.1.4), ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ (3.2.1.5).

(135) *Lù́ gbà dò́ gbà ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ kù́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́

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

ɗɛ́.

buy-INF

‘You should buy anything from my goods’.

(136) *Bè́ bà yɛ́ ɗò n ɗù́ ɗù́ ɗù́ ɗù́ ɗù́ pè́ dà́

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

ɗù́ ɗù́ ɗù́ ɗù́ ɗù́

at-LOC

‘Let anyone guide me to your elder’.

ɓà has a universal meaning under direct negation (137), where it undergoes competition with the constructions X dò X bà (138), which has an expressive meaning, and yàá ɗɛ́ (139). The latter can be
regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned ʃ dʃ-construction, however, yáá ɗʃ is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with bá.

3PL.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ teach affaire certain with
‘He has not been taught anything’.

137) Wíi’ ɗá dláá wò bá ká. 3PL.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ come
‘Not a single person has come’.

138) ɗé bá ɓé bá wíi dú. 3PL.NEG.PFV come
‘There is not a person who would like to leave’ [bl188:6].

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) ɗé bá ɓé bá wíi dú. 3SG.NEG.PFV come
‘Not a single person has come’.

140b) ɗé bá ɓé bá wíi dú. 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 ʃ dʃ is split into two.

Explanation to the map:
The red zone: ɓá  The blue zone: gbá
The green zone: ɓá  The yellow zone: pɛpɛ.

3.2.2. Universal A-Quantifiers
Syntactically simple universal A-quantifiers are:
— kpɛɛwó ~ kpɛɛwó ~ kpɛɛbó (intensive form: kpɛɛkpɛɛwó, kpɛɛkpɛɛwó) ‘always’, all the time’, ‘every time’. With predicates designating processes, the meaning of the quantifier is ‘always, permanently, continuously’ (without break) (141), and with verbs for punctual events, it is rather ‘every time’ (142). The quantifier contains an adverbial derivative suffix wò (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: tôōdōŋtōŋdś) 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-Gwēetaa 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 yâ kā kpeēwō, tēŋ yââ n g̈
1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ PP
kē̄ á yī zā.
that 1SG.SBJV sleeping killJNT
‘I work every day. I have no time to sleep’.

(142) Gbâtō yô bā sâā sū sū kpeēwō.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI 1SG.POSS soap take\NEUT always
‘Gbato takes my soap every time’.

(143) Ɓj̆ yō dō kpə̀ ̄ ą bâ zū tôŋtōŋdś dâ̄̄bâ
1SG.NEG.PFV go see-INF 3SG.NSBJ on more never nevertheless
‘Nevertheless, I will never see it any more’ [d147:3].

(144) Ɓɛ s ɓií â bā pâ bê dō...
 human REL 2SG.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ POSS thing eat ever
‘Man whose food you have never eaten…’ [d165:13].

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

(145b) Ɓaâ̄ â w̄j dō dē yââ ɗū ɗj̄dō ɗ̄ḡ dō.
1SG.NEG.IPFV 3SG.NSBJ matter know that 3SG.PRF milk taste-look.at ever
‘I don’t know if he has ever tested milk’.

(145c) Yââ ń yââ bîí dē ɗj̄dō ɗ̄ḡ dō.
1SG.NEG.IPVF 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that 2SG.NEG.PFV milk taste-look.at ever
tōŋtōŋdś dō
never ever
‘I doubt you have ever tested milk’.

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

(146a) Gbâtō yââ ō g̈ ŋū zū kpeēwō.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL.SG head inside-wash always
‘It is not always (not every time) that Gbato washes his head’.

(146b) Gbâtō yââ ō g̈ ŋū zū tôŋtōŋdś.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL.SG head inside-wash never
‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) Bliỳ yâ pâ gwâde kâ dêdë-wō.
bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV
‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.
Gbááɗís ‘entirely’ is an adverb used in the universal meaning with verbs of time duration, such as ká ‘do; spend (time)’ or bá ‘put; observe (Ramadan)’, cf. (148). Its other (non-quantificational) meaning is ‘truly, absolutely, really’. The adverb is probably derived, with the means of the suffix -ɗís, from the determiner gbà ‘all, entire’ (a locative postposition may have been also involved, presumably bá ‘on’, so that the original form might have been *gbá-ɓá-ɗís).

(148) Yɓá ká sù ɗó kà yùá gbù gbááɗís. 3SG.EXI RETR moon one do\NEUT illness in entirely
‘He was ill a whole month’.

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

(149) Sǔáa zà yùá kóło kí tɔn gbà gù. NOM as.for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in
‘Siao is at home all the time’ [91:3].

Besides, ɗó-doublet 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 wò 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) Dɔ̀ ɗó dû ɗ’ Gbàttù s’ wò Bǔàáɗís come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT Man.LOC yùá sì̀ɛ́tfì dɔ̀. 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 gbéɗé ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; kpúɗé ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. Kwúɗé can be supplemented by the universal determiner gbà ‘all’, the expression kpúɗé gbà means ‘almost all’. Gbédé is derived by the abstraction suffix -ɗé from the generalized existential quantifier gbé ‘many’, and kpúɗé is derived by the same suffix from the adjective kpú ‘big’. Both these quantifiers are relational nouns. If the NP containing a proportional D-quantifier occupies the subject position, a semantic agreement by number with the PPM is possible (152); its availability seems to be conditioned by the position of the dependent noun in the animacy hierarchy. So, in (152), lèbélè ‘rebels’ designates humans, while in (153) blèá ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) Dɔ̀tìɓáɓí yà bɛ gbéɗé dɛ-kà doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf- do sàáɗí kà yáŋ yùá pɔ̀. before even.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall
‘The doctor treated the majority of the people before the sunset’.

(152) Lèbélè kpúɗé wò bɔ̀ ɗù sàá bò. rebel majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove\NEUT
‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) Blèá-ɗú wò yà gbéɗé gbà ɗù yàá gbà yáá gbù shee-PL 3PL.INT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR gà blèá-yì kà, kë ɗà gbà yáá gbù. 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 gbéɗé, its scope is limited to this quantifier:

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

(155) $Gwɛɛ$ yɔ yɪ $blɛɛ-du$ $pɛɛ$ $dɔ$ $zɔ$.  
leopard 3SG.PRF 1PL.EXCL.POSS sheep-PL part one kill  
The leopard killed a half of our sheep’.

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

(156) $bɛ$ $pɛɛ$ $kpɛ$-$sɔ$ wɔ $bɔ$ Gbɛtɔ kɔ,  
human part big-SLA 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with  
yɔ $bɛ$ $pɛɛ$ $sɛɛ$-$sɔ$ wɔ $bɔ$ Zɔ kɔ.  
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-Gwɛɛtɔa. $sɪɛ$ ~ $sɪɛ$ ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier $dɔdɔ$ (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-Gwɛɛtɔa are few.

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

(157) Wɔ $kwɛbɛ$ $kɔɔŋ$ $dɔ$ $gɔ$ $dɔ$ $sɛŋ$ $kɔ$.  
3PL.PRF thief ten one bone one only catch  
‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

(158) Yɔ $dɔ$$ $plɛ$ $wɔ$$ $ɔ$$ $gbɛŋ$.  
3SG.RF come village.LOC three only  
‘He has come to the village only thrice’ [g6:20].

There are three restrictors expressing the meaning ‘exactly’: $kpɛɛ$-$ʊ$ (expresses ‘as little as’, ‘only’), the element $kpɛɛ$-$ŋ$ (has no synchronic etymologization) (159), $dɛbɛ$-$ʊ$ 〈self-bunch〉 (160), which is otherwise used as a determiner ‘self’, and a floating restrictor $zɔ$.

(159) Wɔ $gblɔ$ plɛ $wɔ$$ $ɔ$$ $kʊ$ $yɨ$i $r$.  
money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four  
k$pɛɛ$-$ʊ$ $dɔ$ $n$ $gɔ$.  
exact FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP  
(The price of a rice bag is 12000 francs.) ‘I have exactly 12000 francs’.

(160) $bɛ$ $kɔɔŋ$ $dɔ$ $gɔ$ $yɨ$i $r$ $dɛbɛ$-$ʊ$ $n$ $dɛ$.  
human 10 one bone four self search 1SG.NSBJ before  
‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

A floating restrictor $zɔ$ ‘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 $wɔ$ (expressing unpleasant astonishment, insistence, warning, and sometimes politeness).

(161a) $wɔ$ $kɔɔŋ$ $dɔ$ $zɔ$ $kɛɛ$ $wɔ$ $bɔ$ $n$ $dɛ$.  
3PL.EXI 10 one but/how but 3PL.NEG.IPfv be.able 3SG.NSBJ on  
kɛ $wɔ$ $yɛ$ $bɔ$ $a$ $kɛ$ $wɔ$.  

$^{12}$ Some people also allow combinations of the restrictor $sɛŋ$ with numerals $sɔɔ$ $dɔ$ ‘five’, $sɔbɛ$-$dɔ$ ‘six’ and $kɔɔŋ$ $dɔ$ ‘ten’, others do not accept them.
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do ouch!

(161b) Wọ kọbọŋ dọ kẹ́ẹ̀ wáá ɓɔ̀ ʒɔɔ́ ɗá bà kɛ̀ wọ́ ɲá bá ɗá ká wá.

(161c) Wọ kọbọŋ dọ kẹ́ẹ̀ wáá ɓɔ̀ ʒɔɔ́ ɗá bà kɛ̀ wọ́ ɲá bá ɗá ká ʒɔɔ́ wá

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

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

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

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

— ɓɔ́ ʒíŋ ‘approach’ with the postposition ɗá ‘near’, for the meaning ‘almost’ (167);

— ɓɔ́, 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) Dèbá ʒíŋ dë́ tɔ́ ɓọ́nŋ dọ̀ tá.

woman REL.3SG.JNT be chicken REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buy\INT

yíŋ ʒíŋ tɔ̀ kọbọŋ dọ̀ tá.

3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on

‘Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.

(163) Táisí ʒíŋ bɛ̀ sàá yáá ʒíŋ wáá
taxi pass human\IZF salary 3SG.NEG.IPFV pass money
gbłù kọbọŋ dọ̀ ʒíŋ ɗá plè́ tá.

thousand 10 one 3PL.EXI bone two on

‘A taxi driver gains here maximum 60000 fr.’

(164) Bɛ̀ wó lóó plè́ ʒíŋ wíí bɔ́ bɛ̀
human 3PL.JNT arrive\INT village.LOC 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human

kọbọŋ dọ̀ bá sááí kí yááŋ yíŋ pɔ́.

10 one on before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall

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

(165) Dúù ʒíŋ bɔ́ báá dùù káá dọ̀
tree REL. 3SG.JNT be.able\INT tree hundred one

ká plè́ bá ɲá gá ɓáá.
hand.CMM two on 3SG.EXI.3SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC field.LOC

‘There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.

(166) Kàŋtò dë́ ʒíŋ dɔ́ ò́ báá
canton the other REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS

pɔ́ ɓɔ́ ʒíŋ yíŋ bɔ́ báá 55í dí láá kọbọŋ dọ̀ bá.

village.CMM 3SG.EXI be.able\NEUT five or 10 one on

‘Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.

(167) Bɛ̀ wó pɔ́ ɓáá ʒíŋ wó yíí báá
human 3PL.JNT village this 3SG.NSBJ in 3PL.EXI move\NEUT

ɓáá kọbọŋ plè́ 55.

human 10 two near

‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.

(168) Bɛ̀ wó bɛ̀ pɔ́ ɓáá ʒíŋ wó
human\FOC 3PL.JNT human part one remove\UNT 3PL.EXI

sáádá dí.
paper know\NEUT

‘A half/A bout 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) \( Bá gbé gbé dëdë dák gbú. \)

2SG.PRF human numerous self go.up vehicle in

‘You have put too many people into the car’.

The meaning ‘too few, not enough’ is expressed by the D-quantifier tšëbásùù 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) \( Ká gbá wô kā gër, këëj ā plè dák \)

house all 3PL.EXI RETR burn\NEUT but 3SG.NSBJ two FOC

\( wî gbër. \)

3PL.NEG.PFV burn

‘All the houses but two burnt’.

(171) \( Kàflëë dë gbë wâ bâ, këë Gbâtô \)

coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M

\( bâ dôdô dâ wî bâ. \)
eon rare FOC 3PL.NEG.PFV fructify

‘Most of the coffee plantations, except some Gbato's ones, have yielded well’.

### 3.4.1.4. Proportional quantifiers

For the meanings ‘more than/exactly/nearly/less than’, see 3.4.1.1.

There are two ways to express the fractions in Dan-Gwëttaa.

1) The denominator is marked by the postposition tâ ‘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) \( Põesë, bë kôôj dô tâ bë yëësë dâ \)

village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC

\( wô siëtë bû. \)

3PL.JNT cigarette drink/JNT

‘Four village dwellers out of ten smoke’.

(173) \( Dôôgô blëë-sùù, bë sôôdô tâ yûâ kâ bë plè kû. \)

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

(174) \( Bë-dû pë guû-sûù ź yââgâ kâ, â \)

human-PL split inside-GER REL.3SG.JNT three with 3SG.NSBJ

\( pëë dô wâ kwî wô bâ. \)

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) \( Bë kâñ dô ź dô, bë kôôj yââgâ \)

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 *pëé sëëdá* ‘minority’ (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) \( Pëé \ yá \ gú \ kó-dú \ wó \ dë, \ á \ pëé \ sëëdá \)  
\( ðú \ kúrub \ š-\-dú \ gú. \) 

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

FÒC 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) \( Bùỳ\-dù \ gbà \ dú \ wáá \ sùụb \ bá. \)  
Jùla-PL all FÒC 3PL.NEG.IPFV Ramadan put 
‘Not all Jula observe Ramadan’.

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

(178) \( Dá \ wó \ dë \ zíř-ɛ \ bë \ plë \ tā \ wó \ dë \ gbëyë-ː. \)  
child 3PL.JNT goJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.EXI go\NEUT gain-INF 
‘More than two children will succeed’ (litt. ‘Children (who) will surpass two people, they will win’).

(179) \( Klùy̱dĩ́ḏ̱-dá \ wó \ dë \ zíř-ɛ \ bë \ plë \ tā \ wó \ dë \ gbëyë-ː. \)  
school-child 3PL.JNT goJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.JNT enterJNT 
\( bë \ kòbò \ dú \ wá \ sùy̱ \ wó \ dë \ gbëyë-ː. \)  
human 10 one under 3SG.EXI goJNT gain-INF 
‘More than two, but less than ten students will succeed’ (litt. ‘Students (who) will surpass two people, they enter under ten people, they will win’).

(180) \( Bë \ wó \ plëš-ɛ \ á \ kpiùdë \ wá \ dú. \)  
human 3PL.JNT village.LOC 3SG.NSBJ majority 3PL.PRF come 
\( kábòdá \ tùàbò \ kéë \ á \ gbà \ wíí \ dú. \)  
prefect greeting-remove but 3SG.NSBJ all 3PL.NEG.PVF 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) \( Ps-bë \ yáá \ yáá \ bùu-dù-ká-sùù \ zì̱zù \ dú, \)  
village-humanIZF self 3SG.NEG.IPFV wilderness-desire-do-GER path know 
kë \ yá \ dú \ tò \ dëj \ zà \ bá. \)  
that 3SG.SBJV PRSM remain stranger as.for on 
‘Not every village dweller knows the way to the sacred forest, let alone a stranger’ (litt.: ‘Village dweller himself does not know the path to the sacred forest, may it leave (alone) a stranger’).

(182) \( Bùu-ká-bë \ sùùdù \ tà \ bë \ yáá \ zì̱r-ù \ bë \)  
wilderness-do-humanIZF five on human 3SG.NEG.IPFV pass human 
\( plë \ tā \ kë \ wó \ dë \ gbù \ zì̱r-dë \ ká. \)  
two on that 3PL.JNT knowJNT vehicle pass-MSD with 
‘Not more than two hunters in five can drive’ (litt.: ‘On five hunters, a person does not surpass two people that they might know how to drive a car’).

### 3.4.1.6. Partitives

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

(183) \( Bùù \ dùù \ bë \ yá \ bá \ dì-gá. \)  
1SG.NEG.PVF 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) \( Kwà-bë-dùù \ wó \ gú \ bá \ wà \ á \ gbà \ kú. \)  
thief-humanIZF-PL 3PL.JNT be.PSTJNT there 3PL.PRF 3SG.NSBJ all catch  
‘All these thieves have been captured’.

Here are some examples of more complex partitive constructions.
Most of these sheep, but not all, died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘A majority of these sheep died during the dry season, but all of them did not die’).

‘Not more than a third of his sheep died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘His sheep (which) died during the dry season, but they didn’t reach one part of it’).

3.4.2. Complex A-modifiers

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

(187) *Kpëëŋdi* Gbättö yà wò Bỳà sùësùì.
Nom.M 3SG.PRF appear Abidjan nine
‘Gbato has been to Abidjan exactly nine times’.

(188) Gbättö yà nù plër yàgà bà dëbërwo.
Nom.M 3SG.PRF come village.LOC three exactly
‘Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice’.

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

(189) Kà pr kà dò blàà kà kà dëbawo bë
2PL.PRF say 2PL.PROS go field.LOC 2PL.IMP do a.little human
kòddë dò yà gà sùddù.
10 one REFL.SG bone five
‘If you go to the farm, you should be at least fifteen’.

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

(190a) Wò kòddë dò këë wàà bòò à bà
3PL.EXI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPVF be.able 3SG.NSBJ on
kë wò yà bà à kà ziânwò.
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do as.much.as
(b) Wò kòddë dò këë wàà bòò à bà ziânwò kë wò yà bà à kà.
(c) Wò kòddë dò këë wàà bòò ziânwò à bà kë wò yà bà à kà.
(d) Wò kòddë dò ziânwò këë wàà bòò à bà kë wò yà bà à kà.
‘They are as many as ten, but they cannot do this job’ (although even 5 persons normally should be able to do it) [d80:14].

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

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

(191) Gbättö yà gojì sësò dë pà dë (kótà) kòddë dò.
Nom.M 3SG.PRF malaria find that thing so.REM time 10 one
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

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

(192) Gbättö yà gojì sësò góiwò kòddë dò.
Nom.M 3SG.PRF malaria find almost 10 one
‘Gbatō has had malaria almost ten times’.

(193) Yà wọ à ṃà gbàwọ́.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF speak 3SG.NSBJ on almost
‘He has almost accepted it’.

(194) Gbàtò yáá dũ gbàwọ̀ plʃrì.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV come almost village.LOC
‘Gbatō never comes to the village’.

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

(195) Zà yà pʃ yá zùɛ-bù-sù/du-ɗè ɓà.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say work bottom remove-GER/-MSD on
‘Jean has almost began to work’.

(196) Zà yà pʃ ɗ yá ɓò dù sù ká.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say REFL.SG finish tree cut-GER with
‘Jean has almost finished cutting the tree’.

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

(197) Gwààɗí yà ɗ pʃ ɗ kpù-di ká.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI come\NEUT village.LOC Sunday majority with
‘Gbatō comes to the village almost every Sunday’.

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

Examples for the bounding quantifiers have been translated as follows:

(199) Gbàtò yà yí dà plè dèkpùùyí ṃà,
NOM.M 3SG.EXI water measure\NEUT two day on
dèkpùùyí sùdù dùgù sù bà.
‘Gbatō measures water twice a day, five days a week’.

(200) Yìdò yà ɗà kpùùyí sùdù dùgù bà,
NOM.F 3SG.EXI work do\NEUT day five week one in
‘Yode works five days a week, 15 weeks a year’.

4. Selected topics

4.1. Comparative quantifiers

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

(201) Gù-dù gbé wò sìtù ɗù wó zir ɗà
male-PL numerous 3PL.EXI cigarette drink\NEUT 3PL.JNT pass\JNT with
dèkà-ɗù t à.
woman-PL on
‘More men than women smoke’.
The meaning ‘as many as’ is expressed by a clausal intransitive construction with the verb bɔɔ. ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) Klàŋ'dić-dà-dù bà pĩ̀r-gà-sòô wò-’ kwòò à school-child-PL POSS iron-bone-horse 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ

dì wàì klàŋgàbë-dù bà yì bòò.
mouth 3SG.and teacher-PL the same 3SG.EXI search\NEUT

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

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

4.2. Type (2) quantifiers

(203a) ɗë dë ɗë dë dëbà dë ɗë dë dë

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

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) Së dë dë dë yì kà.

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

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) Bùkëbë dë dë wà wù wù sùù dòdò zì.

hunter that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3PL.PRF meat kind rare kill

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

(205a) Bùkëbë dë yì dë wà wù sùù dò dì.

hunter that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3PL.PRF meat kind one kill

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

(205b) Dëbà yì dë yì yì tà dò bà dì bò.

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

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

(205c) Klàŋ'dić-dà dë yì bá dà dë

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

wò pɔ̀.

voice say

‘Let every student read the same book’.

Construction dì dë used in the contexts (203-205) resembles to the ɗò dë construction analyzed above, however they are different. dë 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 lì bẹ lì yì bẹ lì kà?

human which 3SG.JNT work which do\JNT

‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) Gò bẹ bẹ bẹ bẹ sù?

male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\JNT

‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) Gbàtò wàà Zà wò pòdë wò wò

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) Gbàtò wàà Zà wò vòtò kà pò wèì plè kà.

Gbato and Jean, they are in (a) village,.they, are in the neighbourhood of each other two with...
‘Gbato and Jean vote for different parties’ (litt.: ‘Gbato and Jean, they do vote with two different parts’).

(210) Zādāɓë-dű́ wā́ wóó dō wōò zā g̱y̱-yë̱ ḵō judge-PL REL 3PL.NEG.IPFV one 3PL.PROS dispute head-break hand.CMM
dóɗō ḵā zā dō ḵō dō kā.
rare do dispute construction hand.CMM one with
‘Different judges try the same cases differently’ (litt. ‘Judges which are not one, they are going to do one-one way of solving cases with one kind of trial’).

(211a) Gbāṯō wāā Zā wā g̱ḇẹ̱ṯāā zā ḵē̱ ḵē̱ ḇē Nom.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.PRF chat kill but human
bā yī g̱ḇẹ̱ṯāā zā ḇē ḇā kā.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV chat kill human certain with
‘Gbato and Jean talked, but no one else talked to anyone else’.

(211b) Y̱ḏē wāā Sā̀y̱f̱ wā̱ dī̀ḏāā ḇā ḵē̱ ḇē Nom.F 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.PRF quarrel put but human
bā yī dī̀ḏāā ḇē ḵē̱ ḇā kā.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with
‘Yode and Sayi have quarreled, but no one else has quarreled with no one’.

(212) Gḇāṯō yā́ ŗ dī̱ dā Nom.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REFL.SG mouth go.up
ḇē dō tā ḵē̱ yī́ zī̱́ ŋ̱̱ pḻḗ tā.
human one on that 3SG.SBJV pass two on
‘Gbato (never) talks with the same person more than twice’ (lit. ‘Gbato does not climb his mouth on one person in a way that it overpasses two times’).

(213) Kāsō-gū̱-ɓ̱ē̱-dū́ wō̱ dā ḵō gū̱ dōḏṓ ɛ́ɛ prison-in-human\IZF-PL 3PL.SBJV go.up house in from.time.to.time or
zuũzū wō̱ dā ḵō dī gū̱ dōḏṓ.
more.INT 3PL.SBJV go.up house mouth in from.time.to.time
‘Let the prisoners be put into different prisons or to different prison cells’.

(214a) G̱ṯ-ɗ̱ū̱ wō̱ g̱ḇḻẹ̱ sīṟ̱ wō̱ zīṟ̱ ā male-PL 3PL.EXI long sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ
ḵā dũḇ-ɗ̱ū̱ tā.
with woman-PL on
‘Men are usually taller than women’.

(214b) G̱ḇ-ɗ̱ū̱ wō̱ g̱ḇẖī̱ sīṟ̱ wō̱ zīṟ̱ ā̱ dog-PL 3PL.EXI heavy sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT
ā ḵ ā gw̱ḏā-ɗ̱ū̱ tā.
3SG.NSBJ with cat-PL on
Dogs are usually heavier than cats.

4.3. Distributive numerals and binominal each

(215) Zāḏāɓë-dū́ wō̱ bā̱ ḇē̱ dō yā zā sōɗ̱ū g̱y̱-yë judge 3PL.JNT ART human one 3SG.PROF dispute five head-break
‘The judges have tried five cases each’ (litt. ‘Judges who are there, one person has tried five cases’).

(216) Zāḏāɓë-dū́ wō̱ bā̱ ā̱ g̱ḇā̱ p̱ē̱ wā̱ zā judge-PL 3PL.JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ entire each 3PL.PROF dispute
sō̱ɗ̱ū g̱y̱-yë̱ wō̱ ḵw̱á́. five head-break REFL.PL RECP.SUB
‘The judges have tried five cases between them’.

(217) Ḇā̱ bū̱ū̱ pḻē g̱ō̱ ḇū̱ḵāɓ̱ē̱ dḗ ŋ̱ ḏs̱ 1SG.PROF gun two sell hunter the.other REL.3SG.JNT so.REM
ā ā g̱s̱. 3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I have sold two guns to each hunter’.

(218) Blûkâbë̀ plè, bë̀ gbà wà̀ blôô yàêê-gà-yàêê sù̀.

‘Two hunters carry three bags each’.

(219) Blââbë̀dù̀, bë̀ gbà wà̀ dû tɔ plè-plè kầ

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

(220) Sôdà-dù̀ wà̀ dà̀ plè-plè yîtāgô-dù̀ gû̀.

‘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, gâ ‘grain, bone, drop’, bè ‘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 (kô ‘ball’, gë ‘dead body, carcass’, bồ ‘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., fààgà ‘comb’, lâàgà ‘moonfish’, sëdàgà ‘needle’, pëgà ‘adze’, yëgà ‘savanna’, yëgë ‘rattle’, yêbàdà ‘cat’, biûdà ‘intestinal worm’, së̀rì̀dà ‘cicada’, etc.), and it is sometimes difficult to decide where we have a count word, and where it is a component of a compound noun.

gâ ‘grain, bone’ is by far the most productive (and the most grammaticalized) count word. It appears with many collective nouns (names of insects, such as ðês ‘mosquito’; ðëf ‘gravel’, kàà ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, wû ‘hair’, dë ‘leaves’, sààdë ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (bûû ‘rope’, dûû ‘rope, wire’, wû ‘river’), gbôñ ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of gâ vary, which seems to be conditioned both semantically and lexically. So, it seems to be obligatory with names of edible caterpillars (221), with nouns of small bodyparts (yà ‘eye’, së ‘tooth’, nê ‘tongue’ (222)), with biû ‘rope’ (223), with the word wà ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

(221) Yû yà kàà gbà/ò sûtù ðà.

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

(222) Bà yà/sû/dûù gà/*ò sûtù dûù kàì.

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

(223) Bà biû gà/*ò sûtù ðà.

‘I have bought five ropes’.

(224) Bà wû gà/*ò yàêê dûù ðà dë.

‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

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

(225) Bà wà mbà yàêê kàì.

‘I have crossed three rivers’.
I have pulled out five of my body hair.

(227) Bá tó-dé gá/ọ sọdù dè-kà.
1SG.PRF ear-leaf bone five leaf-do

‘I have tried (medically) 5 ears’.

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

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

Certain nouns (names of fishes, of some insects...) can be used with two or even three of the count words, with some semantic modifications, cf. (228), where báé appears if the fishes were rather big, gá is neutral (with some other nouns, this count word indicates a small size), and dá implies that the fishes were bought alive15.

(228) Bá yááá gá/bé/dá yááá dá.
1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy

‘I have bought three fishes’.

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

(229) Yá báé gáé/báá gá yááá dá.
3SG.PRF goat corps/bunch three buy

‘He has bought three entire goat carcasses’.

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

(230) wé védé yááá
glass three

‘three glasses of palm wine’,

(231) káá báá yááá
gá bag three

‘three bags of maize’,

(232) sáá kpáá yááá
gá ball three

‘three cakes of soap’,

(233) báá dèé yááá
cassava root three

‘three cassava roots’,

(234) gláá kpáá yááá
gá banana bunch three

‘three bunches of banana’,

(235) káále kááó yááá
gá coffee kilogram three

‘three kilograms of coffee’.

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

(236) yáá kááó yááá
gá water gourd eye three

‘three gourds of water’.

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

15 -dá is also a diminutive suffix, therefore, an alternative reading in this case is ‘three small fishes’.
4.5. Existential constructions

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

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) Báŋgiŋk̩ r̩ y̩̐̑ ɗìù bá.
    papaya.fruit 3SG.EXI REF'L.SG tree on
    ‘Papaya fruits are on the papaya tree’ [c62:7] (litt. ‘Papaya fruit is on its tree’).

(238) Dáà díx̩k̩w̓ík̩ x̩ y̩̐̑ á g̩̐̑.
    knife sharp.ExtINT 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ PP
    ‘He has an extremely sharp knife’ [f86:7].

(239) Á së yâá n d̓ë.
    3SG.NSBJ choice 1PL.EXCL.NEG.IPVF 1SG.NSBJ before
    ‘I have no choice’ [f154:5] (litt.: ‘Its choice is not before me’).

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

(240) Yáỳ y̩̐̑ d̓ë d̓ë.
    sun.CMM 3SG.EXI beNEUT today
    ‘It is very hot today’ [f57:8] (litt. ‘Sun exists today’).

4.6. Floating quantifiers

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

4.7. Bare quantifiers

The following bare quantifiers can function as predicates: numerals (242), dọ́dọ́ ‘a few, a small number’, gbé ‘many’ (243), gbé dëdëwò ‘very much, too much’, këé ‘few’, së̃gdá ‘small quantity’, t̓j̓ibā̃sù ‘a couple, a small number (with negation)’ (244).

(242) Á bá kó y̩̐̑ yâágbá.
    3SG.NSBJ POSS house 3SG.EXI three
    ‘He has three houses’ (litt. ‘his house is three’) [f77:14].

(243) Bád̓a-k̓á-bè-dú wó yā-tó-síi n̓ g̓ì wū gbé.
    work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.EXNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP 3PL.EXI numerous
    ‘The workers who are waiting for me are many’.

(244) Bád̓a-k̓á-bè-dú wó yā-tó-síi n̓ g̓ì
    work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.EXNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP

wáá t̓j̓ibā̃sù.
    3PL.NEG.IPVF multitude
    ‘The workers who are waiting for me are not many’.

(245) $Dɔkw\ddot{a}-d\ddot{a}$, $y\ddot{u}s\ddot{e}$ $d\ddot{a}$ $s\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{a}$
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI

$k\ddot{a}$ plè/gbè/gbè/bá-dû/kpûdè $d\ddot{a}$.
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) $B\ddot{a}$ káâ-dû gá. $A$ gbè/gbèdè/bá-dû/gbè/dôdô
1SG.POSS hoe-PL see 3SG.NSBJ all/majority/certain-PL/many/rare

‘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
gbëñ and sêñ ‘only’. As for the restrictor kpëñdè ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the
argument position only, contrary to zòò ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the
predicate position.

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

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

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

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

(247) Êëbâ $\ddot{z}$ dë $y\ddot{e}$ $d\ddot{a}$ $d\ddot{a}$ $b\ddot{o}$.
woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV song one remove

‘Let each woman sing one song’, OWS: 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) $T\ddot{a}$ gbë $y\ddot{e}$ dëbâ $y\ddot{e}$ dë $y\ddot{e}$
dance which REL woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.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) $B\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}b\ddot{e}$ $y\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}$ wá $d\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{k}\ddot{a}$ $d\ddot{o}$ gá $s\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}$
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) $D\ddot{u}$ gá $d\ddot{e}$ $\ddot{a}$ $\ddot{a}$ $d\ddot{a}$
tree bone other 1SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ close\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ

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
gbëñ and sêñ, see 3.4.1.1. With other NPs, the restricting meaning is expressed by combination of
a personal pronoun of a special (“contrastive”) series with the numeral dô ‘one’, usually followed by a
definite article (251), a focalizer (252, in a contrastive context), or a restrictor (253).
(251) Y̕ːŋ̕ə də̀ bā y̕ːŋ̕ə gù tɔ̕ p̕ː pl̕ː zi̕ŋ̕gú. 3SG.CNTR one ART 3SG.EXI be.PSTNEUT mountain two between
‘It (the way) was the only one between two mountains’ [zuase.013].

(252) Z̕ə̀ lə́ y̕ːŋ̕ə də̀ də̀ sə̕ ̀ː ɗə̀ 3SG.CNTR one FOC 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buyJNT
‘She has bought only pepper’ [56:5].

(253) Ɓ̕à s̕ə̀ kə̀ ɗ̕ə̀ y̕ːŋ̕ə̕ y̕ːày̕ə̕ tɔ̕ ɗ̕ə̀ ɗ̕ə̀ 3SG.JNT doJNT CONS 3SG.NEG.IPFW remain Caucasian
‘Why does it (newspaper) not remain only in French and other languages?’ [Pame1_Iwэн_təɑŋ.003].

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

(254) Z̕à d̕ə̀ lə́ d̕ə̀ s̕ə̕ ̀ː ɗ̕ə̀ ɓʊ 3SG.NEG.PFV walk FOC REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ removeJNT but
nom.3SG.NOM.3SG.M walk-FOC remain but
‘Jean only walked, he didn’t also drink wine’ (litt.: ‘Jean, it’s walking he did, but he did not
drink wine’).

(255) Z̕à p̕ə̀ d̕ə̀ s̕ə̕ ̀ː ɗə̀ ɓʊ 3SG.NEG.PFV thing FOC REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ eatJNT but 3SG.NEG.PFV
nom.3SG.NOM.3SG.M thing-FOC remain but 3SG.NEG.PFV
‘Jean only ate, he did not also drink water’ (litt.: ‘Jean, it’s a thing that he ate, he didn’t drink
water’).

4.14 Conversion of D-quantifiers into A-quantifiers with pre-verbal verbs
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. (256a).

(256a) Gb̕át̕ó y̕ːá g̕ə́-d̕o̕. nom.3SG.M 3SG.PRF work head-stand
‘Gbato has finished a work’.

(256b) Y̕ːá b̕ə́ g̕ə́ y̕ːá d̕o̕. work ART head 3SG.PRF stand
‘The work has been finished’.

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

(257a) Gb̕át̕ó y̕ːá b̕ə́d̕ə́ g̕u̕-d̕a. nom.3SG.M 3SG.PRF drug in-taste
‘Gbato has tested a drug’.

(257b) Gb̕át̕ó y̕ːá b̕ə́d̕ə́ g̕u̕ s̕ə̕ ̀ː ɗ̕ə̕-d̕a. nom.3SG.M 3SG.PRF drug in small taste
‘Gbato has tested a drug a little bit’.

(257c) Gb̕át̕ó y̕ːá b̕ə́d̕ə́-d̕ʊ ɡ̕u̕-d̕a-g̕u̕-d̕a. nom.3SG.M 3SG.PRF drug-PL in-taste-in-taste
‘Gbato has tested the drugs one by one’.

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

Gbâtô yâ ə bâ dëbâ tâ bâ kû.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface any catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife in some way’.

Gbâtô yâ ə bâ dëbâ tâ gbâ kû.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface all catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife by all means’.

Gbâtô yâ ə bâ dëbâ tâ-dû kû.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface-PL catch
‘Gbato has helped his wife repeatedly’.

Gbâtô yâ ə bâ dëbâ tâ gbé kû.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 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 adverbialization of D-quantifiers in the constructions with preverbial verbs is not represented in the Table 4, as well as the expression of quantifying meanings by verbal constructions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D-quantifiers</th>
<th>With mass nouns</th>
<th>With pl. form</th>
<th>A-quantifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numerals</td>
<td>+ kind of</td>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>certain; any; {other}</td>
<td>{other}</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâwô</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{again}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëbâšš</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals); {self}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{self}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëdëwô</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>utterly; often; for a long time; in great number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dôdô</td>
<td>rare, few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ever; never (in negative sentences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâbâ</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>a little, some</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâbâbô</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a little (small intensity); {at least}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbâ</td>
<td>all, entire (see Table 1)</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbâ pêpé</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbâdâš</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>entirely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbéj</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D-quantifiers</td>
<td>With mass nouns</td>
<td>With pl. form</td>
<td>A-quantifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gbé</em></td>
<td>many, enough</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>many, much (partitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gbé dèdè</em></td>
<td>too many</td>
<td>too much</td>
<td>too much (partitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gbé dèdèwò</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gbèdè</em></td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>major part</td>
<td>majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kèè</em></td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kpeèwò</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kpeèdè</em></td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kpúdè</em></td>
<td>overwhelming majority</td>
<td>the great part of</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kpúdè gbà</em></td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X óó X</td>
<td>any, whatever</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ý dò</em></td>
<td>every; any; (all)</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pépé</em></td>
<td>every, (all)</td>
<td>‘kind of’</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>péè dò</em></td>
<td>a half (of one object or of a group)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>half of (the group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>péè kpù</em></td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>péè séédá</em></td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sèn</em></td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sèèdá</em></td>
<td>(small)</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sèèdá bá</em></td>
<td>several, few</td>
<td>small quantity of</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sià</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>silà</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sià tèn bá-dù gù</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tòŋtòŋdè</em></td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tòŋlùsìù</em></td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>a couple, a small number</td>
<td>a small quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tòŋ gù</em></td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tàŋ gù</em></td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zùù</em></td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations**

ADJ – adjective; adjectivizer suffix (-sùu)
ADV – adverbial suffix (-wò ~ -bò)
ART – definite article bà
Atr – attribute
AUT – autonomous pronominal series
AUX – auxiliary
C – consonant
CMM – common case
CNTR – contrastive pronominal series
COM – comitative case
CONS – consecutive conjunction (yγ)
COP – copula
Det – determiner
DIM – diminutive suffix
DO – direct object
DUR – durative verbal suffix -sũũ
EXI – existential series of PPM
EXCL – 1 pers. exclusive plural pronoun/PPM
FOC – a) focalization particle (ɗʌ ~ ɗɯ; b) grammatical high tone on certain focalized nouns
GER – gerundive suffix -sũũ
IMP – imperative series of PPM
INF – infinitive marker (extralow tone suffixed to the verb stem)
INSTR – intrumental/comitative/transformational postposition (ká)
INT – intensive
IPFV – imperfective
IZF – isaphet marker (an extralow tone on the noun)
JNT – conjoint series of PPM; tonal modification on the verbal stem in the conjoint construction
LOC – locative case
LOG – logophoric pronoun
MSD – suffix of masdar (verbal noun, -ɗɛ)
N – noun
NEG – negative
NEUT – neutral aspect marker (extralow tone on the verbal stem)
NOM.F – female proper noun
NOM.M – male proper noun
NP – noun phrase
NPI – negative polarizing item (?
NSBJ – non-subject pronominal series
OO – oblique object
OWS – object wide scope
PST – past
PFV – perfective
PL – plural
POSS – possessive marker (ɓa, gɔ)
PP – postposition with a broad meaning (gɔ)
PPM – predicative pronominal marker (auxiliary)
PRES – presumptive series of PPM
PRF – perfect series of PPM
PROH – prohibitive series of PPM
PROS – prospective series of PPM
Q – general question particle (ɗɛ or a copy of the final vowel)
RECP – reciprocal pronoun
REFL – reflexive pronoun
REL – relativization marker (s’)
REM – remote
RETR – retrospective operator
S – subject
SBJV – subjunctive series of PPM
SG – singular
SLA – selective marker (-sũũ)
References