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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral vowels</th>
<th>Nasal vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front</td>
<td>Back non-labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ɯ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ɤ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonetically long vowels are interpreted as combinations of two identical vowels (rather than long phonemes). There is a trend to phonologization of the mid-closed [ɬ] 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, e, ɤ, o/, are realized as more closed allophones, [i, ɤ, ɤ] under extra-high tone, cf. /we/ [wɬ] ‘to speak’ (the lexical form) vs. /wɛ/ [wɬ] ‘to speak’ (the regular form in neutral aspect construction). Among the abovementioned allophones, ɬ seems to be on the way to phonologization: so, the neutral aspect form of the verb sʌdɔ [sʌdɔ] ‘to be afraid’, sʌdɔ is normally pronounced identically to the verb sʌdɔ ‘to get up early in the morning’ (in both lexical and neutral aspect form). However, some informants can hear the difference between the latter forms (probably, under the influence of the neighbouring dialect of Tee, where the contrast in question seems to be phonological).
In a nasal foot, any consonant is nasalized; the nasalization is especially prominent for the phonemes /ɓ,ɗ,ɬ,ɭ,ʇ,ɯ,ɡb/ which are represented in this case by their allophones [m, n, n̥, w, gm]. Foot-final -l- is realized as [-ɾ-] when preceded by dental or palatal consonants, and as [-l-] after labial and velar consonants.

### 2.2. Suprasegmental phonology: tones
There are five level tones:
- extra-high: kāa ‘scabies’,
- high: kāά ‘you (pl.)’, the negative imperfective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- mid: kāā ‘you (pl.)’, the prospective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- low: kāά ‘to scratch’ (a conjoint construction form),
- extra-low: kāā ‘reed’.

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

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

### 2.3. Syllabic structures
Allowed in Dan are: V, CV, C₁C₂V. The only consonant admissible in the C₂ position is /l/, it cannot be preceded by /ɗ,gw, l-, v-, y-/. The main rhythmical unit is metric foot. The types of feet attested in Dan are: V (including η), CV, CVV, CVŋ, CVVV, CVVŋ, CV, CIV, ClV, ClVŋ. A foot is characterized by nasal harmony, restrictions on vowel combinations, restrictions on tonal combinations.

### 2.4. Basic syntax

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

#### 2.4.2. Non-verbal sentences
Non-verbal sentences are formed with copulae bʊŋ, bā, dɛ, dɨ (identification, negative identification, presentative, equative) and with PPM (negative identification, locative, qualitative, equative; on PPM, see 2.9.).

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

Negative identification, (S) NEG.IPFV bʊŋ ‘it is not S’. Presentative sentence, S dɛ ‘here is S’. In the (affirmative) identification and the presentative sentences, a subject is obligatory and a PPM is missing; all other sentence types in Dan contain a PPM.

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

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

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

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

#### 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Velar labialized</th>
<th>Labiovelar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kw</td>
<td>kp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>gb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced fricatives</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implosives/sonants</td>
<td>ɓ</td>
<td>ɗ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) bà ~ ā :

1. *Gbàtò bà dí-dū* 
   NOM,M POSS child-PL
   ‘Gbato’s children’.
   *Bà* is most often replaced by *g*̀ if the NP appears in the circumstantial function:

2. *n gà kẹja*  
   1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC house.LOC
   ‘at my home’.

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

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

2.5.3. Standard plural marker is -*dù* which follows the noun. The majority of locative nouns have no plural forms in the oblique cases. The plural marker *dù* 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. *za yí děm démg sù-mù*  
   liana.sp. water viscous.substance-ADJ-PL
   ‘bowls of sauce of the liana "zan"’ [e4:20].

4. *ɓúu dì-gà wò kì dí a kà wàá kà dí*  
   mud-PL 3PL.JNT house build 3SG INSTR 3PL.IPV.NEG do so.CLOSE
   ‘One does not build a house with such sorts of mud’ [f180:7].

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

5. *ɓe yòò dù wò sła.*  
   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. *za dì gbà kà zù*  
   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. *Yáiyì gbèè yè fàýí gă loòó bèè bà*  
   sun.CMM difficult 3SG.EXI sweat bone arrive\NEUT human on
   ‘Hot sun makes one sweat’ [d162:6].

- predicate in a postpositionless construction:

8. *N kò yè kpàà kpàà*  
   1SG.NSBJ hand.CMM 3SG.EXI numb
   ‘My hand is numb’ [d163:7].

- predicate in a postpositional construction:

9. *A gè yè kpàà kà*  
   3SG.NSBJ foot 3SG.EXI bare with
   ‘He is barefoot’ [d162:13].

In most cases, both predicative uses of adjectives are more or less equivalent, and sometimes, there are some subtle differences. See in more detail (Vydrin 2007, 2010).
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 –sù (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: sù plè ‘two months’.

About the context where a numeral is followed by the plural marker, cf. 3.1.1.1.

Ordinal numbers are adjectives. They are derived by the suffix -ɗă (sündu-ɗă ‘the fifth’). Only ‘first’ has a suppletive form, blësù.”

### 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: bââ dū (lit. ‘cassava-tree’) ‘cassava stalk’, and (b) head-marked, where the syntactic connection is marked on the head noun by an extra-low tone: bââ dū (‘cassava plant’). To the class of genitive-like NPs belong the postpositional NP, where the connection between the constituents is marked by a postposition: dûsō bā gbîyá (lit.: ‘raffia.palm – on – caterpillar’) ‘raffia palm caterpillar’. Possessive NP (dûũũ bâ dâa ‘village chief’s knife’) can be also regarded as a variety of the postpositional NP.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person, gloss</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existential EXI</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/u</td>
<td>yĩ/yɛ</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjoint JNT</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/u</td>
<td>õ/š/yɛ</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect PRF</td>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>yã/yã</td>
<td>yã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective PROS</td>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>bê</td>
<td>ū/ŋ</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative IMP</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>õ/š</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive SBJV</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/u</td>
<td>õ/š</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive PRES</td>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>yã</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperfective NEG.IPFV</td>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>yã</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative perfective NEG.PFV</td>
<td>bû</td>
<td>bû</td>
<td>yî</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive PROH</td>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>bâ</td>
<td>yã</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs

2.10.1. Personal pronouns

Table 2. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gwéetaa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Refle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ɗ/ù</td>
<td>ð/ø</td>
<td>yí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>kwá</td>
<td>kã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>yí</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwá</td>
<td>kã</td>
<td>ðãã</td>
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<tr>
<td>Autonomou s</td>
<td>bã</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>yí</td>
<td>kò</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwá</td>
<td>kã</td>
<td>wõ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>ðḁ̂̃y</td>
<td>yí</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>kwá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple co-</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>ðãã</td>
<td>kã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ordinate</td>
<td></td>
<td>wã</td>
<td>wãã</td>
<td>wãã</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fused co-</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>ðãã</td>
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<tr>
<td>ordinate</td>
<td></td>
<td>wã</td>
<td>wãã</td>
<td>wãã</td>
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<tr>
<td>Co-ordinaire</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>ðã</td>
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<tr>
<td>Porte-</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>ðã</td>
<td>ðãã</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manteau</td>
<td></td>
<td>wã</td>
<td>wãã</td>
<td>wãã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(10) Kɛ́ kù bã ɗwãã ɗén, bû

dó ðã wëë ðû.

(11) Ñ-dầ ðấy ầgà, wà ðà ðèê ðò.

3NSBJ–PL.Poss sheep 3SG.PRJ die 3PL.PRJ 3SG.NSBJ new buy

Their sheep has died, they have bought a new one.

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

(12) Ñ-bà̃ ɗèbè̄̃w zì, yè yì kà nì kà...

1SG.CNTR self 3SG.NSBJ matter 3SG.EXI RETR 1SG.NSBJ astonish

‘The matter astonished me...’ [Dù wɔ̃].

2.10.2. Interrogative pronouns are used for special questions: ðè ‘who?’, ðà ‘what?’, ðè ‘how many? how much?’, ðë ‘which?’, ðè ‘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) Ñ-bà ɗè ū ðà ðà yì ɗó tā?

what REL 2SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ see.JNT road on

‘What have you seen on the road?’

2.10.3. Demonstrative pronouns, definite articles and adverbs

There are five demonstrative adverbs differentiated according to different parameters: yì̄ and yã indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. Ñ-bà indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. Ñ-ù 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. Ñ-tû (the intensive form is ɗćeđće) designates a remote object at the limit of visibility or just beyond, it is necessarily accompanied by an indication by hand or by finger.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ɗ/ù</td>
<td>ð/ø</td>
<td>yí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kwá</td>
<td>kã</td>
<td>ðãã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>kwá</td>
<td>kã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refle</td>
<td>wõ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Yå has undergone grammaticalization into a demonstrative pronoun, and a definite article has evolved from the adverb bå. In both cases, a relativization construction is involved, and the relativisation marker can be always restituted in a slow pronunciation:

(14a) kó x̱ x̱ yå... /bå → (14b) kó (x̱ x̱) yå /bå

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

Another definite article is aã. It is used exactly as bå, but it is characterized by a limited geographical distribution; unlike bå, it seems to be used only in the Gwëetaa dialect. Still another definite article is ő 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, -dê and -wó ~ -bô.

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 -dê-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 bô 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 wô or bô (15a, b).

(15a) Yê x̱ têédô blû gwâ guû.

3SG.EXI REFL.SG friend push\NEUT stone in

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

(15b) Yê x̱ têédô blû dâ a wô gwâ guû.

3SG.EXI REFL.SG friend push FOC 3SG.NSBJ do\JEYNT 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) Gbâtô yå dû pépé x̱-’ wô yê

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

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

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

2.11. Verb

2.11.1. Nominalizations

There are following means of nominalization in Dan-Gwëetaa:

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

— a gerund, formed with the marker -sû following the verbal stem or the postposition closing the verbal phrase (in the latter case, it serves a means of phrasal nominalization, and the verb acquires an extralow tone which serves a nominalization marker, cf. below). The gerund is used as a verbal noun and as a participle (in the attributive construction);

— a supin formed with the suffix -yê;

— a masdar formed with the suffix -dê;

— an extralow grammatical tone on the verbal root marking nominalization with the retention of the post-verbal arguments.

2.11.2. Reduplication

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

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

(17b) Gbàtò yà bìllà-dũũ dũũ-dũũ.  
NOM.M 3SG.PR F 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: gá ‘to pull’ → gááá, ɗáá ‘to wrestle’ → ɗááá ɗáá ‘to walk’ → ɗááá. 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 dã (with a dialectal variant dũũ). It follows the focalized NP which is fronted. There are two kinds of fronting: the focused 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 dã, dã ɗi, dã yì dě tɔ ká.  
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) Ỳ ɓàagóò kpói, dã ɗi bỳ.  
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 wù or bọ (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: -dě is added to adjectives, and the “actual selectivity” suffix –stù is added to nouns or adjectives. In both cases, forms with such suffixes are obligatorily followed by the focalization particle dã.

2.13. Relativization

There are two relativization strategies.

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

(20) [Wùù, ɗi hí-stù ká] yì ú dũũ  
meat REL.3SG.JNT smell-ADJ with CONS 3SG.JNT come\JNT  
3SG.NSBJ with Q  
‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].

(21) Ỳ ɓèè bëè nì dë fùì kwààì ɗì gbỳ  
3SG.EXI beg\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ before 1SG.NSBJ theft REL 3SG.NSBJ son  
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) [Débì ɗì bìlùù kpàì], ṃ ɗébì bà  
woman REL. 3SG.JNT rice boil\JNT 1SG.EXI woman ART  
3SG.NSBJ know\NEUT
‘The very woman who has cooked rice, I know her’ [f187:6].

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

3. Core quantifiers
3.1. Generalized Existential (Intersective) Quantifiers
3.1.1. D-quantifiers
The basic strategies for the expression of existential quantification are:
— bare NP that can express indiscriminately singular, plural or mass meanings (it can be said that the bare form has a neutral number meaning). The plural marker 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 ɓa, ɗɔ (to the right of the NP) or ɓ (to the left of the NP), see 2.10.3.
— indefinite determiner ɓá appears in practically all indefinite and negative contexts, in particular:
  a) specific unknown:
(23) Ɓɛ ɓá yà dũ uũ wó gui.
  human certain 3SG.PRF come 2SG.NSBJ affair in
  ‘Someone came after you’.
  b) interrogative context:
(24) Ɓɛ ɓá yà wó d5 dê bũ d6 dêê?
  human certain 3SG.PRF affaire know that 2SG.PROS go today
  ‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’
  c) conditional:
(25) Ɓũ bá pĩș-gá-sôdô sùmũ d5 ɓé
  2SG.PROS 1SG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human
  ɓá ɓa, ɗé n pũ 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) yáá n yáá dê ɓɛ bá yà
  3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that human certain 3SG.PRF
dũ. come
  ‘I don’t think that anybody has come’.
  e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:
(27) Gbá dó yà zôô dê yíí kpá ɓé
  NOM.M 3SG.PRF deny that 3SG.NEG.PFV see human
  ɓá ɓa zíí tã.
certain on road on
  ‘Gbato has denied (falsely) he had met anybody on the road’.
  f) in the typical context “specific known”, ɓá appears in the expression ɓá ŋ bũ, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).
(28) Ɓɛ ɓá ŋ bũ yô ɗá pũ
  human certain REL.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ say\NEUT
  yôô ŋ ɗû sùú.
  3SG.PROS 1SG.NSBJ daughter take
  ‘Someone (“certain person who is there”) says, he is going to marry my daughter’.
  About the expression of the negative universal meaning by ɓá and its usage in the free choice contexts, see 3.2.1.6.
 Bá is not allowed in only two contexts typical for indeterminate pronouns in other languages:
— non-specific irreal; in this case, the noun is used without determiners:

(29) N gbá dàà-da dá kä.
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 gbá (30a).

(30a) Yɓ biɓụ sű r zĩ r ká r
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
tééɓá gба tã.
age-mate all on
‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’, or
(30b) Yɓ biɓụ sű r zĩ r ká r
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG
tééɓá-dũ tã.
age-mate-PL on
‘He runs faster than his age-mates’.

Numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 dọ</th>
<th>2 plè ~ pèèdã</th>
<th>3 yáagá</th>
<th>4 yũsiũ</th>
<th>5 sũdũ</th>
<th>6 sũdò</th>
<th>7 sũoplé</th>
<th>8 sáagá</th>
<th>9 sũsiũ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 kóbó dọ</td>
<td>11 kóbó dọ s gã dọ</td>
<td>12 kóbó dọ s gã plè</td>
<td>13 kóbó dọ s gã yáagá</td>
<td>20 kãj plè</td>
<td>21 kóbó plè s gã dọ</td>
<td>22 kóbó plè s gã plè ~ pèèdã</td>
<td>30 kóbó yáagá</td>
<td>40 kóbó yũsiũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 kóbó sũsĩũ</td>
<td>100 kãj dọ</td>
<td>200 kãj plè</td>
<td>1000 gblũ dọ</td>
<td>10 000 gblũ kóbó dọ</td>
<td>100 000 gblũ kãj dọ</td>
<td>1 000 000 gblũ bɛ dọ</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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</table>

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

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

(32) Pólísíyɛ bá á sũdũdũ wà dɛŋh.
policemen ART 3SG.NSBJ five 3PL.PRF loose
‘Among the policemen, five have got lost’.

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

(33) Gbàtò yá kãa dâte dã.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF hoe a.little buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.
(34) Gbàtò yá kãa/blũ sɛɛdã bá dã.
NOM.M PRF hoe/rice small other buy
Gbato has bought several hoes’/Gbato has bought a small quantity of rice’.

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

(35) Gbətə yə[kəə dəɓá-də]. ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

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

(36) Bläää de də wə də bəɓə gə? sheep how many FOC 3PL.JNT save\UNT dry.season PP ‘How many sheep have survived the dry season?’

(37) Kləŋ də bəɓə də wə gizəɓə pəsə? formation child which FOC 3PL.JNT examination pass\UNT ‘Which students have passed the exam?’

(38) Yó kə ʃə’ wə də bə, də de

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

ʃə u ɡə?

3SG.JNT 2SG.NSBJ PP ‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

(39) Wə dədədyəsụ bəɓə ɣə də a guy ɣə?

matter clinging which 3SG.JNT go.up\UNT 3SG.NSBJ in here ‘What is the very sticky matter that he is stuck in?’ [e2:16].

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

Value judgment D-quantifiers

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

(40) Bə bə gbé wə də gbliụ bə, bə bə bəɓə də wə də. human many 3PL.PRF go war on human several FOC 3PL.JNT come\UNT ‘Many people have gone to the war, few have come back’.

(41) Yá yəkəɓə gbé sụ kə wə bəɓə də də zụ-bə. 1PL.EXCL.PRF worker many take that 3PL.SBJV field new bottom-remove ‘We have hired enough workers to launch a new plantation’.

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

(42) Bə bə dədɔ də wə də kwəbə bə də. human rare FOC 3PL.JNT go\UNT thief ART know-INF ‘Few are those who know the thief’ [f154:10].

(43) Yə bə-də dədɔ də, 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) tə́fəbəsụ (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) tə́fəbəsụ is not allowed.

(44) A- 걆 걆 걆 걆 걆 3SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\UNT but

machie 걆 tə́fəbəsụ yáá a gə. multitude 3SG.NEG.IPFV 3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple’.

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

yʌ ɗʌ káá tʰɛ̃́fəsʊ̃̃ dʒ-
3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF

‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’.

(45b) Zá yʌ ɗʌ káá tʰɛ̃́fəsʊ̃̃ dʒ-
edə?
NOM.M 3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF Q

‘Will Jean buy many hoes?’

The quantifier gbɛ can add the plural marker, in which case the quantifier acquires an intensive meaning: blů̃kábɛ gbɛ-dʌ ‘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) Ɓá kpá ú ɓá dəbá ɓá dō.
1SG.PRF see 2SG.NSBJ POSS ɓá dō.

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

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

(48) Dá-dʌ wó gbɛ-siá gbɛ kó táába.
child-PL 3PL.EXI yell-DUR much house behind

‘Children yell much behind the house’.

(49) ɓú bá dɛ́-ɗú wó pá bɛ́ sɛɛɗá.
2SG.NSBJ POSS guest-PL 3PL.EXI thing eat\NEUT little

‘Your guests eat little’.

(50) Ñ gbɛ blɛ́ɛsʊ̃̃ yʌ ń dɛ́ sîsìɛ́ kɛ́
1SG.NSBJ son first.ADJ 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT often.INT but

bɛ́ dɔ́ ñ pɛ́ yʌ ń dɛ́ dōdó.
human put 3SG.NSBJ at 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT from.time.to.time

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

Dábáwó ~ dábábó ‘a little’ is derived from the D-quantifier dábá by the means of the adverbial suffix -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) Û bá dû yʌ pùù dábábó.
3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a.little

‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:
— sîlá ~ sîlɛ́ 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 sîlá by the adverb dōdó, and the combination of both adverbs expresses the meaning ‘from time to time, rarely’, cf. (53);

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

— dêléwó ‘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 dêdê ‘self’.

(52) A ñ bɛ̀-dû tûù-dò sîlá.
1SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ human-PL greeting-remove\NEUT sometimes
‘I visit my relatives from time to time/often’.

(53) ̀Ù gbə̀ yə̀ yə̀ kə̀ bláá sìə̀ dòdò.
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) Sàá yə̀ tò kwàá sìəsìə̀.
sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often
‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55) Kèè̀-kà-gèè̀ bà̀ yə̀ bə̀ dèdè-wò̀.
threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV
‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

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

(57) Kèè̀ yə̀ dò̀-sìù ká̀ ̀yì̀ gò̀.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with REFL.SG POSS.LOC
‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].
A syntactically complex A-quantifier sìà tò̀ yì́ bá-dù guú <sometimes-time-certain-PL-in>
expresses the meaning ‘often’ (however, less frequently than gbè the latter may designate that events
happen practically without intervals, while sìà tò̀ bá-dù guú implies intervals).

(58) Bà̀ dà̀-dù òò nò̀ bà̀ sìà tò̀.
1SG.POSS child-PL 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ on sometimes time
bá-dù guú.
certain-PL in
‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].
A syntactically complex NPI quantifier tò̀ guú <time in> is used in negative sentences and
expresses the meaning ‘(too) few, insufficiently’ (59, 60).4 It is not allowed in other contexts typical
of NPI elements (general question; dependent clause with a negation in the matrix clause, etc.).

(59) Bì̀ yáá tò̀ guú.
human 3SG.NEG.IPFV time in
‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(60) Dà̀ yú̀ bà̀ tò̀ guú.
rain 3SG.NEG.PFV rain time in
‘It rained insufficiently’.

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

There are two determiners expressing universal quantifying meanings, gbà which is an “all-
type” modifier, and pépé ~ pèè 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 òò (primarily a free choice meaning), and the
expression xò dò̀ (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 bàì.

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

(61a) Dù̀kwàá dò̀ dò̀ yù̀ dò̀ sìə̀ kà́
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR
In the market, fish was not expensive, I bought it all'.

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

(61b) Đọjkwọ̀-dũ, yùù̀ rù dọ̀ gū sà, ńkà gbà dũ.

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

Retr all buy\NEUT

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

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

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

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

(62) Bù gù gbà dũ. 

darkness all.3SG.PRf put yere

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

(63) Bẹ̀ gbàdũ dọ̀ gẹ̀ẹ̀jẹ̀jẹ̀.

human all.3PL.PRf stand fixedly

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

3.2.1.1. CMP-quantification

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

(64) Dèkùbù́yì ńyìsi ǹžìgù́ gbàtò bà dèbà 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) Bà kù yà gbà gù.

1SG.PRf house this all daub
‘I have daubed all this house’.

(66) Dèbà bà yà yọ̀ gù̀ sì̀ dè gbà bà.

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).

(65b) Bà kú gbà gù.

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 -dũ, and the auxiliary (co-referent with the subject) is singular:

(67) Pù̀dè gbà yà gù.

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) Kùbù́dù́ yà wọ̀ wọ̀ kùdù gbà tà.
prefect 3SG.PRf affair lie family all on
‘The prefect has punished all families’.

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

(69a) Gbà tố yà gbà bɛ.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken body all eat
‘Gbato has eaten the entire chicken’.

(69b) Gbà tố bɛ ɗɔ gbà bɛ.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken bunch one all eat

id.

(70a) Ḑàdà bɛ́ yà gbà yà gbà yà wàkí ìfí ðò.
pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred 3SG.EXI
The wholeness meaning can be emphasized through adding a gerundive expression tố dë-sìu, lit. ‘remaining so’ (dë ‘so’ is an adverbial; in Dan-Gwëetaa the gerundive marker -sìu is normally added to the verb, and when a verb has an adverbial, to the adverbial):

(70b) Ḑàdà bɛ́ yà gbà tố.
pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NBJ all remain\NMLZ
‘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 -ɗû 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) Ðèbì-ɗû gbà wà dû kwà感受到.
woman-PL all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC
‘All the women gathered’ (e.g., all the members of an association).

(71b) Ðèbì gbà wà dû kwà感受到.
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) Gò-ɗû gbà wà whùùù kè pè-ɗà yà
male-PL all 3PL.PRF rise still village-father 3SG.PRF
ðà kàò-ɗà.
go.up house-LOC
‘All the men rose when the elder entered the house’.

To the contrary, in (72b) the referent group is represented by the men of a village, and the limits of this set are vague: evidently, there may be some disabled or sick people who belong to the class of the men of the village but they will hardly go to the war, and therefore are disregarded. As a result, the subject NP carries no plural marker.

(72b) Gò gbà wà whùùù.
male all 3PL.PRF rise
‘All the men have risen’ (to go to the war).
In the sentence (73), the referent group is “all those who are present at the moment of the accident”. The absence of the plural marker on the subject bɛ is indicative of the fact the group is perceived as open.

(73) Yɛ bɛ gbɛ wó yā gbɔ bɔ-su bā.
CONS human all 3PL.JNT putJNT crying pass-GER on
‘Then everybody started crying’ [Ẓāa sābā].

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

(74b) Gwēe yā dū-dū gbā zā ‘id’.

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).

(75) Dādā yā ā gbā yɛ̃ wīā kāf ni 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 bā (76), however no NP with both a plural marker and an article followed by the universal quantifier gbā appears in my corpus.

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

3.2.1.1.3. Quantifier gbā with uncountable nouns

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

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

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

(79) Yā bũ gbā kā.
1PL.EXCL.PRIF 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) kāfłęe gbā yā sēe.
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

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6 However, it should be mentioned that the use of the word bɛ ‘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)  Pê-dû gbà wâ gê.
      village-PL all 3PL.PRF burn
      ‘All the villages (of the canton) have burnt (one by one)’. 

(82a)  Yi gbà-_dumpi pê-dê gbà guú yê
      1PL.EXCL.EXI stopwatch NEUT village all in CONS
      yì gê bââ.
      1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
      ‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’. 

(82b)  Yi gbà-_dumpi pê-dê-dû gbà guú yê
      1PL.EXCL.EXI stopwatch NEUT village.CMM-PL all in CONS
      yì gê bââ.
      1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
      ‘We stopped in each village (without exception) to repair the car’. 

In (81) the distributive meaning is combined with partitive (‘all of the villages’). If the plural marker is removed (Pê gbà wâ gê), 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 reparations works, so that the entire set of the villages was brought into play. (82a) interprets the situation in a more realistic way: the travellers stopped many times, however, the speaker does not pretend that each village on the road was marked this way. 

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

(83)  Dádá (bê) gbà siú dôdô kê ú ú gbâ.
      pineapple fruit all take one by one that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ see
      (Here is a pile of pineapples, some are rotten) ‘Take each pineapple and examine it’. 

3.2.1.5. Generic quantification

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

(84)  Gwâdá gbà wô bê gwêê bâ.
      cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on
      ‘All cats resemble leopard’. 

(85)  Gwâdá gbà wô bê kwââ.
      cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB
      ‘All cats are alike (resemble each other)’. 

(86a)  Báy gbâ wô d55d5bê-dû ká.
      Jula all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with
      ‘All Jula are merchants’. 

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

(86b)  Báy-dû gbâ wô d55d5bê-dû ká.
      Jula-PL all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with
      ‘All Jula are merchants’, two interpretations: (i) all the Jula who are included into a particular group of people are merchants; (ii) all Jula of the world are merchants. 

(87)  Wû dô yê d-(dû) gbâ kâ.
      meat desire 3SG.EXI child(PL) all do\NEUT
      ‘All children like meat’, with two interpretations: (i) all the children who are in the group in question; (ii) all children of the world. 

3.2.1.6. gbâ in the free choice context

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

(88)  Dá-yâ yê yê dê gbâ
      child REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT human all

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

(89) Wū gbā ɣr bà-pā kā.  
meat all 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF with  
‘Any meat is edible’.

(90) Bê gbā ɣr bɔɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ ɔ 3SG.EXI cán\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on 3SG.JNT work  
human all 3SG.EXI  
‘Any person can do this job’.

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

(91a) Débā gbā ɣr sūa-sūa.  
woman all 3SG.EXI untruth-ADJ  
‘Any woman is a liar’.

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

(91b) Débā gbā wō sūa-sūa.  
woman all 3PL.EXI untruth-ADJ  
‘All women are liars’.

So, a singular form of the auxiliary excludes all other interpretation, apart from the free choice one, the inverse is not true: a plural form of the auxiliary does not necessarily exclude the free choice reading in an appropriate context, cf. (92).

(92) Dūs-dūs-š̩r ga gbā wō d̩r-š̩r-’.  
market-buy-human\IZF all 3PL.EXI go\NEUT-3SG.NSBJ  
p̩r-s̩r-’ 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) Tōba-dō gbā wō wō kō wō gbū-mā.  
friend-PL all 3PL.EXI PL.REFL RECP.CMM voice inside-hear\NEUT  
‘Friends always understand each other’ (any couple of friends).

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

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

Among all the contexts where the free choice meaning can be expected on typological grounds (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155), gbā expresses it in the following ones: modal probability (88, 90, 92), non-prospective future and habitual (94), generic (91a, 93).

3.2.1.1.7. Summary: formal means and semantics of the gbā-construction

<table>
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<td>plural</td>
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<td>Distributive meaning, definite plural</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quantification of indefinite (referent) groups, collective meaning (INDEF-quantification)</td>
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<tr>
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</table>
3.2.1.2. **p̥ẹ́p̥é ~ p̥ẹ́ẹ́** a distributive modifier

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

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

The NP determined by p̥ẹ́p̥é may have or miss the plural marker dụ́, and when this NP occupies the subject position, the auxiliary may be plural or singular. These factors seem to be independent of the semantics of the construction (unlike the gbà-construction), they are rather determined by general rules of the expression of plural in Dan-Gwëtaa: for the names of human beings, the plural marker dụ́ 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 dụ́, 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 p̥ẹ́p̥é**

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

(95) Dàdà bẹ́ p̥ẹ́p̥é sû́ ɗ́ ụ́ ɗ́ gbà.

‘Pineapple fruit every take that’ (every pineapple that you find).

(96) Bā́j(-dụ́) p̥ẹ́p̥é wō dɔ́dɔ́dụ́ kā.

‘Every Jula is a merchant’.

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

(97) Bā́ sḗ Gbā̃gwiû sḗ wā́ Sīpl̥ẽ sḗ

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

ā-dụ́ bā̃ bẹ̀ ỵ̀ ǵ̣ ỵ ɬ̣ ɔ́ s̀ kā Gwë-tà́ wō

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

gū́, ỵ̀ wō p̥ẹ́p̥é x̣́ Dàdà bē̃ gū́

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

ā-dụ́ bā̃ ḍ́ Gbł̣̣ wō gū́.

3SG.NSBJ-PL property be Blo voice in

‘The departments of Man, Biancouma, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwëtaa dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blo dialect’ [Pame1_1wøGXTaang.014].

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

(98) Gbà́ṭ̣ ỵ̀ ỵ́ p̥ẹ́p̥é bū́.

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

‘Gbato drinks any water’.

In this particular case, noun ỵ̀ 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) Ỵ̀ ỵ́ p̥ẹ́p̥é kā.

3SG.EXI job every do\NEUT

‘He catches on any job’.

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9 See in detail (Vydrin 2013).
(100) Bà d'á gblú yê zìr-sìá, yê
1SG.POSS child stomach 3SG.EXI pass-DUR 3SG.EXI
tò yê pà pépé dà y él dí.
remain\NEUT 3SG.EXI thing every rise\NEUT REFL.SG mouth
‘My child has diarrhea often, (because) he puts everything in his mouth’.

(101) Wù pépé yê bá-pà ká.
‘Any meat is edible’.

(102) Gwàdá pépé yê kpàñšìù.
cat every 3SG.EXI sly
‘Any cat is sly’.

(103) Bè pépé wò gá-bè ká.
human every 3PL.EXI death-human\IZF with
‘Any human is mortal’.

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

3.2.1.3. Combination of gbà and pépé: an emphasis

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

(104) Gbàtò yà yì gbà pépé bù.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all every drink
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’ (nothing is left).

(105) Wè dì yê gbà pépé ká.
wine desire 3SG.EXI male all every do\NEUT
‘All the men (without exception) like palm wine’.

This “heavy” form tends to erode its intensive meaning, so that some people use gbà in combination with pépé more often than alone10, as in (106).

(106) Sàsíàhà yì pàdù bá sì-dù gbà pépé
immediately CONS thing-PL ART REL.3SG.NSBJ-PL all every
‘Immediately, all these things that were found...’ [Dùwà]11

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

3.2.1.4. Reduplication with the connective morpheme ðòð (ðò-reduplication): the free choice meaning

3.2.1.4.1. The structure and the syntax of the ðòð-reduplication construction

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

(107) Bè ðò ðò bè sò dù, à
human any human REL.3SG.JNT come\JNT 1SG.EXI
dù à bà-ù.
go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ beat-INF
‘Whoever comes, I’ll beat him/her’.

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

(108a) Gbè zòpè̀dè ðòò gbè zòpè̀dè, à suú.
dog red any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take

10 So, in the autobiographical narrative by Daan Dua (the entire volume of the text is 3438 words), the combination gbà pépé occurred 9 times, while the quantifier gbà alone appeared 4 times.
11 In (106), we have a partitive construction, ‘all of the things in question’, where the noun pà-lù ‘things’ has a definite article bà which is regularly introduced through a relative clause followed by a resumptive pronoun; see 2.10.3.
‘Take any red dog’.

(108b) Gbɛ zɔpɔɗɛ sɛɛɗá ɔo gbɛ zɔpɔɗɛ sɛɛɗá yà dũ,
dog red small any dog red small 3SG.PRF come
bãa a kã.
1SG.PROS 3SG.NSBJ do
‘Whatever small red dog comes, I’m going to chase it away’.

(109) ɓɛ yíî ɗã bá ɔo ɗã bá bã bã.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.PVF thing certain any thing certain eat
‘Jean has eaten nothing (among all the kinds of food which were offered)’ [f186:7].

Prototypically, ɗo-reduplication concerns nouns, however reduplication can also affect
the determinative dɛ ‘other’ following the head noun (110) or, in negative contexts, bã ‘any, other’
(111).

(110) Yɔ dã tôo dɛ ɔo dɛ ɔ ɗ ɗ.
3SG.EXI know\NEUT gravy other any other REL.3SG.JNT be
a kï-dɛ kã.
3SG.NSBJ do-MSD with
‘She can cook any gravy’.

(111) Kã bã ɔo bã yìî gã kã yìî,
house certain any certain 3SG.NEG.PVF burn that 3SG.NEG.PVF
kã ŋ bã kã.
do 1SG.NSBJ one with
‘No house burnt, except for mine’.

It seems that we observe here a lexicalization of dɛ ɔo dɛ and bã ɔo bã as quantifier expressions.
ɗo-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 wő or bð. However, not all the verbs are available for this
construction (presumably, the limitation is of a lexical nature).

(112) Ɗo ɔo ɗo ɔ ɓɛ yìî wő tã guî,
go any go REL NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT walking in
yɔ dũ ŋ sãã kã.
3SG.EXI come\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ gift with
‘Any time Jean goes to a trip, he comes back with a gift for me’.

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

(113) Tɔ ɗo tɔ, sàkɔpɔɗã yɔ ɗ ɓã.
chicken any chicken mango 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.

(114) Yɔyɔ kã kɔ ɔo kɔ ɔ.
3SG.PROS do way.CMM any way.CMM REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ
bã, gã wã dã tô-’ bã.
on death affair\IZF FOC remain\JNT-3SG.NSBJ on
‘However may it be, death will come anyway’ [f48:6].

It seems that even when formal means of relativization (the relative marker ɔ; the 3SG auxiliary
of the conjoint set ɔ; 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) Bã ɗã pã ɔo pã ɓɔ; ɗ gwãɗá bã
1SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property
dũ.
give\NEUT
‘Whatever I eat, I give to the cat its part’.

(115b) Bã ɗã pã ɔo pã ɗ ɗ ɓɔ; ɗ gwãɗá bã dũ.
1SG.PRF thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ eat 1SG.EXI
gwãɗá bã dũ.
cat property give\NEUT
‘Id.’

3.2.1.4.2. Semantics of the ɗo-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) Ɖá ɗō dɔ̣, wụ dɔ̣ yɔ̣ ɗ̣ kɔ̣.  
child any child meat desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ ɗo\NEUT  
‘Any child likes meat’.

(117) Ġwádá ɗō ġwádá wɔ̣ ɓɔ̣ kwáː.  
cat any cat 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB  
‘All cats are alike’ (litt.: ‘Whatever is a cat, they all resemble each other’).

In the situations where the referent group for the free choice is definite, ɗō-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) Bɛ̣ ɗō bɛ̣ dɛ̣ ụ tɔ-kũ-ː’.  
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 gi-dú gá. ìlì bɔ̣ ˚ bā 1SG.POSS vehicle-PL look 2SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on  
ú dè ɗō dè sú.  
2SG.JNT other any other take\JNT  
‘Here are my cars. You may take any’.

The cases when the reference group is specific indefinite, are not rare:  
(120) Dági-gá ɗō dágí-gá wɔ̣ péé wà youth any youth 3PL.EXI village.this.in 3PL.EXI.3SG.NSBJ  
píř wó Yëdë sú.  
to 3PL.LOG.JNT NOM.F take  
‘Any youth of this village desires to marry Yode’.

(121) Ní ɗó bááá yɔ̣, dàdá ɗō dàdá yɔ̣  
1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI  
wàá káŋ dó.  
money hundred one  
‘Here in my farm, any pineapple is for five hundred francs’.

(122) Bá yí ká-?  
what REL 2PL.SBJV-3SG.NSBJ to 2PL.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ eat  
Pá ɗò pá ˚ yí ɓǐ-s-pá ká, ˚  
thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT eat-thing\IZF with 3SG.NSBJ  
dù yí dè.  
give 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ before  
‘What would you like to eat? — Give us any food’ (litt. ‘any thing which is a food, give it to us’).

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

(123) Dá yá yɔ̣ tò yɔ̣, yɔ̣ ɗ̣  
child this 3SG.EXI remain\NEUT here 3SG.EXI ɗo\NEUT  
bɛ̣ ɗō bɛ̣ yí ɗó ˚ kɔ̣ ˚ yɔ̣ ˚ yɔ̣  
human any human REL.3SG.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI  
ɗo ˚ sà-ɓó-ː’.  
go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-remove-INF  
‘If the child would stay here, he would bother anyone who is here’.

3.2.1.5. ɗó-construction  
3.2.1.5.1. Morphology

This construction consists of the relative marker ˚ fused with the homonymous 3SG pronoun predicative marker (auxiliary) of the conjunctive series, and the verb of being ɗó going back to the movement verb ɗó ‘go, leave’. However, the fact that the tone of ɗó does not change to mid (which
would be necessary when the verb is preceded by an auxiliary of the conjunctive series) signifies that
$dɔ$ 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 $dɔ$ 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, $dɔ \sim dɻ$, is attested (the latter form, with delabialization, dominates in neutral
and allegro registers), the grammatical tonal alternation is kept: $dɔ \sim dɻ$ in the conjoint construction,
and $dɔ \sim dɻ$ in the neutral aspect construction from which the future construction is derived. As
for the construction $ɜ \ dɻ$ (and other constructions where $dɻ$ acquires the meaning of being),
grammaticalization advances to the next degree. At the morphological level it leads to the abolition
of the vocalic variation in favour of the non-labial (i.e., a reduced) vowel. At the same time, the high
tone (which is the lexical one) of the lexeme is not replaced with the mid tone, as one would expect
when a verb is preceded by an auxiliary belonging to the conjoint set, which signifies that in this
context, $dɻ$ is not a verb any more.

3.2.1.5.2. Syntax

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

(124) $Wuui \ ɜ \ dɻ \ dɓ-aɗu \ wɔ \ dɔ \ ɑ_i$  
meat REL.3SG.JNT be child-PL 3PL.EXI go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ

$bɻ$-

‘Children will eat any meat’.

(125) $Dɓi \ ɗɔ \ dɓ \ ɜ \ dɻ \ yɻ \ dɻ \ ɯ \ d3$-

child any child REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI go\NEUT 2SG.NSBJ stand-INF

tɔ \ bɑ \ bɑ.

mountain ART on

‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’.

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

(126) $Kuɓɓaɗi \ yɑ \ wɔ \ wɔ \ kɛɗi \ ɜ \ dɻ \ ɑ_i \ tɑ.$

prefect 3SG.PRFS affix 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 $ɜ \ dɻ$ 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 $ɜ \ dɻ$
construction necessarily has the distributive meaning (126, 127, 128).

(127) $ɓɛ \ ɜ \ dɻ \ yɑ \ dɔ \ ɜ$

human\FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRFS go REL.SG

gɛ \ kəɗdɻ.

POSS.LOC house.LOC

‘Everyone went home’ [I88:11].

(128) $Pɗɗɛ \ ɜ \ dɻ \ yɑ \ ɡɛ$

village.CMM REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRFS 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 $ɜ \ dɻ$ manifests itself in the following
typical contexts (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155): modal probability (124, 125, 129, 130), non-prospective
future (not very distinct from the modal probability meaning, cf. 124, 125, 130), imperative (131),
habitual (132).
(129) Bɛ ɗɛ́ yɛ́ bɔɔ ɓa
human REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on
yɛ́ ɓa ɓa kɛ́.
REL.3SG.JNT work ART do\JNT
‘Anybody can do this job’.

(130) Wǚ́ yɛ́ dɔ́ bɔ́ gbɛ́ yɛ́ dɔ́
meat REL.3SG.JNT be 1SG.POSS dog 3SG.EXI go\NEUT
ɑ́ kɛ́-
3SG.NSBJ catch-INF
‘My dog will catch any animal’.

(131) Bɛ́ yɛ́ dɔ́ yɛ́ dɔ́ dɛ́ dɔ́ dɔ́ kɛ́
humanFOC 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) Pɛɓɛ́ yɛ́ dɔ́ yɛ́ ɓɛ́
food REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
(GBato is not fussy.) ‘He eats any food’.
In the generic context, ɗɛ́ is can appear only with a NP represented by the ɗɔ́-reduplicative
construction, so that the free choice meaning is expressed by both means at the same time (133).

(133) Wǚ́ dɔ́ wʊ́ yɛ́ dɔ́ yɛ́ bɔ́-pà́ kɛ́
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 wʊ́ (134a).

(134a) Bɛ́ wʊ́/ɗɛ́ dɔ́ wɔ́ kɛ́ wɔ́
human\FOC 3PL.JNT/REL.3SG.JNT be 3PL.P see PL.REFL
kwɔ́ã gbɛ́y tɔ́.
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 (wʊ́), it can be preceded with the
determiner gbɔ́ (134b).

(134b) Bɛ́ gbɔ́ wʊ́ dɔ́ wɔ́ kɛ́...
human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see
‘Id.’

3.2.1.6. Indefinite determiner ɓa as a universal quantifier
Free choice meaning in the imperative contexts (a request or a demand) can be expressed by the
indefinite determiner ɓa. In this case, ɓa competes (with some semantic differences) with the
determinant dɔ́ ‘one’ and the combination dɔ́ ɓa, but also with the determiners and constructions gbɔ́
(3.2.1.1) pépɛ́ (3.2.1.2), ɗɔ́ ɗɔ́ (3.2.1.4), yɛ́ dɔ́ (3.2.1.5).

(135) Lù́ ɗɔ́ ɓa dɔ́kwɛ́ yɛ́ ɓa
2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.POSS market-load this 3SG.NSBJ certain
ɗɔ-'
buy-INF
‘You should buy anything from my goods’.

(136) Bɛ́ ɓa yɛ́ dɔ́ ɓa dɔ́-
pɛ́-ɗa
human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.NSBJ put-INF village-father
pɛ́-ɗɛ́
at-LOC
‘Let anyone guide me to your elder’.
ɓa has a universal meaning under direct negation (137), where it undergoes competition with the
constructions ɗɔ́ ɗɔ́ (138), which has an expressive meaning, and yɛ́ dɔ́ (139). The latter can be
regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned ɭ ɗɛ-construction, however, ɣáá ɭ ɭ is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with ɓá.

(137) Wíï’ ṣɭa ḏláá ṣáá ɓá ḏá.
3PL.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ teach affair certain with
‘He has not been taught anything’.

(138) Ṭɛ ɓá Ṣɛ ɗɛ ɗɭ ṣáá wíï’
human any human certain 3PL.NEG.PFV come
‘Not a single person has come’.

(139) Ṭɛ bá Ṣɛ ɗɛ ṣáá Ṭɛ ɗɛ ɗɭ, ṣáá wíï’
human self REL 3SG.PROS go 3SG.NEG.IPFV be
‘There is not a person who would like to leave’ [b188:6].

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

(140a) Ṭɛ ɓáɗɛ ɓá bá wíï’ Ṣɛ cINT 3SG.NEG.PFV come
‘Not a single person has come’.

(140b) Ṭɛ ɓáɗɛ ɓá bá ɓá wíï’ Ṣɛ cINT human certain 3SG.NEG.PFV come
‘Not even a single person has come’.

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

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

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

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

— tòŋtòŋdè ‘never’ (the intensive form: tòdòŋtòŋdè) 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 -dè, however, there is no such word as *tòŋtòŋ in Dan-Gwëetaa from which the quantifier could have been derived;

— dò ‘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, tòŋtòŋdè and dò can combine (145c). This adverb, coming back to the numeral dò, 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 yà kà kpèèwò, tìŋ gò n gò 1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ PP

kò á yì zì.

that 1SG.SBJV sleeping kill\JNT

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

(142) Gbàtò yà bà sàà sù sù kpèèwò. NOM.M 3SG.EXI 1SG.POSS soap take\NEUT always

‘Gbato takes his soap every time’.

(143) Bìí dò kpà dà bà zú tòŋtòŋdè dààbà 1SG.NEG.PFV go see-INF 3SG.NSBJ on more never nevertheless

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

(144) Bẹ̀ rí bìí à bà wà dí dò... human REL 2SG.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ POSS thing eat ever

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

(145a) Bá dòpò dí-gà dò? 2SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever

‘Have you ever tested milk?’

(145b) Báá à wò dò dè yà dòpò dí-gà dò. 1SG.NEG.IPFV 3SG.NSBJ matter know that 3SG.PRF milk taste- look.at

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

(145c) Yàá n yàá dè bíí dòpò dí-gà dí-gà 1SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM matter know that 2SG.NEG.PFV milk taste- look.at

tòŋtòŋdè dò

never ever

‘I doubt you have ever tested milk’.

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

(146a) Gbàtò yáá ì gò gù-zú kpèèwò. NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL.SG head inside-wash always

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

(146b) Gbàtò yáá ì gò gù-zú tòŋtòŋdè. NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL.SG head inside-wash never

‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) Bìí yà pà gwàèè kà dèdè-wò. bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV

‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.
Gbááɗɛ̀ ‘entirely’ is an adverb used in the universal meaning with verbs of time duration, such as ká ‘do; spend (time)’ or ɓà̀ ‘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 -ɗɛ̀, from the determiner gbà ‘all, entire’ (a locative postposition may have been also involved, presumably bà ‘on’, so that the original form might have been *gbà-ɓà-ɗɛ̀). (148) Ỳ ɓà́ ká sùɗ dò kà yùá gbù gbááɗɛ̀.

3SG.EXI RETR moon one do\NEUT illness in entirely

‘He was ill a whole month’.

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

(149) Sìάə zà yɛ̀ kó́kɔ́ kò tʃɛ̀ gbà gù.

NOM as.for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in

‘Siao is at home all the time’ [f91:3].

Besides, ɗō̱-reduplicated construction can be also used as an A-quantifier (with the meaning ‘every time’), in which case the content verb is nominalized, fronted, and substituted by the dummy verb 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) Dù ɗó̱ dû ɗ’ Gbàtò ɗ’ wò Bɔááɗɛ̀
come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT Man.LOC

yɛ̀ siɛtů̱ ɗɔ.

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 gbédè ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; kpìdìɛ̀ ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. Kpìdìɛ̀ can be supplemented by the universal determiner gbà ‘all’, the expression kpìdìɛ̀ gbà means ‘almost all’. Gbédè is derived by the abstraction suffix -ɗɛ̀ from the generalized existential quantifier gbé ‘many’, and kpìdìɛ̀ is derived by the same suffix from the adjective kpì ‘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), lèbèlɛ̀ ‘rebel(s)’ designates humans, while in (153) blä̀a ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) Đèlebùbù yà ɓé̱ gbédè dè-kà

doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf- do

sàáɗì kà yà̀ɲ yì ɗà pè́:

before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall

‘The doctor treated the majority of the people before the sunset’.

(152) Lèbèlɛ̀ kpìdìɛ̀ wò ɓà́sá sàá bò.

rebek majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove\NEUT

‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) Blàá-dà wò yà ɗ gbé-dèØ kà

sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR

gà blàá-yì kà, kò̱kà gbà yàá ɓù.
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 gbédè, its scope is limited to this quantifier:

(154) Đèbà gbédè wàá tù̀rù́ sùù bá ɗà.

woman majority 3PL.NEG.IPFV livestock kind certain go.up

‘Few women have any domestic animal’.
The meaning of ‘half’ is expressed by the non-idiomatic phrase \( p\ddot{e}g \ d\ddot{o} \sim \ p\ddot{e}g \ p\ddot{e} \ d\ddot{o} \) <half/part-one> (the noun \( p\ddot{e}g \sim p\ddot{e}g \) means ‘a part, a share’, and \( d\ddot{e} \) means ‘one’). It goes with a countable noun, the latter appears in a plural form, and the construction has a partitive meaning (155).

(155) \[ \text{Gb\ddot{e}e} \ \text{y\ddot{a}} \ y\ddot{u} \ bl\ddot{a}-d\ddot{u} \ p\ddot{e}g \ d\ddot{o} \ \text{z\ddot{a}}. \]

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 \( p\ddot{e}g \ kp\ddot{u}\ddot{e} \) ‘majority’ (litt. “big part”) and \( p\ddot{e}g \ s\ddot{e}g\ddot{d}\ddot{e} \) ‘minority’ (litt. “small part”), as in (156).

(156) \[ \text{B\ddot{e}} \ p\ddot{e}g \ kp\ddot{u}\ddot{e} \ w\ddot{a} \ b\ddot{o} \ Gb\ddot{a}t\ddot{o} \ k\ddot{a}, \]

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

\[ \text{y\ddot{a}} \ b\ddot{e} \ p\ddot{e}g \ s\ddot{e}g\ddot{d}\ddot{e}-s\ddot{u} \ w\ddot{a} \ b\ddot{o} \ Z\ddot{a} \ k\ddot{a}. \]

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-Gw\ddot{e}etaa. \( s\ddot{i}\ddot{e} \sim s\ddot{i}\ddot{a} \) ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier \( d\ddot{o}d\ddot{o} \) (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-Gw\ddot{e}etaa are few.

There are two synonymous restrictors, \( gb\ddot{e}\ddot{h} \) and \( s\ddot{e}\ddot{h} \) (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: \( s\ddot{e}\ddot{h} \) appears with the numerals containing the element \( d\ddot{o} \) ‘one’ (1, 11, 21 etc.),\(^{12}\) while \( gb\ddot{e}\ddot{h} \) goes with all numerals, with the exception of \( d\ddot{o} \) ‘one’:

(157) \[ \text{W\ddot{a}} \ kw\ddot{a}b\ddot{e} \ k\ddot{b}\ddot{\ddot{h}} \ d\ddot{o} \ g\ddot{a} \ d\ddot{o} \ s\ddot{e}h \ k\ddot{u}. \]

3PL.PRF thief ten one bone one only catch

‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

(158) \[ \text{Y\ddot{a}} \ d\ddot{u} \ pl\ddot{e}\ddot{r} \ y\ddot{a}\ddot{g}\ddot{\ddot{a}} \ gb\ddot{e}\ddot{h}. \]

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’: \( kp\ddot{e}\ddot{y}\ddot{r}\ddot{d}\ddot{e} \) (-\( d\ddot{e} \) is an adverbial derivative suffix, the element \( kp\ddot{e}\ddot{y}\ddot{r} \) has no synchronic etymology) (159), \( d\ddot{e}b\ddot{r}\ddot{e} \ <\text{self-bunch}> \)

(160), which is otherwise used as a determiner ‘self’, and a floating restrictor \( z\ddot{\ddot{h}} \).

(159) \[ \text{W\ddot{a}} \ gb\ddot{u} \ pl\ddot{e} \ w\ddot{a} \ k\ddot{n} \ y\ddot{\ddot{i}}s\ddot{r}. \]

money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four

\[ kp\ddot{e}\ddot{y}\ddot{r}\ddot{d}\ddot{e} \ d\ddot{a} \ n \ g\ddot{l}. \]

exactly FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP

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

(160) \[ \text{B\ddot{e}} \ k\ddot{b}\ddot{\ddot{h}} \ d\ddot{o} \ g\ddot{a} \ y\ddot{\ddot{i}}s\ddot{r} \ d\ddot{e}b\ddot{r}\ddot{e} \ h\ddot{\ddot{y}} \ n \ d\ddot{e}. \]

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

‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

A floating restrictor \( z\ddot{\ddot{h}} \) ‘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 \( w\ddot{a} \) (expressing unpleasant astonishment, insistence, warning, and sometimes politeness).

(161a) \[ \text{W\ddot{a}} \ k\ddot{b}\ddot{\ddot{h}} \ d\ddot{o} \ z\ddot{\ddot{h}} \ k\ddot{e}\ddot{e} \ w\ddot{a} \ h\ddot{\ddot{y}} \ a \ b\ddot{a} \]

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

\[ k\ddot{r} \ w\ddot{a} \ y\ddot{a} \ b\ddot{a} \ a \ k\ddot{\ddot{a}} \ w\ddot{a}. \]

\(^{12}\) Some people also allow combinations of the restrictor \( s\ddot{e}h \) with numerals \( s\ddot{\ddot{h}}d\ddot{u} \) ‘five’, \( s\ddot{\ddot{b}}d\ddot{\ddot{d}} \) ‘six’ and \( k\ddot{b}\ddot{\ddot{h}} \ d\ddot{\ddot{e}} \) ‘ten’, others do not accept them.
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do ouch!
(161b) Wó kóbb lá kée wáá bɔò̀ mō wáá yā bā ká wáá.
(161c) Wó kóbb lá kée wáá bɔò̀ mō wáá yā bā ká wáá.
‘They are exactly ten, but they cannot do this job’ [d80:15].

In other contexts, zɔ̀ (with the particle wá in the sentence-final position) expresses an unpleasant surprise, or (with the particle wé 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):
— zír ‘pass; exceed’ with the superessive postposition tás ‘on (horizontal surface)’ for the meaning ‘more than’ (162) or, with a sentential negation, ‘maximum’ (163);
— bɔ̀ ‘be able; reach’ with the postposition bā ‘on (flat surface)’ in a negative sentence, for the meanings ‘less than’ (164) and ‘approximately, nearly’ (165). If the indirect object of the verb bɔ̀ is an alternative construction, the predication expresses the meaning ‘between’ (166). With the sentence negation, this verb expresses a value judgment meaning ‘insufficient’;
— sɔ̀ ‘approach’ with the postposition sɔ̀ ‘near’, for the meaning ‘almost’ (167);
— bɔ̀, 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) Đèbà yí dò tì yí... dɔ̄́
woman REL.3SG.JNT be chicken REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buy\INT
yí 3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on
‘Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.
(163) Tǎsí zír bë̀ sàá yáá zír wáá
taxi pass human\IZF salary 3SG.NEG.IPFV pass money
gblū nò kóbb dò ɹ gā plè tát.
thousand 10 one REF.3SG bone two on
‘A taxi driver earns here maximum 60000 fr.’
(164) Bë̀ wó lòò plà̀ wíí bɔ̀ bë̀
human 3PL.JNT arrive\INT village.LOC 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human
kóbb dò bā sǎá kí yáá yí ɹ bë̀. 10 one on before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall
‘Less than ten persons reached the village before the sunset’.
(165) Ðúu yí bɔ̀ dòó kàíj dòó
tree REL. 3SG.JNT be.able\INT tree hundred one
kì plè bā yà gỳ blàá.
hand.CMM two on 3SG.EXI.3SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC field.LOC
‘There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.
(166) Kàńtò dë̀ yí dò dòó a bā
canton the other REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS
pɔ̀dè̀ yí bɔ̀ sɔ̀ ɹ kóbb dò bā.
village.CMM 3SG.EXI be.able\NEUT five or 10 one on
‘Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.
(167) Bë̀ wó pɔ̀ yá ɹ guí wó yë̀
human 3PL.JNT village this 3SG.NSBJ in 3PL.EXI move\NEUT
bë̀ kóbb plè sɔ̀ ɹ.
human 10 two near
‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.
(168) Bë̀ wó bë̀ pë̀ dò bò wó
human FOC 3PL.JNT human part one remove\INT 3PL.EXI
sáádè̀ dò.
paper know\NEUT
‘A half/About a half of the people are literate’.
3.4.1.2. Complex value judgment D-quantifiers

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

(169) Bá bɛ gbɛ dɛdɛ dɔ gɔ gu. 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 tɛŋbäsụ 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) Kọ gbwọ kà gɛ, kɛɛ ɛ plè dà
house all 3PL.EXI RETR burn\NEUT but 3SG.NSBJ two FOC
wí gbɛ.
3PL.NEG.PFV burn
‘All the houses but two burnt’.

(171) Kàfléé dɛ gbɛ wà bá, kɛɛ Gbàtò
coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M
bà dòdó dà wí bá.
one rare FOC 3PL.NEG.PFV fructify
‘Most of the coffee plantations, except some Gbato’s ones, have yielded well’.

3.4.1.4. Proportional quantifiers

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

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

1) The denominator is marked by the postposition tà ‘on’ and followed by the numerator. The counted noun is mentioned both with the denominator and the numerator (172). This is a standard word order; it can be modified through regular syntactic transformations, such as topicalization (173).

(172) Pëdë, bɛ kòðò dò tà bɛ yì{sì} dà
village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC
wọ sìëtì bu. 3PL.JNT cigarette drink/JNT
‘Four village dwellers out of ten smoke’.

(173) Dìgà gbɛ sì{sì}ù tà yùù kà bɛ plè kù.
week first-ADJ human five on illness RETR human two catch\NEUT
‘The first week, two out of (every) five people grew ill’.

2) A gerundive construction of the disjoint verb pɛ-gù ‘to split’, with the denominator in the position of the indirect object (governed by the comitative/transformative postposition kà), while the numerator appears in the next clause as determiner of the noun pɛɛ ‘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) Bɛ-dù pɛ gùsù ɹ yàågà kà, à
human-PL split inside-GER REL.3SG.JNT three with 3SG.NSBJ
pɛɛ dò wà kwí wò bá.
part one 3PL.PRF Caucasian voice hear
‘One third of the people understand French’.

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

(175) Bɛ kàñ dò ɹ dò, bɛ kòðò yàågà
human hundred one REL.3SG.JNT be human 10 three
wò kwí wò bá.
3PL.EXI Caucasian voice hear\NEUT
‘Thirty percent of the people understand French’.
The meaning ‘a small minority’ is expressed by the expression *pɛɛ sɛɛdá* ‘minority’ (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) *Pɛɛ yá gú kó-dű wó dₔ́ å pɛɛ sɛɛɛɛdá*

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

dₔ́ kʊrɛ́ŋ s˚-dű gú.

FOC electricity 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ-PL in

‘A small minority of the houses of this villages have electricity’.

### 3.4.1.5. Boolean compounds

(177) *Báj-ɗu gɓɔ dǜ wáá súj ɓá.*

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

‘Not all Jula observe Ramadan’.

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

(178) *Dá wó d₇ zîr˚ bé plɛ tà wó d₇ gɛyɛ˚.*

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

(179) *Klàjﬁɗ˚-dá wó d₇ zîr˚ bé plɛ tà wó d₇ *

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

bé kòdů dọ wí s˚ wó d₇ gɛyɛ˚.

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) *Bé wó pìs˚ ɗ kïié ngá wí dű *

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

kàjùdá tòáà-bó kɛ́ å gɓɔ wíí dű.

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

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

(181) *Pš-ɓé zìjà yáá bű-ɗ˚-kà-sùù zìjà dọ *

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

kà yá å dű tò dëj˚ z˚ å ɓá.

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) *Bũ-ka-ɓé şs˚dũ t˚ bé yáá zík˚ bũ *

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

pl˚ tà k˚ wó d˚ g˚ zír˚-dũ k˚.

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 *gɓɔ* ‘all of...’, (155) for a construction with *pẹẹ* ‘half of’. Here is a partitive construction with the nominalized determiner *ɓá* ‘any’:

(183) *’Bú dũ bę yá bá dʒ-gá.*

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

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

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

(184) *Kwá-ɓé-du bá wá å gɓɔ kú*

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

‘All these thieves have been captured’.

Here are some examples of more complex partitive constructions.
(185) Bláá-dũ wó yá å gbédé ká gá błęēyũ ká, sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ majority RETR die\NEUT dry.season with kéë å gbá yáá büũ.
but 3SG.NSBJ entire 3SG.NEG.IPFV be.
‘Most of these sheep, but not all, died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘A majority of these sheep died during the dry season, but all of them did not die’).
(186) À bã bláá-dũ wó gá błęēyũ yá ká 3SG.NSBJ POSS sheep-PL 3PL.JNT die\INT dry.season day this with wí bũ bũ błęā-dũ pě-gu-suũ ɛ yáągã ká 3PL.NEG.PFV be.able sheep-PL split\NMLZ-in GER REL. 3SG.JNT three with à pũ dũ bã. 3SG.NSBJ segment one on ‘Not more than a third of his sheep died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘His sheep (which) died during the dry season, if they are split in three, they don’t reach one part of it’).

3.4.2. Complex A-modifiers

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

(187) Kpēēŋũ Gbåtũ yã wó Bũyã sũũsũũ. 3SG.NPRF appear Abidjan nine ‘Gbato has been to Abidjan exactly nine times’.
(188) Gbåtũ yã nũ prũũ yáągã dēbũwũ. 3SG.NPRF come village.LOC three exactly ‘Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice’.

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

(189) Ká prũ kāá dó bļáá ká ká dđbáwũ bę 2PL.PRF say 2PL.PROS go field.LOC 2PL.IMP do a.little human kõõŋ dó ᵃ̕ gá s55düũ. 10 one REF.L.SG bone five ‘If you go to the farm, you should be at least fifteen’.

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

(190a) Wō kōōŋ dō kēe wáá bţţ å bã 3PL.NEXI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.PFV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on kš wō yã bã å kē žižawũ. that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do as.much.as (b) Wō kōōŋ dō kēe wáá bţţ å bã žižawũ kš wō yã bã å kã. (c) Wō kōōŋ dō kēe wáá bţţ žižawũ å bã kš wō yã bã å kã. (d) Wō kōōŋ dō žižawũ kēe wáá bţţ å bã kš wō yã bã å kã. ‘They are as many as ten, but they cannot do this job’ (although even 5 persons normally should be able to do it) [d80:14].

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

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

(191) Gbåtũ yã gōŋ sɬo dę pã dũ (kówã) kōōŋ dō. 3SG.NPRF malaria find that thing so.REM time 10 one ‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

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

(192) Gbåtũ yã gōŋ sɬo gbåwũ kōōŋ dō. 3SG.NPRF malaria find almost 10 one
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

(193) Yâ wë ã bâ gbâwô.
3SG.PRF speak 3SG.NSBJ on almost
‘He has almost accepted it’.

(194) Gbâ tô yââ dû gbâwô plôû.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPVF come almost village.LOC
‘Gbato almost never comes to the village’.

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

(195) Zâ yâ pû yâ zû-ô-sû/-dê bâ.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say work bottom remove-GER/-MSD on
‘Jean has almost began to work’.

(196) Zâ yâ pû s bû dû kâ-sû kâ.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say REFL.SG finish tree cut-GER with
‘Jean has almost finished cutting the tree’.

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

(197) Gwâ’dô yê a kâ dê yê rû bû kû.
cat 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT that 3SG.PROS mouse catch
‘The cat has almost caught the mouse’.

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

(198) Gbâ tô yô dû plôû tệ̣û kpûdê kâ.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI come\NEUT village.LOC Sunday majority with
‘Gbato comes to the village almost every Sunday’.

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

Examples for the bounding quantifiers have been translated as follows:

(199) Gbâ tô yô yî dû plê dê kpôûyî bâ.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI water measure\NEUT two day on
dêkpôûyî sôôdû dôôgô dô bâ.
day five week one on
‘Gbato measures water twice a day, five days a week’.

(200) Yôdô yû yû kû dê kpôûyî sôôdû dôôgô dô guût,
NOM.F 3SG.EXI work do\NEUT day five week one in
dôôgô kôôyî yîlûsû s gû sôôdû kwê bû, y bû
week 10 four REFL.SG bone five year on 3SG.JNT appear\NEUT
kû dê kwê kôôyî dô s gû sôôdû kâ.
3SG.NSBJ with so.REM year 10 one REFL.SG bone five with
‘Yode works five days a week, 45 weeks a year for 15 years’.

4. Selected topics

4.1. Comparative quantifiers

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

(201) Gô-dû gbê wô stûtû bûtû wô zîs kâ
male-PL numerous 3PL.EXI cigarette drink\NEUT 3PL.JNT pass\JNT with
debô-dû tâ.
woman-PL on
‘More men than women smoke’.
The meaning ‘as many as’ is expressed by a clausal intransitive construction with the verb ɓɔ ɗɛ ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) Klàŋɗɗ'-ɗá-dú bá ɗɛ-gá-sóò wò-’ kwàà ɗ á
school-child-PL POSS iron-bone-horse 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ

ɗí wàà klàŋgɔɓɛ-dú bá yɛ yɛ bɔɔ.
mouth 3SG.and teacher-PL the.same 3SG.EXI search\NEUT

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

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

4.2 Type (2) quantifiers

(203a) Gɔ̀ dɛ̀ yɛ dɔ́ ɗɛ̣ dɛ̀ dɔ́ dɔ́
male that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM woman that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM

ɗ a dɔ́ yɛ́ a kɔ́.
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) Sɛ̀ dɛ̀ yɛ dɔ́ ɗɛ̣ pàɓêɛ dɛ̀ yɛ
land.CMM that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM food that REL.3SG.JNT

ɗɔ̀ a dɔ́ yɛ́ a kɔ́.
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) Bùkàɓɛ̀ dɛ̀ yɛ dɔ́ wà wù wù sùù dòdó 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) Bùkàɓɛ̀ dɛ̀ yɛ dɔ́ wà wù wù sùù dò zì.
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) Dèbá yɛ dɔ́ yɛ yɛ tà dò bá dà bò.
woman LOG.3SG.SBJV so.REM 3SG.PROS dance one ART FOC remove

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

(205c) Klàŋɗɗ'-ɗá yɛ dɔ́ yɛ́ sàάɗɛ̀ dò bá dà
school-child REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV paper one ART FOC

wò pù.
voice say

‘Let every student read the same book’.

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

(206) Bɛ bɛɛ ɗá yá bɛɛ kɔ̀?
human which 3SG.JNT work which do\UNT

‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) Gɔ̀ bɛɛ ɗá dèbá bɛɛ sùù?
male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\UNT

‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) Gbàtò wàà Zà wò pùɗɛ̀ wò wò
NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI village.CMM 3PL.JNT PL.REFL
kò sà+i guù.
RECP.CMM near in

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

(209) Gbàtò wàà Zà wò vòtòò kɔ̀ pɛɛ wɛɛ plè kà.
NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI elections do\NEUT part other two with
Gbato and Jean vote for different parties (litt.: ‘Gbato and Jean, they do vote with two different parts’).

(210) Żàdɔɛ-ɗṹ́ ́̀ ́ wàá ́̀ dò, wòò ́̀ ́̀ zà ́̀ gɔ- yé kò
judge-PL REL 3PL.NEG.IPFV one 3PL.PROS dispute head-break hand.CMM
dòdò kò ́̀ zà ́̀ dò ́̀ kò dò kà.

‘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) Gbàtò wàá ́̀ Zà wà ́̀ gbèɛ́́ tà ́̀ zà, kèɛ ́̀ bɛ́
NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.PRF chat kill but human
bà yì́ gbèɛ́́ tà ́̀ bɛ́ bà kà.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV chat kill human certain with
‘Gbato and Jean talked, but no one else talked to anyone else’.

(211b) Yòdé wàá Sàáyí wà ́̀ dìdàá bà, kèɛ ́̀ bɛ́
NOM.F 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.PRF quarrel put but human
bà yì́ dìdàá bà bɛ́ bà kà.
certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with
‘Yode and Sayi have argued, but no one else has quarrelled with no one’.

(212) Gbàtò yáá ́̀ ́̀ ́̀ dà ́̀ dà
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.PFV REFL.SG mouth go.up
bɛ́ dò tà kɔ̀ yì́ zì́ ́̀ plè tà.
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) Kàsò-gù- bà-dù́ ́ wò̀ dà kò gù dòdò ́́
prison-in-human\IZF-PL 3PL.SBJV go.up house in from.time.to.time or
zuùzù́ wò̀ dà kò dì gù dòdò.
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) Gù-gù́ wò́ gbléé ́̀ sì́ wò́ zì́́ ́́
male-PL 3PL.EXI long sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ
kà dèbè́-dù́́ tà.
with woman-PL on
‘Men are usually taller than women’.

(214b) Gbè-gù́ wò́ gbìjì́ sì́ wò́ zì́́ ́́
dog-PL 3PL.EXI heavy sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT
kà gwaà-à ́̀ dù́ ́̀ tà.
3SG.NSBJ with cat-PL on
Dogs are usually heavier than cats.

4.3. Distributive numerals and binominal each

(215) Żàdɔɛ-gù́ wò́ bà, bɛ́ dò yà ́̀ zà ́̀ sùdù́ gɔ- yé
judge 3PL.JNT ART human one 3SG.PRJ dispute five head-break
‘The judges have tried five cases each’ (litt. ‘Judges who are there, one person has tried five cases’).

(216) Żàdɔɛ-gù́ wò́ bà, à gbà ́̀ pɛ́ wà́ ́̀ zà
judge-PL 3PL.JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ entire each 3PL.PRJ dispute
sùdù́ gɔ- yé wò́ kwáá.
five head-break REFL.PL RECP.SUB
‘The judges have tried five cases between them’.

(217) Bà̄̀ bùbhù́ plè gò ́̀ bùkàbè́ dè́ ́̀ dò ş́
1SG.PRJ gun two sell hunter the.other REL.3SG.JNT so.REM
à gò́.
3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I have sold two guns to each hunter’.

(218) *Blúkáɓe* plè, *ɓe* gbà wà *ɓló* yààgà-yààgà sù. hunter two human all 3PL.PRF bag three-three take

‘Two hunters carry three bags each’.

(219) *Blááɓe*-ɗù, *ɓe* gbà wà dù tò plè-plè kà peasant-PL human all 3PL.PRF come chicken two-two with

kàɓáɗà sècéɗà dè.

prefect small before

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

(220) ɗùdù wà dà plè-plè yítàgò-ɗù gù. soldier-PL 3PL.PRF go.up two-two water-on-vehicle\IZF-PL in

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

4.4. Mass quantifiers and noun classifiers

The system of noun classifiers in Dan-Gwëetaa is at an early stage of grammaticalization. There are three count words, *gà* ‘grain, bone, drop’, *ɓe* ‘fruit’, *ɗe* ‘child’ whose formalization is relatively advanced (although there is still a great deal of lexical limitations in their use), and certain other nouns (*kpé* ‘ball’, *gò* ‘dead body, carcass’, *ɓɛ́* ‘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-Gwëetaa 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’, *lààgà* ‘moonfish’, *sèjàgà* ‘needle’, *pèègà* ‘adze’, *yègà* ‘savanna’, *yèɓè* ‘rattle’, *yùɓàádà* ‘cat’, *bùùdà* ‘intestinal worm’, *sààdà* ‘cicada’, etc.), and it is sometimes difficult to decide where we have a count word, and where it is a component of a compound noun.

*gà* ‘grain, bone’ is by far the most productive (and the most grammaticalized) count word. It appears with many collective nouns (names of insects, such as *zòf* ‘mosquito’; *zòf* ‘gravel’, *kàà* ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, *wù* ‘hair’, *dè* ‘leaves’, *sààdè* ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (*bùà* ‘rope’, *dòf* ‘rope, wire’, *yè* ‘river’), *gbòy* ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of *gà* vary, which seems to be conditioned both semantically and lexically. So, it seems to be obligatory with names of edible caterpillars (221), with nouns of small bodyparts (*yà* ‘eye’, *sì* ‘tooth’, *nè* ‘tongue’ (222)), with *bùà* ‘rope’ (223), with the word *wàà* ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

(221) Yìì yà kpà zòò/gò. gà/*ò sòòdù bà. NOM.MF 3SG.PRF see caterpillar1/caterpillar2 bone five on

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

(222) Bà yà/sà/dè gà/*ò sòòdù dè-kà. 1SG.PRF eye/tooth/tongue bone five leaf-do

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

(223) Bà bùà gà/*ò sòòdù dà. 1SG.PRF rope bone five buy

‘I have bought five ropes’.

(224) Bà wàà gà/*ò yààgà dù à dè. 1SG.PRF 5.francs bone three give 3SG.NSBJ before

‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

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

(225) Bà yì gà/ò yààgà kà. 1SG.PRF water bone three cut

‘I have crossed three rivers’.

(226) Bà nì kàà gà/ò sòòdù wà. 1SG.PRF 1SG.NSBJ hair bone five extract

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

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

(227) Bá  tó-dër gâ/ɗ sódũ dê-ɗi.

1SG.PRF ear-leaf bone five leaf-do

‘I have tried (medically) five ears’.

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

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

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

(228) Bá  yûrû gâ/ɓɛ/ɗũ  yûgâ  dô.

1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy

‘I have bought three fishes’.

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

(229) Yâ  bû  ɡê/bûr  yûgâ  dô.

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) wê  vêdê  yûgâ
glass three

‘three glasses of palm wine’,

(231) kûŋ  bûn  yûgâ
maize bag three

‘three bags of maize’,

(232) sâa  kpî  yûgâ
ball three

‘three cakes of soap’,

(233) bâa  dêe  yûgâ
cassava root three

‘three cassava roots’,

(234) glsũ  kpâa  yûgâ
banana bunch three

‘three bunches of banana’,

(235) kûfûe  kûdî  yûgâ
coffee kilogram three

‘three kilograms of coffee’.

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

(236) yû  kûû  yû  yûgâ
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 yû is omitted (yû kûû yûgâ), it means that water is necessarily placed in three gourds.

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\(^{15}\)-ɗũ is also a diminutive suffix, therefore, an alternative reading in this case is ‘three small fishes’.
If used with numerals without count nouns, the mass nouns undergo a semantic shift to the ‘kind of’ meaning: yĩ sɔsɔdù ‘five sorts of water’, yɛɛ sɔsɔdù ‘five sorts of sand’ (see 2.6.3 for the same semantic shift with the plural marker).

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

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

4.5. Existential constructions

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

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) Bάŋgɪlɛy ɣyɛ ɗị̀ụ́ bà.
papaya.fruit 3SG.EXI REFL.SG tree on
‘Papaya fruits are on the papaya tree’ [c62:7] (litt. ‘Papaya fruit is on its tree’).

(238) Dάà dị́kɔkị́dúkị́y yɛ ɗɛ ɗù ɣɛ.
knife sharp.ExtINT 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ PP
‘He has an extremely sharp knife’ [f86:7].

(239) À sè yáà n ɗè.
3SG.NSBJ choice 1PL.EXCL.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ before
‘I have no choice’ [f154:5] (litt. ‘Its choice is not before me’).

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

(240) Yάyí yɛ ɗɛ dèè.
sun.CMM 3SG.EXI beNEUT today
‘It is very hot today’ [f57:8] (litt. ‘Sun exists today’).

(241) ... kɔ̀ a dò dè wéé bá yáà ɗè.
that 3SG.NSBJ go place other certain 3SG.NEG.IPFV be
‘... for he had no other place to go’ [f2:7] (litt. ‘that another place for him to go did not exist’).

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

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

4.6. Floating quantifiers

Only restrictor ɜɔ ‘exactly’ (see 3.4.1.1) and adverb ɣi linea ‘as many as’ (see 3.4.2) can float.

4.7. Bare quantifiers

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

(242) Bá ɗà kɔ̀ yɛ ɣyàìgà.
3SG.NSBJ POSS house 3SG.EXI three
‘He has three houses’ (litt. ‘his house is three’) [f77:14].

(243) Bádá-ká-bë-dú wó yà-tó-si n gì wò gbɛ.
work-do-human[IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP 3PL.EXI numerous
‘The workers who are waiting for me are many’.

(244) Bádá-ká-bë-dú wó yà-tó-si n gì
work-do-human[IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP
wàá tɛŋbáṣú.
3PL.NEG.IPFV multitude
‘The workers who are waiting for me are not many’.

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

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

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

Bare numerals, in both predicate and argument functions, can be determined by the restrictors \( g \) and \( \tilde{g} \), see 3.4.1.1. As for the restrictor \( kp\tilde{e}\tilde{y}d\tilde{u} \) ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the argument position, contrary to \( z\tilde{o} \) ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the predicate position.

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

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

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.

4.12. One to one dependency

Simple translations of ‘only’ are possible only with numerals, by the means of the restrictors \( gb\tilde{e}\tilde{y} \) and \( s\tilde{e}\tilde{y} \) ‘only’. As for the restrictor \( k\tilde{p}\tilde{e}\tilde{y}d\tilde{u} \) ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the argument position only, contrary to \( z\tilde{o} \) ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the predicate position.

4.13. Expression of the meaning ‘only’
Simple translations of ‘only’ are possible only with numerals, by the means of the restrictors \( gb\tilde{e}\tilde{y} \) and \( s\tilde{e}\tilde{y} \), 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 \( d\tilde{o} \) ‘one’, usually followed by a definite article (251), a focalizer (252, in a contrastive context), or a restrictor (253).
It (the way) was the only one between two mountains’ [zuase.013].

She has bought only pepper’ [f56:5].

Why does it (newspaper) not remain only in French and other languages?” [Pame1_1wẹn_taọng.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).

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

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


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

Gbato has finished a work’.

Gbato has tested the drug one by one’.

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

‘Gbato has helped his wife in some way’.

‘Gbato has helped his wife by all means’.

‘Gbato has helped his wife repeatedly’.

‘Gbato has helped his wife very much’.

5. Summary table

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>D-quantifiers</th>
<th>With mass nouns</th>
<th>With pl. form</th>
<th>A-quantifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>kind of</td>
<td>partitive +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>certain; any; {other}</td>
<td>{other}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baw</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{again}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deba</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals); {self}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{self}</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debawo</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedewo</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>utterly; often; for a long time; in great number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>certain, a</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ever; never (in negative sentences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dododo</td>
<td>rare, few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>occasionally; rarely; one by one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daba</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>a little, some</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dababo</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a little (small intensity); {at least}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbua</td>
<td>all, entire (see Table 1)</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbape</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbaphi</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>entirely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbey</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D-quantifiers</td>
<td>With mass nouns</td>
<td>With pl. form</td>
<td>A-quantifiers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé</td>
<td>many, enough</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>many, much (partitive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>much, often</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé dèdè</td>
<td>too many</td>
<td>too much</td>
<td>too much (partitive)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gbé dèdèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>too much, very much</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>gbëdë</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>major part</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>këë</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>këëwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>always</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>këëdë</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>këëdë</td>
<td>overwhelming majority</td>
<td>the great part of</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>këëdë gbë</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X óó X</td>
<td>any, whatever</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>(nominalization of the verb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y dë</td>
<td>every; any; (all)</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëë</td>
<td>every, (all)</td>
<td>(‘kind of’)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëë dô</td>
<td>a half (of one object or of a group)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>half of (the group)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëë kpû</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëë ñëëdë</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëñ</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëëdë</td>
<td>(small)</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sëëdë bâ</td>
<td>several, few</td>
<td>small quantity of</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>sometimes, often; usually</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà sìà</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà tùñ bâ-dû guû</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòñ̃òñ̃dë</td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>never</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòñ̃bâsìû</td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>a couple, a small number</td>
<td>a small quantity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòñ̃ guû</td>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòñ̃ gbâ guû</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>few, insufficiently</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ziãâwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>all the time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zòò</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations**

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


