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Quantifiers in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa (South Mande)
Valentin Vydrin
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1. Introduction

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

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

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

2. Background information on Dan-Gwɛɛtaa

2.1. Segmental phonology

Dan-Gwɛɛtaa has 12 oral vowels, 9 nasal vowels, and one defective vowel ŋ.

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

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

Consonants

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

2 In Dan-Gwɛɛtaa, mid-closed vowels, /e, y, o/, are realized as more closed allophones, [ɪ, ɣ, ɤ] under extra-high tone, cf. /wɛ/ [wɨ] ‘to speak’ (the lexical form) vs. /wɛ/ [wɛ] ‘to speak’ (the regular form in neutral aspect construction). Among the abovementioned allophones, y seems to be on the way to phonologization: so, the neutral aspect form of the verb sʊdɔ ‘to be afraid’, sʊdɔ is normally pronounced identically to the verb sʊdɔ ‘to get up early in the morning’ (in both lexical and neutral aspect form). However, some informants can hear the difference between the latter forms (probably, under the influence of the neighbouring dialect of Tee, where the contrast in question seems to be phonological).
In a nasal foot, any consonant is nasalized; the nasalization is especially prominent for the phonemes /b, d, y, w, gb/ which are represented in this case by their allophones [m, n, ɲ, ɰ, gm]. Foot-final internal -l- is realized as [-r-] when preceded by dental or palatal consonants, and as [-l-] after labial and velar consonants.

### 2.2. Suprasegmental phonology: tones

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

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

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

### 2.3. Syllabic structures

Allowed in Dan are: V, CV, C₁C₂V. The only consonant admissible in the C₂ position is /l/, it cannot be preceded by \(d, gw, l, v, y\). The main rhythmical unit is metric foot. The types of feet attested in Dan are: V (including \(ŋ\), CV, CVV, CV\(ŋ\), CVVV, CVVV\(ŋ\), CIV, CIVV, ClV\(ŋ\). A foot is characterized by nasal harmony, restrictions on vowel combinations, restrictions on tonal combinations.

### 2.4. Basic syntax

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

#### 2.4.2. Non-verbal sentences are formed with copulae bûn, bâ, dê, dê (identification, negative identification, presentative, equitative) and with PPM (negative identification, locative, qualitative, equiative; on PPM, see 2.9.).

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

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

Presentative sentence, S dê ‘here is S’.

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

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

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

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

### 2.5. Noun

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

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

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

(1) ɓā ɗū
NOM.M POSS child-PL
Gbātō’s children’.

(2) n
1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC house.LOC
‘at my home’.

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

Most of body part names and kinship terms belong to the class of relational nouns, however, there are some important exceptions: dā ‘child’, bẹẹ ‘nephew, niece (sister’s child)’, wū ‘hair (head hair)’, lâyĩ ‘sweat’ are free nouns, while bāi ɗ Child (a synonym of ɗa), kāa ‘body hair’, wẹe ‘urine’ are relational.

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

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

(3) zá yí dọɗọ-ɗu-su-ɗu
liana.sp. water viscous.substance-ADJ-PL
‘bowls of sauce of the liana “zan”’ [e4:20].

(4) bọ-ɗu wọ kì dō ɗu ká, wáá ká dì.
mud-PL 3PL.NJT 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 (yọ ɗu ‘blood’, gbọ ɗu, ‘excrement’, wẹe ‘urine’), -ɗu may also express the meaning of emphatic plural (‘a great quantity of’):

(5) Bẹ ɗu ɗu yí-ɗu wọ slàà.
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 observed when followed by the universal quantifier gbà, it may mean ‘and besides’, ‘on the top of everything’ (6).

(6) Za-ɗu gbà ká ziī.
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) Yáię gbée yí láyĩ gá lóò gbé 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) kó kọ ɗu
1SG.NSBJ hand.CMM 3SG.EXI numb
‘My hand is numb’ [d163:7].

– predicate in a postpositional construction:

(9) gę ɗu 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).

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

All adjectives have a selective form derived by the suffix –sū (homonymous to the gerund suffix and the adjectivizing suffix).

2.7. Determiners, numerals

Determiners is a heterogeneous (by their syntactic behavior) class of semi-auxiliary words which occupy normally rightmost position in a NP. Among determiners, there are articles, focus and contrastive topic markers, quantifiers. On the grammaticalization of demonstrative adverbs to the definite article and demonstrative pronoun/determiner, see 2.10.4.

Cardinal numerals are determiners, they follow the noun. Nouns modified by numerals appear in their single form, and by default, no plural marker is used after the numeral: sū plē ‘two months’. About the context where a numeral is followed by the plural marker, cf. 3.1.1.1.

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

2.8. NP structure

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

(N2 (– Atr – Det)) – N1 (– Atr – Det)

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person, gloss</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Logophoric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existential EXI</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ɨ/ʊ</td>
<td>ɨ/ɪ</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>kò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjoint JNT</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ɨ/ʊ</td>
<td>ɨ/ɪ</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>kò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect PRF</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective PROS</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative IMP</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ʊ/ɓɛ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive SBJV</td>
<td>ɗ</td>
<td>ɨ/ʊ</td>
<td>ɬ/ɬɪ</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive PRES</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperfective NEG.IPFV</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative perfective NEG.PFV</td>
<td>b̄í</td>
<td>b̄í</td>
<td>yí</td>
<td>yí</td>
<td>yí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive PROH</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>bā</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs
2.10.1. Personal pronouns

Table 2. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gweetaa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Refle-xive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ɗ/i/ʊ</td>
<td>ɗ/ø</td>
<td>yī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>bɔŋ</td>
<td>üi/ba</td>
<td>á bɔ̃</td>
<td>ɗ̃ bɔ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomou s</td>
<td>bɔŋ</td>
<td>bǐ/yi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɓąŋ</td>
<td>bī/yi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>ɓąŋ</td>
<td>bī/yi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple co-ordinative</td>
<td>yáά/áä</td>
<td>ká/a</td>
<td>wá/a</td>
<td>wá/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fused co-ordinative</td>
<td>yáά/áä</td>
<td>ká/a</td>
<td>wá/a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ordinative porte-manteau</td>
<td>yéŋ/ýŋ</td>
<td>kéŋ/a</td>
<td>wéŋ/a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(10) Kɔ̃ kúí bá wáŋgá ɗéŋ, bůí dó á wéŋ ɗú.
‘If you loose your money, I won't give other’ [e4:10].

(11) ɗ-dáá báá á yáá gá, wá á dëë dó.
3NBJ–PL.Poss sheep 3SG.PRF die 3PL.PRF 3SG.NBJ new buy
‘Their sheep has died, they have bought a new one’.

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

(12) ɗáŋ dëbɔŋ ɗá wá yáí ká ɗú ká... ɗáŋ ɗáŋ ɗá
1SG-CNTR self 3SG.NBJ matter 3SG.EXI RETR 1SG.NBJ astonish
‘The matter astonished me...’ [Dũ wáy].

2.10.2. Interrogative pronouns are used for special questions: dë ‘who?’, bá ‘what?’, dë ‘how many? how much?’, bë ‘which?’, bë ‘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) ɗáŋ yá üi bá ká kíí tâ?
what REL 2SG.JNT 3SG.NBJ 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: ỹ and yǎ indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. ɗá indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. ɗu 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. ɗíí (the intensive form is titítí) designates a remote object at the limit of visibility or just beyond, it is necessarily accompanied by an indication by hand or by finger.
Ya has undergone grammaticalization into a demonstrative pronoun, and a definite article has evolved from the adverb ba. In both cases, a relativization construction is involved, and the relativisation marker can be always restituted in a slow pronunciation:

(14a)  kó  ɗɛɛ  yá...  /bá  →  (14b)  kó  (ɗɛɛ  yá  /bá

house  REL  3SG.JNT  here  there  →  house  REL  3SG.JNT  this  ART

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

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

2.10.4. Other adverbs
There are two productive derivative suffixes of adverbs, -ɗɛɛ and -wɔ~-ɓɔ.

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

The variants of the other suffix go back to two dummy verbs, wɔ and ɓɔ which are practically always interchangeable in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa. -wɔ-adverbs go back to adjectives and determiners. The mechanism of this derivation is certainly connected to the very frequently used strategy of focalization of verbs through their nominalization: a content verb can be fronted and converted into a morphologically unmarked verbal noun, while the verbal position is occupied by the dummy verb wɔ or ɓɔ (15a, b).

(15a)  Yɛɛ  ɗɛɛ  ɓɛɛɛɛ  gwá  gwá,

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

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

(15b)  Yɛɛ  ɗɛɛ  ɓɛɛɛɛ  nwá  gwá  gwá,

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

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

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

(16)  Gbatɔ  yá  dafɛɛɛɛ  ɗɛɛ  wɔ  yɛɛ

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

pa  dafɛɛɛɛ  gwá

thing  buy\NEUT

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

It is very much in the logic of the Dan-Gwɛɛtaa language that determiners frequently used with nominalized verbs end by merging with the dummy verb which brings forth a subsequent reinterpretation of -wɔ/ɓɔ 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-Gwɛɛtaa:

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

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

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

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

In the second case, only the vowel of the verb is copied, so that it becomes triple: gâ ‘to pull’ → gââa, gââ ‘to wrestle’ → gââ̓ diâ ‘to walk’ → diââ. 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 dâ (with a dialectal variant dû). It follows the focalized NP which is fronted. There are two kinds of fronting: the focalized NP can be brought to the sentence-initial position (see ex. (18), where the focalized NP is co-referent with the DO expressed by a resumptive pronoun), or fronted within its argumental position (see ex. (19), where the focalized NP is followed immediately by the resumptive pronoun in the DO position).

(18) A dâi dâ y OÇ 3SG.NSBJ father FOC 3SG.NSBJ call\JNT 3SG.NSBJ name with  
‘It is his father he addressed by name (once)’ [e16:13].

(19) Ỳ bâggiôd kôôi dâi bû.  
3SG.EXI mango unripe.fruit FOC 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT  
‘It is an unripe mango he has eaten’ [e11:9].

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

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

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

2.13. Relativization

There are two relativization strategies.

1) Correlative strategy: a full-fledged relativized NP, followed by the relative conjunction y, (sometimes kô), appears in the leftmost position in the subordinated clause. The relativized NP is resumed in its own syntactical position in the subordinated clause by a PPM or a non-subject pronoun; it is resumed again, by a PPM or a non-subject pronoun, in the main clause. The relative clause can be put either to the left of the main clause (20), or embedded into the main clause (21); in the latter case we have a typologically rare clause-internal correlative strategy typical of South Mande languages (see in particular Nikitina (2012)). If the relative clause precedes the main clause, the relativized NP can be repeated in the main clause (22), necessarily with a definite article (let us remember that the construction “noun + definite article” is in Dan-Gweetaa also a reduced relative clause): such a repetition produces an emphatic effect.

(20) [Wîû y yî-sû kâ] yû dû  
meat REL.3SG.JNT smell-ADJ with CONS 2SG.JNT come\JNT  
aî kâ dê?  
3SG.NSBJ with Q
‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].

(21) Ỳ bêê nê dê [nê kwâî y y gbũ  
3SG.EXI beg\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ before 1SG.NSBJ theft REL 3SG.NSBJ son  
ê gbũ  
3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ matter\IZF in  
‘He is imploping me about the matter of a theft commited by his son against me’ [e10:1].

(22) [Debã y bûkî kpâ] a dêbã bã  
woman REL. 3SG.JNT rice boil\JNT 1SG.EXI woman ART  
a dô.  
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 ɗ (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 ú wó ɗú.  
human certain 3SG.PRF come 2SG.NSBJ affair in  ‘Someone came after you’.
  b) interrogative context:
(24) Ɓɛ ɓá yà wó d5 dē bũ dō dēè?  
human certain 3SG.PRF affaire know that 2SG.PROS go today  ‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’
  c) conditional:
(25) Ɓũ bá ɗɛ-gā-sōɗ sīlũ d5 ɓé  
2SG.PROS 1ɅG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human ɓá ɓā ɗũ pɤ y̲ y̲.  
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) Ɓũ n y̲ bá yà dē ɓé ɓá yà  
3SG.NEG.IPfv 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that human certain 3SG.PRF ɗũ.  
come  ‘I don’t think that anybody has come’.
  e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:
(27) Ɓɛ bābō yà zōu dē yī k̴ p̴ ɓé  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF deny that 3SG.NEG.IPfv see human ɓá ɓā zīlũ 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 ɗ bũ, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).
(28) Ɓɛ bá y̲ bũ y̲ w̴ ɗ̴ b̴  
human certain REL.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ say\NEUT ɓá y̲ n ɗũ sú.  
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)  
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)  
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG  
tēēbā gbā tā.  
age-mate all on  
‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’, or  

(30b)  
3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG  
tēēbā-dũ tā.  
age-mate-PL on  
‘He runs faster than his age-mates’.

**Numerals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 dō</th>
<th>2 plē ~ pēēdā</th>
<th>3 yāāgā</th>
<th>4 yīnīsī</th>
<th>5 sōōdō</th>
<th>6 sōōdō</th>
<th>7 sōōplē</th>
<th>8 sāāgā</th>
<th>9 sūēsī</th>
<th>10 kōōdō</th>
<th>90 kōōg sūēsī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</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: pā yāāgā ‘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)  
Pōlisīyē-dũ wā kwābē yāāgā-dũ kū.  
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)  
Pōlisīyē bā ṣīādũ wā dēn.  
policemen ART 3SG.NSBJ five 3PL.PRF loose  
‘Among the policemen, five have got lost’.

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

(33)  
Gbātō yā kāā dābā dō.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF hoe a.little buy  
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

(34)  
Gbātō yā kāā/bū sēēdā bā dō.  
NOM.M PRF hoe/rice small other buy
‘Gbato has bought several hoes’/‘Gbato has bought a small quantity of rice’.

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

(35) Gbâtô yə kà dďəbá-dò dô. ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

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

(36) Bîlàá dô wô dô bîëe gô? sheep how many FOC 3PL.JNT save\JNT dry.season PP
‘How many sheep have survived the dry season?’

(37) Klàñj dà bęè dà wô gîzâbë pàsè? formation child which FOC 3PL.JNT examination pass\JNT
‘Which students have passed the exam?’

(38) Yô kâ ɓ-’ wô dô bâ, dô dô
CONS.3SG.JNT do 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT so.REM there child how many
ɓ ’ ɓû gô?
3SG.JNT 2SG.NSBJ PP
‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

(39) Wô dîtôdôsû bęè ɓ-’ dâ ɗà gû yà?
matter clinging which 3SG.JNT go.up\JNT 3SG.NSBJ in here
‘What is the very sticky matter that he is stuck in?’ [e2:16].

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

**Value judgement D-quantifiers**

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

(40) Bë gbë wà dò gbûtû bâ, bë këè dà wô dû.
human many 3PL.PRF go war on human several FOC 3PL.JNT come\JNT
‘Many people have gone to the war, few have come back’.

(41) Yá yâkîbë gbë sû kô wô blàá dëë zu-ɓô.
1PL.EXCL.PRF worker many take that 3PL.SBJV field new bottom-remove
‘We have hired enough workers to launch a new plantation’.

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

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

(43) Yê bë-di dôdô dô,
3SG.EXI human-PL rare know\NEUT
‘He knows certain among the people’.

A value judgment meaning ‘few’ can be also rendered by an expression with a negatively polarized item (NPI) tṛjîbâsù (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) tṛjîbâsù is not allowed.

(44) Ā’
pîpô á báî gbë dô, këè
1SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\JNT but
báî tṛjîbâsù yáá á gô.
machete multitude 3SG.NEG.IPFW 3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple’.

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

yɗ káá tɛ́jó̃sù ɗã́-.’
3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF
‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’.

(45b) ɗã  yɗ dã káá tɛ́jó̃sù ɗã́-’ ëë?
NOM.M 3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF Q
‘Will Jean buy many hoes?’

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

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

(46) Bá kpá ù bá děbá bá dò.
1SG.PRF see 2SG.NSBJ POSS thing-PRF POSS POSS POSS
‘I have seen your wife once’.

(47) Yá sáá yáágbá.
3SG.PRF cane.rat kill three
‘He has killed cane rats thrice (in his life)’ [d85:15].

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

(48) Đá-dù wó gbá-siá gbé kó tàábá.
child-PL 3PL.EXI yell-DUR much house behind
‘Children yell much behind the house’.

(49) ùí bá děó-dù wó pá bò së́ddá.
2SG.NSBJ POSS guest-PL 3PL.EXI thing eat\NEUT little
‘Your guests eat little’.

(50) N gbó blëësù bá n dée sìsìr këë
1SG.NSBJ son first.ADJ 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT often.INT but
bó dã ã pìsì yā n dę dódò.
3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a. little
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’.

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

(51) A bá dũ y ş pũũ dábábó.
3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a. little
‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:
— sìá ~ sìr can express both low frequency (‘sometimes, from time to time’) and high frequency of events (‘often’), cf. (52). In order to remove the ambiguity, one can combine sìá by the adverb dódò, and the combination of both adverbs expresses the meaning ‘from time to time, rarely’, cf. (53);
— sìsìsìá ~ sìsìr ‘often, frequently’ can be regarded as a reduplicated form of sìá. Unlike the latter, sìsìsìá is not ambiguous and refers only to the events of a high frequency, cf. (54);
— dédéwó ‘completely, utterly’ ‘often’ (55), ‘for a long time’ (56) and ‘a lot, in a great number’ (57). This lexeme also has non-quantifying modal meanings ‘very, very much’, ‘seriously’, ‘well’, ‘certainly’, ‘truly, indeed’. It is derived by the adverbial suffix wó from the determinant dédé ‘self’.

(52) A n bę-dũ têm-á-bó sìá.
1SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ human-PL greeting-remov\NEUT sometimes
‘I visit my relatives from time to time/often’.

(53) Ūl gbɛ̃ yɛ̃ yɛ̃ kã ñlää sìä 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) Sà å̃ yî yî tɔ kwâa sìlsìa.
sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often
‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55) Kèë-kà-gèë bã yɛ̃ bɔ̃ dëdë-wó.
threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV
‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

(56) Yɛ̃ dɔ̃ ñ yɔ̃ dëdë-wó yàaadfr.
3SG.EXI put\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ PP true-ADV yesterday
‘Yesterday he waited for me for a long time’ [f9:15].

(57) Kèëë dɔ̃ ñ dàrë-sù kã ɔ y gɔ̃
NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with REFL.SG POSS.LOC
dëfr ɗëdë-wó.
hamlet.LOC true-ADV
‘Kese has set traps a lot in his remote field’ [e18:15].

A syntactically complex A-quantifier sìä tɔf j bã-dũ gù <sometimes-time-certain-PL-in>
expresses the meaning ‘often’ (however, less frequently than gbɛ̃, the latter may designate that events
happen practically without intervals, while sìä tɔf j bã-dũ gù implies intervals).

(58) Bà å dì-dũ wò̃ wò̃ ñ bã sìä tɔf j
1SG.POSS child-PL 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ on sometimes time
bã-dũ gù.
certain-PL in
‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].

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

(59) Bëë yàä tɔf j gù.
human 3SG.NEG.IPfv time in
‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(60) Dã yù yá bã tɔf j gù.
rain 3SG.NEG.PFV rain time in
‘It rained insufficiently’.

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

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

In this section, the semantics and contexts of use of these means will be analysed in more detail.
3.2.1.1. gbɛ̃ 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
pronounized, in which case we have a partitive construction (61a).

(61a) Dɔ5kwâ-dũ ñ yùrë dɔ5 gù sã ä kã
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR

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

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

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

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

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

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 ɓâ (64), the demonstrative determiner yâ (65a), a possessor (66).

During four days, Gbato’s wife burnt the entire tree.

If the NP determined by gbà has no definiteness markers, both CMP and collective readings are possible (65b).

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:

The entire village has burnt.

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: gbà ‘carcass, body’ (69a), bɛ-dò ‘one bunch’ (69b), bɛ ‘fruit’ (70a):  
(69a) Gbàtò yà tò gbà gbà bɔ.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken body all eat  
‘Gbato has eaten the entire chicken’.  
(69b) Gbàtò yà tò bɛ-dò gbà bɔ.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken bunch one all eat  
id.
(70a) Dàdà bɛ yà gbà yà wɔ̀ kàk kàk dò.  
pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred  
dò.  
‘The price of the entire pineapple is 500 francs’.

The wholeness meaning can be emphasized through adding a gerundive expression tò dɔ-sụ, lit. ‘remaining so’ (dɔ ‘so’ is an adverbial; in Dan-Gwetaa the gerundive marker -sụ is normally added to the verb, and when a verb has an adverbial, to the adverbial):  
(70b) Dàdà bɛ yà gbà tò yà gbà yà gbà tò gbà yà gbà tò gbà tò gbà tò.  
pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all remainNMLZ  
dɔ-sụ yà wɔ̀ kàk kàk dò.  
so.REM-GER 3SG.EXI money hundred one  
‘The price of the complete pineapple is 500 francs’.

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

The collective meaning of gbà is realized when the preceding NP has no definiteness marker (with some exceptions, see below). If the NP appears in the subject position, the co-referent auxiliary is necessarily plural (otherwise, the CMP reading is preferable). If the NP designates a set of objects with clearly defined limits, it normally has a plural marker -dù and expresses a definite universal meaning, cf. (71a). If it refers to a set with vague limits, the plural marker is absent (71b), and the indefinite universal meaning is expressed.  
(71a) Dëb-sù gbà wà dù kwàdàkà.  
woman-PL all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC  
‘All the women gathered’ (e.g., all the members of an association).  
(71b) Dëb-sù gbà wà dù kwàdàkà.  
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 (gà gbà wà wàwàwàwà, . . .), 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) Gà-dù gbà wà wàwàwàwà kàpà pà-dà yà.  
male-PL all 3PL.PRF rise still village-father 3SG.PRF  
dà kàpà-dà.  
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) Gà gbà wà wàwàwà.  
male all 3PL.PRF rise  
‘All the men have risen’ (to go to the war).
In the sentence (73), the referent group is “all those who are present at the moment of the accident”. The absence of the plural marker on the subject ɓɛ is indicative of the fact the group is perceived as open⁶.

(73) Yɛ ɓɛ ɓɔ wɔ yà gbɔ bɔ-su ɓā.
    CONS human all 3PL.JNT put-JNT crying pass-GER on
    ‘Then everybody started crying’ [Zuâ sēā].

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 yà dʊ gbà zà.
    leopard 3SG.PRF cow all kill
    ‘A leopard killed all the cows’.
(74b) Gwēe yà dʊ-dʊ gbà zà ‘id’.

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

(75) ɗàɗà yà gbà yɔ ɗìgbà yà gbà yɔ.
    pineapple this 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred one
    ‘The price of all these pineapples is 500 francs’.

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

(76) Kâsô-gû-ɓã-dû bã wɔ kâ dû zìâ yà.
    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 gbà with uncountable nouns**

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

(77) Gbâtô yà yǐ gbâ bû.
    NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all drink
    ‘Gbato has drunk all the water’.
(78) lû bã dã yà sõ gbà dî-kû.
    2SG.NSBJ POSS child 3SG.PRF cloth all dirt-catch
    ‘Your child has dirtied all the clothes’.
(79) Yà bîlû gbà kâ.
    1PL.EXCL.PRF rice all cut
    ‘We have mowed all the rice’.

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

(80) Kâflêe gbâ yâ sêè.
    coffee all 3SG.PRF spoil
    ‘All the coffee has spoilt’.

3.2.1.1.4. **The distributive meaning of gbà**

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

---

⁶ However, it should be mentioned that the use of the word ɓɛ ‘man, human’ without plural marker in combination with gbà is preferable even in the contexts where, according to the general rule, one would expect -dû. 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 yà stems from a demonstrative adverb used in a non-verbal relative clause (see 2.10.3.), and it is necessarily followed by a 3SG nonssubject 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)  Pè-dū gbà wā gè.
     village-PL all 3PL.PRF burn
     ‘All the villages (of the canton) have burnt (one by one)’.

(82a)  Yī gbàɗdū pèɗe gbà guú yè
     1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM all in CONS

yī gō bā.
1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
     ‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’.

(82b)  Yī gbàɗdū pèɗe-dū gbà guú yè
     1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM-PL all in CONS

yī gō bā.
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 (Pè gbà wā gè), we get a collective reading with a reference to an indefinite group with vague limits: ‘villages have burnt all at once, and the group of the villages which have burnt is not predefined’.

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

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

(83)  Dàɗà (bē) gbà sū dōdō kē ú ū gā.
     pineapple fruit all take one-by-one that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ see
     (Here is a pile of pineapples, some are rotten.) ‘Take each pineapple and examine it’.

3.2.1.1.5. **Generic quantification**

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

(84)  Gwàɗà gbà wō bɔ̃ gwē̃ bā.
     cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on
     ‘All cats resemble leopard’.

(85)  Gwàɗà gbà wō bɔ̃ kwā.,
     cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB
     ‘All cats are alike (resemble each other)’.

(86a)  Bǎj̃ gbà wō d55d5bē-dū kā.
     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)  Bǎj̃-dū gbà wō d55d5bē-dū kā.
     Jula-PL all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with
     ‘All Jula are merchants’, two interpretations: (i) all the Jula who are included into a particular group of people are merchants; (ii) all Jula of the world are merchants.

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

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

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

(88)  Dà ỹ yā ỹ dō̃ bē gbà
     child REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT human all

8 Jula is generic name for all ethnic groups in Côte d’Ivoire speaking Manding languages.
tiredness-remove-INF

‘This child will tire anyone’.

(89)  Wū gbà  yรก b ISP-

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

‘Any meat is edible’.

(90)  Bɔ- gbà  yรก b ISP-

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

bɔ  kɔ.

ART  do\JNT

‘Any person can do this job’.

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

(91a)  Débǎ  gbà  yรก sūǝ-sū.  

woman all 3SG.EXI untruth-ADJ

‘Any woman is a liar’.

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

(91b)  Débǎ  gbà  wό  sūǝ-sū.  

woman all 3PL.EXI untruth-ADJ

‘All women are liars’.

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

(92)  D35-a9-bè  gbà  wό  d ś-’  

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

pš-’  uū  bà  d55  yรก  gbèè.

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)  Tōônhà-dù  gbà  wό  wό  kó  wό  guú-mà.  

friend-PL all 3PL.EXI PL.REFL RECP.CMM voice inside-hear\NEUT

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

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

(94)  Yรก  yá  sūǝ  gbà  kà.  

3SG.EXI work sort all do\NEUT

(Contex: Jean horribly needs money.) ‘He catches at any job’.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics of the construction</th>
<th>Form of the NP</th>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
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<tr>
<td>Quantification of definite groups, collective meaning (DEF-quantification)</td>
<td>plural (-dòû)</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<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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<td>Free choice meaning</td>
<td>singular</td>
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<td>Wholeness (CMP-quantification)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Uncountable nouns (masses, liquids) | words | singular | singular
---|---|---|---

3.2.1.2. **pépé ~ pëë** a distributive modifier
Among both variants of the determiner, in my corpus the full one (pépé) is much more frequent than the shorter one.

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

The NP determined by pépé may have or miss the plural marker ṃ, 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 ṃ 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 ṃ, or if it represented by a coordinative construction, the auxiliary is obligatorily plural; otherwise, more complex rules are brought into play.9

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

(95)  Diğer bê pépé sû kère à ṃ gbà.
  pineapple fruit every take that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ look
  ‘Take every pineapple and examine it’ (every pineapple that you find).

(96)  Bâju (-dû) pépé wô ñàðndëbë kà.
  Jula(-PL) every 3PL.EXI merchant c
  ‘Every Jula is a merchant’.

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

(97)  Bâju sé, Gbâggwiiy sé wàâ Sùpibë sé, Gwëttaa wô
  Man land.CMM Biancouma.LOC land.CMM 3SG.and Sipilou land.CMM
  ñ-ñà ñgbà bê yâ sû kà Gwëttaa wô
  3SG.NSBJ-PL POSS writing 3SG.EXI put-GER with Gwëttaa voice
  gû, yâ wô pépé ñà Dàdë ñé gû,
  in CONS voice every REL.3SG.JNT Danane land.CMM in
  ñ-ñà ñgbà dë Blô wô gû.
  3SG.NSBJ-PL property be Blò voice in
  ‘The departments of Man, Biancouma, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwëttaa dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blo dialect’ [Pame1,1w0na.ta0ng.014].

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

(98)  Gbàtò yâ yî pépé bù.
  NOM.M 3SG.EXI water every drink\NEUT
  ‘Gbato drinks any water’.

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

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

---

9 See in detail (Vydrin 2013).
(100) Bά dά gblú yê zjř-siá, yê 1SG.POSS child stomach 3SG.EXI pass-DUR 3SG.EXI
tô yê pâ pépé dâ ɗ. 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 bê-pâ ká. meat every 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF c
‘Any meat is edible’.
(102) Gwáda pépé yê kpšñosû. cat every 3SG.EXI sly
‘Any cat is sly’.
(103) Bê pépé wô gá-bê ká. human every 3PL.EXI death-human\IZF with
‘Any human is mortal’.
The determiner pépé is inherently distributive, it does not appear with collective predicates.
3.2.1.3. **Combination of gbá and pépé: an emphasis**
Both determiners can go together, in any order: gbá pépé or pépé gbá (in natural texts the
sequence gbá pépé seems to be preferable, while pépé gbá is used more rarely and is perceived as
more fanciful). In this combination, pépé loosens its individualization function and becomes an
intensifier of gbá communicating the meaning of completeness: ‘all without exception’, ‘altogether’.
(104) Gbá durée yê gbá pépé bû. NOM.M 3SG.PRFL water all every drink
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’ (nothing is left).
(105) Wê dê gbá gbá 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 gbá in
combination with pépé more often than alone, as in (106).
(106) Sîsîlàbá yê gbá-dû bá sám-dû gbá pépé immediately CONS thing-PL ART REL.3SG.NSBJ-PL all every
‘Immediately, all these things that were found...’ [ Dünya].
The usages of the combination gbá pépé are the same as those of gbá alone; in any case, I have
not found any divergence.
3.2.1.4. **Reduplication with the connective morpheme ṅọ (ndo-reduplication): the free choice
meaning**
3.2.1.4.1. **The structure and the syntax of the ṅọ-reduplication construction**
The noun undergoes a full reduplication, and the connective element ṅọ is inserted between the
reduplicands.
(107) Bê ôô bê ɔ dû, ʘ 1SG.EXI
human any human REL.3SG.JNT come\JNT 1SG.EXI
dô ʘ bá- ʘ .
go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ beat-INF
‘Whoever comes, I’ll beat him/her’.
The sequence of two reduplicands and their connective element should be undoubtedly
interpreted as three words, rather as bound morphemes. An argument against the interpretation of
this sequence as a single word is a possibility to define each reduplicand by an adjective (108a), or
even by two adjectives (108b), or by a determiner (109).
(108a)Gbê ẓ̣ò-bê ôô gbê ẓ̣ò-bê, ʘ sú. dog red any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take

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

(108b) ğbẹ̀ ژbọ̀dẹ̀ sẹ̀ẹ̀dá óó gbẹ̀ ژbọ̀dẹ̀ sẹ̀ẹ̀dá yà ɗú, 3SG.PROS 3SG.NSBJ

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

báá á ká.

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

(109) Zà yíi ɲà bá òò pà bá bá bá bá.

NOM.M 3SG.NEG.PFV thing certain any thing certain eat

‘Jean has eaten nothing (among all the kinds of food which were offered)’ [186:7].

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

(110) Yù dò tò dë óó òò ɗú yù,

3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ go any go REL.NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ doJNT walking in

yù du á bá ká.

3SG.EXI come\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ gift with

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

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

(113) T3 òò tò, sàkpàdá ñù á bá.

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

‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.

(114) Yùù ká kà òò kà ñù.

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

bá, gá wò dà tò.’ bá.

on death affair\IZF FOC remain\JNT-3SG.NSBJ on

‘However may it be, death will come anyway’ [48:6].

It seems that even when formal means of relativization (the relative marker ñù; the 3SG auxiliary
of the conjoint set ñù; 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) Báá pà òò pà bá ñù á gwàdá bá

1SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property
dù.

give\NEUT

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

(115b) Báá pà òò pà ñù á nù á bá bá á gwàdá bá
dù.

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

‘Id.’

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

(116) Dá óó dɔ̄, wǔ dɔ̄ yɛ̀ ǎ kɔ̄.
    ‘Any child likes meat’.

(117) ðwàdá óó ðwàdá wɔ̄ bɔ̄ kwáá̄.
    cat any cat 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB
    ‘All cats are alike’ (litt.: ‘Whatever is a cat, they all resemble each other’).

In the situations where the referent group for the free choice is definite, óó-reduplication is often not accepted. So, when translating into Dan the sentence ‘(Here are my children.) Any (of them) can help you’, my informant first suggested the phrase (118), then indicated that a generic reading of this phrase would be more appropriate.

(118) Bɛ̃ oó ɓɛ̃ dɛ̀ ụ̀ tã-kù-̀.
    human any human go\NEUT 2SG.NSBJ surface-catch-INF
    ‘Anyone (any person in the world) will help you’.

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

(119) Bã gɛ̃-dɔ̄ ɡã. ìlì bɔ̄ mì bã
    1SG.POSS vehicle-PL look 2SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on
    ụ̀ dẽ óó dẽ suù.
    2SG.JNT other any other take\JNT
    ‘Here are my cars. You may take any’.

The cases when the reference group is specific indefinite, are not rare:

(120) Dáglijì oó dáglijì wɔ̄ pɛ̀ wá
    youth any youth 3PL.EXI village.this.in 3PL.EXI.3SG.NSBJ
    prɛ̀ ẉo Yôdè suù.
    to 3PL.LOG.JNT NOM.F take
    ‘Any youth of this village desires to marry Yode’.

(121) Ṇ ɡɔ̄ bìáà ɣṛ̌, dàdã oó dàdã ɣ̣
    1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI
    wàá kàŋ̣ dɔ̀.
    money hundred one
    ‘Here in my farm, any pineapple is for five hundred francs’.

(122) Bã ŋ̣ kà-̀ prɛ̀ kà ŋ̣ bɔ̀?
    what REL 2PL.SBJV-3SG.NSBJ to 2PL.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ eat
    Pá oó p̣ ɣ̣ bɔ̀-p̣ kà, ǎ
    thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT eat-thing\IZF with 3SG.NSBJ
ḍ̀ yí ðẽ.
    give 1PL.EXC.NSBJ before
    ‘What would you like to eat? — Give us any food’ (litt. ‘any thing which is a food, give it to us’).

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

(123) Dá yà ỵ̣ tɔ̄ ỵ̣ ỵ̣ dò̄
    child this 3SG.EXI remain\NEUT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT
    bɛ̃ oó bɛ̃ ɣ̣ dɔ̄ kɔ̄ ỵ̣ ỵ̣
    human any human REL.3SG.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI
dò̄ ǎ sàá-bò̀-̀.
    go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-remove-INF
    ‘If the child would stay here, he would bother anyone who is here’.

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

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

3.2.1.5.2. Syntax

The complex determinant $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon} d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ 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 frontaliizd, and a resumptive pronoun appears in the original syntactic position (124), with the exception of the position of subject where no resumptive pronoun is possible, and the anaphoric function is fulfilled by the auxiliary (125; in this particular example, both $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$-reduplication and $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon} d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$-constructions are used, which is allowed in Dan-Gwetaa).

(124) $W\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}u$, $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon} \ d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$, $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}-d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $w\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$

‘Children will eat any meat’.

(125) $D\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}u$ $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $y\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $w\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$

‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’.

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

(126) $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $y\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$

‘The prefect has punished every family’.

3.2.1.5.3. Semantics

The principal quantifier meanings of the quantifier $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon} d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ 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 $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon} d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ construction necessarily has the distributive meaning (126, 127, 128).

(127) $B\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $y\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$

‘Everyone went home’ [f88:11].

(128) $P\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $y\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ $g\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$

‘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 $\overset{\circ}{\epsilon} d\overset{\circ}{\epsilon}$ 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) Bɛ́ yɛ́ dɔ́ yɛ́ bɔ̀ ɔ́ ɓà
human REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on
yɛ́ yà bà kà.
REL.3SG.JNT work ART do\JNT
‘Anybody can do this job’.

(130) Wùù yɛ́ dɔ́ ɓà ɗɛ́ ɔ́ ɗù
meat REL.3SG.JNT be 1SG.POSS dog 3SG.EXI go\NEUT
â kù-
3SG.NSBJ catch-INF
‘My dog will catch any animal’.

(131) Bɛ́ yɛ́ dɔ́ yɛ́ dà! ɗə́ dà!
human\FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.SBJV REFL.SG self save
‘Run for your life!’ (litt.: “Man who exists, let him save himself”) [e16:7].

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

(133) Wùù dɔ́ wùu yɛ́ dɔ́ yɛ́ bɔ̀-pà kà.
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 yɛ́ dɔ́.
This determinant cannot be used if the elements of the distributive set have no permanent status.
So, the yɛ́ dɔ́ 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 yɛ́ dɔ́.

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 yɛ́ dɔ́, the 3SG.JNT auxiliary yɛ́ can be optionally replaced by 3PL.JNT auxiliary wò (134a).

(134a) Bɛ́ wò/ yɛ́ dɔ́ wà kà wò
human\FOC 3PL.JNT/REL.3SG.JNT be 3PL.P see PL.REFL
kwàà ɓá kà wà gbèh tàà.
RECP.SUB road ramification on
‘All who existed have gathered on the crossroad’.
If we have the variant of the expression with the plural auxiliary (wò), it can be preceded with the determiner gbà (134b).

(134b) Bɛ́ gbà wò dɔ́ wà kà...
human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see
‘Id.’

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

(135) ɓá
2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.POSS market-load this 3SG.NSBJ certain
ɗà-
buy-INF
‘You should buy anything from my goods’.

(136) Bɛ́ bà yɛ́ dò nà dà-
human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.NSBJ put-INF village-father
pèpè-ɗà
at-LOC
‘Let anyone guide me to your elder’.
ɓà has a universal meaning under direct negation (137), where it undergoes competition with the constructions X dò X bà (138), which has an expressive meaning, and yàà dà (139). The latter can be
regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned ‘dá’ construction, however, ‘yáá dá’ is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with ‘bá’.

(137) Wíi’ à dlàà wà bá ká.
3PL.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ teach affair certain with

‘He has not been taught anything’.

(138) Bɛ bá wíi dù.
human any human certain 3PL.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

(139) Bɛ bá yáá dù.
human self REL 3SG.PROS go 3SG.NEG.IPFL 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 ‘bá’ a bound morpheme (a suffix), making one lexeme with the preceding word? For a while, I restrain myself from a final decision on this point.

(140a) Bɛ bá bá wíi dù.
human certain human\INT certain\INT 3SG.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

(140b) Bɛ bá bá bá wíi dù.
human certain human\INT certain\INT human certain 3SG.NEG.PFV come

‘Not even a single person has come’.

3.2.1.7. Universal D-quantifiers semantic map

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

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

Explanation to the map:
The red zone: ‘bá’ The blue zone: ‘gbá’
The green zone: ‘dá’ The yellow zone: ‘pèpè’.

3.2.2. Universal A-Quantifiers

Syntactically simple universal A-quantifiers are:

— kpèlwó ~ kpèlwó ~ kpèlwó (intensive form: kpèkpèlwó, kpèkpèlwó) ‘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 ‘wà ~ bò’ (going back to
two dummy verbs, see for more details 2.10.4), and the initial element may be etymologically identical to the noun kpēē ‘rest, remainder’, however, this etymological link seems to be not perceivable in the synchrony;
— tôŋtôŋdš ‘never’ (the intensive form: tôōōŋtôŋdš) 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 -dš, however, there is no such word as * tôŋtôŋ in Dan-Gwëetaa from which the quantifier could have been derived;
— dô ‘never, (not) yet’ (only about past events), can appear in negative clauses (144), in the context of general question (145a), in a dependent clause when the matrix clause is negative (145b). In negative clauses, tôŋtôŋdš and dô can combine (145c). This adverb, coming back to the numeral dô, can express other adverbial meanings as well: ‘finally’ (an encouragement to act to a hesitating person), ‘directly’ (about a movement), ‘to the end’.

(141) A yã kã kpēēwô, třŋ yáá n gš
1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ PP
kš á yí zá.
that 1SG.SBJV sleeping kill\JNT
‘I work every day. I have no time to sleep’.

(142) Gbâtô yã bã sââ sìu kpēēwô.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI 1SG.POSS soap take\NEUT always
‘Gbato takes my soap every time’.

(143) Bįį dó kpâ’ á bã zú tôŋtôŋdš dâàbâ
1SG.NEG.PFV go see\INF 3SG.NSBJ on more never nevertheless
‘Nevertheless, I will never see it any more’ [d147:3].

(144) Bɛ ɐ bũá a āa pã bê dô...
human REL 2SG.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ POSS thing eat ever
‘Man whose food you have never eaten…’ [d165:13].

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

(145b) Báá a wį dô dê yã dǒdô dũ-gâ dô.
1SG.NEG.IPFV 3SG.NSBJ matter know that 3SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever
‘I don't know if he has ever tested milk’.

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

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

(146a) Gbâtô yáá ɐ gš gu-zū kpēēwô.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REFLSG head inside-wash always
‘It is not always (not every time) that Gbato washes his head’.

(146b) Gbâtô yáá ɐ gš gu-zū tôŋtôŋdš.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REFLSG head inside-wash never
‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) Bľšš yã pã gwaēē kã děđě-wô.
bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV
‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.
Gbààdə̀ ‘entirely’ is an adverb used in the universal meaning with verbs of time duration, such as kà ‘do; spend (time)’ or bà̀ ‘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 -də̀, 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-bà-də̀).  

(148) Yë̀ kà sù dò kà yúá guù gbààdə̀.  
3SG.EXI RETR moon one do\NEUT illness in entirely  
‘He was ill a whole month’.

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

(149) Sàà ðà yè̀ kò̀kò̀ kò̀ ụ̀n̥ gbà guù.  
NOM as\for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in  
‘Siao is at home all the time’ [f91:3].

Besides, òò̊-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) Đù ọ́ ðù ụ́ Gbà̀tò ụ́ wò Bààdə̀  
come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT Man.LOC  
yè̀ sìeṭñ  ðà.  
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 gbédë̀ ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; kpùdë̀ ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. Kpùdë̀ can be supplemented by the universal determiner gbà ‘all’, the expression kpùdë̀ gbà means ‘almost all’. Gbédë̀ is derived by the abstraction suffix -dë̀ from the generalized existential quantifier gbé ‘many’, and kpùdë̀ is derived by the same suffix from the adjective kpù ‘big’. Both these quantifiers are relational nouns. If the NP containing a proportional D-quantifier occupies the subject position, a semantic agreement by number with the PPM is possible (152); its availability seems to be conditioned by the position of the dependent noun in the animacy hierarchy. So, in (152), lèbèlè̀ ‘rebel(s)’ designates humans, while in (153) blàà ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) Dòltìîbì òà bë gbédë̀ dë-kà  
doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf\-do  
sà̀dì kà yà́ yà́ pù́.  
bef\efore even.if 3SG.SBJV fall  
‘The doctor treated the majority of the people before the sunset’.

(152) Lèbèlè̀ kpùdë̀ wò bù bá́ sà̀ bò.  
rebel majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove\NEUT  
‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) Blàà-ðù wò òà gbédë̀ ò  
\sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR  
gà blààë-yì kà, këé à gbà yàà bù.  
die\NEUT dry\-season\-day with but 3SG.NSBJ entire 3SG.NEG.IPVF be  
‘Most of these sheep, but not all, died during the dry season’.

If there is a sentence negation in a clause including gbédë̀, its scope is limited to this quantifier:

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

(155) Gwɛɛ ɣa ɣiɨ blɛɛ-du pɛɛ dọ ɔ.  
leopard 3SG.PRFT 1PL.EXCL.POSS sheep-PL part one kill  
‘The leopard killed a half of our sheep’.

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

(156) Bɛ pɛɛ kpɪɩ-su wɛ bɔ Gbɛtɔ kà,  
human part big-SLA 3PL.PRFT pass NOM.M with  
yɛ ɛ ɛ sɛɛɗa-su wɛ bɔ Zɛ kà.  
CONS human part small-SLA 3PL.PRFT 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-Gwɛɛtaa. siɛ ~ si ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier dọdọ (cf. 3.1.2) can be used for ‘rarely’.

### 3.4. Morphosyntactically complex modifiers

#### 3.4.1. Complex D-modifiers

#### 3.4.1. Cardinal complex D-modifiers

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

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

(157) Wà kwaɓɛ kɔbɔŋ dọ gà dọ sɛŋ kù.  
3PL.PRFT thief ten one bone one only catch  
‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

(158) Yà dʊ pɛɛ yàaŋa gbɛŋ.  
3SG.RF come village.LOC three only  
‘He has come to the village only thrice’ [g6:20].

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

(159) Wùa gblu plɛ wàa wàa kɛŋ yìisì  
money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four  
kpɛɛŋɗɛ dà n gɛ.  
exactly FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP  
(The price of a rice bag is 12000 francs.) ‘I have exactly 12000 francs’.

(160) Bɛ kɔbɔŋ dọ gà yìisì dɛbɛɭɭɭ bɔɔ n dɛɛ.  
human 10 one bone four self search 1SG.NSBJ before  
‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

A floating restrictor zɔɔ ‘exactly’ can either follow a numeral (161a), or the verb (161b), or occupy sentence-penultimate position (161c). In any case, the final position in the sentence is normally occupied by a modal particle wà (expressing unpleasant astonishment, insistence, warning, and sometimes politeness).

(161a) Wò kɔbɔŋ dọ zɔɔ kɛɛ wàa bɔɔ  
3PL.EXI 10 one but.how but 3PL.NEG.IPFV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on  
kɔ wò yà bà a kà wà.

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12 Some people also allow combinations of the restrictor sɛŋ with numerals sɔɔɗu ‘five’, sɔɔdɔ ‘six’ and kɔbɔŋ dọ ‘ten’, others do not accept them.
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do ouch!

(161b) Wọ kɔɔụŋ dọ kẹe wáá bɔɔ zɔɔ á bá kɔ̂ wọ yá bá á ká wá.
(161c) Wọ kɔɔụŋ dọ kẹe wáá bɔɔ zɔɔ á bá kɔ̂ wọ yá bá á ká zɔɔ wá

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

In other contexts, zɔɔ (with the particle wá in the sentence-final position) expresses an unpleasant surprise, or (with the particle wő 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):
— ziŋ ‘pass; exceed’ with the superessive postposition ták ‘on (horizontal surface)’ for the meaning ‘more than’ (162) or, with a sentential negation, ‘maximum’ (163);
— bɔɔ ‘be able; reach’ with the postposition báá ‘on (flat surface)’ in a negative sentence, for the meanings ‘less than’ (164) and ‘approximately, nearly’ (165). If the indirect object of the verb bɔɔ is an alternative construction, the predication expresses the meaning ‘between’ (166). With the sentence negation, this verb expresses a value judgment meaning ‘insufficient’;
— yɔɔ ‘approach’ with the postposition sɔɔ ‘near’, for the meaning ‘almost’ (167);
— bɔɔ, 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) Ɗébá yì dò kò bå ní ɗó
woman REL.3SG.JNT be chicken REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buy\INT

yì mì tò kò bå ní ɗó.
3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on

‘Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.

(163) Táá ziŋ bɛ sàá yáá mì wáá
taxi pass human\IZF salary 3SG.NEG.PFV pass money
gbù kò bå hò gá plè ták.
thousand 10 one REL.SG bone two on

‘A taxi driver gains here maximum 60000 fr.’

(164) Bɛ wó lòó phýsí wíí bɔɔ bɔɔ
canton 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human

kò bå sáá báá yáá yì ɗó.
3PL.EXI POSS.LOC 3PL.EXI fall

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

(165) Ɗú dí bɔɔ dí du kò bå
tree REL.3SG.JNT be.able\INT tree hundred one

kó phème yáá gbó ɗíáá.
hand.3PL.NEG.PFV throw one

‘There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.

(166) Káŋtô dë yì dë å bå
canton the other REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS

pàá dí bí zí yì s55dí å kò bå.
village.3SG.EXI be.able\NEUT five or 10 one on

‘Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.

(167) Bɛ wó phème yáá å kuí wó yìí
canton 3PL.NEG.PFV five or 10 one on

human 3PL.EXI move\NEUT

bí kò bå phème s55.
human 10 two near

‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.

(168) Bɛ wó bɛ pɛɛ dò bå wó
human\FOC 3PL.NEG.PFV human part one remove\INT 3PL.EXI

sáá dí.
paper

‘A half/About a half of the people are literate’.
3.4.1.2. Complex value judgment D-quantifiers
The meaning ‘too much’ is expressed by a combination of determiners gbé dèdè <many self>.
(169) Bá gbé gbé dèdè dà gbú.
2SG.PRF human numerous self go.up vehicle in
‘You have put too many people into the car’.
The meaning ‘too few, not enough’ is expressed by the D-quantifier tɔŋbãsù 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) Kɔ gbâ wî kà gër, këgë kà plè dà
house all 3PL.EXI RETR burn\NEUT but 3SG.NSBJ two FOC
wî gbâ.
3PL.NEG.PFV burn
‘All the houses but two burnt’.
(171) Kàflëdë dë gbé wà bâ, kë Gbâtô
coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M
bâ dòdó dà wî bâ.
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-Gweëtaa.
1) The denominator is marked by the postposition tâ ‘on’ and followed by the numerator. The counted noun is mentioned both with the denominator and the numerator (172). This is a standard word order; it can be modified through regular syntactic transformations, such as topicalization (173).
(172) P̣ẹḍ, bë kọ̀ṇ̃ dò tâ bë yïisë dà
village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC
wô siëtî bû.
3PL.JNT cigarette drink/JNT
‘Four village dwellers out of ten smoke’.
(173) Dôtekô blẹ̈-sû, bë sẹ̈dû tâ yûá kà bë plè kû.
week first-ADJ human five on illness RETR human two catch\NEUT
‘The first week, two out of (every) five people grew ill’.
2) A gerundive construction of the disjoint verb pë-gû ‘to split’, with the denominator in the position of the indirect object (governed by the comitative/transformative postposition kà), while the numerator appears in the next clause as determiner of the noun pë ‘part’ (“by splitting X by denominator, it is numerator-part”), cf. example (174). This construction is descriptive, it is less frequently used than the previous one.
(174) Bẹ̈-dû pë guû-sû ẑ yğ̣ëgë kà, ẑ human-PL split inside-GER REL.3SG.JNT three with 3SG.NSBJ
pë dò wà kwî wô bâ.
part one 3PL.PRF Caucasian voice hear
‘One third of the people understand French’.
The meaning of ‘percent’ is expressed as follows: “from 100 existing object, X objects”.
(175) Bẹ̈ kàṇ̃ dò ẑ dû, bë kọ̀ṇ̃ yậgâ
human hundred one REL.3SG.NSBJ be human 10 three
wô kwî wô bâ.
3PL.EXI Caucasian voice hear\NEUT
‘Thirty percent of the people understand French’.
The meaning ‘a small minority’ is expressed by the expression $\text{ɓɛ\text{-}ɓɛ\text{-}ɗ}$ ‘minority’ (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) $\text{ɓɛ\text{-}ɓɛ\text{-}ɗ}$ yā guò kō-ɗū wō ḍỳ, à $\text{ɓɛ\text{-}ɓɛ\text{-}ɗ}$

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

dū kūrūŋū sɛ-ɗū guū.

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) Bāŋ-dū gbā dū wāå sùuŋ bā.

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

‘Not all Jula observe Ramadan’.

Note that the focalization determinant after gbā is obligatory.

(178) Dā wō dī zîr'-bē plè tā wō dā
gōJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.IPFV gain-INF

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

(179) Klāŋdīr-dā wō dī zîr'-bē plè tā wō dā
gōJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.IPFV enterJNT

ɓē kō̃dū dō w̃’w̃’ wō dī zîr'-bē.
human 10 one under 3SG.EXI goJNT gain-INF

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

(180) Bē wō pl̃s̃ ā k̃p̃idê wā dū
gōJNT village.LOC 3SG.NSBJ majority 3PL.PRF come

kålådå dā tū̃bō kē̃ ā gb̃ w̃’ī̃ dū.
prefect greeting-remove but 3SG.NSBJ all 3PL.NEG.PFV come

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

(181) Pš-bē ziĩ yáā bũ-d̃k̃-sũ ziĩ dō,
village-humanIZF self 3SG.NEG.IPFW wilderness-desire-do-GER path know

kē yē dũ tō d̃’ ŋ̃ zå bā.
that 3SG.SBJV PRSM remain stranger as.for on

‘Not every village dweller knows the way to the sacred forest, let alone a stranger’ (litt. ‘Village dweller himself does not know the path to the sacred forest, may it leave (alone) a stranger’).

(182) Bũ-kā-bē s̃d̃dū tā bē yáā zîr̃ bē
d wilderness-do-humanIZF five on human 3SG.NEG.IPFW pass human

pl̃ tā kē wō dō g̃ zîr̃-d̃’ kā.
two on that 3PL.IPFV knowJNT vehicle pass-MSD with

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

### 3.4.1.6. Partitives

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

(183) Bũ dũ bē yā bā dʒ-gā.

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

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

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

(184) Kwā-bē-dũ wō guǔ bā wā ā gbā kū.

theft-humanIZF-PL 3PL.JNT be.PSTJNT there 3PL.PRF 3SG.NSBJ all catch

‘All these thieves have been captured’.

Here are some examples of more complex partitive constructions.
(185) Blāā-dū  wó  yā  ā  gbédē  kā  gā  blēēyī  kā, sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ majority RETR die\NEUT dry.season with kēē  ā  gbā  yāā  bū. but 3SG.NSBJ entire 3SG.NEG.IPVF 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) Ā  bā  blāā-dū  wó  gā  blēēyī  yā  kā 3SG.NSBJ POSS sheep-PL 3PL.JNT die\INT dry.season day this with wí  bōō  blāā-dū  pē-gū-sū  ė  yāāgā  kā 3PL.NEG.PVF be.able sheep-PL split\NMLZ-in-GER REL. 3SG.JNT three with ā  pē  dō  bā. 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

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

(187) Kpēēŋďũ Gbātő  yā  wó  Bỳă  sűēšiř. exactly NOM.M 3SG.PRF appear Abidjan nine

‘Gbato has been to Abidjan exactly nine times’.

(188) Gbātő  yā  nū  plřś  yāāgā  dēbřśwō. NOM.M 3SG.PRF come village.LOC three exactly

‘Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice’.

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

(189) Kā  pr  kāā  dō  blāā  kā  kā  dābāwō  bē 2PL.PRF say 2PL.PROS go field.LOC 2PL.IMP do a.little human kōōj  dō  ė  gā  s55dū. 10 one REFL.SG bone five

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

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

(190a) Wō  kōōj  dō  kēē  wāā  bōō  ė  bā  3PL.LEXI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPVF be.able 3SG.NSBJ on kē  wō  yā  bā  ė  kā  ziāwō. that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do as.much.as (b) Wō kōōj  dō  kēē  wāā  bōō  ė  bā  ziāwō kē wō  yā  bā  ė  kā. 3SG.PRF malaria find that thing so.REM time 10 one ‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’. 3SG.PRF malaria find almost 10 one
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

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

(194) Gbâtô yâá dû gbâwô pl'ôr. 
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.PFV come almost village.LOC
‘Gbato almost never comes to the village’.

c) In non-numerative contexts, the meaning ‘almost’ can be rendered by the expression 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 zuú-bô-sû/-dê bâ. 
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say work bottom remove-GER/-MSD on
‘Jean has almost began to work’.

(196) Zâ yâ pû rô bô dû kâ-sû kâ. 
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say REFL.GER 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) Gwâdâ yô rô â kâ dê yôro bûkû kâ. 
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) Gbâtô yô dû pl'ôr têuyê kpûdê kâ. 
NOM.M 3SG.EXI come\NEUT village.LOC Sunday majority with
‘Gbato comes to the village almost every Sunday’.

4. Selected topics

4.1. Comparative quantifiers

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

(200) Yôdô yô yâ kâ dêkôpôyô bô. 
NOM.F 3SG.EXI water measure\NEUT two day on
dêkôpôyô sôsû dôgô dô bô. 
day five week one on
‘Gbato measures water twice a day, five days a week’.

(201) Gô-dû gbê wô sîtôu bûû wô zîr kâ 
male-PL numerous 3PL.EXI cigarette drink\NEUT 3PL.JNT pass\JNT with
dêbô-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 ɓɔɗ ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) Klàŋdịr-dà-dù bà pëδ-gà-sòò wò-
        school-child-PL POSS iron-gate-house 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ

ɗì wàà klàŋyìbë-gù bà yì ɓɔɗ.

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-Gwëetaa.

4.2. Type (2) quantifiers

(203a) Gɔ ɗɛ ɗ \ ɗbè ɗɛ ɗ \ 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) Sɛ ɗɛ ɗ \ ɗbè ɗɛ ɗ \ land.CMM that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM food that REL.3SG.JNT

ɗɛ ɗ ɗ yì ɗ kì.

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) Bùkàbë ɗɛ ɗ \ ɗbè wà wùù sùù dòdò zì.

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

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

(205a) Bùkàbë ɗɛ ɗ \ ɗbè wà wùù 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) Dèbà ɗì ɗbè ɗ \ tì dò bà dà bò.

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

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

(205c) Klàŋdịr-dà ɗì ɗbè ɗì sààdë dò bà dà school-child REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV paper one ART FOC

wò pì.

voice say

‘Let every student read the same book’.

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

(206) Bë bëbë ɗì yì bëbë kì?

human which 3SG.JNT work which do\JNT

‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) ɗì bëbë ɗì dèbà bëbë sû?

male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\JNT

‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) Gbàtò wàà Zà wò ɗbè ɗì wò wò

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

kò sàà 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 neighbourhood of each other’).

(209) Gbàtò wàà Zà wò vòtò kì pëbë wëbë 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’).

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’).

Gbato and Jean talked, but no one else talked to anyone else.

Yode and Sayi have quarrelled, but no one else has quarrelled with no one.

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’).

Men are usually taller than women.

Dogs are usually heavier than cats.

4.3. Distributive numerals and binominal each

The judges have tried five cases each (litt. ‘Judges who are there, one person has tried five cases’).

The judges have tried five cases between them.

Let the prisoners be put into different prisons or to different prison cells.

The judges have tried five cases each.

The judges have tried five cases between them.

Men are usually taller than women.

Dogs are usually heavier than cats.
I have sold two guns to each hunter.

Two hunters carry three bags each.

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

The soldiers have boarded the boats two by two.

4.4. Mass quantifiers and noun classifiers

The system of noun classifiers in Dan-Gwetaa is at an early stage of grammaticalization. There are three count words, gă ‘grain, bone, drop’, bë ‘fruit’, dã ‘child’ whose formalization is relatively advanced (although there is still a great deal of lexical limitations in their use), and certain other nouns (kpë ‘ball’, gë ‘dead body, carcass’, bë ‘bunch’) seem to evolve in this direction too. The low degree of grammaticalization manifests itself in the fact that the count words are obligatory with certain nouns only; with some others, they are optional; and a great number of Dan-Gwetaa nouns are combined with numerals without count words. On the other hand, the situation is complicated by the fact that these elements are integrated into a number of compound words (ex., fâágâ ‘comb’, lâágâ ‘moonfish’, sëdëgâ ‘needle’, pëëgâ ‘adze’, yëgâ ‘savanna’, yëñbë ‘rattle’, yûbâdâ ‘cat’, bìûdâ ‘intestinal worm’, sëëdâ ‘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.

Gă ‘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 zëf ‘mosquito’; zëf ‘gravel’, kâà ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, wû ‘hair’, ðê ‘leaves’, sâàdë ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (bìû ‘rope’, dëf ‘rope, wire’, yî ‘river’), gbë ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of gă vary, which seems to be conditioned both semantically and lexically. So, it seems to be obligatory with names of edible caterpillars (221), with nouns of small bodyparts (yì ‘eye’, sô ‘tooth’, nëë ‘tongue’), with bìû ‘rope’ (223), with the word wàà ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

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

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

‘I have bought five ropes’.

‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

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

I have crossed three rivers.

‘I have sold two chicken each to the sous-préfet’.

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

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

Without the classifier gă, the lexeme yî may mean ‘water’ or ‘river’ (or any other water reservoir).
‘I have pulled out five my bodyhair’.

(227) ɓẹ́ tó-ɗɛ́ gá/ọ́ sàọdù dẹ-ká.
1SG.PRF ear-leaf bone five leaf-do
‘I have tried (medically) 5 ears’.

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

Dỳ ‘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 ɓẹ̀ appears if the fishes were rather big, gá is neutral (with some other nouns, this count word indicates a small size), and dỳ implies that the fishes were bought alive\(^\text{15}\).

(228) ɓá yùù gá/bé/dỳ yààgá d̀ó.
1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy
‘I have bought three fishes’.

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

(229) ɓà bò gèè/bùù yààgá dò.
3SG.PRF goat corps/bunch three buy
‘He has bought three entire goat carcasses’.

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

(230) wé védè yààgá
palm.wine glass three
‘three glasses of palm wine’;

(231) kọ́ng bìì yààgá
maize bag three
‘three bags of maize’;

(232) sàà kpáà yààgá
soap ball three
‘three cakes of soap’;

(233) báà dèè yààgá
cassava root three
‘three cassava roots’;

(234) glàà kpáà yààgá
banana bunch three
‘three bunches of banana’;

(235) kàfìléé kídò yààgá
coffee kilogram three
‘three kilogramms of coffee’.

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

(236) yì kòó yà yààgá
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 yì is omitted (yì kòó yààgá), it means that water is necessarily placed in three gourds.

\(^{15}\) -dỳ is also a diminutive suffix, therefore, an alternative reading in this case is ‘three small fishes’.
If used with numerals without count nouns, the mass nouns undergo a semantic shift to the ‘kind of’ meaning: *yí sőɔdù ‘five sorts of water’, yéɛ sőɔdù ‘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-Gwéëtaa.

a. A two-argument construction: (S) AUX X, where S is a subject NP (optional), AUX is an auxiliary of the existential series (see Table 1) for an affirmative (237, 238) sentence and of the negative imperfective series for a negative sentence (239); X is an oblique (a postpositional group, a locative noun, an adverb).

(237) *Bàŋgi*$ r  yɛ  s  dìu  bá.
  papaya.fruit 3SG.E  REFL.SG  tree on
  ‘Papaya fruits are on the papaya tree’ [c62:7] (litt. ‘Papaya fruit is on its tree’).

(238) *Dàa  dìiɛkëdëkë  yɛ  ã  gù.
  knife sharp.ExtINT 3SG.E 3SG.NSBJ  PP
  ‘He has an extremely sharp knife’ [f86:7].

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

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

(240) *Yáá  yɛ  dɛ  dɛ.
  sun.CMM 3SG.E  beNEUT  today
  ‘It is very hot today’ [f57:8] (litt. ‘Sun exists today’).

(241) *... kɛ  ã  dò  dɛ  wɛɛ  bá  yáá  dɛ.*
  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 zɛ ‘exactly’ (see 3.4.1.1) and adverb zìɛɛwò ‘as many as’ (see 3.4.2) can float.

4.7. Bare quantifiers

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

(242) *Å  bá  kò  yɛ  yààgá.
  3SG.NSBJ  POSS  house 3SG.EI  three
  ‘He has three houses’ (litt. ‘his house is three’) [f77:14].

(243) *Bàndë-kà-bë-dëu  wò  yàà-tò-sëü  n  gù  wò  gbé.
  work-do-humanIZF-PL 3PL.JNT  eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ  PP 3PL.EI  numerous
  ‘The workers who are waiting for me are many’.

(244) *Bàndë-kà-bë-dëu  wò  yàà-tò-sëü  n  gù
  work-do-humanIZF-PL 3PL.JNT  eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ  PP
  wàà  tɛŋbásìù.
  3PL.NEG.IPFV  multitude
  ‘The workers who are waiting for me are not many’.

(245) **Dɔɔkwá-dër, yùùřř dźó gù sã, ā**
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI

*kã plè/\gbà/\gbé/bá-dũ/kpũðé d3.**

RETR two/all/many/certain-PL/most buy\NEUT

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

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

(246) **Ɓǎ kǎ-dũ gã. Ā gbá/gbédé/bá-dũ/gbé/dódó**
1SG.POSS hoe-PL see 3SG.NSBJ all/majority/certain-PL/many/rare

wã yë.
3PL.PRF break

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

Bare numerals, in both predicate and argument functions, can be determined by the restrictors **gbéŋ and sëŋ ‘only’**. As for the restrictor **kpéŋdër ‘exactly’**, it can go with a bare numeral in the argument position only, contrary to **źɔ ‘exactly’**, which accompanies bare numerals only in the predicate position.

4.8. Relation between different types of pronouns

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

4.9. Decreasing D-quantifiers

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.

4.10. Distribution

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

4.11. Scope ambiguities

Scope ambiguity contexts are similar to those found in English.

(247) **Dêbà ŋ dër yɔ tǎ dó bò.**
woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV song one remove

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

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

Scope ambiguity in wh-questions:

(248) **Tà bëê ŋ dêbà ŋ dër ŋ**
dance which REL woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.JNT

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

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

(249) **Blũkâbẽ yããgã wã dźú jò dũ gã sũũgũ gã.**
hunter three 3PL.PRF trap 10 one bone five look.at

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

4.12. One to one dependency

(250) **Dũ gã dê ā ā tã ā**
tree bone other 1SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ close\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ

entire.3SG.PRF appear\JNT 3SG.PRF do tree big with

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

4.13. Expression of the meaning ‘only’

Simple translations of ‘only’ are possible only with numerals, by the means of the restrictors **gbéŋ and sëŋ, see 3.4.1.1.** With other NPs, the restricting meaning is expressed by combination of a personal pronoun of a special (“contrastive”) series with the numeral **dõ ‘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 \( \text{[zuase.013]} \).

She has bought only pepper \( \text{[f56:5]} \).

Why does it (newspaper) not remain only in French and other languages? \( \text{[Pamɛ1_wɔn_tɔaŋ.003]} \).

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

Gbato has finished a work’.

Gbato has tested a drug.

Gbato has tested a drug, a little bit’.

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 4. Summary for quantifiers in Dan-Gwéetaa

<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>+</td>
<td>kind of</td>
<td>partition</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| ɓáwó | – | {other} | – | – |
| dëbëké | – | {self} | – | – |
| dëbëkékó | – | – | – | exactly (with numerals) |
| dëdëwó | – | – | – | utterly; often; for a long time; in great number |
| dòdò | rare, few | – | some | occasionally; rarely; one by one |
| dëbá | several | a little, some | – | – |
| dëbëbó | – | – | – | a little (small intensity); {at least} |
| gbà | all, entire (see Table 1) | all | all | – |
| gbà pépé | all (emphatic) | all (emphatic) | all (emphatic) | – |
| gbàdës | – | – | – | entirely |
| gbëj | only (with numerals) | – | – | only (with numerals) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D-quantifiers</th>
<th>With mass nouns</th>
<th>With pl. form</th>
<th>A-quantifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gbé</td>
<td>many, enough</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>many, much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé dèdè</td>
<td>too many</td>
<td>too much</td>
<td>too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé dèdèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbèdè</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>major part</td>
<td>majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>këè</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpeèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpeèdèsè</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpúdè</td>
<td>overwhelming majority</td>
<td>the great part of</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpúdè gbà</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X óò X</td>
<td>any, whatever</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>(nominalization of the verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y øó yóó</td>
<td>every; any; (all)</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pépé</td>
<td>every, (all)</td>
<td>(‘kind of’)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péè dò</td>
<td>a half (of one object)</td>
<td>half of (the group)</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péè kpù</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péè sèèdá</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèn</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèèdá bá</td>
<td>(small)</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>sometimes, often; usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà sìà</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìà tøó bá-dù guù</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tøó tøóndóó (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tøó bāsìù (NPI)</td>
<td>a couple, a small number</td>
<td>a small quantity</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tøó guù (NPI)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>few, insufficiently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tøó gbà guù</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>all the time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zììawò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>as many as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zòò</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations**

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

References