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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 (Yacoubou). Since the 1960s, two language norms are being elaborated in Côte d’Ivoire: Western Dan, based on the Blo dialect, and Eastern Dan, based on the Gwɛɛtaa dialect (sousprefecture of Santa, prefecture of Biancouma, Tonkpi province).

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

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

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

<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>ɨ</td>
<td>ɯ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɤ</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 [ɨ] triggered by morphologically conditioned alternation of tones.² /ɲ/ is a vowel of a limited distribution: it can appear in the feet of the types CVɲ, CVVɲ, ɲ, but not *Cɲ. Nasalization is marked by a lower tilde, in order to leave space above the letter for tonal diacritics.

Consonants

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

² In Dan-Gwɛɛtaa, mid-closed vowels, ɨɛ, ɤ, ɔ, are realized as more closed allophones, [ɨ, ɤ, ɔ] under extra-high tone, cf. /wɛ/ [wɪ] ‘to speak’ (the lexical form) vs. /wɛ/ [wɛ] ‘to speak’ (the regular form in neutral aspect construction). Among the abovementioned allophones, ɨ seems to be on the way to phonologization: so, the neutral aspect form of the verb ɨsɨ [sʊɨ] ‘to be afraid’, ɨsɨ is normally pronounced identically to the verb ɨsɨ ‘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).
### Labial Dental Palatal Velar Velar labialized Labiovelar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless stops</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>kw</th>
<th>kp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gw</td>
<td>gb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced fricatives</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implosives/sonants</td>
<td>ɓ</td>
<td>d’</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral sonant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a nasal foot, any consonant is nasalized; the nasalization is especially prominent for the phonemes /b, d, y, w, gb/ which are represented in this case by their allophones [m, n, n̥, w̥, gm]. Foot-internal -l- is realized as [ɾ-] when preceded by dental or palatal consonants, and as [l-] after labial and velar consonants.

#### 2.2. Suprasegmental phonology: tones

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

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

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

#### 2.3. Syllabic structures

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

The main rhythmical unit is metric foot. The types of feet attested in Dan are: V (including ŋ), CV, CVV, CVŋ, CVVŋ, C1V, C1Vŋ. 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 ɓʊʊ, ɓɑ, ɗɛ, ɗɛ (identification, negative identification, presentative, equative) and with PPM (negative identification, locative, qualitative, equative; on PPM, see 2.9.).

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

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

Presentative sentence, S ɗɛ ‘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 circumstantial 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) bə ~ a:

(1) Gbåtò bǎ dɨ-dù
NOM.M POSS child-PL
‘Gbato’s children’.
Bǎ is most often replaced by gə if the NP appears in the circumstantial function:

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

If the possessed noun is relational, there is no connective word: Gbåtò dɨ ‘Gbato’s father’.
Most of body part names and kinship terms belong to the class of relational nouns, however, there are some important exceptions: dɨ ‘child’, bɛɛ ‘nephew, niece (sister’s child)’, wu ‘hair (head hair)’, lɨyɨ ‘sweat’ are free nouns, while bàɨ ‘child’ (a synonym of dɨ), kà ‘body hair’, wéé ‘urine’ are relational.

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

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

With most names of physiological substances and excretions (yɔɔ ‘blood’, gbó ‘excrement’, wéé ‘urine’), -ɗù may also express the meaning of emphatic plural (‘a great quantity of’):

(5) ḓɛ yɔɔɗ-ɗù wò sità.
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 marked when followed by the universal quantifier gbà, it may mean ‘and besides’, ‘on the top of everything’ (6).

(6) zà-ɗù gbà kà zìì.
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) Yáu yè gbèè yè lāyè gà lòò gbè 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) Ṇ kò kò yè kpà kpà
1SG.NSBJ hand.CMM 3SG.EXI numb
‘My hand is numb’ [d163:7].
– predicate in a postpositional construction:

(9) Ạ gè yè kpà kpà kà.
3SG.NSBJ foot 3SG.EXI bare with
‘He is barefoot’ [d162:13].

In most cases, both predicative uses of adjectives are more or less equivalent, and sometimes, there are some subtle differences. See in more detail (Vydrin 2007, 2010).
For the adjectives, there are semi-regular derivative models for plural and intensive meaning based on reduplication, modification of tones, suffixification and transfixion.

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

Ordinal numbers are adjectives. They are derived by the suffix -ɗǎɑ (sɔɔɗǔ-ɗǎɑ ‘the fifth’). Only ‘first’ has a suppletive form, blɛɛsũ.

### 2.8. NP structure

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

(N$_2$ (– Atr – Det)) – N$_1$ (– Atr – Det)

In a genitive-like construction, the head noun follows the dependent one. Genitive constructions are of two types: (a) unmarked: bāā dǔũ (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 dǔũ ‘cassava plant’. To the class of genitive-like NPs belong the postpositional NP, where the connection between the constituents is marked by a postposition: dǔũ bā gbǐũ (lit. ‘raffia.palm – on – caterpillar’) ‘raffia palm caterpillar’. Possessive NP (dǔũ tǐĩ bā dǎã ‘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 tǐũ <dog black> ‘black dog’. In the attributive constructions, determiners (plural marker, definite article, etc.) normally follow the dependent word: gbē tǐĩ-dǔũ ‘black dogs’, gbē tǐĩ bā ‘the black dog’. Rather atypically of Mande languages, the plural marker can optionally follow the head word (gbē-dǔũ tǐĩ ‘black dogs’) or appear in both positions (gbě-dǔũ tǐĩ-dǔũ ‘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>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 excl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential EXI</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/ũũ</td>
<td>ɲ̃/r̃</td>
<td>ʃ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjoint JNT</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/ûû</td>
<td>ŏ̃/vễ</td>
<td>ʃ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect PRF</td>
<td>bą</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>yà/yà</td>
<td>yà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective PROS</td>
<td>bǎɑ</td>
<td>bǐi</td>
<td>ʃ̃/ṽ</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative IMP</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ŏ̃/ɓɛ̃</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive SBJV</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>i/ũũ</td>
<td>ŏ̃/vễ</td>
<td>ʃ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presumptive PRES</td>
<td>bǎɑ</td>
<td>bǎɑ</td>
<td>yàa</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperfective NEG.IPFV</td>
<td>bǎɑ</td>
<td>bǎɑ</td>
<td>yàa</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative perfective NEG.PFV</td>
<td>bǐi</td>
<td>bǐi</td>
<td>ʃ̃/ṽ</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive PROH</td>
<td>bą</td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs

2.10.1. Personal pronouns

Table 2. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gwéêtaa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Refle-xive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>inclusiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>bɔ̀ ù́ bá</td>
<td>a bá</td>
<td>ṣ bá</td>
<td>ṣ yì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td>bɔ̀ bì yì</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>yì</td>
<td>kò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>bǎŋ bì / yì</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>yì</td>
<td>kò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple co-ordinative</td>
<td>yàá / ká</td>
<td>wàá</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>yàá/kwá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fused co-ordinative</td>
<td>yàá ká</td>
<td>wàá</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>kwá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ordinative porte-manteau</td>
<td>yèŋ / kèŋ / wèŋ</td>
<td>(1&amp;3)+3</td>
<td>kwèŋ/kwèŋ</td>
<td>1&amp;2</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) *K̀ɓá wàágá dèŋ, bìú* ɗó a wèŋ dû;
     ‘If you lose your money, I won’t give other’ [e4:10].

(11) A-dàá bá wàágá dèŋ, dèë dô;
     3NSBJ–PL.POSS sheep 3SG.PRJ die 3PL.PRJ 3SG.NSBJ new buy
     ‘Their sheep has died, they have bought a new one’.
     The 3SG non-subject pronoun ɗá is on the way of grammaticalization as a prepositional definite article (all other determinants in Dan are postpositional) (12).

(12) *Bǎŋ dèb̀bá tò, wà yì ká n ká*;
     1SG-CNTR self 3SG.NSBJ matter 3SG.EXI RETR 1SG.NSBJ astonish
     ‘The matter astonished me...’ [Dù wà].

2.10.2. Interrogative pronouns are used for special questions: dè ‘who?’, bè ‘what?’, dè ‘how many? how much?’, bè ‘which?’, bè ‘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) *Bà tò, wà yì kàŋ tì?*
     2SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ see.JNT road on
     ‘What have you seen on the road?’

2.10.3. Demonstrative pronouns, definite articles and adverbs

There are five demonstrative adverbs differentiated according to different parameters: yì and yà indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. Bá indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. Bù 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. Tìtìdù (the intensive form is tìtídù) 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:

\[(14a) \quad \text{kò} \quad \text{y} \quad \text{ŋà} \quad \text{ŋa} \quad /\text{ŋa} \quad \rightarrow \quad (14b) \quad \text{kò} \quad (\text{y} \quad \text{ŋà} \quad \text{ŋa} \quad /\text{ŋa})
\]

‘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, -ɗɛ 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 -ɗɛ-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).

\[(15a) \quad \text{ɗę} \quad \text{tɛɛdɛ} \quad \text{ɓłu} \quad \text{gwà} \quad \text{gu} \quad \text{in}
\quad \text{3SG.EXI REF.PLA friend push\NEUT stone in}
\quad \text{He pushed his friend to the stones’ [4:13]}
\]

\[(15b) \quad \text{ɗę} \quad \text{tɛɛdɛ} \quad \text{ɓłu} \quad \text{ɗa} \quad \text{ɗa} \quad \text{wɔ} \quad \text{gwà} \quad \text{gu} \quad \text{in}
\quad \text{3SG.EXI REF.PLA friend push FOC 3SG.NSBJ do\JNT stone in}
\quad \text{‘What he did is to push his friend on the stones’ [4:12].}
\]

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

\[(16) \quad \text{Gbató} \quad \text{ŋa} \quad \text{ɗu} \quad \text{pɛɛ} \quad \text{ŋa} \quad \text{wɔ} \quad \text{ŋa}
\quad \text{NOM.M 3SG.PRIS come each REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSGBJ. do\JNT 3SG.EXI}
\]

‘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 -ɗɛ (homonymous to several other suffixes) which also serves a means of phrasal nominalization;
— a gerund, formed with the marker -ɗu following the verbal stem or the postposition closing the verbal phrase (in the latter case, it serves a means of phrasal nominalization, and the verb acquires an extralow tone which serves a nominalization marker, cf. below). The gerund is used as a verbal noun and as a participle (in the attributive construction);
— a supin formed with the suffix -ŋɛ;
— a masdar formed with the suffix -ɗɛ;
— an extralow grammatical tone on the verbal root marking nominalization with the retention of the post-verbal arguments.

2.11.2. Reduplication

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

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

(17b) Gbätô yà bììì-dű́ dű́-dű́. 
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: gắ ‘to pull’ → gắgắ, gắ ‘to wrestle’ → gắgắ gắ ‘to walk’ → gắ. 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 dắ (with a dialectal variant dű́). 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 expresses 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 ɗắ, ɗắ ŋắ ɗắ ɗắ ɗắ ɗắ tắ ƙắ.
3SG.NSBJ father FOC 3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ call\JNT 3SG.NSBJ name with
‘It is his father he addressed by name (once)’ [e16:13].

(19) Yế bą́ggłó ƙpó́, ɗắ ɗắ bŏ́.
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 wó or bó (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: -ɗē is added to adjectives, and the “actual selectivity” suffix –sū is added to nouns or adjectives. In both cases, forms with such suffixes are obligatorily followed by the focalization particle dắ.

2.13. Relativization
There are two relativization strategies.

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

(20) [Wiùù ŋ ɓi-sūù kắ] yế ɣú́ dű́
meat REL.3SG.JNT smell-ADJ with CONS 2SG.JNT come\JNT
ɗắ kắ ɗē?! 3SG.NSBJ with Q
‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].

(21) Yế ɓḗ ɗє́ ɗè́ ŋ ɗè́ l Nevertheless before 1SG.NSBJ thief REL 3SG.NSBJ son
3SG.NSBJ 3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ matters\IZF in
‘He is imploring me about the matter of a theft committed by his son against me’ [e10:1].

(22) [Deɓắ ŋ ɓlūú kpaá] ɗắ dđë́ bắ
woman REL.3SG.JNT rice boil\JNT 1SG.EXI woman ART
ɗắ dđó. 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 ɗũ 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, ɗũ 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 ɔ (to the right of the NP) or ɓ (to the left of the NP), see 2.10.3.

— indefinite determiner ɓa appears in practically all indefinite and negative contexts, in particular:

a) specific unknown:

(23) ɓɛ́ ɓa ɣɑ́ ɗũ ʊ́ ɣ ɬú.

human certain 3SG.PRF come 2SG.NSBJ affair in

‘Someone came after you’.

b) interrogative context:

(24) ɓɛ̀ ɓa ɣɑ wó ɗ⁵ dɛ́ bṹ dó dɛɛ?

human certain 3SG.PRF affaire know that 2SG.PROS go today

‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’

c) conditional:

(25) bṹ bá ɬɛŋ ɬ亲近 ɗṹ ɬɛŋ ɹi ɹᥴ-ɜɹ-ɬ sapi ɬɪɬɪɬ ɗ⁵ ɓɛ̀

2SG.PROS 1SG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human

bá ɓɑ́ ɗə́ pɤ́ ɬɪ yá yá.

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) yá yá de bɛ́ bá yá

3SG.NEG.IPfv 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that human certain 3SG.PRF

ɗǔ.

come

‘I don’t think that anybody has come’.

e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:

(27) Gbɛtɔ́ ɣɑ́ ɗǔ́ ɗɛ́ ɣɨ́ kɛ goodbye bɛ́

NOM.M 3SG.PRF deny that 3SG.NEG.PFV see human

bá ɓɑ́ ɬɪɬɪɬ ɬɪɬ ɗə́

certain on 3SG.NSBJ say 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM

‘Gbato has denied (falsely) he had met anybody on the road’.

f) in the typical context “specific known”, ɓa appears in the expression ɓa ɬ bṹ, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).

(28) ɓɛ́ ɓa ɬ ɬ ɗũ̀ ɬɨ́ bṹ ɣɤ́ ɬɪ yá

human certain REL.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ say\NEUT

yɤɤɬ ɗǔ́ 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 ɓa 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:

\[(29)\]
\[\text{1SG.NSBJ } \text{ gbá } \text{ dáá-dá } \text{ ká.} \]

‘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).

\[(30a)\]
\[\text{3SG.EXI running } \text{ take\NEUT } \text{ 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG} \]

téébá  gbá tā.

‘He runs faster than all his age-mates’, or

\[(30b)\]
\[\text{3SG.EXI running } \text{ take\NEUT } \text{ 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG} \]

téébá-dũ tā.

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 yāagā ‘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):

\[(31)\]
\[\text{pólísiyé-dũ } \text{ wā } \text{ kwábè } \text{ yāagā-dũ } \text{ kú.} \]

‘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.

\[(32)\]
\[\text{pólísiyè } \text{ bā } \text{ a } \text{ sāsũdũ } \text{ wā } \text{ dě̱́.} \]

‘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 dábá <child/diminutive marker-some> (33) and sègedá bá <small-some> (34), the latter includes however a semantic component of evaluation, ‘less than expected’. With uncountable nouns, it expresses the meaning ‘a small quantity of’.

\[(33)\]
\[\text{Gbátō } \text{ yà } \text{ kāá } \text{ dábá } \text{ dò.} \]

‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

\[(34)\]
\[\text{Gbátō } \text{ yà } \text{ kāá }/\text{blũ } \text{ sègedá } \text{ bá } \text{ dò.} \]

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 yāagā ‘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):
Gbato has bought several hoes’. ‘Gbato has bought a small quantity of rice’.

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

(35) ṭé bátó yá káá dáábá-dó. ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

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

(36) Bláá dá dã wó dã blëë gò? sheep how.many FOC 3PL.JNT save\NT dry.season PP ‘How many sheep have survived the dry season?’

(37) Kláá bã bëë dã wó gizáá bëë pâšë? formation child which FOC 3PL.JNT examination pass\JNT ‘Which students have passed the exam?’

(38) Yé kã v-’ wó dë ká dã dè. CONS.3SG.JNT do 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT so.REM there child how.many ‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

(39) Wó džódžó sù bëë v-’ dã a gù yá? 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, dè stops to be a quantifier; it expresses instead the meanings ‘why?’ and ‘how?’.

**Value judgement D-quantifiers**

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

(40) Bëë gbé wá dó gblù bã, bëë këë dã wó dũ. human many 3PL.PRF go war on human several FOC 3PL.JNT come\JNT ‘Many people have gone to the war, few have come back’.

(41) Yá yàkàbëë gbé sù kã wó bláá dëë zu-bó. 1PL.EXCL.PRF worker many take that 3PL.SBJV field new bottom-remove ‘We have hired enough workers to launch a new plantation’.

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

(42) Bëë dódó dã wó dë kwàbë bã dũ-.’ human rare FOC 3PL.JNT go\JNT thief ART know-INF ‘Few are those who know the thief’ [f154:10].

(43) Yé bë-dũ dódó dĩ. 3SG.EXI human-PL rare know\NEUT ‘He knows certains among the people’.

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

(44) A- pié á bá́ yá gbé dĩ, këë. 1SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\JNT but bá́ tè́bëswù ñaá à gò. machete multitude 3SG.NEG.IPFV 3SG.NSBJ PP
‘I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple’.

(45a) Yåá  ṇ yáạ́ dê  Zå
d3SG.NEG.IPfv 1SG.NSBJ eyes.COM that NOM.M

yê  dệ káạ́ tɛ̣ rõbásụ̀ d5-
d3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF

‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’.

(45b) "Zạ̊ yê  dệ káạ́ tɛ̣ rõbásụ̀ d5- ɛẹ̀?"  
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: blûkûbê gbé-dû ‘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) Bạ́  kpạ́ ụ̀  bạ́  dëbạ́  bạ́  dộ.  
1SG.PRF see 2SG.NSBJ POSS woman on one

‘I have seen your wife once’.

(47) Yạ̊  sậ sậ  zạ̊ yậågậ.  
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), sédêdá ‘little’ (49), and dôdô ‘occasionally, from time to time, with intervals’ (50).

(48) Dạ́-dụ̂ wộ gblâ-siạ́ gbé  kọ̀  tàâbạ́.  
child-PL 3PL.EXI yell-DUR much house behind

‘Children yell much behind the house’.

(49) Ûậ  bạ́  dët-dụ̂  wộ  pậ  bẹ̈  sệdêdạ́.  
2SG.NSBJ POSS guest-PL 3PL.EXI thing eat\NEUT little

‘Your guests eat little’.

(50) Ṇ̣  gbé  blêësụ̀  yệ  ṇ̣  dệ  sî́sî́  këẹ̈  
1SG.NSBJ son first.ADJ 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT often.INT but

bẹ̈  dộ̣  ạ̣̃  pệ̣  yệ̣  ṇ̣  dệ  dôdộ. 
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’.

Dáâbwô ~ dákâbá ‘a little’ is derived from the D-quantifier dâbá by the means of the adverbial suffix -wô ~ -bô (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) Ạ̀  bạ́  dụ̂  yệ̣  pûụ̣̂  dâbábộ.  
3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a.little

‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:

— sîậ  ~ sîậ̣ 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 sîâ by the adverb dôdô, and the combination of both adverbs expresses the meaning ‘from time to time, rarely’, cf. (53);

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

— dêdêwô ‘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 wô from the determinant dêdê ‘self’.

(52) Ạ̀  ṇ̣  bẹ̈-dụ̣̂  tùââ-bộ  sîậ.
1SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ human-PL greeting-removelNEUT sometimes
I visit my relatives from time to time/often'.

(53) .Util  gbɨ yə  yə  kā  blâa  siə  dódó.
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)  Sâa  yə yî  tə  kwâa  siâsîa.
sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often
‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55) Kêe-kâ-gêê  bâ  yə  bô  dêdê-wô.
threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV
‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

(56)  Yô  dô  nî  gê  dêdê-wô  yââdfô.
3SG.EXI put\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ PP true-ADV yesterday
‘Yesterday he waited for me for a long time’ [f9:15].

(57) Kêse  yə  dôfô  dôfô-siû  kā  ɗ  gê
NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with REFL.SG POSS.LOC
dôfô  dêdê-wô.
hamlet.LOC true-ADV
‘Kese has set traps a lot in his remote field’ [e18:15].

A syntactically complex A-quantifier siâ  təfô  bâ-dû  guû <sometimes-time-certain-PL-in>
expresses the meaning ‘often’ (however, less frequently than gbê the latter may designate that events
happen practically without intervals, while siá təfô bâ-dû guû implies intervals).

(58)  Bâ  dô-dû  wô  wô  nî  bâ  siâ  təfô
1SG.POSS child-PL 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ on sometimes time
bâ-dû  guû.
certain-PL in
‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].

A syntactically complex NPI quantifier təfô guû <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)  Bê  yâá  təfô  guû.
human 3SG.NEG.IPFW time in
‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(60)  Dâ  yû  bâ  təfô  guû.
rain 3SG.NEG.PFW 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, gbâ which is an “all-
type” modifier, and pépé ~ péê 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 ôô (primarily a free choice meaning), and the
expression xôô (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 bâ.

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

3.2.1.1. gbâ 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
pronounalized, in which case we have a partitive construction (61a).

(61a)  Dôôkwâa-dêô  yûfôô  dôô  guû  sî  ɗ  kā
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR

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

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

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 gbá may have a plural marker dǔ which influences the semantics of quantifier (see below).

When followed by the predicative marker of the perfect series 3SG yá ~ yä or 3PL wá ~ wä, it optionally fuses with them producing the form gbáw.

Gbá 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 bá (64), the demonstrative determiner yá (65a), a possessor (66).

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

If the NP determined by gbá 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 -dǔ, and the auxiliary (co-referent with the subject) is singular:

The entire village has burnt.

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

The prefect has punished all families.

In the example 62 gbá 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: gëë ‘carcass, body’ (69a), bërë dô ‘one bunch’ (69b), bë ‘fruit’ (70a):

(69a) Gbâ tô yâ tô gëë gbà bë.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken body all eat

‘Gbato has eaten the entire chicken’.

(69b) Gbâ tô yâ tô bërë dô gbà bë.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken bunch one all eat

id.

(70a) Dâdâ bë ŋ yâ gbà yâ wàâ kâjì dô.
pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred

dô.

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

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

(70b) Dâdâ bë ŋ yâ gbà tô.
pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSJ all remain

69

dô-sû yâ wàâ kâjì dô.
so.REM-GER 3SG.EXI money hundred one

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

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

The collective meaning of gbà is realized when the preceding NP has no definiteness marker (with some exceptions, see below). If the NP appears in the subject position, the co-referent auxiliary is necessarily plural (otherwise, the CMP reading is preferable). If the NP designates a set of objects with clearly defined limits, it normally has a plural marker -dë 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) Dêbâ-dû gbà wà dû kwà’dës.
woman-PL all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC

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

(71b) Dêbâ gbà wà dû kwà’dës.
woman all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC

‘All women gathered’.

In the former case, the limits of the group are clearcut (all the members of the association are known, and it is easy to establish that nobody is absent), and in the latter case, they are vague (it may be all women of a village, and some “natural” absentees, e.g. sick or too old people, can be easily disregarded).

Thus, if the plural marker of the subject noun in (72a) is omitted (’gô gbà wà whûûû...), the resulting sentence is hardly acceptable, as far as the space of the house where the elder entered defines the limits of the group of the men (“those who are in the house”).

(72a) Gô-dû gbà wà whûûû kê pë-dâ yâ
dâ kë-dës.
male-PL all 3PL.PRF rise still village-father 3SG.PRF
go.up house-LOC

‘All the men rose when the elder entered the house’.

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

(72b) Gô gbà wà whûûû.
male all 3PL.PRF rise

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

(73) ɓɛ gbɛ ɗg wɔ yǝ gbǝ bɔ-suɓ ɓɑ.

CONS human all 3PL.JNT putJNT crying pass-GER on
‘Then everybody started crying’ [Zuɓ sɛɓɛ].

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) Gwɛɛ yǝ ɗu gbǝ ɔɑ.

leopard 3SG.PRF cow all kill
‘A leopard killed all the cows’.

(74b) Gwɛɛ yǝ ɗu-ɗu gbǝ ɔɑ ‘id’.

Inanimate nouns realizing their wholeness meaning with count words (cf. 69, 70) represent a special case. When count words are missing, gbǝ 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) Dǝdǝ ɓɛ yǝ ɗu gbǝ ɗu ɗu yɛ.

pineapple this 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred one
‘The price of all these pineapples is 500 francs’.

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

(76) Kǝsɔɔ-ɡu-ɓɛ-ɗu ɓɑ wɔ kɑ ɗu ɗu zilɑ ɓɑ-

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

‘The prisoners fled away by this road’.

3.2.1.1.3. Quantifier gbǝ with uncountable nouns

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

(77) Gbǝtɔ ɓɛ yǝ yɓ gbǝ ɓu.

NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all drink
‘Gbato has drunk all the water’.

(78) ľl ɓɑ ɗa yǝ sɔ gbǝ dĩ-kú.

2SG.NSBJ POSS child 3SG.PRF cloth all dirt-catch
‘Your child has dirted all the clothes’.

(79) Yǝ ɓlɔɔ gbǝ kɑ.

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) Kǝfiɛɛ gbǝ yǝ sɛɛ.

coffee all 3SG.PRF spoil
‘All the coffee has spoilt’.

3.2.1.1.4. The distributive meaning of gbǝ

Gbǝ 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 ɗu, as in

\(^6\) However, it should be mentioned that the use of the word ɓɛ ‘man, human’ without plural marker in combination with gbǝ is preferable even in the contexts where, according to the general rule, one would expect -ɗu. 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 yǝ stems from a demonstrative adverb used in a non-verbal relative clause (see 2.10.3.), and it is necessarily followed by a 3SG nonsubject resumptive pronoun (it can be elided, but its structural slot is there). Therefore, in the synchrony, this construction can be viewed as sufficiently grammaticalized and non-topical.
(81, 82b), in which case we have a partitive construction, or indefinite (without plural marker, cf. 82a).
(81) Pr-dū gbà wā gź.
     village-PL all 3PL.PRF burn
     ‘All the villages (of the canton) have burnt (one by one)’.

(82a) Yī gbà-dū p-rə-də gbà guú yř
     1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM all in CONS
     yī gō bāà.
     1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT
     ‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’.

(82b) Yī gbà-dū p-rə-d-dū gbà guú yř
     1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM-PL all in CONS
     yī gō bāà.
     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 (Pr gbà wā gź), 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) Dādā (bë) gbā siú dōdō kã úú ā 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**

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

(84) Gwādā gbā wō bō gwēè bā.
     cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on
     ‘All cats resemble leopard’.

(85) Gwādā gbā wō bō kwāā.
     cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB
     ‘All cats are alike (resemble each other)’.

(86a) Bā́y gbā wō d₅₅d₅bē-dū ká.
     Jula all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with
     ‘All Jula are merchants’.

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

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

(87) Wū dō yř dā(-dū) gbā 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. **gbā in the free choice context**

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

(88) Dā yā yř dō bō gbā
     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.
sàà-bồ-

tiredness-remove-INF

‘This child will tire anyone’.

(89) Wúù gbà̀ yèsò̀ pî̒-pà̒ kà.
  meat all 3SG.EXI eat-things\IZF with

‘Any meat is edible’.

(90) Béè gbà̀ yèsò̀ èèè yà gbà̀ à yà
  human all 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on 3SG.JNT work

bà̒ kà.

ART do\JNT

‘Any person can do this job’.

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

(91a) Débbà gbà̀ yèsò̀ sùù-sùù.
  woman all 3SG.EXI untruth-ADJ

‘Any woman is a liar’.

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

(91b) Débbà gbà̀ wò̀ sùù-sùù.
  woman all 3PL.EXI untruth-ADJ

‘All women are liars’.

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

(92) Dàà-đà-ù̒ gbà̀ wò̀ à̀sànà’à̀-‘
  market-buy-human\IZF all 3PL.EXI go\NEUT-3SG.NSBJ

pèsò̀-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) Tôùôdà-dù gbà̀ wò̀ xò̀ kò̀ wò̀ґù-mà̀.
  friend-PL all 3PL.EXI PL.REFL RECP.CMM voice inside-hear\NEUT

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

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

(94) Yèsì yà sùù gbà̀ kà.
  3SG.EXI work sort all do\NEUT

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

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

Table 3. Semantics of the gbà̀-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>
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<td>plural (-dùù)</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<td>Distributive meaning, definite plural</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quantification of indefinite (referent) groups, collective meaning (INDEF-quantification)</td>
<td>singular</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distributive meaning, indefinite group</td>
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<td>singular</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wholeness (CMP-quantification)</td>
<td>singular, definite; count</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Uncountable nouns (masses, liquids)  
| words | singular | singular |

3.2.1.2. **pépé ~ péë** 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 delemma).

The NP determined by pépé may have or miss the plural marker dũ, and when this NP occupies the subject position, the auxiliary may be plural or singular. These factors seem to be independent of the semantics of the construction (unlike the gbà-construction), they are rather determined by general rules of the expression of plural in Dan-Gwëtëa: for the names of human beings, the plural marker dũ 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 dũ, 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) Dàdà bê pépé sù kë ú á gà.
  pineapple fruit every take that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ look
  ‘Take every pineapple and examine it’ (every pineapple that you find).

(96) Bâù(-dũ) pépé wò dɔɔdɔɓê 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) Bâù sê, Gbììëgëjìì sê wàâ Sëprṳ̈kë̤ sê.
  Man land.CMM Biancouma.LOC land.CMM 3SG.and Sipilou land.CMM
  ñ-dũ bâ bê yë yã-sù kâ Gwëtëà wò
  3SG.NSBJ-PL POSS writing 3SG.EXI put-GER with Gwëtëa voice
  guã, yì wò pépé ñ Dàdãìì sê guã,
  in CONS voice every REL.3SG.JNT Danane land.CMM in
  ñ-dũ bâ dû Blò wò guã.
  3SG.NBJSJ-PL property be Blo voice in
  ‘The departments of Man, Biancouma, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwëtëa dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blo dialect’ [Pame1_1wən_taaŋ.014]

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

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

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

In this particular case, noun yì 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) Yì pépé kà.
  3SG.EXI job every do\NEUT
  ‘He catches on any job’.

---

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

The noun undergoes a full reduplication, and the connective element ɗɔ ɗɔ gblũ ɓũ. NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all every drink

Gbato has drunk all the water’ (nothing is left).

‘All the men (without exception) like palm wine’. This “heavy” form tends to erode its intensive meaning, so that some people use gbå in combination with pèpè̤ more often than alone, as in (106).

Immediately CONS thing-PL ART REL.3SG.NSBJ-PL all every

Immediately, all these things that were found...’ [Dùwù].

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

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

The structure and the syntax of the ɗɗ-reduplication construction

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

\[(107) \text{Bè} \ ɗɗ \ bè \ ɗ, \ a \ 3SG.JNT \ \text{come}\ \text{REL.3SG.JNT} \ \text{human} \ 3SG.EXI \text{any} \ \text{human} \ \text{REL.3SG.NSBJ} \ \text{beat-INF} \]

‘Whoever comes, I’ll beat him/her’.

The sequence of two reduplicands and their connective element should be undoubtedly interpreted as three words, rather than 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).

\[ (108a) \text{Gbè} \ zùpèdè \ ɗò \ gbè \ zùpèdè, \ a \ su. \]

\[ (108b) \text{dog} \ \text{red} \ \text{any} \ \text{dog} \ \text{red} \ 3SG.NSBJ \ \text{take} \]
‘Take any red dog’.

(108b) Gaɓe zɔ́ɗɗe sɛɛɗá óò gbɛ zɔ́ɗɗe sɛɛɗá yà dû, 
dog red small any dog red small 3SG.PRF come
bàà à kà. 1SG.PROS 3SG.NSBJ do
‘Whatever small red dog comes, I’m going to chase it away’.

(109) Za yí pà bà óò pà bá bà bà. 
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.PFV thing certain any thing certain eat
‘Jean has eaten nothing (among all the kinds of food which were offered)’ [f186:7].

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

(110) Yí dò tôó dé óò dé sá sá dí. 3SG.EXI know\NEUT gravy other any other REL.3SG.JNT be
á kí-dé kà. 3SG.NSBJ do-MSD with
‘She can cook any gravy’.

(111) Kà bá óò bá yíí gà, kà yíí house certain any certain 3SG.NEG.PFV burn that 3SG.NEG.PFV
kà ñ bá kà. do 1SG.NSBJ one with
‘No house burnt, except for mine’.

It seems that we observe here a lexicalization of dé óò dé and bà óò bà as quantifier expressions. óò-reduplication is possible for verbs, in this case the verb is nominalized and fronted, while its syntactic position is occupied by one of the dummy verbs wò or bò. However, not all the verbs are available for this construction (presumably, the limitation is of a lexical nature).

(112) Do óò dò dé Zà-wí wò tàá guí, go any go REL NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ doJNT walking in
yíí dû ñ sàà kà. 3SG.EXI come\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ gift with
‘Any time Jean goes to a trip, he comes back with a gift for me’.

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

(113) Tà óò dà sàkpàɗà yíí à bà. 
chicken any chicken mangoose 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.

(114) Yíí dû bà gà wò dà táó bà. 
3SG.PROS do way\CMM any way\CMM REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ
bà, gà wò bà dà táó bà. on death affair\IZF FOC remain\JNT-3SG.NSBJ on
‘However may it be, death will come anyway’ [f48:6].

It seems that even when formal means of relativization (the relative marker sá; the 3SG auxiliary of the conjoint set sá; the resumptive personal pronoun) are absent (as in (115a)), we have cases of their omission typical of the allegro style (which is also attested in other constructions, such as focalization phrase, where the relativization mechanism is used). In a more careful pronunciation, these elements reappear (115b).

(115a) Bà pà óò pà bà, ñ gwàɗá bà 
1SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property
dû. give\NEUT
‘Whatever I eat, I give to the cat its part’.

(115b) Bà pà óò pà sá ñ bà ñ bà ñ ñ gwàɗá bà dû. 
1SG.PRF thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ eat 1SG.EXI
gwàɗá ñ dû.
cat property give\NEUT ‘Id.’

3.2.1.4.2. Semantics of the óò-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) ḃá ṵó ṵó, Ṽu Ṽô yër ḋ ã kà.
child any child meat desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT
Any child likes meat.

(117) ḡwàɗá ṵó ḡwàɗá wô ḋô kwàɗá.
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, Ṽô-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) Ḇé ṵó Ḇé ṵé Ṽô tâ-kú-‘.
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) ḃá Ṽó ḃá Ṽá gá, Yô bô bô bô bô 1SG.POSS vehicle-PL look 2SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on ú dé Ṽó dé sù́.
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) ḃáglájá Ṽó ḃáglájá wô péé wâ youth any youth 3PL.EXI village.this.in 3PL.EXI 3SG.NSBJ pîř wô Yôdé sù́.
to 3PL.LOG.JNT NOM.F take
‘Any youth of this village desires to marry Yode’.

(121) N Ṽó Ṽó báάá yër, dàdà dàdà yër yër 1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI
wâá kàή dô.
money hundred one
‘Here in my farm, any pineapple is for five hundred francs’.

(122) ḃá yé kà-’ pîř kà- ā bê? what REL 2PL.SBJV-3SG.NSBJ to 2PL.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ eat
Pá Ṽó Ṽó yé bê-pá kà, ā thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT eat-thing\IZF with 3SG.NSBJ
dô yé dê.
give 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ before
‘What would you like to eat? — Give us any food’ (litt. ‘any thing which is a food, give it to us’).

The Ṽô-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), contrafactorive modality (123).

(123) ḃá yá yá yá tô yër, yër, yër dô child this 3SG.EXI remain\NEUT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT
bê Ṽó Ṽó Ṽó Ṽô Ṽô kô yër yër human any human REL.3SG.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI
dô ā sàά-bô-‘.
go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-remove-INF
‘If the child would stay here, he would bother anyone who is here’.

3.2.1.5. ɗò-construction
3.2.1.5.1. Morphology

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

The verb \( d'o \) displays various stages of grammaticalization in various constructions. When in its
lexical meaning (112), it has vowel \( o \) and by its tonal behaviour it does not differ from other verbs.
In the non-prospective future construction (107) where it appears as an auxiliary verb, a free
variation of the vowel, \( d'o \sim d' \), is attested (the latter form, with delabialization, dominates in neutral
and allegro registers), the grammatical tonal alternation is kept: \( d'o \sim d' \) in the conjoint construction,
and \( d'o \sim d' \) in the neutral aspect construction from which the future construction is derived. As for
the construction \( x \ d' \) (and other constructions where \( d' \) acquires the meaning of being),
grammaticalization advances to the next degree. At the morphological level it leads to the 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, \( d' \) is not a verb any more.

3.2.1.5.2. Syntax

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

(124) \( Wùù, \ x \ d', \ d'a-d'ùù \ wô \ dô \ ài, \)
meet REL.3SG.JNT be child-PL 3PL.EXI go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ

\( d'o \-'. \)
eat-INF

‘Children will eat any meat’.

(125) \( Dùù \ x \ d', \ d-a \ x \ y' \ w' \ dô \ ài, \)
child any child REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI go\NEUT 2SG.NSBJ stand-INF

\( t\ô \ bå \ bå. \)
mountain ART on

‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’.

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

(126) \( Kôbádô \ wô \ wô \ wô \ kôdô \ x \ d', \ ài, \ tå. \)
prefect 3SG.PRF affair lie family REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ on

‘The prefect has punished every family’.

3.2.1.5.3. Semantics

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

3.2.1.5.3.1. Distribution meaning is realized when the determined NP is specific and
referential. In particular, when the verbal predicate appears in the perfect construction, the \( x \ d' \)
construction necessarily has the distributive meaning (126, 127, 128).

(127) \( Bô \ x \ y' \ dô \ ài, \)
human\FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRF go REL.\SG

\( gô \ kôdô \)
POSS.LOC house.LOC

‘Everyone went home’ [188:11].

(128) \( Pôdô \ x \ y' \ ài, \)
village.CMM REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRF burn

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

3.2.1.5.3.2. The free choice meaning of the construction \( x \ d' \) manifests itself in the following
typical contexts (Tatevosov 2002, 147-155): modal probability (124, 125, 129, 130), non-prospective
future (not very distinct from the modal probability meaning, cf. 124, 125, 130), imperative (131),
habitual (132).
(129) Bę́ ɗɛ́ ɗɛ́ yɛ́ bɔ́ɔ Ʉa
human REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on
yɛ́ ɗɛ́ bɔ́ ɗɛ́.
REL.3SG.JNT work ART do\JNT
‘Anybody can do this job’.
(130) Wiǔ́ ɗɛ́ yɛ́ bɔ́ ɗɛ́ gbɛ́ yɛ́ dɛ́
meat REL.3SG.JNT be 1SG.POSS dog 3SG.EXI go\NEUT
ɗɛ́ kù́.
3SG.NSBJ catch-INF
‘My dog will catch any animal’.
(131) Bę́ ɗɛ́ yɛ́ bɔ́ ɗɛ́ gbɛ́ yɛ́ dɛ́
humanFOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.SBJV REL.SG self save
‘Run for your life!’ (litt.: “Man who exists, let him save himself”) [e16:7].
(132) ɗɓ́ɓ́ ɗɛ́ yɛ́ bɔ́ gbɛ́ gbɛ́ yɛ́ dɛ́
food REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
(ɓ́ɓ́ ebe) gbato is not fussy.) ‘He eats any food’.
In the generic context, ɗɛ́ dɛ́ can appear only with a NP represented by the ɗɓ́-repetitive construction, so that the free choice meaning is expressed by both means at the same time (133).
(133) Wiǔ́ dṓ wʊ́ ɗɛ́ yɛ́ bɔ́ pà́ gb. ɗɛ́
meat any meat REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF with
‘Any meat is edible’.
In my data, there are no cases of expression of the contrafactive modality by the means of ɗɛ́ dɛ́.
This determinant cannot be used if the elements of the distributive set have no permanent status. So, the ɗɛ́ dɛ́ construction has been rejected for the translations of the sentences ‘Any buyer will say that your goods are overpriced’ (because ‘buyer’ is a situational status, rather than permanent), and ‘This child will bother anyone’ (because the status of the person watching the child is temporary). This limitation can be explained by the original existential semantics of the expression ɗɛ́ dɛ́.
3.2.1.5.3.3. When expressing the collective meaning, the construction has a different syntax. First, the resumptive pronoun (or the auxiliary, if the NP in question occupies the subject position) is necessarily plural. Second, in the expression ɗɛ́ dɛ́, the 3SG.JNT auxiliary ɗɛ́ can be optionally replaced by 3PL.JNT auxiliary wó (134a).
(134a) Bę́ wʊ́/ɗɛ́ dɛ́ wà́ kpà́ wó
human\FOC 3PL.JNT/REL.3SG.JNT be 3PL.P see PL.REFL
kwàá ɗaá gbɛ́ gbà tàá.
RECP.SUB road ramification on
‘All who existed have gathered on the crossroad’.
If we have the variant of the expression with the plural auxiliary (wó), it can be preceded with the determiner gbà (134b).
(134b) Bę́ gbà wó dɔ́ wà́ kpà l.
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 dɔ́ ‘one’ and the combination dɔ́ bà, but also with the determiners and constructions gbà (3.2.1.1) pépẹ́ (3.2.1.2), Xɗó X (3.2.1.4), s’dɛ́ (3.2.1.5).
(135) lì́ lì́ dɔ́ gbà dɔ́ kẹ́kẹ́ yà́ bà
2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.POSS market-load this 3SG.NSBJ certain
dɔ́-‘.
buy-INF
‘You should buy anything from my goods’.
(136) Bę́ bà yɛ́ dɔ́ n̄ dɔ́- pẹ́ dà
human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.NSBJ put-INF village-father
pẹ́-dà.
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 Xɗó Xɓà (138), which has an expressive meaning, and yàá dɔ́ (139). The latter can be
regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned ɗ-ɗɣ-construction, however, ɗɣ ɗ normally is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with ɓá.

(137) Wíí dláá wó bá ká.
3PL.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ teach affair certain with

‘He has not been taught anything’.

(138) Bγó bγó bγó bá wíí dűú.
human any human certain 3PL.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

(139) Bγó bγó γó γó dő yáá dőó.
human self REL 3SG.PROS go 3SG.NEG.IPfv be

‘There is not a person who would like to leave’ [b188:6].

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

(140a) Bγó bá bγó bá wíí dűú.
human certain human\INT certain\INT 3SG.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

(140b) Bγó bá bγó bá bγó bá wíí dűú.
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 ɓá) based on Sergey Tatevosov’s matrix (with one modification: the distributive meaning has been included into the matrix, contrary to what Tatevosov suggests).

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

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

3.2.2. Universal A-Quantifiers

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

— *töŋtöŋdš ‘never’ (the intensive form: töööŋtöŋdš) 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 *töŋtöŋ in Dan-Gwëttaa from which the quantifier could have been derived;

— dö ‘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, töŋtöŋdš and dö can combine (145c). This adverb, coming back to the numeral dö, 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 yá kā kpëëwō, tɛŋ yáá n gɔ
1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ PP
kɔ́ á yí zá.

that 1SG.SBJV sleeping killJNT

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

(142) Gbåtö yá́ bã šãá sù sù kpëëwō.
NOM.M 3SG.EXI 1SG.POSS soap take\NEUT always

‘Gbato takes my soap every time’.

(143) Bụ jí dö kpǻ a bã zú töŋtöŋdš dãàbã
1SG.NEG.PVF go see-INF 3SG.NSBJ on more never nevertheless

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

(144) Bɛ́ r ú bú́ a bã́ pã́ b̃ dö̀
human REL 2SG.NEG.PVF 3SG.NSBJ POSS thing eat ever

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

(145a) Bá dōdó dɨ-gã dö?
2SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever

‘Have you ever tested milk?’

(145b) Báá a wɔ́ dö dɛ yáá dōdó dɨ-gã dö.
1SG.NEG.PVF 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 dɛ bíí dōdó dɨ-gã
dever eye.COM that 2SG.NEG.PVF milk taste- look.at

töŋtöŋdš dö
never ever

‘I doubt you have ever tested milk’.

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

(146a) Gbåtö yáá ŋ gɔ́ gù-zú kpëëwō.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL.SG head inside-wash always

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

(146b) Gbåtö yáá ŋ gɔ́ gù-zú töŋtöŋdš.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL.SG head inside-wash never

‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) Bliá yá pã gwaëë ká dëdë-wō.
bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV

‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.

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

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

(146a) Gbåtö yáá ŋ gɔ́ gù-zú kpëëwō.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL.SG head inside-wash always

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

(146b) Gbåtö yáá ŋ gɔ́ gù-zú töŋtöŋdš.
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REL.SG head inside-wash never

‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) Bliá yá pã gwaëë ká dëdë-wō.
bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV

‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.
Gbāádē ‘entirely’ is an adverb used in the universal meaning with verbs of time duration, such as kā ‘do; spend (time)’ or bā ‘put; observe (Ramadan)’, cf. (148). Its other (non-quantificational) meaning is ‘truly, absolutely, really’. The adverb is probably derived, with the means of the suffix -dē, from the determiner gbā ‘all, entire’ (a locative postposition may have been also involved, presumably bā ‘on’, so that the original form might have been *gbā-bā-dē).

(148) Yā-kā sū dō kā yūā gu gu gbāádē.
3SG.EXI RETR moon one do NEUT illness in entirely
‘He was ill a whole month’.

Syntactically complex general A-quantifier is tēnik gbā gu ‘all the time’ ((149); probably, yī gbā kā ‘every day’ should be also mentioned here).

(149) Stāō zā yē kōkiko tēnik gbā gu.
NOM as.for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in
‘Siao is at home all the time’ [91:3].

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

(150) Dū āō dū s’gbātō s’wō Bāādē
come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do JNT Man.LOC
yē sitētī dā.
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 gbēdē ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; kpūdē ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. Kpūdē can be supplemented by the universal determiner gbā ‘all’, the expression kpūdē gbā means ‘almost all’. Gbēdē is derived by the abstraction suffix -dē from the generalized existential quantifier gbé ‘many’, and kpūdē is derived by the same suffix from the adjective kpū ‘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), lēbēlē ‘rebel(s)’ designates humans, while in (153) bīlā ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) Dōtēsōōbī yā bē gbēdē dē-kā
doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf- do
sādō kā yāy yē pē.
before even.if 3SG.SBJV fall
‘The doctor treated the majority of the people before the sunset’.

(152) Lēbēlē kpūdē wō bōjī sā bō.
rebel majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove NEUT
‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) Bīlā-dū wō yā à gbēdē-Ø kā
sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR
gā bīlā-yī kā, kēē à gbā yāā bu.
die NEUT dry.season-day with but 3SG.NSBJ entire 3SG.NEG.IPFV be
‘Most of these sheep, but not all, died during the dry season’.

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

(154) Dēbā gbēdē wāā tūrī sūu bā dā.
woman majority 3PL.NEG.IPFV livestock kind certain go.up
‘Few women have any domestic animal’.
The meaning of ‘half of’ is expressed by the non-idiomatic phrase pɛɛ dɔ̃ ~ pɛɛ dɔ̃ <half/part-one> (the noun pɛɛ ~ pɛɛ means ‘a part, a share’, and dɔ means ‘one’). It goes with a countable noun, the latter appears in a plural form, and the construction has a partitive meaning (155).

(155) Ʌwɛɛ yə yũ bláá-du pɛɛ dɔ̃ zə.
leopard 3SG.PRF 1PL.EXCL.Poss sheep-PL part one kill
‘The leopard killed a half of our sheep’.

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

(156) Bɛ pɛɛ kpil-sù wə bɔ Gbɛtɔ ká,
human part big-SLA 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with
yə Ʌɛ pɛɛ sɛdɛ-sù wə bɔ Zá ká.
CONS human part small-SLA 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with
‘A majority of the people has voted for Gbato, and a minority for Jean’.

3.3.2. Proportional A-quantifiers

There seem to be no specialized proportional A-quantifiers in Dan-Gwɛɛtaa. sìr ~ sìl ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier dōdō (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 kwàbɛ kɔðŋ dọ gá dọ sɛŋ kù.
3PL.PRF thief ten one bone one only catch
‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

(158) Yà dù plɛɛ yããgà 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’: kpɛɛŋdə (−də is an adverbial derivative suffix, the element kpɛɛŋ has no synchronic etymologization) (159), dɛbɛʃ <self-bunch> (160), which is otherwise used as a determiner ‘self’, and a floating restrictor zɔɔ.

(159) Wãa gbũ plè wãa wãa kãŋ yũsilɛ money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four

kpɛɛŋdə dã n гã.
exactly FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP
(The price of a rice bag is 12000 francs.) ‘I have exactly 12000 francs’.

(160) Bɛ kɔðŋ dọ gá yũsilɛ dɛbɛʃ bɔ n dɛ.
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) Wɔ kɔðŋ dọ zɔɔ kɛɛ wãá hɔɔ ã bã
3PL.EXI 10 one but.how but 3PL.NEG.IPfv be.able 3SG.NSBJ on
kɔ wɔ yã bã ã kã wã.

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

(161b) Wọ kọ̀bọ́ jọ̀ kẹ̀ ẹ́ wáá bọ́ ọ̀ ẹ́ zóò à bá k̀ r̥ wọ́ yá bá à ká wá.

(161c) Wọ kọ̀bọ́ jọ̀ kẹ̀ ẹ́ wáá bọ́ ọ̀ ẹ́ zóò à bá k̀ r̥ wọ́ yá bá à ká zóò wá

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

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

There are several verbal constructions expressing complex quantifying meanings (for which meanings there are no dedicated D- or A-quantifiers):

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

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

— yé ọ̀ ‘approach’ with the postposition sìì ‘near’, for the meaning ‘almost’ (167);

— ɓọ̀ ọ̀ 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) Dèbà ṣ́ ẹ̀ ló ọ̀ kò́bọ́ jọ̀ tò ẹ̀jó 3SG.JNT be chicken REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buy\INT

yò̀ ẹ́ jìì tò kò́bọ́ jọ̀ tàá.

3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on

‘Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.

(163) Tàsì ẹ́ kò́bọ́ ɗì ọ̀ jàà jàà yáá ẹ́ yàá wáá 3SG.EXI pass human\IZF salary 

gbìì kò́bọ́ jọ̀ dò ẹ̀ jàà gá plè tàá.

thousand 10 one REF.3SG bone 2 two on

‘A taxi driver gains here maximum 60000 fr.’

(164) Bẹ̀ ọ̀ wò lóó plè ẹ́ jàà wíí ọ̀ ẹ́ bọ́ wíí 3PL.JNT arrive\INT village.LOC 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human

kò́bọ́ jọ́ ọ̀ bá sàá lí k’ yà́jí yà́jí p̀jí. 10 one on before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.NSBV fall

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

(165) Dùù jíì bọ́ kò́bọ́ jọ̀ dò ọ̀ jàà 3PL.EXI-3SG.NSBJ POSS.trees 100 one

kò́bọ́ jọ́ lóó yá á gáláá. 3SG.EXI POSS.

hand.CMM two on 3SG.EXI.3SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC field.LOC

‘There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.

(166) Kà njọ́ dì jíì ẹ̀ jíì ọ̀ jàà ọ́ bá 3SG.NSBJ POSS.

canton the other REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS 3SG.EXI.

p̀ ìì jìì ọ̀ jàà bò ọ̀ jàà sìì ìì jìì ẹ̀ kò́bọ́ jọ̀ dò bá. 3SG.EXI POSS.

village.CMM two on 3SG.EXI POSS.trees 5 or 10 one on

‘Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.

(167) Bẹ̀ ọ̀ wò ọ̀ ẹ́ wíí 3SG.NEUT five or 10 one on

human 3PL.JNT village this 3SG.NSBJ in 3PL.EXI move\NEUT

bọ́ ọ̀ ẹ́ kò́bọ́ jọ̀ plè sìì.

human 10 two near

‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.

(168) Bẹ̀ ọ̀ wò bẹ̀ ọ̀ ẹ́ ọ̀ ẹ́ kò́bọ́ jọ̀ wò 3SG.NEUT one move\NEUT

human\FOC 3PL.JNT human part one remove\INT 3PL.EXI

sàá dà ọ̀ ní.

paper know\NEUT

‘A half/About a half of the people are literate’.
3.4.1.2. Complex value judgment D-quantifiers
The meaning ‘too much’ is expressed by a combination of determiners gbɛ dɛdɛ <many self>.

\[(169)\] Bá bɛ gbɛ dɛdɛ dà gù gù.

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 tʃbjbɔsù already discussed in 3.1.1.2.

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

\[(170)\] Ká gbɔ wɔ ká gù, kɛɛfì à plè dà

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

wù gbù.

3PL.NEG.PFV burn

‘All the houses but two burnt’.

\[(171)\] Káfléhù dì gbù wɔ bà, kɛɛ Gùtbɔ
coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M

bà dòdò dà wù bà.
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-Gwentaa.

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

\[(172)\] Pùdù,

village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC

bɛ kòòjì dò tà bɛ yìísìì dà

cigarette drink/JNT

“Four village dwellers out of ten smoke”.

\[(173)\] Dùgù bìrù-sù,bù sìsù tù yùù ká bù plè kù,

week first-ADJ human five on illness RETR human two catch\NEUT

‘The first week, two out of (every) five people grew ill’.

2) A gerundive construction of the disjoint verb pɛ-gù ‘to split’, with the denominator in the position of the indirect object (governed by the comitative/transformative postposition ká), while the numerator appears in the next clause as determiner of the noun pɛ ‘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.

\[(174)\] Bù-yá gù-sù yù, yìágá ká, á

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

pɛ dò wɔ kwí wɔ bà.

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”.

\[(175)\] Bù kàą dò yù, dò, bù kòòjì yìágá

human hundred one REL.3SG.JNT be human 10 three

wù kwí wù bà.

3PL.EXI Caucasian voice hear\NEUT

‘Thirty percent of the people understand French’.
The meaning ‘a small minority’ is expressed by the expression *pɛɛ sɛɛdá* ‘minority’ (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) *Pš yá guú kó-dũ wó dũ, à pɛɛ sɛɛɛɛdá*

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

dũ kúrájũ s'-dũ guú.

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) *Bájú-dũ gbà dú wáá sújũ bá.*

Jula-PL all FOC 3PL.NEG.IPVF Ramadan put
‘Not all Jula observe Ramadan’.

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

(178) *Dá wó dũzíũ bɛ plë tà wó dũ gëyɛ-‘.*

child 3PL.JNT goJNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.EXI go\NEUT gain-INF
‘More than two children will succeed’ (litt. ‘Children (who) will surpass two people, they will win’).

(179) *Klágdïr-dã wó dũzíũ bɛ plë tà wó dũ*

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

bɛ kóbłã dũ w’ũzíũ wó dũ gëyɛ-‘.

human 10 one under 3SG.EXI goJNT gain-INF
‘More than two, but less than ten students will succeed’ (litt. ‘Students (who) will surpass two people, they enter under ten people, they will win’).

(180) *Bɛ wó plũsũ á kpiùdũ wá dũ*

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

káفىdã dũ tûá-bô këé á gbà wíí dũ.

preamin-removal but 3SG.NSBG 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-bɛ́ yáá bùù-dũkã-sùu zjáá dũ, *

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

kũ yũ̀ dũ tó dějũ zã bá.

that 3SG.SBJV PRSM remain stranger as.for on
‘Not every village dweller knows the way to the sacred forest, let alone a stranger’ (litt. ‘Village dweller himself does not know the path to the sacred forest, may it leave (alone) a stranger’).

(182) *Bùù-kã-bɛ́ s’òòdù tã bɛ́ yáá zíũ bɛ́ *

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

plë tà kù̆ wó dũ gɔ́ zíũ-dɛ́ ká.

two on that 3PL.JNT knowJNT vehicle pass-MSD with
‘Not more than two hunters in five can drive’ (litt.: ‘On five hunters, a person does not surpass two people that they might know how to drive a car’).

### 3.4.1.6. Partitives

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

(183) *Bíí dúũ bɛ́ yáá bá dú-gá. *

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

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

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

(184) *Kwá-bɛ́-dũ wó guú bá wá á gbà kú. *

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

‘All these thieves have been captured’.

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

‘Not more than a third of his sheep died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘His sheep (which) died during the dry season, but all of them did not die’).

**3.4.2. Complex A-modifiers**

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

(187) Kpêɛŋˈɖɛ Gbɔtɔ yə wɔ Bîyə sûɛsîɾ. exactly NOM.M 3SG.PRF appear Abidjan nine

‘Gbato has been to Abidjan exactly nine times’.

(188) Gbɔtɔ yə nʊ plɛˈɾɔ yəɡa dɛbɛˈɾɔwɔ. NOM.M 3SG.PRF come village.LOC three exactly

‘Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice’.

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

(189) Ká pɛ káa dɔ bɛˈɖɔ ká ká dɛbɛˈɾɔbɔ bɛ 2PL.PRF say 2PL.PROS go field.LOC 2PL.IMP do a.little human

kɔdɔ dɔ ɗɛ ɓɔ ɔ sɔɔɗi. 10 one REFL.SG bone five

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

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

(190a) Wɔ kɔdɔ dɔ kɛɛ wáá bɔɔ ɗə bə 3PL.EXTI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.PIHV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on

kɔ wɔ yə ɓɔ ɗə ká zîɛˈawɔ. that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do as.much.as

(b) Wɔ kɔdɔ dɔ kɛɛ wáá bɔɔ ɗə bə zîɛˈawɔ kɔ wɔ yə ɓɔ ɗə ká.

(c) Wɔ kɔdɔ dɔ kɛɛ wáá bɔɔ zîɛˈawɔ ɗə kɔ wɔ yə ɓɔ ɗə ká.

(d) Wɔ kɔdɔ dɔ zîɛˈawɔ kɛɛ bɔɔ ɗə bə kɔ wɔ yə ɓɔ ɗə ká.

‘They are as many as ten, but they cannot do this job’ (although even 5 persons normally should be able to do it) [d80:14].

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

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

(191) Gbɔtɔ yə goj ɓɔ ɗə pə dɛ (kɔtɔ) kɔdɔ dɔ. NOM.M 3SG.PRF malaria find that thing so.REM time 10 one

‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

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

(192) Gbɔtɔ yə goj ɓɔ ɗə gbawɔ kɔdɔ dɔ. NOM.M 3SG.PRF malaria find almost 10 one
‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

(193) Yà wọ à bà gbàwọ.  
3SG.PRF speak 3SG.NSBJ on almost  
‘He has almost accepted it’.

(194) Gbåtò yáá dũ gbàwọ p/mm.  
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 p/V-GER/V-MSD bà, where p/V is an auxiliary verb (the original meaning is ‘to say’), bà is a postposition governed by the auxiliary verb; the content verb appears in its masdar or gerundive form (195). The verb p/V in this meaning can also introduce a bare infinitive form of the content verb, as in (196), where p/V introduces the bare infinitive bò ‘to finish’ (which, in its turn, introduces a gerundive form of the verb kà ‘to cut’).  

(195) Zà yà p/v yà zùù- bó-sù/-dê bà.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say work bottom remove-GER/-MSD on  
‘Jean has almost began to work’.

(196) Zà yà p/v s bò dũ kà-sù ká.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF say REFL.SG finish tree cut-GER with  
‘Jean has almost finished cutting the tree’.

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

(197) Gwädë yë kà dê yë ré bô bô bû kû.  
cat 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do/NEUT that 3SG.PROS mouse catch  
‘The cat has almost caught the mouse’.

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

(198) Gbåtò yë dû p/mm têñyê kpûdë ká.  
NOM.M 3SG.EXI come/NEUT village.LOC Sunday majority with  
‘Gbato comes to the village almost every Sunday’.

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

Examples for the bounding quantifiers have been translated as follows:

(199) Gbåtò yë yï dã plè dëkpóuyi bà,  
NOM.M 3SG.EXI water measure/NEUT two day on  
dëkpóuyi s35dû d55gò dò bà.  
day five week one on  
‘Gbato measures water twice a day, five days a week’.

(200) Yëdë yë kà dëkpóuyi s55dû d55gò dò gù,  
NOM.F 3SG.EXI work do/NEUT day five week one in  
d55gò kôbô yïsïsï s bô s55dû kwè bà, s ñ bô  
week 10 four REFL.SG bone five year on 3SG.JNT appear/NEUT  
à kà dê kwè kôbô dô s gà s55dû ká.  
3SG.NSBJ with so.REM year 10 one REFL.SG bone five with  
‘Yode works five days a week, 45 weeks a year for 15 years’.

4. Selected topics

4.1. Comparative quantifiers

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

(201) Gj-dû gbë wò stëtë bû wó zìs kà  
male-PL numerous 3PL.EXI cigarette drink/NEUT 3PL.JNT pass/JNT with  
dëbë-dû tå.  
woman-PL on  
‘More men than women smoke’.
The meaning ‘as many as’ is expressed by a clausal intransitive construction with the verb ɓɔ ɗɛ ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) Klàŋɗɗiŋ-ɗů-ɗṹ bā pãɁ-ga-sõò wó-’ kwà̀ɔ̀ ɗ a
school-child-PL POSS iron-bone-horse 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ
dí wáá klàŋɡõɓe-ɗṹ bā yɛ́ ɓɔ ɗêj.
mouth 3SG.and teacher-PL the.same 3SG.EXI search\NEUT
‘Just as many students as teachers’ bicycles were stolen’ (litt.: “students’ bicycle that one stole, its number and that of the teachers’ is in agreement”).

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

4.2. Type (2) quantifiers

(203a) Gɔ́ dɛ́ ɗ́ ý dɔ́, dëɓạ̃ dɛ́ ɗ́ dọ ɗ̣ male that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM woman that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM
á dɔ́ yɛ́ ɗ kɔ̀.
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) Sɛ́ dɛ́ ɗ́ ý dɔ́, pãɓé dɛ́ ɗ́ ý
land.CMM that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM food that REL.3SG.JNT
dò́ ạ dɔ́ yɛ́ ɗkɔ̀.
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) Bùƙáɗẹ dɛ́ ɗ́ wã wù wù ɗù ɗó Ɗ̀
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) Bùƙáɗẹ dɛ́ ɗ́ wã wù wù ɗù ɗó Ɗ̀
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) Dëɓã ɗ́ ɗ̣ yɛ́ rã́ tạ̃ dó bã dã bô.
woman LOG.SG.SBJV so.REM 3SG.PROS dance one ART FOC remove
‘Each woman is going to sing the same song’.

(205c) Klàŋɗɗiŋ-ɗà́ ɗ́ sáɗdë́ dọ bã dã
school-child REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV paper one ART FOC
wô pʃ́.
voice say
‘Let every student read the same book’.

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

(206) Bɛ́ bɛg̣ yã́ bɛg̣ kɔ̀?
human which 3SG.JNT work which do\JNT
‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) Gɔ́ bɛg̣ dɛ́ ɗ̣ bã sãù?
male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\JNT
‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) Gbãtɔ wáá Zã wó pɗé wó wó
NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI village.CMM 3PL.JNT PL.REFL
kɔ̀ sɛ́n guû.
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) Gbãtɔ wáá Zã wó vɔtòe kɔ̀ pɛ́ wɛ́ plɛ́ kã.
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 quarelled, but no one else has quarelled 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.

Men are usually taller than women.

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

(218) Blëukáɓé plè, bɛ̃ gbà wà blò yàãgã-yàãgã sù. hunter two human all 3PL.PRF bag three-three take
‘Two hunters carry three bags each’.

(219) Blááɓé-dû, bɛ̃ gbà wà dû tɔ plè-plè kà peasant-PL human all 3PL.PRF come chicken two-two with
kaɓáɗá seɗá dè.

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

(220) Sôdá-dû wà dà plè-plè yîtãgô-dû gù. soldier-PL 3PL.PRF go.up two-two water-on-vehicle\IZF-PL in
‘The soldiers have boarded the boats two by two’.

4.4. Mass quantifiers and noun classifiers

The system of noun classifiers in Dan-Gwéëtaa is at an early stage of grammaticalization. There are three count words, gá ‘grain, bone, drop’, bë ‘fruit’, dà ‘child’ whose formalization is relatively advanced (although there is still a great deal of lexical limitations in their use), and certain other nouns (kpó ‘ball’, géé ‘dead body, carcass’, bô ‘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-Gwéëtaa 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., fàãgà ‘comb’, lààgà ‘moonfish’, sëɗàgà ‘needle’, pëëgà ‘adze’, yëgà ‘savanna’, yôgbë ‘rattle’, yûbàɗà ‘cat’, biûɗà ‘intestinal worm’, slàɗà ‘cicada’, etc.), and it is sometimes difficult to decide where we have a count word, and where it is a component of a compound noun.

gá ‘grain, bone’ is by far the most productive (and the most grammaticalized) count word13. It appears with many collective nouns (names of insects, such as zëj ‘mosquito’; zëñ ‘gravel’, kàà ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, wù ‘hair’, dë ‘leaves’, sàɗé ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (bià ‘rope’, dɔ ‘rope, wire’, yì ‘river’14, gbòñ ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of gá vary, which seems to be conditioned both semantically and lexically. So, it seems to be obligatory with names of edible caterpillars (221), with nouns of small bodyparts (yà ‘eye’, sù ‘tooth’, nè ‘tongue’ (222)), with bià ‘rope’ (223), with the word wà ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

(221) Yɔ yà kpà zòô/gòjì gá/*/s jàɗù bà. NOM.MF 3SG.PRF see caterpillar1/caterpillar2 bone five on
‘Yo has found five brown hairy/big black edible caterpillars’.

(222) Bà yà/sì/dë jì gá/*/s jàɗù dè-kà. 1SG.PRF eye/tooth/tongue bone five leaf-do
‘I have tried (medically) 5 eyes/teeth/tongues’.

(223) Bà bià gá/*/s jàɗù dò. 1SG.PRF rope bone five buy
‘I have bought five ropes’.

(224) Bà wà gá/*/s jàãgà dù à dè. 1SG.PRF 5.francs bone three give 3SG.NSBJ before
‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

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

(225) Bà yì gá/*/yàãgà kà. 1SG.PRF water bone three cut
‘I have crossed three rivers’.

(226) Bà ní kàà gá/*/s jàɗù wà. 1SG.PRF 1SG.NSBJ hair bone five extract

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

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

(227) **Bā  tō-dē  gā/ø  sōdū  dē-kā.**
1SG.PRF ear-leaf bone five leaf-do
‘I have tried (medically) 5 ears’.

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

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

(228) **Bā  yūsē ṣā̱ /bē /dżā  yāāgā  dō.**
1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy
‘I have bought three fishes’.

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

(229) **Yā  bō  gēè /bōsē  yāāgā  dō.**
3SG.PRF goat corps/bunch three buy
‘He has bought three entire goat carcasses’.

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

(230) **wē  vēdē̱  yāāgā**
  palm.wine glass three
  ‘three glasses of palm wine’,

(231) **kṣē̱  bōā  yāāgā**
  maize bag three
  ‘three bags of maize’,

(232) **sāā  kpē  yāāgā**
  soap ball three
  ‘three cakes of soap’,

(233) **bāā  dēè  yāāgā**
  cassava root three
  ‘three cassava roots’,

(234) **gōō  kpāā  yāāgā**
  banana bunch three
  ‘three bunches of banana’,

(235) **kāłēè  kūdō  yāāgā**
  coffee kilogram three
  ‘three kilograms of coffee’.

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

(236) **yā  kōō  yā  yāāgā**
  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 yā is omitted (yā kōō yāāgā), it means that water is necessarily placed in three gourds.

\(^{15}\) -dżā 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: ɗɛɗɔ ɗɛɗu ‘five sorts of water’, ɓɛɓɛ ɗɛɗu ‘five sorts of sand’ (see 2.6.3 for the same semantic shift with the plural marker).

Possibilities of combination of D-quantifies with mass nouns are reflected in the Table 4. For the use of noun classifiers with the universal quantifier expressing the CMP-quantification, see 3.2.1.1.3.

4.5. Existential constructions

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

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

(237) Bâŋgɨḷ̣̣ ɗṛ̣̣ ỵ̣̣ ṣ̣̣ ḍ̣̣ ḅ̣̣. papaya.fruit 3SG.EXI REFL.SG tree on

‘Papaya fruits are on the papaya tree’ [c62:7] (litt. ‘Papaya fruit is on its tree’).

(238) Dâŋ ɗṛ̣̣ḳ̣̣ṛ̣̣ḳ̣̣ ỵ̣̣ ḍ̣̣ g̣̣̣. knife sharp.ExtINT 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ PP

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

(239) A ɗ ṣ̣̣ ỵ̣̣ ḍ̣̣ ṇ̣̣ ḍ̣̣. 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 ḍ̣̣: where ḍ̣̣ is a defective verb.

(240) Yâŋ ỵ̣̣ ḍ̣̣ ḍ̣̣. sun.CMM 3SG.EXI beNEUT today

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

(241) ... ḳ̣̣ ɗ ḍ̣̣ ẉ̣̣ ḅ̣̣ ỵ̣̣ ḍ̣̣. 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 imperative 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 ɗɔ ‘exactly’ (see 3.4.1.1) and adverb ɓɛɓɛwɔ ‘as many as’ (see 3.4.2) can float.

4.7. Bare quantifiers

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

(242) A bɔ ɗ gɔ ɗ ỵ̣̣ ḍ̣̣g̣̣̣. 3SG.NSBJ POSS house 3SG.EXI three

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

(243) Bâŋbɔ-ɓɛ-ɗu wɔ ỵ̣̣-tɔ-si ḍ̣̣ ɗ gbɛ. work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP 3PL.EXI numerous

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

(244) Bâŋbɔ-ɓɛ-ɗu wɔ ỵ̣̣-tɔ-si ḍ̣̣ ɗ gbɛ. work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP

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

(245) Dɔɔkwɔl-dɔ, yʊsɛ dɔ ɡʊ sɔ Ɂ. market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI
kɪ plɛ/ɡbɛ/gbɛ/ɡa-dʊ/ɡbɛ/dɔd. 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) Bɑ kɑ-dʊ ɡa. A gbɛ/gbɛdɛ/ɡa-dʊ/gbɛ/dɔdɔ 1SG.POSS hoe-PL see 3SG.NSBJ all/majority\certain-PL\many\rare
wɑ yɛ. 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 gbɛŋ and sɛŋ ‘only’. As for the restrictor kpɛɛŋdɛ ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the argument position only, contrary to ɔɛ ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the predicate position.

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

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

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) Dɛbɛ Ɂ ɗɛ yɛ ṭɛ dɔ ɓo. 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) Tɛ bɛɛ Ɂ dɛbɛ Ɂ dɛ Ɂ ɗɛ dance which REL woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.JNT
ā ɓo? 3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT
‘Which song did each woman sing?’ OWS: for each woman, identify her song; SWS: identify the unique song performed by all the women.
However, in the context ‘N hunters have checked N1 traps’ (249), no scope ambiguities have been found.
(249) Błuksɛ Ɂ ɡa wā ɗʊŋ kʊʊŋ dɔ ɡa s55dʊ ɡa. 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) Dʊ ɡa dɛ ā ā ṭɛ ā tree bone other 1SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ close\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ
ɡbɛɛ Ɂ ɓɔ Ɂ ɡa kɪ dʊ kpɛ kɪ. 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 gbɛŋ and sɛŋ, 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 dɔ ‘one’, usually followed by a definite article (251), a focalizer (252, in a contrastive context), or a restrictor (253).
(251) Yœœ ḍọ bā yœ gû tọ plè ziŋgû.
3SG.CNTR one ART 3SG.EXI be.PSTNEUT mountain two between
‘It (the way) was the only one between two mountains’ [zuase.013].

(252) Slâ̂ yœœ  ḍọ dā ‘s’ ḍī
dā ḍī pepper 3SG.CNTR one FOC 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buyJNT
‘She has bought only pepper’ [f56:5].

(253) Bâ’ s’ kâ  yœ yâá tō kwî
what 3SG.JNT doJNT CONS 3SG.NEG.IPFV remain Caucasian
wō wââ wō wē-dû wôô ḍō sêň bâ?
voice 3SG.and voice other-PL 3PL.CNTR one only on
‘Why does it (newspaper) not remain only in French and other languages?’
[Pame1.1wœn_taœng.003].

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

(254) Zâ  dũâ dâ ‘s’ bô këêţî
NOM.M walk FOC REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ removeJNT but
yî  wē bû.
3SG.NEG.PFV.PRF drink ‘Jean only walked, he didn’t also drink wine’ (litt.: ‘Jean, it’s walking he did, but he did not drink wine’).

(255) Zâ  pâ dâ ‘s’ bô këêţî yî
NOM.M thing FOC REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ eatJNT but 3SG.NEG.PFV
yî bû.
water drink ‘Jean only ate, he did not also drink water’ (litt.: ‘Jean, it’s a thing that he ate, he didn’t drink water’).


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

(256a) Gbâţo yâ yâ gû-dô.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF work head-stand
‘Gbato has finished a work’.

(256b) Yâ  bā gû yâ dô.
work ART head 3SG.PRFRF stand
‘The work has been finished’.

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

(257a) Gbâţo yâ bêdê guû-dâ.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF drug in-taste
‘Gbato has tested a drug’.

(257b) Gbâţo yâ bêdê guû sêgû dâ.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF drug in small taste
‘Gbato has tested a drug a little bit’.

(257c) Gbâţo yâ bêdê-dû guû-dâ-gû-dâ.
NOM.M 3SG.PRF drug-PL in-taste-in-taste
‘Gbato has tested the drugs one by one’.

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

(258b) Gbätō yā ɓa dēbä tā bā ku.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface any catch  
‘Gbato has helped his wife in some way’.

(258c) Gbätō yā ɓa dēbä tā gbā ku.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface all catch  
‘Gbato has helped his wife by all means’.

(258d) Gbätō yā ɓa dēbä tā-dũ ku.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface-PL catch  
‘Gbato has helped his wife repeatedly’.

(258e) Gbätō yā ɓa dēbä tā gbé ku.  
NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS surface many catch  
‘Gbato has helped his wife very much’.

5. Summary table

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

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

Table 4. Summary for quantifiers in Dan-Gwéetaa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D-quantifiers</th>
<th>With mass nouns</th>
<th>With pl. form</th>
<th>A-quantifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numerals</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>kind of</td>
<td>partition</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bá</td>
<td>certain; any; {other}</td>
<td>{other}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{again}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēbó</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals); {self}</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>{self}</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēbó wó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly (with numerals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēdēwó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>utterly; often; for a long time; in great number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dó</td>
<td>certain, a</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ever; never (in negative sentences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dódó</td>
<td>rare, few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>occasionally; rarely; one by one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dábá</td>
<td>several</td>
<td>a little, some</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dábábó</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a little (small intensity); {at least}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbá</td>
<td>all, entire (see Table 1)</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>gbá pépé</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>all (emphatic)</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>gbáádɔs</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>entirely</td>
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<tr>
<td>gbéŋ</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>only (with numerals)</td>
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<tr>
<td>D-quantifiers</td>
<td>With mass nouns</td>
<td>With pl. form</td>
<td>A-quantifiers</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gbé</td>
<td>many, enough</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>many, much</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gbé dèdè</td>
<td>too many</td>
<td>too much</td>
<td>too much</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
<td>(partitive)</td>
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<tr>
<td>gbé dèdèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>too much, very</td>
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<td>gbédè</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>major part</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kèè</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kpèèwò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>always</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kpèèdè</td>
<td>exactly (with</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly</td>
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<td></td>
<td>numerals)</td>
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<td>kpùèè</td>
<td>overwhelming</td>
<td>the great</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td></td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>part of</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kpùèè gbà</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>almost all</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>X óó X</td>
<td>any, whatever</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>(nominalization</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>of the verb)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>y dè</td>
<td>every; any; (all)</td>
<td>any (kind of)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pèèpè</td>
<td>every, (all)</td>
<td>(‘kind of’)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pèè dò</td>
<td>a half (of one</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>half of (the</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>object or of a</td>
<td></td>
<td>group)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pèè kpù</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td></td>
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<td>pèè sèèdà</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td></td>
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<td>sèèn</td>
<td>only (with</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>only (with</td>
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<td></td>
<td>numerals)</td>
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<td>sèèdà</td>
<td>(small)</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>little</td>
<td></td>
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<td>several, few</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td></td>
<td>quantity of</td>
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<td>sìà</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>sometimes,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>often</td>
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<td>sìà tìí bá-</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>often</td>
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<td>dû guû</td>
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<td>tòòtòòdèr</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>never</td>
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<tr>
<td>tòòtòòsùù</td>
<td>a couple, a</td>
<td>a small</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(NPI)</td>
<td>small number</td>
<td>quantity</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tòò guû</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>few, insufficiently</td>
<td></td>
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<td>(NPI)</td>
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<tr>
<td>tòò gbà guû</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>all the time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zììawò</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>as many as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zìì</td>
<td>exactly (with</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>exactly (with</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>numerals)</td>
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<td>numerals)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations**

ADJ – adjective; adjectivizer suffix (-sùù)
ADV – adverbial suffix (-wò ~ -bò)
ART – definite article bà
Atr – attribute
AUT – autonomous pronominal series
AUX – auxiliary
C – consonant
CMM – common case
References


