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Quantifiers in Dan-Gwɛetaa (South Mande)

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1. Introduction

Dan (South Mande < Southeastern Mande < Mande < Niger-Congo) is a macrolanguage spoken in Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Guinea by about 1,600,000 people (2012, my evaluation). In Liberia, Dan are known under the name of Gio; in Côte d'Ivoire they are most often referred to as Yakuba (Yacouba). Since the 1960s, two language norms are being elaborated in Côte d'Ivoire: Western Dan, based on the Blo dialect, and Eastern Dan, based on the Gwɛetaa 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-Gwɛetaa texts in the Toolbox format has been abundantly used as well.¹

In Section 2, background data on the Dan-Gwɛetaa 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 nascent 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-verbial verbs. In Section 5, a summary table of quantifiers in Dan-Gwɛetaa is given.

2. Background information on Dan-Gwɛetaa

2.1. Segmental phonology

Dan-Gwɛetaa has 12 oral vowels, 9 nasal vowels, and one defective vowel η .

Oral vowels			Nasal vowels		
Front	Back non-labial	Back labial	Front	Back non-labial	Back labial
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>	<i>ũ</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ɤ</i>	<i>o</i>			
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɛ̃</i>	<i>ʌ̃</i>	<i>ɔ̃</i>
<i>æ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɒ</i>	<i>æ̃</i>	<i>ʌ̃</i>	<i>ɒ̃</i>

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 [ɥ] triggered by morphologically conditioned alternation of tones.² / η / is a vowel of a limited distribution: it can appear in the feet of the types CV η , CVV η , η , but not *C η . 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-Gwɛetaa, mid-closed vowels, /e, ɤ, o/, are realized as more closed allophones, [ɪ, ɥ, ɒ] under extra-high tone, cf. /wě/ [wɪ] 'to speak' (the lexical form) vs. /wè/ [wɛ] 'to speak' (the regular form in neutral aspect construction). Among the abovementioned allophones, ɥ seems to be on the way to phonologization: so, the neutral aspect form of the verb *sũɣ* [sũɣ] 'to be afraid', *sũɣ*, is normally pronounced identically to the verb *sũɣ* '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
Voiceless stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	<i>kp</i>
Voiced stops	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>gb</i>
Voiceless fricatives	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>				
Voiced fricatives	<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>				
Implosives/sonants	<i>ɓ</i>	<i>ɗ</i>	<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>	
Lateral sonant		<i>l</i>				

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

2.2. Suprasegmental phonology: tones

There are five level tones:

- extra-high: *káá* ‘scabies’,
- high: *káá* ‘you (pl.)’, the negative imperfective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- mid: *kāā* ‘you (pl.)’, the prospective series of pronominal predicative markers,
- low: *kàà* ‘to scratch’ (a conjoint construction form),
- extra-low: *kää* ‘reed’.

There are three modulated tones (all are available on single vowels), they are less frequent than level ones:

- high-falling: *gbê* ‘dog’,
- mid-falling: *djĩ* ‘hunger’,
- extra-high – falling: *zĩzĩdê* ‘extremely ancient’.

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

2.3. Syllabic structures allowed in Dan are: V, CV, C₁C₂V. The only consonant admissible in the C₂ position is /l/, it cannot be preceded by *ɗ, gw-, l-, v-, y-*.

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

2.4. Basic syntax

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

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

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

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

Presentative sentence, S *dɛ* ‘here is S’.

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

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

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

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

2.5. Noun

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

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

2.5.2. Relational and free nouns

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

- (1) *Gbàtò* *bà* *dá-dù*
 NOM.M POSS child-PL
 ‘Gbato’s children’.

Bà is most often replaced by *gò* if the NP appears in the circumstant function:

- (2) *n̄* *gò* *kóódf̄*
 1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC house.LOC
 ‘at my home’.

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

Most of body part names and kinship terms belong to the class of relational nouns, however, there are some important exceptions: *dá* ‘child’, *béé* ‘nephew, niece (sister’s child)’, *wū* ‘hair (head hair)’, *fáyí* ‘sweat’ are free nouns, while *bāñ* ‘child’ (a synonym of *dá*), *kāā* ‘body hair’, *wēé* ‘urine’ are relational.

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

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

- (3) *zá* *yí* *dóñdóñ-sù-dù*
 liana.sp. water viscous.substance-ADJ-PL
 ‘bowls of sauce of the liana "zan" [e4:20].

- (4) *Bāñ-dù* *wó* *kó* *dō* *à* *ká*, *wáá* *kā* *dí*.
 mud-PL 3PL.JNT house build 3SG INSTR 3PL.IPFV.NEG do so.CLOSE
 ‘One does not build a house with such sorts of mud’ [f180:7].

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

- (5) *Bē* *yòò-dù* *wò* *síāā*.
 human blood-PL 3PL.EXI earth.SUB

(a) ‘There is a great deal of man’s blood on the earth’, or (b) ‘There is blood of several/many persons/animals on the earth’ [f181:1].

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

- (6) *Zá-dù* *gbàà* *kā* *zī*.
 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) *Yáñ* *gbéé* *yò* *fáyí* *gā* *lòò* *bē* *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) *N̄* *kò* *yò* *kpáákpáá*.
 1SG.NSBJ hand.CMM 3SG.EXI numb
 ‘My hand is numb’ [d163:7].

– predicate in a postpositional construction:

- (9) *Á* *gē* *yò* *kpáá* *ká*.
 3SG.NSBJ foot 3SG.EXI bare with
 ‘He is barefoot’ [d162:13].

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

³ To the contrary, the word *fáyí* ‘sweat’ cannot have the plural marker.

For the adjectives, there are semi-regular derivative models for plural and intensive meaning based on reduplication, modification of tones, suffixation and transfixation.

All adjectives have a selective form derived by the suffix *-sũ* (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: *sũ plɛ* ‘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 *-dãã* (*sɔɔdũ-dãã* ‘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):

(N₂ (- Atr - Det)) - N₁ - (Atr - Det)

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

In an **attributive construction**, the head word precedes the dependent one: *gbɛ tĩ* <dog black> ‘black dog’. In the attributive constructions, determiners (plural marker, definite article, etc.) normally follow the dependent word: *gbɛ tĩ-dũ* ‘black dogs’, *gbɛ tĩ bã* ‘the black dog’. Rather atypically of Mande languages, the plural marker can optionally follow the head word (*gbɛ-dũ tĩ* ‘black dogs’) or appear in both positions (*gbɛ-dũ tĩ-dũ* ‘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-Gwɛetaa

Person, gloss	Singular				Plural	Dual	Plural			
	1	2	3	Logo-phoric			1 ex-clusive	inclusive	inclu-sive	2
Existential EXI	<i>ã</i>	<i>ĩ/ũ</i>	<i>yɔ̃/yɔ̃</i>	<i>ɔ̃</i>	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>kõ</i>	<i>kwã</i>	<i>kã</i>	<i>wò</i>	<i>wõ</i>
Conjoint JNT	<i>á</i>	<i>í/ú</i>	<i>Ø/ɔ̃/yɔ̃</i>	<i>ɔ̃</i>	<i>yí</i>	<i>kó</i>	<i>kwá</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>wó</i>	<i>wó</i>
Perfect PRF	<i>bá</i>	<i>bá</i>	<i>yá/yá</i>	<i>yá</i>	<i>yá</i>	<i>kó</i>	<i>kwá</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>wá/wá</i>	<i>wá</i>
Prospective PROS	<i>bãã</i>	<i>bĩ</i>	<i>yɔ̃ɔ̃</i>	-	<i>yĩ</i>	<i>kõõ</i>	<i>kwãã</i>	<i>kãã</i>	<i>wõõ</i>	-
Imperative IMP	-	<i>Ø/bɔ̃</i>	-	-	-	<i>kò</i>	<i>kwà</i>	<i>kà</i>	-	-
Subjunctive SBJV	<i>á</i>	<i>í/ú</i>	<i>Ø/yɔ̃</i>	<i>ɔ̃</i>	<i>yí</i>	<i>kó</i>	<i>kwá</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>wó</i>	<i>wó</i>
Presumptive PRES	<i>bãã</i>	<i>bãã</i>	<i>yãã</i>	-	<i>yãã</i>	<i>kõõ</i>	<i>kwãã</i>	<i>kãã</i>	<i>wãã</i>	-
Negative imperfective NEG.IPFV	<i>báá</i>	<i>báá</i>	<i>yáá</i>	-	<i>yáá</i>	<i>kóó</i>	<i>kwáá</i>	<i>káá</i>	<i>wáá</i>	-
Negative perfective NEG.PFV	<i>bíí</i>	<i>bíí</i>	<i>yíí</i>	-	<i>yíí</i>	<i>kóó</i>	<i>kwíí</i>	<i>kíí</i>	<i>wíí</i>	-
Prohibitive PROH	<i>bá</i>	<i>bá</i>	<i>yá</i>	-	<i>yá</i>	<i>kó</i>	<i>kwá</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>wá</i>	-

2.10. Pronouns, Articles, Adverbs

2.10.1. Personal pronouns

Table 2. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gwæetaa

Person	Singular				Plural	Dual	Plural			
	1	2	3	Refle-xive	1 exclusiv e	inclusiv e	inclusive	2	3	Refle-xive
Non-subject	<i>N̄</i>	<i>ī/ū</i>	<i>à/ø</i>	<i>ɾ</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>kō</i>	<i>kwā</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>àdū</i>	<i>wō</i>
Possessive	<i>bā</i>	<i>ū</i> <i>bā</i>	<i>à bā</i>	<i>ɾ bā</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>kōð</i>	<i>kwāà</i>	<i>kāà</i>	<i>àdāà</i>	<i>wōð</i>
Autonomou s	<i>bā</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>yɾ</i>	-	<i>yī</i>	<i>kō</i>	<i>kwā</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>wō</i>	-
Contrastive	<i>bāḥ</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>yɾɾ</i>	-	<i>yī</i>	<i>kōð</i>	<i>kwāā</i>	<i>kāā</i>	<i>wōō</i>	-
Simple co-ordinative	<i>yāā</i> / <i>yāà</i>	<i>kāā</i> / <i>kāà</i>	<i>wāā</i> / <i>wāà</i>	-	<i>yāā/yāà</i> ... <i>dū</i>	-	<i>kwāā/kwā</i> <i>à (... dū)</i>	<i>kāā/kāà</i> ... <i>dū</i>	<i>wāā/wā</i> <i>à ... dū</i>	-
Fused co-ordinative	<i>yāà</i>	<i>kāà</i>	<i>wāà</i>	-	<i>yāà ... dū</i>	-	<i>kwāà (... dū)</i>	<i>kāà ... dū</i>	<i>wāà ... dū</i>	-
Co-ordina-tive porte-manteau	<i>yēḥ</i> / <i>yēḥ</i> 1&3	<i>kēḥ</i> / <i>kēḥ</i> 2&3	<i>wēḥ</i> / <i>wēḥ</i> 3&3	-	<i>yēḥ dū</i> (1&3)+ 3	<i>kwēḥ/</i> <i>kwēḥ</i> 1&2	<i>kwēḥ/</i> <i>kwēḥ ... dū</i> (1&2)+3	<i>kēḥ/</i> <i>kēḥ dū</i> (2&3)+ 3	<i>wēḥ/</i> <i>wēḥ dū</i> (3&3)+ 3	-

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) *Kɾ kīí* *bā wálǎgā dēḥ, bīí*
that that.2SG.SBJV>2SG.NSBJ POSS money loose 1SG.NEG.PFV

dó à wéé dū.
go 3SG.NSBJ other give\INF

‘If you loose your money, I won't give other’ [e4:10].

- (11) *Á-dāà bláá yà gā, wà à dèè dó.*
3NSBJ-PL.POSS sheep 3SG.PRF die 3PL.PRF 3SG.NSBJ new buy

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

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

- (12) *Bāḥ dèbɾɾ à wɔ́ yɾ kā n̄ kɔ̄...*
1SG.CNTR self 3SG.NSBJ matter 3SG.EXI RETR 1SG.NSBJ astonish

‘The matter astonished me...’ [Dū wɔ̄].

2.10.2. **Interrogative pronouns** are used for special questions: *dē* ‘who?’, *bá* ‘what?’, *dē* ‘how many? how much?’, *béé* ‘which?’, *bé* ‘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) *Bāi ɾ ú ài yɾ kpḥḥ tã?*
what REL 2SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ see.JNT road on

‘What have you seen on the road?’

2.10.3. Demonstrative pronouns, definite articles and adverbs

There are five demonstrative adverbs differentiated according to different parameters: *yɾ* and *yā* indicate a place near the speaker or on equal distance from the speaker and the addressee, within the limits of visibility. *Bā* indicates a place near the addressee, within or outside the visibility of the speaker. *Bū* 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. *Tīdɾ* (the intensive form is *tītídɾ*) designates a remote object at the limit of visibility or just beyond, it is necessarily accompanied by an indication by hand or by finger.

Yā has undergone grammaticalization into a demonstrative pronoun, and a definite article has evolved from the adverb *bā̄*. In both cases, a relativization construction is involved, and the relativisation marker can be always restituted in a slow pronunciation:

- (14a) *kó ɣ̄ ɣ̄ yā... /bā̄* → (14b) *kó (ɣ̄ ɣ̄) yā /bā̄*
 house REL 3SG.JNT here there house REL 3SG.JNT this ART
 ‘house which is here/there (near the addressee)’ → ‘this house/ the house’.

Another definite article is *dɔ̄ɔ̄*. It is used exactly as *bā̄*, but it is characterized by a limited geographical distribution; unlike *bā̄*, it seems to be used only in the Gwæetaa dialect. Still another definite article is *ä* 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, *-dɣ̄* and *-wō̄ ~ -bō̄*.

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 *-dɣ̄*-adverbs are non-motivated, i.e., corresponding suffixless stems are lacking in Dan-Gwæetaa.

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

- (15a) *Yɣ̄ ɣ̄ tɛ́ɛ́dō blùù gwà gú.*
 3SG.EXI REFL.SG friend push\NEUT stone in
 ‘He pushed his friend to the stones’ [f4:13].

- (15b) *Yɣ̄ ɣ̄ tɛ́ɛ́dō blùù dɔ̄ ä wō̄ gwà gú.*
 3SG.EXI REFL.SG friend push FOC 3SG.NSBJ do\JNT stone in
 ‘What he did is to push his friend on the stones’ [f4:12].

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

- (16) *Gbàtò yà dū pɛ́pɛ́ ɣ̄' wō̄, yɣ̄*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF come each REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ. do\JNT 3SG.EXI

pā̄ dɔ̄.
 thing buy\NEUT

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

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

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

— a gerund, formed with the marker *-sù* 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 *-yɔ̄*;

— a masdar formed with the suffix *-dɛ̄*;

— 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-Gwæetaa, 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) *Gbätò yà bīlā dūú.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF wound extinguish
 ‘Gbato has washed a wound with warm water’.

(17b) *Gbätò yà bīlā-dū dūú-dūú.*
 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: *gǎ* ‘to pull’ → *gǎǎǎ*, *gǔ* ‘to wrestle’ → *gǔǔǔ*, *dīlā* ‘to walk’ → *dīlāǎǎ*. 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 *dā* (with a dialectal variant *dū*). It follows the focalized NP which is fronted. There are two kinds of fronting: the focalized NP can be brought to the sentence-initial position (see ex. (18), where the focalized NP is co-referent with the DO expressed by a resumptive pronoun), or fronted within its argumental position (see ex. (19), where the focalized NP is followed immediately by the resumptive pronoun in the DO position).

(18) *Ā dā_i dā š ä_i dē ä_i tó ká.*
 3SG.NSBJ father FOC 3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ call\JNT 3SG.NSBJ name with
 ‘It is his father he addressed by name (once)’ [e16:13].

(19) *Yš bānglōō kpō_i dā ä_i bš.*
 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 *wō* or *bō* (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: *-dē* 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 *dā*.

2.13. Relativization

There are two relativization strategies.

1) Correlative strategy: a full-fledged relativized NP, followed by the relative conjunction *š* (sometimes *kš*), 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-Gwεetaa also a reduced relative clause); such a repetition produces an emphatic effect.

(20) *[Wū_i š fī-sū ká] yš ú dū*
 meat REL.3SG.JNT smell-ADJ with CONS 2SG.JNT come\JNT

ä_i ká èè?!
 3SG.NSBJ with Q
 ‘But how, you have brought a meat that stinks?!’ [e5:9].

(21) *Yš bēē n dē [n kwàä_i š ä gbš*
 3SG.EXI beg\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ before 1SG.NSBJ theft REL 3SG.NSBJ son

š ä bō bā] ä_i wš gú.
 3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ matter\IZF in

‘He is imploring me about the matter of a theft committed by his son against me’ [e10:1].

(22) *[Dēbā š blū kpā], ā dēbā bā*
 woman REL. 3SG.JNT rice boil\JNT 1SG.EXI woman ART

ä dš.
 3SG.NSBJ know\NEUT

‘The very woman who has cooked rice, I know her’ [f187:6].

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

3. Core quantifiers

3.1. Generalized Existential (Intersective) Quantifiers

3.1.1. D-quantifiers

The basic strategies for the expression of existential quantification are:

— bare NP that can express indiscriminately singular, plural or mass meanings (it can be said that the bare form has a neutral number meaning). The plural marker *dũ* is normally not used if the plural meaning is already expressed by a numeral or another determiner; with names of pair body parts; most often, it is not used with names of inanimate objects, insects or small animals (percieved as “lacking individual identity”); in fact, *dũ* expresses jointly the meanings of plurality and referentiality (see in more detail 2.6.2.). A bare NP in the subject position controls most often a singular PPM, although a semantic agreement by number is also possible (a bare NP may control a plural PPM).

— a NP with definite articles *bā*, *d̄b̄* (to the right of the NP) or *à* (to the left of the NP), see 2.10.3.

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

a) specific unknown:

- (23) *Bē* *bá* *yà* *dũ* *ũ* *wɔ́* *gú.*
 human certain 3SG.PRF come 2SG.NSBJ affair in
 ‘Someone came after you’.

b) interrogative context:

- (24) *Bē* *bá* *yà* *wɔ́* *dɔ́* *dɛ́* *bī* *dó* *dèè?*
 human certain 3SG.PRF affaire know that 2SG.PROS go today
 ‘Does anybody know that you are leaving today?’

c) conditional:

- (25) *Bī* *bā* *pìř-gā-sòò* *sílǎ* *dɔ́* *bē*
 2SG.PROS 1SG.POSS iron-bone-horse borrowing put human

bá *bā*, *à* *př* *n̄* *yǎǎ.*
 certain on 3SG.NSBJ say 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM

‘If you are going to lend my bike to anybody, tell me’.

d) indirect negation (the negation is in the main clause, and the indefinite determiner is in the dependent clause):

- (26) *Yáá* *n̄* *yǎǎ* *dɛ́* *bē* *bá* *yà*
 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that human certain 3SG.PRF

dũ.
 come

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

e) clause depending on implicitly negative verb:

- (27) *Gbàtò* *yà* *zōō* *dɛ́* *yíí* *kpà* *bē*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF deny that 3SG.NEG.PFV see human

bá *bā* *zīāā* *tā.*
 certain on road on

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

f) in the typical context “specific known”, *bá* appears in the expression *bá ř bũ*, litt. ‘certain who is there’ (28).

- (28) *Bē* *bá* *ř* *bũ* *yř* *à* *př*
 human certain REL.3SG.JNT there 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ say\NEUT

yřř *n̄* *dú* *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 *bá* and its usage in the free choice contexts, see 3.2.1.6.

bá is not allowed in only two contexts typical for indeterminate pronouns in other languages:

— non-specific irreal; in this case, the noun is used without determiners:

- (29) *N gbā dāā-dá ká.*
 1SG.NSBJ give knife-DIM with
 ‘Give me any whatever knife (you have)’.

— a standard for comparison, in which case the NP is used either in its plural form ((30b), the plural marker *dũ* being, in fact, a determiner too), or with the universal determiner *gbà* (30a).

- (30a) *Yř bññ sũ ř zĩř ká ř*
 3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG

téébé gbà tà.
 age-mate all on

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

- (30b) *Yř bññ sũ ř zĩř ká ř*
 3SG.EXI running take\NEUT 3SG.JNT pass\JNT with REFL.SG

téébé-dũ tà.
 age-mate-PL on

‘He runs faster than his age-mates’.

Numerals

1 <i>dō</i>	10 <i>kòbòñ dō</i>	90 <i>kòbòñ sùèsĩř</i>
2 <i>plè ~ pèèdā</i>	11 <i>kòbòñ dō ř gā dō</i>	100 <i>kāñ dō</i>
3 <i>yààgā</i>	12 <i>kòbòñ dō ř gā plè</i>	200 <i>kāñ plè</i>
4 <i>yĩsĩř</i>	13 <i>kòbòñ dō ř gā yààgā</i>	1000 <i>gblú dō</i>
5 <i>sóódú</i>	20 <i>kòbòñ plè</i>	2000 <i>gblú plè</i>
6 <i>sòòdō</i>	21 <i>kòbòñ plè ř gā dō</i>	10 000 <i>gblú kòbòñ dō</i>
7 <i>sòòplè</i>	22 <i>kòbòñ plè ř gā plè ~ pèèdā</i>	100 000 <i>gblú kāñ dō</i>
8 <i>sáàgā</i>	30 <i>kòbòñ yààgā</i>	1 000 000 <i>gblú bēēē dō</i>
9 <i>sùèsĩř</i>	40 <i>kòbòñ yĩsĩř</i>	

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 yààgā* ‘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) *Pōlísíyè-dũ wà kwàbē yààgā-dũ kú.*
 policeman-PL 3PL.PRF thief three-PL catch

‘The policemen caught exactly three thieves’ (the context: One knows that three thieves have fled a prison. One learns that, later on, the police have caught thieves. It is not clear whether these are the same thieves or not, but the number of the thieves is the same as of those who had fled) [f181:3].

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

- (32) *Pōlísíyè bā à sóódú wà dēñ.*
 policemen ART 3SG.NSBJ five 3PL.PRF loose
 ‘Among the policemen, five have got lost’.

Other existential quantifiers in Dan-Gwæetaa also follow the noun. The meaning of ‘several’, ‘a couple of’, ‘a few’ is expressed by the morphologically complex determiners *dá bá* <child/diminutive marker-some> (33) and *sēē dá 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) *Gbātò yà káá dá bá dō.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF hoe a.little buy
 ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

- (34) *Gbātò yà káá/blù sēē dá bá dō.*
 NOM.M PRF hoe/rice small other buy

‘Gbato has bought several hoes’/‘Gbato has bought a small quantity of rice’.

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

(35) *Gbàtò yà káá dáábá-dū dō*. ‘Gbato has bought several hoes’.

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

(36) *Bláá dē dā wó dā blēé gò?*
sheep how.many FOC 3PL.JNT save\JNT dry.season PP
‘How many sheep have survived the dry season?’

(37) *Klàj dā bēē dā wó gīzābē pāsē?*
formation child which FOC 3PL.JNT examination pass\JNT
‘Which students have passed the exam?’

(38) *Ȳ kā ɣ- wō d̄ bā, dā dē*
CONS.3SG.JNT do 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT so.REM there child how.many
ɣ ũ gò?
3SG.JNT 2SG.NSBJ PP
‘And so, how many children have you got?’ [Sumaoro].

(39) *W̄ d̄d̄d̄sù bēē ɣ dā à gú yā?*
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, *dē* 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), *kēē* ~ *kēē* ‘few’ ((31), probably, from the noun *kēē* ~ *kēē* ‘hull, peel, shell’), *sēēdā* ‘few’ (also ‘small’, the latter meaning being a default one).

(40) *Bē gbé wā dō gblù bā, bē kēē dā wó dū.*
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 yākābē gbé sú k̄ wō blāà dēè zū-bō.*
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 *dō* ‘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) *Bē dódó dā wó d̄ kwàbē bā d̄-’.*
human rare FOC 3PL.JNT go\JNT thief ART know-INF
‘Few are those who know the thief’ [f154:10].

(43) *Ȳ bē-dū dódó d̄.*
3SG.EXI human-PL rare know\NEUT
‘He knows certain among the people’.

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

(44) *Ā- p̄ á b̄ gbé d̄, kēē*
1SG.EXI-3SG.NSBJ at 1SG.SBJV machete numerous buy\JNT but
b̄ t̄t̄bàsù yáá à ḡ.
machete multitude 3SG.NEG.IPFV 3SG.NSBJ PP

‘I wanted to buy many machetes from him, but he had only a couple’.

(45a) *Yáá n̄ yǎǎ dɛ̄ Zâ*
3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ eyes.COM that NOM.M

yɔ̄ dɔ̄ kál tʃŋ̀bàsù dɔ̄-’.
3SG.EXI go\NEUT hoe multitude buy-INF

‘I doubt that Jean would buy many hoes’.

(45b) **Zâ yɔ̄ dɔ̄ kál tʃŋ̀bàsù dɔ̄-’ èè?*
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: *blúkàbɛ̀ gbé-dũ* ‘very many hunters’.

3.1.2. A-quantifiers

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

(46) *Bá kpǎ ũ bā dɛ̀bà bā dō.*
1SG.PRF see 2SG.NSBJ POSS woman on one

‘I have seen your wife once’.

(47) *Yà sǔǔ zā yààgā.*
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), *sɛ̀ɛ̀dǎ* ‘little’ (49), and *dódó* ‘occasionally, from time to time, with intervals’ (50).

(48) *Dǎ-dũ wò gblá-sīl gbé kó tààbà.*
child-PL 3PL.EXI yell-DUR much house behind

‘Children yell much behind the house’.

(49) *Ū bā dɛ̀ŋ-dũ wò pā bɔ̄ sɛ̀ɛ̀dǎ.*
2SG.NSBJ POSS guest-PL 3PL.EXI thing eat\NEUT little

‘Your guests eat little’.

(50) *N̄ gbɔ̄ blɛ̀ɛ̀sù yɔ̄ n̄ dɛ̀ sì̀sì̀ kɛ̀ɛ̀*
1SG.NSBJ son first.ADJ 3SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ call\NEUT often.INT but

bɛ̀ dɔ̄ à pɛ̀ yɔ̄ n̄ dɛ̀ dódó.
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’.

Dǎbáwō ~ dǎbábō ‘a little’ is derived from the D-quantifier *dǎbá* by the means of the adverbial suffix *-wō ~ -bō* (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) *Ā bā dũ yɔ̄ púú dǎbábō.*
3SG.NSBJ POSS cow 3SG.EXI white a.little

‘His cow is whitish’ [f157:10].

Other cardinal A-quantifiers are:

— *sìl ~ sì̀sì̀* 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 *sìl* by the adverb *dódó*, and the combination of both adverbs expresses the meaning ‘from time to time, rarely’, cf. (53);

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

— *dɛ̀dɛ̀wō* ‘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 *wō* from the determinant *dɛ̀dɛ̀* ‘self’.

(52) *Ā n̄ bɛ̀-dũ tùàà-bò sìl.*

1SG.EXI 1SG.NSBJ human-PL greeting-remove\NEUT sometimes
 ‘I visit my relatives from time to time/often’.

(53) *Ū gb̄r̄ ȳr̄ yā kà bláā sià 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) *Sáá ȳr̄ yī t̄ kwāā siàsià.*
 sparrowhawk 3SG.EXI 1PL.EXCL.NSBJ chicken steal\NEUT often

‘A sparrowhawk often steals our chickens’.

(55) *Kéé-kā-gèè bā ȳr̄ b̄ dèdè-wō.*
 threat-do-mask ART 3SG.EXI appear\NEUT true-ADV

‘This attacker mask appears often’ [e11:4].

(56) *Ȳr̄ d̄ n̄ ḡ dèdè-wō yāā d̄r̄.*
 3SG.EXI put\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ PP true-ADV yesterday

‘Yesterday he waited for me for a long time’ [f9:15].

(57) *Kèsé ȳr̄ d̄r̄j̄ d̄r̄-siù ká r̄ ḡ*
 NOM.M 3SG.EXI trap set-GER with REFL.SG POSS.LOC

d̄r̄j̄ d̄r̄ dèdè-wō.
 hamlet.LOC true-ADV

‘Kese has set traps a lot in his remote field’ [e18:15].

A syntactically complex A-quantifier *sià t̄r̄j̄ bā-d̄j̄ gú* <sometimes-time-certain-PL-in> expresses the meaning ‘often’ (however, less frequently than *gb̄é*, the latter may designate that events happen practically without intervals, while *sià t̄r̄j̄ bā-d̄j̄ gú* implies intervals).

(58) *Bā d̄r̄-d̄j̄ w̄ w̄ n̄ bā sià t̄r̄j̄*
 1SG.POSS child-PL 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ on sometimes time

bā-d̄j̄ gú.
 certain-PL in

‘My children visit me often’ [f184:15].

A syntactically complex NPI quantifier *t̄r̄j̄ gú* <time in> is used in negative sentences and expresses the meaning ‘(too) few, insufficiently’ (59, 60).⁴ It is not allowed in other contexts typical of NPI elements (general question; dependent clause with a negation in the matrix clause, etc.).

(59) *Bē yāá t̄r̄j̄ gú.*
 human 3SG.NEG.IPFV time in

‘People are too few’ [f158:5b].

(60) *Dā yí bā t̄r̄j̄ gú.*
 rain 3SG.NEG.PFV rain time in

‘It rained insufficiently’.

3.2. Generalized universal (Co-intersective) Quantifiers

3.2.1. Universal D-Quantifiers

There are two determiners expressing universal quantifying meanings, *gb̄à* which is an “all-type” modifier, and *p̄p̄é ~ p̄éé* 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 *óó* (primarily a free choice meaning), and the expression *r̄ d̄r̄* (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 determinanant *bā*.

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

3.2.1.1. *gb̄à* is the default universal “all-type” quantifier capable to appear also, marginally, in distributive and free choice contexts. It is used mainly as a determinant of a NP which can be pronominalized, in which case we have a partitive construction (61a).

(61a) *D̄s̄kwá-l̄-d̄r̄, yúr̄r̄ d̄s̄ ḡ s̄, ā k̄*
 market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI RETR

⁴ If the noun *t̄r̄j̄* has a nominal or pronominal dependent to the left, it is interpreted in a non-idiomatic way, ‘in the time of X’.

à gbà d̄.
3SG.NSBJ all buy\NEUT

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

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

(61b) D̄kwá-l-d̄, yúřř d̄ř gũ sà, ā
market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI

kā gbà d̄.
RETR all buy\NEUT

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

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

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

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

(62) B̄ gbàà b̄ yā.
darkness all.3SG.PRF put yere

‘It has got quite dark there’ [Dūw̄ 12].⁵

(63) B̄ gbàà d̄ ḡēēṅd̄.
human all.3PL.PRF stand fixedly

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

3.2.1.1.1. CMP-quantification

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

(64) D̄kpòb̄yì ȳs̄ z̄ṅgú Gbàtò b̄ d̄ēb̄l̄ yā
day four between NOM.M POSS woman 3SG.PRF

d̄ū b̄ gbà ḡ.
tree ART all burn

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

(65a) B̄ kó yā gbà ḡ.
1SG.PRF house this all daub

‘I have daubed all this house’.

(66) D̄ēb̄l̄ b̄ yā ȳ ḡ ṛ d̄ē gbà b̄.
woman ART 3SG.PRF oil daub REFL.SG place all on

‘The woman has smeared her entire body with oil’.

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

(65b) B̄ kó gbà ḡ.
1SG.PRF house all smear

(i) ‘I have daubed the entire house’ or (ii) ‘I have daubed all the houses’.

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

(67) P̄d̄ē gbà yā ḡ.
village.CMM all 3SG.PRF burn

‘The entire village has burnt’.

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

(68) K̄b̄d̄ yā wó w̄ kó d̄ gbà tà.
prefect 3SG.PRF affair lie family all on

‘The prefect has punished all families’.

⁵ In the example 62 *gbà* expresses a high degree of intensity. This meaning seems to be reserved to this particular expression (‘quite dark’), it does not appear in other similar contexts.

Single object nouns may require a noun classifier word in order to express the CMP meaning of *gbà*: *gèè* ‘carcass, body’ (69a), *bǎǎ dō* ‘one bunch’ (69b), *bē* ‘fruit’ (70a):

(69a) *Gbàtò yà tǒ gèè gbà bǎ.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken body all eat

‘Gbato has eaten the entire chicken’.

(69b) *Gbàtò yà tǒ bǎǎ dō gbà bǎ.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF chicken bunch one all eat

id.

(70a) *Dàdā bē ǎ yā à gbà yǎ wálà kǎj*
 pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred

dō.
 one

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

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

(70b) *Dàdā bē ǎ yā à gbà tǒ*
 pineapple fruit REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.NSBJ all remain\NMLZ

dǎ-sù yǎ wálà kǎj dō.
 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 *-dǔ* 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) *Dēbà-dǔ gbà wà dǔ kwálàdǎ.*
 woman-PL all 3PL.PRF come RECP.LOC

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

(71b) *Dēbà gbà wà dǔ kwálàdǎ.*
 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 (*gǎ gbà wà wliúú...*), 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) *Gǎ-dǔ gbà wà wliúú kǎ pǎ-dā yǎ*
 male-PL all 3PL.PRF rise still village-father 3SG.PRF

dà kǎ-dǎ.
 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) *Gǎ gbà wà wliúú.*
 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 *bē* is indicative of the fact the group is perceived as open⁶.

- (73) *Yá bē gbà wó yà gbó bō-sù bā.*
 CONS human all 3PL.JNT put\JNT crying pass-GER on
 ‘Then everybody started crying’ [Zūl sèè].

In certain contexts the opposition of definiteness (i.e., the clearcut or vague nature of its limits) seems to be irrelevant for the referent group, in such cases the presence or absence of the plural marker is optional (74a, b).

- (74a) *Gwēē yà dù gbà zā.*
 leopard 3SG.PRF cow all kill
 ‘A leopard killed all the cows’.

- (74b) *Gwēē yà dù-dū gbà zā* ‘id’.

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

- (75) *Dàdā yā à gbà yà wálà kīj dō.*
 pineapple this 3SG.NSBJ all 3SG.EXI money hundred one
 ‘The price of all these pineapples is 500 francs’.

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

- (76) *Kàsò-gú-bē-dū bā wò kī dùà zīāā yā-’*
 prison-in-human\IZF-PL ART 3PL.EXI RETR flee\NEUT road this-3SG.NSBJ
tā.
 on

‘The prisoners fled away by this road’.

3.2.1.1.3. Quantifier *gbà* with uncountable nouns

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

- (77) *Gbàtò yà yí gbà bū.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all drink
 ‘Gbato has drunk all the water’.
- (78) *Ū bā dā yà sō gbà dī-kú.*
 2SG.NSBJ POSS child 3SG.PRF cloth all dirt-catch
 ‘Your child has dirtied all the clothes’.
- (79) *Yá blyù gbà ká.*
 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) *Káfléé gbà yà sē.*
 coffee all 3SG.PRF spoil
 ‘All the coffee has spoiled’.

3.2.1.1.4. The distributive meaning of *gbà*

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

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

⁷ The subject NP looks like a left-dislocated topic, however, this interpretation is not necessarily correct. In fact, the demonstrative determiner *yā* stems from a demonstrative adverb used in a non-verbal relative clause (see 2.10.3.), and it is necessarily followed by a 3SG nonsubject resumptive pronoun (it can be elided, but its structural slot is there). Therefore, in the synchrony, this construction can be viewed as sufficiently grammaticalized and non-topical.

(81, 82b)), in which case we have a partitive construction, or indefinite (withouth plural marker, cf. (82a)).

(81) *Pɔ̃-dũ gbà wà ǵɔ̃.*
village-PL all 3PL.PRF burn

‘All the villages (of the canton) have burnt (one by one)’.

(82a) *Yĩ gbàǎdũ pɔ̃dɛ̃ gbà ǵú yɔ̃*
1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM all in CONS

yĩ ǵɔ̃ bàà.
1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT

‘We stopped in each village to repair the car’.

(82b) *Yĩ gbàǎdũ pɔ̃dɛ̃-dũ gbà ǵú yɔ̃*
1PL.EXCL.EXI stop\NEUT village.CMM-PL all in CONS

yĩ ǵɔ̃ bàà.
1PL.EXCL.JNT vehicle prepare\JNT

‘We stopped in each village (without exception) to repair the car’.

In (81) the distributive meaning is combined with partitive (‘all of the villages’). If the plural marker is removed (*Pɔ̃ gbà wà ǵɔ̃*), 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) interpretes 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 *dódó* in its distributive meaning ‘one by one’.

(83) *Dàdà (bɛ̃) gbà sú dódó kɔ̃ ú à ǵà.*
pineapple fruit all take one.by.one that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ see

(Here is a pile of pineapples, some are rotten.) ‘Take each pineapple and examine it’.

3.2.1.1.5. Generic quantification

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

(84) *Gwǎdǎ gbà wò bɔ̃ ǵwɛ̃ɛ̃ bà.*
cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT leopard on

‘All cats resemble leopard’.

(85) *Gwǎdǎ gbà wò bɔ̃ kwǎǎ.*
cat all 3PL.EXI appear\NEUT RECP.SUB

‘All cats are alike (resemble each other)’.

(86a) *Bǎñ gbà wò dʒʒdʒbɛ̃-dũ ká.*
Jula all 3PL.EXI merchant-PL with

‘All Jula⁸ 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) *Bǎñ-dũ gbà wò dʒʒdʒbɛ̃-dũ 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) *Wũ dɔ̃ yɔ̃ dǎ(-dũ) gbà kǎ.*
meat desire 3SG.EXI child(-PL) all do\NEUT

‘All children like meat’, with two interpretations: (i) all the children who are in the group in question; (ii) all children of the world.

3.2.1.1.6. *gbà* in the free choice context

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

(88) *Dǎ ɔ̃ yā yɔ̃ dɔ̃ bɛ̃ gbà*
child REL.3SG.JNT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT human all

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

sāl-bō-

tiredness-remove-INF

‘This child will tire anyone’.

(89) *Wū gbà yǎ bǎ-pà ká.*
meat all 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF with

‘Any meat is edible’.

(90) *Bē gbà yǎ bǎǎ à bǎ ǎ yā*
human all 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on 3SG.JNT work

bā ká.

ART do\JNT

‘Any person can do this job’.

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

(91a) *Dēbǎ gbà yǎ sūà-sū.*
woman all 3SG.EXI untruth-ADJ

‘Any woman is a liar’.

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

(91b) *Dēbǎ gbà wò sūà-sū.*
woman all 3PL.EXI untruth-ADJ

‘All women are liars’.

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

(92) *Dǎǎ-dǎ-bē gbà wò dǎ-*
market-buy-human\IZF all 3PL.EXI go\NEUT-3SG.NSBJ

pǎ- *ū bā dǎǎ yǎ gbé.*
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) *Tǎǎǎdǎ-dū gbà wò wò kó wò gú-mǎ.*
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 *sūū* ‘sort’, can be brought to play in order to avoid ambiguity in favour of the free choice interpretation (94).

(94) *Yǎ yā sūū gbà ká.*
3SG.EXI work sort all do\NEUT

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

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

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

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

Semantics of the construction	Form of the NP	Auxiliary
Quantification of definite groups, collective meaning (DEF-quantification)	plural (- <i>dū</i>)	plural
Distributive meaning, definite plural	plural	plural
Quantification of indefinite (referent) groups, collective meaning (INDEF-quantification)	singular	plural
Distributive meaning, indefinite group	singular	plural
Quantification of generic sets (GEN-quantification)	singular	plural
Free choice meaning	singular	singular (plural allowed)
Wholeness (CMP-quantification)	singular, definite; count	singular

	words	
Uncountable nouns (masses, liquids)	singular	singular

3.2.1.2. *pépe* ~ *péé*, a distributive modifier

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

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

The NP determined by *pépe* 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-Gwæetaa: 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 is 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 *pépe*

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

(95) *Dàdā bē pépe sú k̄ ú à gā.*
 pineapple fruit every take that 2SG.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ look
 ‘Take every pineapple and examine it’ (every pineapple that you find).

(96) *Bāñ(-dũ) pépe wò d̄d̄d̄b̄b̄ ká.*
 Jula(-PL) every 3PL.EXI merchant c
 ‘Every Jula is a merchant’.

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

(97) *Bā sē, Gbāāgwī sē wāā Sīpl̄r̄ sē,*
 Man land.CMM Biancouma.LOC land.CMM 3SG.and Sipilou land.CMM

à-dũ bā bē ȳ yā-sũ ká Gwēētāà wò
 3SG.NSBJ-PL POSS writing 3SG.EXI put-GER with Gwæetaa voice

gú, ȳ wò pépe r̄ Dádāñ sē gú,
 in CONS voice every REL.3SG.JNT Danane land.CMM in

à-dũ bā d̄r̄ Blō wò gú.
 3SG.NSBJ-PL property be Blo voice in

‘The departments of Man, Biancouma, Sipilou have their writing in the Gwæetaa dialect, and each of those who are in the Danane department, their writing is in the Blo dialect’ [Pame1_1wɔn_təng.014].

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

(98) *Gbātò ȳ yí pépe bũ.*
 NOM.M 3SG.EXI water every drink\NEUT
 ‘Gbato drinks any water’.

In this particular case, noun *yí* 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) *Ȳ yā pépe ká.*
 3SG.EXI job every do\NEUT
 ‘He catches on any job’.

⁹ See in detail (Vydrin 2013).

- (100) *Bā dā gblú ȳ zī̄-sī̄, ȳ*
 1SG.POSS child stomach 3SG.EXI pass-DUR 3SG.EXI
tò ȳ pā pēpē dà ɣ dī
 remain\NEUT 3SG.EXI thing every rise\NEUT REFL.SG mouth
 ‘My child has diarrhea often, (because) he puts everything in his mouth’.
- (101) *Wū pēpē ȳ b̄-pā ká*
 meat every 3SG.EXI eat-thing\IZF c
 ‘Any meat is edible’.
- (102) *Gwádā pēpē ȳ kp̄ɣ̄sù.*
 cat every 3SG.EXI sly
 ‘Any cat is sly’.
- (103) *Bē pēpē wò gā-b̄ ká*
 human every 3PL.EXI death-human\IZF with
 ‘Any human is mortal’.

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

3.2.1.3. Combination of *gbà* and *pēpē*: an emphasis

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

- (104) *Gbàtò yà yí gbà pēpē b̄.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF water all every drink
 ‘Gbato has drunk all the water’ (nothing is left).
- (105) *Wē d̄ ȳ ḡ gbà pēpē k̄.*
 wine desire 3SG.EXI male all every do\NEUT
 ‘All the men (without exception) like palm wine’.

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

- (106) *S̄ās̄ābā ȳ pā-d̄ bā ɣ'-d̄ gbà pēpē*
 immediately CONS thing-PL ART REL.3SG.NSBJ-PL all every
 ɣ' s̄b̄...
 3SG.JNT find

‘Immediately, all these things that were found...’ [Dūw̄].¹¹

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

3.2.1.4. Reduplication with the connective morpheme *óó* (*óó*-reduplication): the free choice meaning

3.2.1.4.1. The structure and the syntax of the *óó*-reduplication construction

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

- (107) *Bē óó bē ɣ d̄, ā*
 human any human REL.3SG.JNT come\JNT 1SG.EXI
d̄ à b̄-
 go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ beat-INF
 ‘Whoever comes, I’ll beat him/her’.

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

- (108a) *Gb̄ z̄d̄d̄ óó gb̄ z̄d̄d̄, à sú.*
 dog red any dog red 3SG.NSBJ take

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

¹¹ In (106), we have a partitive construction, ‘all of the things in question’, where the noun *pā-d̄* ‘things’ has a definite article *bā* which is regularly introduced through a relative clause followed by a resumptive pronoun; see 2.10.3.

‘Take any red dog’.

- (108b) *Gbê z̄p̄dē s̄ēēd̄í ńń gbê z̄p̄dē s̄ēēd̄í yà d̄ũ,*
 dog red small any dog red small 3SG.PRF come
b̄āā à k̄l̄.
 1SG.PROS 3SG.NSBJ do

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

- (109) *Z̄à yíí p̄l̄ bá ńń p̄l̄ bá b̄ɔ̄.*
 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, *ńń*-reduplication concerns nouns, however reduplication can also affect the determinative *d̄é* ‘other’ following the head noun (110) or, in negative contexts, *bá* ‘any, other’ (111).

- (110) *Ȳɔ̄ d̄ò t̄óó d̄é ńń d̄é ɔ̄ d̄ɔ̄*
 3SG.EXI know\NEUT gravy other any other REL.3SG.JNT be

à k̄l̄-d̄ē k̄á.
 3SG.NSBJ do-MSD with

‘She can cook any gravy’.

- (111) *K̄ó bá ńń bá yíí ḡɔ̄, k̄ɔ̄ yíí*
 house certain any certain 3SG.NEG.PFV burn that 3SG.NEG.PFV

k̄l̄ ñ b̄à k̄á.
 do 1SG.NSBJ one with

‘No house burnt, except for mine’.

It seems that we observe here a lexicalization of *d̄é ńń d̄é* and *bá ńń bá* as quantifier expressions.

ńń-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 *w̄ó* or *b̄ó*. However, not all the verbs are available for this construction (presumably, the limitation is of a lexical nature).

- (112) *D̄ó ńń d̄ó ɔ̄ Z̄à-’ w̄ó tá ḡú,*
 go any go REL NOM.M-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT walking in

ȳɔ̄ d̄ũ ñ s̄āā k̄á.
 3SG.EXI come\NEUT 1SG.NSBJ gift with

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

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

- (113) *T̄ò ńń t̄ò, s̄ákp̄ád̄l̄ ȳɔ̄ à b̄ɔ̄.*
 chicken any chicken mangoose 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT

‘A mangoose eats any chicken’.

- (114) *Ȳɔ̄ɔ̄ k̄l̄ k̄ò ńń k̄ò ɔ̄-’*
 3SG.PROS do way.CMM any way.CMM REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ

b̄à, ḡā w̄ò d̄l̄ t̄ò-’ b̄à.
 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 *ɔ̄*, the 3SG auxiliary of the conjoint set *ɔ̄*, 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) *B̄á p̄l̄ ńń p̄l̄ b̄ɔ̄, ā gw̄á d̄l̄ b̄à*
 1SG.PRF thing any thing eat 1SG.EXI cat property

d̄ũ.
 give\NEUT

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

- (115b) *B̄á p̄l̄ ńń p̄l̄ ɔ̄ à b̄ɔ̄, ā*
 1SG.PRF thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT 3SG.NSBJ eat 1SG.EXI

gw̄á d̄l̄ b̄à d̄ũ.
 cat property give\NEUT

‘Id.’

3.2.1.4.2. Semantics of the *ńń*-reduplication

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

(116) *Dá ǒǒ dá, wū dǒ yǎ ǎ ká.*
 child any child meat desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT
 ‘Any child likes meat’.

(117) *Gwǎdá ǒǒ gwǎdá wǒ bǒ kwáá.*
 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, *ǒǒ*-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) *Bē ǒǒ bē dǎ ū tǎ-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) *Bā gō-dū gǎ ũ bǒǒ ǎ bǎ*
 1SG.POSS vehicle-PL look 2SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on

ú dé ǒǒ dé sū.
 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) *Dáglǒǒ ǒǒ dáglǒǒ wǒ péé wǎ*
 youth any youth 3PL.EXI village.this.in 3PL.EXI.3SG.NSBJ

pǐǎ wó Yǒdē sú.
 to 3PL.LOG.JNT NOM.F take
 ‘Any youth of this village desires to marry Yode’.

(121) *N gǒ bláá yǎ, dǎdǎ ǒǒ dǎdǎ yǎ*
 1SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC farm.LOC here pineapple any pineapple 3SG.EXI

wáá kǎǎ dǒ.
 money hundred one
 ‘Here in my farm, any pineapple is for five hundred francs’.

(122) *Bǎ ǎ kǎ-’ pǐǎ kǎ ǎ bǎ?*
 what REL 2PL.SBJV-3SG.NSBJ to 2PL.SBJV 3SG.NSBJ eat

Pǎ ǒǒ pǎ ǎ bǎ-pǎ kǎ, ǎ
 thing any thing REL.3SG.JNT eat-thing\IZF with 3SG.NSBJ

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

(123) *Dá yā yǎ tǒ yǎ, yǎ dǒ*
 child this 3SG.EXI remain\NEUT here 3SG.EXI go\NEUT

bē ǒǒ bē ǎ dǎ kǎ yǎ yǎ
 human any human REL.3SG.JNT be that here 3SG.EXI

dǒ ǎ sǎá-bǒ-’.
 go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ tiredness-remove-INF

‘If the child would stay here, he would bother anyone who is here’.

3.2.1.5. *ǎ dǎ*-construction

3.2.1.5.1. Morphology

This construction consists of the relative marker *ǎ* fused with the homonymous 3SG pronominal predicative marker (auxiliary) of the conjunctive series, and the verb of being *dǎ* going back to the movement verb *dǒ* ‘go, leave’. However, the fact that the tone of *dǎ* does not change to mid (which

would be necessary when the verb is preceded by an auxiliary of the conjunctive series) signifies that *dʒ* is here not a verb, but a non-verbal copula (although of a verbal origin). However may it be, the original meaning of this construction is ‘which exists’.

The verb *dɔ* displays various stages of grammaticalization in various constructions. When in its lexical meaning (112), it has vowel *o* and by its tonal behaviour it does not differ from other verbs. In the non-prospective future construction (107) where it appears as an auxiliary verb, a free variation of the vowel, *dɔ* ~ *dʒ*, is attested (the latter form, with delabialization, dominates in neutral and allegro registers), the grammatical tonal alternation is kept: *dɔ* ~ *dʒ* in the conjoint construction, and *dɔ* ~ *dʒ* in the neutral aspect construction from which the future construction is derived. As for the construction *ʒ dʒ* (and other constructions where *dʒ* 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, *dʒ* is not a verb any more.

3.2.1.5.2. Syntax

The complex determiner *ʒ dʒ* follows a non-pluralized NP which cannot be pronominalized (a fact that can be easily explained by the etymology of the determiner). Such a NP is usually fronted, 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 *ɔɔ*-reduplication and *ʒ dʒ*-constructions are used, which is allowed in Dan-Gwɛetaa).

(124) *Wūi ʒ dʒ, dʒ-dʒ wɔ dɔ äi*
 meat REL.3SG.JNT be child-PL 3PL.EXI go\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ

bʒ-ʼ
 eat-INF

‘Children will eat any meat’.

(125) *Dʒi ɔɔ dʒ ʒ dʒ yʒi dʒ ũ dɔ-ʼ*
 child any child REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI go\NEUT 2SG.NSBJ stand-INF

tʒ bā bā.
 mountain ART on

‘Any child will guide you to the mountain’.

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

(126) *Kūbʒdʒ yà wɔ wɔ kɔdʒi ʒ dʒ äi tã.*
 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 *ʒ dʒ* are the distributive and the free choice ones. However, the collective meaning proves to be possible too.

3.2.1.5.3.1. **Distributive meaning** is realized when the determined NP is specific and referential. In particular, when the verbal predicate appears in the perfect construction, the *ʒ dʒ* construction necessarily has the distributive meaning (126, 127, 128).

(127) *Bɛ ʒ dʒ yà dɔ ʒ*
 human\FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.PRF go REFL.SG

gɔ kɔdʒ.
 POSS.LOC house.LOC

‘Everyone went home’ [f88:11].

(128) *Pʒdɛ ʒ dʒ yà gʒ.*
 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 *ʒ dʒ* 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) *Bē* *ɔ̄* *dɔ̄* *yɔ̄* *bɔ̄ɔ̄* *à* *bá*
 human REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI can\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ on
ɔ̄ *yā* *bā* *kā*.
 REL.3SG.JNT work ART do\JNT
 ‘Anybody can do this job’.

(130) *Wū* *ɔ̄* *dɔ̄*, *bā* *gbɛ̄* *yɔ̄* *dɔ̄*
 meat REL.3SG.JNT be 1SG.POSS dog 3SG.EXI go\NEUT
à *kú-*.
 3SG.NSBJ catch-INF
 ‘My dog will catch any animal’.

(131) *Bé* *ɔ̄* *dɔ̄*, *yɔ̄* *ɔ̄* *dè* *dā!*
 human\FOC REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.SBJV REFL.SG self save
 ‘Run for your life!’ (litt.: ‘Man who exists, let him save himself’) [e16:7].

(132) *Pābèè* *ɔ̄* *dɔ̄*, *yɔ̄* *à* *bɔ̄*.
 food REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ eat\NEUT
 (Gbato is not fussy.) ‘He eats any food’.

In the generic context, *ɔ̄ dɔ̄* can appear only with a NP represented by the *óó*-reduplicative construction, so that the free choice meaning is expressed by both means at the same time (133).

(133) *Wū* *óó* *wū* *ɔ̄* *dɔ̄* *yɔ̄* *bɔ̄-pā* *ká*.
 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 *ɔ̄ dɔ̄*.

This determinant cannot be used if the elements of the distributive set have no permanent status. So, the *ɔ̄ dɔ̄* 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 *ɔ̄ dɔ̄*.

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 *ɔ̄ dɔ̄*, the 3SG.JNT auxiliary *ɔ̄* can be optionally replaced by 3PL.JNT auxiliary *wó* (134a).

(134a) *Bē* *wó/ɔ̄* *dɔ̄* *wà* *kpà* *wō*
 human\FOC 3PL.JNT/REL.3SG.JNT be 3PL.P see PL.REFL
kwáá *zīāā* *gbèñ* *tàà*.
 RECP.SUB road ramification on

‘All who existed have gathered on the crossroad’.

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

(134b) *Bē* *gbà* *wó* *dɔ̄* *wà* *kpà...*
 human all 3PL.JNT be 3PL.P see
 ‘Id.’

3.2.1.6. Indefinite determiner *bá* as a universal quantifier

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

(135) *Ū* *dō* *bā* *dɔ̄kwèè* *yā* *à* *bá*
 2SG.EXI go\NEUT 1SG.POSS market-load this 3SG.NSBJ certain
dɔ̄-.
 buy-INF

‘You should buy anything from my goods’.

(136) *Bē* *bá* *yɔ̄* *dó* *n̄* *dɔ̄-* *pɔ̄-dā*
 human certain 3SG.SBJV go 1SG.NSBJ put-INF village-father

píɔ̄-dɔ̄.
 at-LOC

‘Let anyone guide me to your elder’.

bá has a universal meaning under direct negation (137), where it undergoes competition with the constructions *X óó X bá* (138), which has an expressive meaning, and *yáá dɔ̄* (139). The latter can be

regarded as a negative analogue of the abovementioned *ɔ́ dɔ́*-construction, however, *yáá dɔ́* is possible only in existential sentences and is therefore in complementary distribution with *bá*.

(137) *Wíí à dlāā wɔ́ bá ká.*
3PL.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ teach affaure certain with

‘He has not been taught anything’.

(138) *Bē ǒǒ bē bá wíí dū.*
human any human certain 3PL.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

(139) *Bē bɔ́ ɔ́ yɔ́ɔ́ dó yáá dɔ́.*
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 *bá* a bound morpheme (a suffix), making one lexeme with the preceding word? For a while, I restrain myself from a final decision on this point.

(140a) *Bē bá bē bā wíí dū.*
human certain human\INT certain\INT 3SG.NEG.PFV come

‘Not a single person has come’.

(140b) *Bē bá bē bā bē bá wíí dū.*
human certain human\INT certain\INT human certain 3SG.NEG.PFV come

‘Not even a single person has come’.

3.2.1.7. Universal D-quantifiers semantic map

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

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

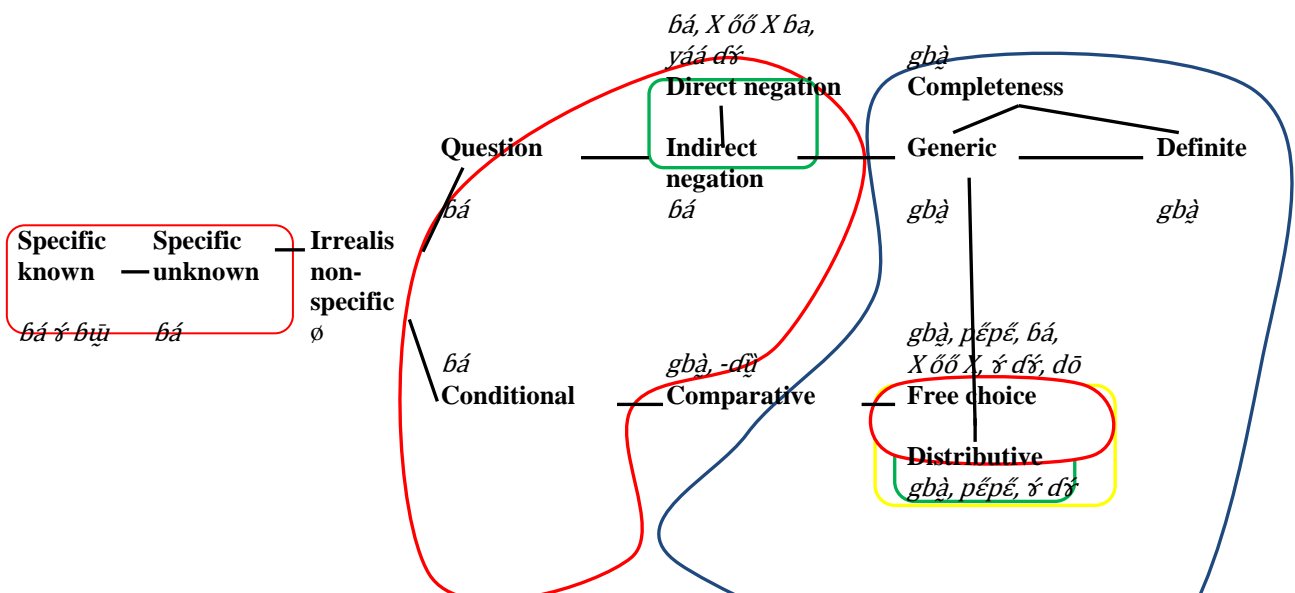
Explanation to the map:

The red zone: *bá*

The blue zone: *gbà*

The green zone: *ɔ́ dɔ́*

The yellow zone: *pépeé*.



3.2.2. Universal A-Quantifiers

Syntactically simple universal A-quantifiers are:

— *kpèèwō ~ kpæèwō ~ kpæèbō* (intensive form: *kpèkpèwō, kpækpæwō*) ‘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 *wō ~ bō* (going back to

two dummy verbs, see for more details 2.10.4), and the initial element may be etymologically identical to the noun *kpɛɛ* ‘rest, remainder’, however, this etymological link seems to be not perceivable in the synchrony;

— *tōñtōñdɔ̃* ‘never’ (the intensive form: *tōōñtōñdɔ̃*) 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 *-dɔ̃*, however, there is no such word as **tōñtōñ* in Dan-Gwɛetaa from which the quantifier could have been derived;

— *dō* ‘never, (not) yet’ (only about past events), can appear in negative clauses (144), in the context of general question (145a), in a dependent clause when the matrix clause is negative (145b). In negative clauses, *tōñtōñdɔ̃* and *dō* can combine (145c). This adverb, coming back to the numeral *dō*, can express other adverbial meanings as well: ‘finally’ (an encouragement to act to a hesitating person), ‘directly’ (about a movement), ‘to the end’.

(141) *Á yā kà kpɛɛwō, tɔ́ŋ yáá ñ gɔ̃*
1SG.EXI work do\NEUT always time 3SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ PP

kɔ̃ á yī zā.
that 1SG.SBJV sleeping kill\JNT

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

(142) *Gbătò yɔ̃ bā sāā sù kpɛɛwō.*
NOM.M 3SG.EXI 1SG.POSS soap take\NEUT always

‘Gbato takes my soap every time’.

(143) *Bíí dó kpá' à bā zú tōñtōñdɔ̃ dā̀̀bā*
1SG.NEG.PFV go see-INF 3SG.NSBJ on more never nevertheless

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

(144) *Bɛ̃ ɔ̃ bíí à bā pā bɔ̃ dō...*
human REL 2SG.NEG.PFV 3SG.NSBJ POSS thing eat ever

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

(145a) *Bá dɔ̃dɔ̃ dī-gà dō?*
2SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever

‘Have you ever tested milk?’

(145b) *Báá à wɔ́ dō dɛ̃ yà dɔ̃dɔ̃ dī-gà dō.*
1SG.NEG.IPFV 3SG.NSBJ matter know that 3SG.PRF milk taste- look.at ever

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

(145c) *Yáá ñ yáá dɛ̃ bíí dɔ̃dɔ̃ dī-gà*
1SG.NEG.IPFV 1SG.NSBJ eye.COM that 2SG.NEG.PFV milk taste- look.at

tōñtōñdɔ̃ dō.
never ever

‘I doubt you have ever tested milk’.

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

(146a) *Gbătò yáá ɔ̃ gɔ̃ gu-zú kpɛɛwō.*
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REFL.SG head inside-wash always

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

(146b) *Gbătò yáá ɔ̃ gɔ̃ gu-zú tōñtōñdɔ̃.*
NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REFL.SG head inside-wash never

‘Gbato never washes his head’.

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

(147) *Blō̃ yà pā gwɛɛ ká dèdè-wō.*
bag 3SG.PRF fill cassava with true-ADV

‘The bag is utterly full of cassava’.

Gbáàdǎ ‘entirely’ is an adverb used in the universal meaning with verbs of time duration, such as *kā* ‘do; spend (time)’ or *bǎ* ‘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 *-dǎ*, from the determiner *gbà* ‘all, entire’ (a locative postposition may have been also involved, presumably *bǎ* ‘on’, so that the original form might have been **gbà-bǎ-dǎ*).

(148) *Yǎ kā sǔ dō kǎ yǔǎ gú gbáàdǎ.*
 3SG.EXI RETR moon one do\NEUT illness in entirely
 ‘He was ill a whole month’.

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

(149) *Sǎǎ zǎ yǎ kóókóó tǎǎ gbà gú.*
 NOM as.for 3SG.EXI house.LOC.INT time all in
 ‘Siao is at home all the time’ [f91:3].

Besides, *ǎǎ*-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 ǎǎ dū ǎ Gbǎtǎ ǎ-’ wō Bǎǎdǎ*
 come any come REL NOM.M 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ do\JNT Man.LOC

yǎ siètǎ dǎ.
 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 *gbédǎ* ‘majority of’ (151), with mass nouns it means ‘major part’; *kpǎndǎ* ‘overwhelming majority of’ (152), with mass nouns ‘the great part of’. *Kpǎndǎ* can be supplemented by the universal determiner *gbà* ‘all’, the expression *kpǎndǎ gbà* means ‘almost all’. *Gbédǎ* is derived by the abstraction suffix *-dǎ* from the generalized existential quantifier *gbé* ‘many’, and *kpǎndǎ* is derived by the same suffix from the adjective *kpǎ* ‘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), *lǎbǎlǎ* ‘rebel(s)’ designates humans, while in (153) *blǎǎ* ‘sheep’ stands for non-humans, and the agreement with PPM is lacking.

(151) *Dòtlǎǎbǎ yǎ bǎ gbédǎ dǎ-kā*
 doctor 3SG.PRF human majority leaf- do

sǎdǎ kǎ yǎǎ yǎ pǎ.
 before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall

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

(152) *Lǎbǎlǎ kpǎndǎ wǎ bǎǎ sǎǎ bǎ.*
 rebel majority 3PL.EXI muslim prayer remove\NEUT

‘The overwhelming majority of the rebels were muslims’.

(153) *Blǎǎ-dǎ wó yǎ ǎ gbé-dǎ Ø kā*
 sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ numerous-ABSTR 3SG.EXI RETR

gǎ blǎǎ-yǐ kǎ, kǎǎ ǎ gbà yǎǎ bǎ.
 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 *gbédǎ*, its scope is limited to this quantifier :

(154) *Dǎbǎ gbédǎ wǎǎ tǎǎ sūū bǎ dǎ.*
 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 dō ~ pɛɛ dō* <half/part-one> (the noun *pɛɛ ~ pɛɛ* means ‘a part, a share’, and *dō* means ‘one’). It goes with a countable noun, the latter appears in a plural form, and the construction has a partitive meaning (155).

- (155) *Gwēē yà yīl bláá-dū pɛɛ dō zā.*
 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 kpī* ‘majority’ (litt. “big part”) and *pɛɛ sɛɛdā* ‘minority’ (litt. “small part”), as in (156).

- (156) *Bē pɛɛ kpī-sū wà bō Gbàtò ká,*
 human part big-SLA 3PL.PRF pass NOM.M with

- yɔ̄ bē pɛɛ sɛɛdā-sū wà bō Zâ 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-Gwɛetaa. *sìr ~ sɪl* ‘often’ (cf. 3.1.2) can also express the meaning of ‘usually’; a value judgment quantifier *dódó* (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 modifiers of this type in Dan-Gwɛetaa are few.

There are two synonymous restrictors, *gbéñ* and *sēñ* (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: *sēñ* appears with the numerals containing the element *dō* ‘one’ (1, 11, 21 etc.),¹² while *gbéñ* goes with all numerals, with the exception of *dō* ‘one’:

- (157) *Wà kwàbɛ̄ kððñ dō gā dō sēñ kú.*
 3PL.PRF thief ten one bone one only catch

‘Only 11 thieves have been caught’.

- (158) *Yà dū plɔ̄r yààgā gbéñ.*
 3SG.PRF come village.LOC three only

‘He has come to the village only thrice’ [g6:20].

There are three restrictors expressing the meaning ‘exactly’: *kpɛɛñdɔ̄* (*-dɔ̄* is an adverbial derivative suffix, the element *kpɛɛñ* has no synchronic etymologization) (159), *dèbɔ̄* <self-bunch> (160), which is otherwise used as a determiner ‘self’, and a floating restrictor *zòò*.

- (159) *Wáá gblú plè wāà wáá kāñ yīisīr*
 money thousand two 3SG.and money hundred four

kpɛɛñdɔ̄ dā ñ gò.
 exactly FOC 1SG.NSBJ PP

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

- (160) *Bē kððñ dō gā yīisīr dèbɔ̄ bɔ̄ ñ dē.*
 human 10 one bone four self search 1SG.NSBJ before

‘Find me exactly fourteen people’.

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

- (161a) *Wò kððñ dō zòò kɛ̄ wáá bɔ̄ à bā*
 3PL.EXI 10 one but.how but 3PL.NEG.IPFV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on

kɔ̄ wò yā bā à kā wā.

¹² Some people also allow combinations of the restrictor *sēñ* with numerals *sɔ̄dú* ‘five’, *sɔ̄dò* ‘six’ and *kððñ dō* ‘ten’, others do not accept them.

that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do ouch!

(161b) *Wò kòdòḡ dō kěé wáá b̂ḡ ẑḡ à b̂à k̂r wò yā b̂ā à k̂ā ŵā.*

(161c) *Wò kòdòḡ dō kěé wáá b̂ḡ à b̂à k̂r wò yā b̂ā à k̂ā ẑḡ ŵā.*

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

In other contexts, *ẑḡ* (with the particle *ŵā* in the sentence-final position) expresses an unpleasant surprise, or (with the particle *ŵé* 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):

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

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

— *ŷḡḡ* ‘approach’ with the postposition *ŝḡḡ* ‘near’, for the meaning ‘almost’ (167);

— *b̂ō*, 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) *Dēb̂l̂ ḡ d̂r̂ t̂ō ḡ-’ d̂ō*
 woman REL.3SG.JNT be chicken REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buy\JNT

ŷr̂ zīr̂ t̂ō kòdòḡ dō t̂ā.
 3SG.EXI pass\NEUT chicken 10 one on

‘Every woman bought more than ten chickens’.

(163) *Tāŝí zīr̂ b̂ḡ ŝāà ŷáá zīr̂ ŵl̂l̂*
 taxi pass human\IZF salary 3SG.NEG.IPFV pass money

gbl̂ú kòdòḡ dō ḡ ĝā pl̂è t̂ā.
 thousand 10 one REFL.SG bone two on

‘A taxi driver gains here maximum 60000 fr.’

(164) *B̂ḡ wó lòò pl̂r̂r̂ ŵí b̂ḡḡ b̂ḡ*
 human 3PL.JNT arrive\JNT village.LOC 3PL.NEG.PFV reach human

kòdòḡ dō b̂ā ŝāq̂l̂ k̂r̂ ŷl̂ḡ ŷr̂ p̂r̂.
 10 one on before even.if sun.CMM 3SG.SBJV fall

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

(165) *Dúú ḡ b̂ḡḡ dúú k̂l̂ḡ dō*
 tree REL. 3SG.JNT be.able\JNT tree hundred one

k̂ḡ pl̂è b̂ā ŷā ĝḡ bl̂áā.
 hand.CMM two on 3SG.EXI.3SG.NSBJ POSS.LOC field.LOC

‘There are approximately 120 trees in his plantation’.

(166) *Kāḡt̂ḡ d̂é ḡ d̂r̂ à b̂ā*
 canton the.other REL.3SG.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ POSS

p̂r̂d̂ē ŷr̂ b̂ḡḡ ŝḡḡd̂ú ḡḡ kòdòḡ dō b̂ā.
 village.CMM 3SG.EXI be.able\NEUT five or 10 one on

‘Every canton counts between five and ten villages’.

(167) *B̂ḡ wó p̂r̂ ŷā à ĝú wò ŷḡḡ*
 human 3PL.JNT village this 3SG.NSBJ in 3PL.EXI move\NEUT

b̂ḡ kòdòḡ pl̂è ŝḡḡ.
 human 10 two near

‘There are almost 200 inhabitants in this village’.

(168) *B̂ḡ wó b̂ḡ p̂ḡḡ dō b̂ō wò*
 human\FOC 3PL.JNT human part one remove\JNT 3PL.EXI

ŝl̂l̂d̂ē d̂.
 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 *gbé dèdè* <many self>.

- (169) *Bá bē gbé dèdè dà gō gú.*
 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 *tšǐ̀bàsù* 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) *Kó gbà wò kī gš, kěéǐ à plè dā*
 house all 3PL.EXI RETR burn\NEUT but 3SG.NSBJ two FOC
wíí gš.
 3PL.NEG.PFV burn

‘All the houses but two burnt’.

- (171) *Kǎfléé dē gbé wà bā, kěé Gbàtò*
 coffee place numerous 3PL.PRF fructify but NOM.M

- bà dódó dā wíí bā.*
 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-Gwæetaa.

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) *Pšdš, bē kòdǐ̀ dō tà bē yǐ̀sǐ̀š dā*
 village.LOC human 10 one on human four FOC

- wó sǐ̀tǐ̀ bū.*
 3PL.JNT cigarette drink/JNT

‘Four village dwellers out of ten smoke’.

- (173) *Dššgò bléè-sù, bē sšdú tá yúá kī bē 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 *pé-gú* ‘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 *péé* ‘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) *Bē-dū pé gú-sù š yààgā ká, à*
 human-PL split inside-GER REL.3SG.JNT three with 3SG.NSBJ

- péé dō wà kwí wò bā.*
 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) *Bē kīš dō š dš, bē kòdǐ̀ yààgā*
 human hundred one REL.3SG.JNT be human 10 three

- wò kwí wò bā.*
 3PL.EXI Caucasian voice hear\NEUT

‘Thirty percent of the people understand French’.

The meaning ‘a small minority’ is expressed by the expression *pɛ̃ɛ̃ sɛ̃ɛ̃dɔ́* ‘minority’ (cf. 3.3.1) where the adjective appears in its intensive form:

(176) *Pɔ̃ yā guú kó-dũ wó dɔ̃, à pɛ̃ɛ̃ sɛ̃ɛ̃dɔ́*
village this in house-PL 3PL.JNT be 3SG.NSBJ part small.INT

dũ kūrāj̃ ɔ̃-'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) *Bāj-dũ gbà dũ wáá súj̃ bá.*
Jula-PL all FOC 3PL.NEG.IPFV Ramadan put

‘Not all Jula observe Ramadan’.

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

(178) *Dɔ́ wó dɔ̃ zīɔ̃-' bɛ̃ plè tà wò dɔ̃ gɛ̃yɛ̃-'.*
child 3PL.JNT go\JNT 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) *Klāj̃dɔ̃-dɔ́ wó dɔ̃ zīɔ̃' bɛ̃ plè tà, wó dà*
school-child 3PL.JNT go\JNT pass-INF human two on 3PL.JNT enter\JNT

bɛ̃ kòd̃j̃ dō wl̃ɔ̃ wò dɔ̃ gɛ̃yɛ̃-'.
human 10 one under 3SG.EXI go\JNT gain-INF

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

(180) *Bɛ̃ wó pl̃ɔ̃ à kp̃f̃d̃ɛ̃ wà dũ*
human 3PL.JNT village.LOC 3SG.NSBJ majority 3PL.PRF come

kũb̃d̃ɛ̃ t̃àà-bō kɛ̃ɛ̃ à gbà wíí dũ.
prefect greeting-remove but 3SG.NSBJ all 3PL.NEG.PFV come

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

(181) *Pɔ̃-bɛ̃ zīāā yáá bú-d̃-k̃-sù zīā dō,*
village-human\IZF self 3SG.NEG.IPFV wilderness-desire-do-GER path know

kɔ̃ yɔ̃ dũ tó dɛ̃j̃ zà bá.
that 3SG.SBJV PRSM remain stranger as.for on

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

(182) *Bú-k̃-bɛ̃ s̃s̃d̃ú tà bɛ̃ yáá zīɔ̃ bɛ̃*
wilderness-do-human\IZF five on human 3SG.NEG.IPFV pass human

plè tà kɔ̃ wó dō gō zīɔ̃-d̃ ká.
two on that 3PL.JNT know\JNT vehicle pass-MSD with

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

3.4.1.6. Partitives

The partitive meaning can be expressed

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

(183) *Bíí dũ b̃ɛ̃ yā bá dī-gà.*
1SG.NEG.PFV tree fruit this certain taste-look.at

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

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

(184) *Kwà-b̃-dũ wó gũ b̃á wà à 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.

- (185) *Bláá-dũ wó yā à gbédē kī gā blǎxyī ká,*
sheep-PL 3PL.JNT this 3SG.NSBJ majority RETR die\NEUT dry.season with
kéé à gbà yáá bũ.
but 3SG.NSBJ entire 3SG.NEG.IPFV be

‘Most of these sheep, but not all, died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘A majority of these sheep died during the dry season, but all of them did not die’).

- (186) *Á bà bláá-dũ wó gā blǎxyī yā ká*
3SG.NSBJ POSS sheep-PL 3PL.JNT die\JNT dry.season day this with
wíí b̀̀̀̀ bláá-dũ pè-gú-sù ɣ̃ yààgā ká
3PL.NEG.PFV be.able sheep-PL split\NMLZ-in-GER REL. 3SG.JNT three with
à pè dō bà.
3SG.NSBJ segment one on

‘Not more than a third of his sheep died during the dry season’ (litt.: ‘His sheep (which) died during the dry season, if they are split in three, they don’t reach one part of it’).

3.4.2. Complex A-modifiers

Kpḗḗḗd̃ ‘exactly’ (also a D-quantifier, see 3.4.1) and *dèb̃̃̃wō* ‘exactly’ (derived from the D-quantifier *dèb̃̃̃*) can specify numerals used as A-quantifiers:

- (187) *Kpḗḗḗd̃ Gbătò yā wò B́yā súèsĩ.*
exactly NOM.M 3SG.PRF appear Abidjan nine

‘Gbato has been to Abidjan exactly nine times’.

- (188) *Gbătò yā nũ pl̃̃̃ yààgā dèb̃̃̃wō.*
NOM.M 3SG.PRF come village.LOC three exactly

‘Gbato has come to the village exactly thrice’.

D́báwō 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 p̃̃̃ k̃̃̃ d́ bláá kà kī d́báwō b̃̃̃*
2PL.PRF say 2PL.PROS go field.LOC 2PL.IMP do a.little human

- k̀̀̀̀̀ dō ɣ̃ gā s̃̃̃dũ.*
10 one REFL.SG bone five

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

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

- (190a) *Wò k̀̀̀̀̀ dō kéé wáá b̀̀̀̀̀ à bà z̃̃̃wō k̃̃̃ wò yā b̃̃̃ à k̃̃̃.*
3PL.EXI 10 one but 3PL.NEG.IPFV be.able 3SG.NSBJ on

- k̃̃̃ wò yā b̃̃̃ à k̃̃̃ z̃̃̃wō.*
that 3PL.SBJV work ART 3SG.NSBJ do as.much.as

(b) *Wò k̀̀̀̀̀ dō kéé wáá b̀̀̀̀̀ à bà z̃̃̃wō k̃̃̃ wò yā b̃̃̃ à k̃̃̃.*

(c) *Wò k̀̀̀̀̀ dō kéé wáá b̀̀̀̀̀ z̃̃̃wō à bà k̃̃̃ wò yā b̃̃̃ à k̃̃̃.*

(d) *Wò k̀̀̀̀̀ dō z̃̃̃wō kéé wáá b̀̀̀̀̀ à bà k̃̃̃ wò yā b̃̃̃ à k̃̃̃.*

‘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 *d̃̃̃ p̃̃̃ d̃̃̃*, litt. ‘that a thing is so’, preceding the number (191); optionally, a count word *kótã* ‘time’ can be inserted before the numeral.

- (191) *Gbătò yā g̃̃̃ s̀̀̀̀̀ d̃̃̃ p̃̃̃ d̃̃̃ (kótã) k̀̀̀̀̀̀ dō.*
NOM.M 3SG.PRF malaria find that thing so.REM time 10 one

‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

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

- (192) *Gbătò yā g̃̃̃ s̀̀̀̀̀ gb̃̃̃wō k̀̀̀̀̀̀ dō.*
NOM.M 3SG.PRF malaria find almost 10 one

‘Gbato has had malaria almost ten times’.

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

(194) *Gbàtò yáá dū gbàwō plá̄.*
 NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV 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 *p̄̄* V-GER/V-MSD *bà*, where *p̄̄* 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 *p̄̄* in this meaning can also introduce a bare infinitive form of the content verb, as in (196), where *p̄̄* introduces the bare infinitive *bō* ‘to finish’ (which, in its turn, introduces a gerundive form of the verb *ká* ‘to cut’).

(195) *Zâ yà p̄̄ yā zū-bō-sù/-dē* *bà.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF say work bottom remove-GER/-MSD on
 ‘Jean has almost begun to work’.

(196) *Zâ yà p̄̄ ̄ bō dū ká-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 *kā* ‘to do’ introducing a completive subordinate clause with the conjunction *dē*, where the content verb appears in the prospective construction (197).

(197) *Gwá dā ȳ à kà dē ȳ̄̄ b̄̄̄ kú.*
 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 *kp̄̄dē* ‘great majority’ is used instead (198).

(198) *Gbàtò ȳ dū plá̄ tē̄̄ȳ̄ēē kp̄̄dē 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 *zī̄̄* ‘pass’ and *b̄̄̄* ‘reach’, in the same way as displayed in 3.4.1.1.

Examples for the bounding quantifiers have been translated as follows:

(199) *Gbàtò ȳ yí dā plè dēkp̄̄b̄̄yì bà,*
 NOM.M 3SG.EXI water measure\NEUT two day on

dēkp̄̄b̄̄yì s̄̄̄dū d̄̄̄ḡ̄ dō bà.
 day five week one on

‘Gbato measures water twice a day, five days a week’.

(200) *Ȳ̄dē ȳ yā kà dēkp̄̄b̄̄yì s̄̄̄dū d̄̄̄ḡ̄ dō gú,*
 NOM.F 3SG.EXI work do\NEUT day five week one in

d̄̄̄ḡ̄ k̄̄d̄̄j̄ ȳ̄s̄̄̄̄ ̄ gā s̄̄̄dū kwè bà, ̄ b̄̄
 week 10 four REFL.SG bone five year on 3SG.JNT appear\NEUT

à ká d̄̄ kwè k̄̄d̄̄j̄ dō ̄ gā s̄̄̄dū 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 *zī̄̄ (à) ká X t̄̄* (where X is the ground for the comparison), litt. ‘to pass with it on X’ (201); cf. also 3.4.1.

(201) *Ḡ̄-dū gbé wò s̄̄t̄̄f̄̄ b̄̄̄ wó z̄̄̄ ká*
 male-PL numerous 3PL.EXI cigarette drink\NEUT 3PL.JNT pass\JNT with

dēb̄̄-dū t̄̄.
 woman-PL on

‘More men than women smoke’.

The meaning ‘as many as’ is expressed by a clausal intransitive construction with the verb *bɔ̃ɔ̃* ‘to be able; to reach; to be in agreement’, the compared NPs are in coordinative construction; cf. also 3.4.1.1.

(202) *Klànjdíř-dí-dũ bā pìř-gā-sòdò wó-’ kwàà à*
 school-child-PL POSS iron-bone-horse 3PL.JNT-3SG.NSBJ steal\JNT 3SG.NSBJ

dí wāà klànğǒbɛ-dũ bā yř bɔ̃ɔ̃.
 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-Gwɛetaa.

4.2. Type (2) quantifiers

(203a) *Gɔ̃ dɛ ř dř, dɛbà dɛ ř dř*
 male that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM woman that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM

à dɔ̃ yř à kà.
 3SG.NSBJ desire 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ do\NEUT

‘Different men like different women’ (litt. ‘A man who is so, a woman who is so, her love pursues him’).

(203b) *Sɛ dɛ ř dř, pàbèè dɛ ř*
 land.CMM that REL.3SG.JNT so.REM food that REL.3SG.JNT

dř à dɔ̃ yř à kà.
 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) *Búklábɛ dɛ ř dř wà wũ sũ dódó zā.*
 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) *Búklábɛ dɛ ř dř wà wũ sũ dō zā.*
 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) *Dɛbà ř dř yřř tǎ dō bā dǎ bō.*
 woman LOG.SG.SBJV so.REM 3SG.PROS dance one ART FOC remove

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

(205c) *Klànjdíř-dí ř dř yř sáádɛ dō bā dǎ*
 school-child REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.SBJV paper one ART FOC

wò př.
 voice say

‘Let every student read the same book’.

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

(206) *Bɛ bɛğ ř yā bɛğ kǎ?*
 human which 3SG.JNT work which do\JNT

‘Which person has done which job?’

(207) *Gɔ̃ bɛğ ř dɛbà bɛğ sũ?*
 male which 3SG.JNT woman which take\JNT

‘Which man has married which woman?’

(208) *Gbàtò wāà Zâ wò přdɛ wó wò*
 NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI village.CMM 3PL.JNT PL.REFL

kó sɔ̃ gú.
 RECP.CMM near in

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

(209) *Gbàtò wāà Zâ wò vòtèè kǎ pɛğ wɛɛ plè ká.*
 NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.EXI elections do\NEUT part other two with

‘Gbato and Jean vote for different parties’ (litt.: ‘Gbato and Jean, they do vote with two different parts).

(210) *Zādōbē-dū* ɣ̣ wáá dō, wōō zā gò-yé kò
 judge-PL REL 3PL.NEG.IPFV one 3PL.PROS dispute head-break hand.CMM

dódó ká zā dō kò dō ká.
 rare do dispute construction hand.CMM one with

‘Different judges try the same cases differently’ (litt. ‘Judges which are not one, they are going to do one-one way of solving cases with one kind of trial’).

(211a) *Gbàtò wāà Zā wà gbéétà zā, kéé bē*
 NOM.M 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.PRF chat kill but human

bá yí gbéétà zā bē bá ká.
 certain 3SG.NEG.PFV chat kill human certain with

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

(211b) *Yòdē wāà Sàayí wà dídāà bá, kéé bē*
 NOM.F 3SG.and NOM.M 3PL.PRF quarrel put but human

bá yí dídāà bá bē bá ká.
 certain 3SG.NEG.PFV quarrel put human certain with

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

(212) *Gbàtò yáá ɣ̣ dí dà*
 NOM.M 3SG.NEG.IPFV REFL.SG mouth go.up

bē dō tà kɣ̣ yɣ̣ zīɣ̣ plè tà.
 human one on that 3SG.SBJV pass two on

‘Gbato (never) talks with the same person more than twice’ (lit. ‘Gbato does not climb his mouth on one person in a way that it overpasses two times’).

(213) *Kàsò-gú-bē-dū wò dà kó gú dódó ǹǹ*
 prison-in-human\IZF-PL 3PL.SBJV go.up house in from.time.to.time or

zúúú wò dà kó dí gú dódó.
 more.INT 3PL.SBJV go.up house mouth in from.time.to.time

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

(214a) *Gɔ̄-dū wò gblèè sìɣ̣ wò zìɣ̣ à*
 male-PL 3PL.EXI long sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ

ká dēbà-dū tà.
 with woman-PL on

‘Men are usually taller than women’.

(214b) *Gbē-dū wò gbíɣ̣ sìɣ̣ wò zìɣ̣*
 dog-PL 3PL.EXI heavy sometimes 3PL.EXI pass\NEUT

à ká gwáá-dū tà.
 3SG.NSBJ with cat-PL on

Dogs are usually heavier than cats.

4.3. Distributive numerals and binominal each

(215) *Zādōbē wó bā, bē dō yà zā sɔ́ɔ́dú gò-yé.*
 judge 3PL.JNT ART human one 3SG.PRF dispute five head-break

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

(216) *Zādōbē-dū wó bā, à gbà pèé wà zā*
 judge-PL 3PL.JNT ART 3SG.NSBJ entire each 3PL.PRF dispute

sɔ́ɔ́dú gò-yé wò kwáá.
 five head-break REFL.PL RECP.SUB

‘The judges have tried five cases between them’.

(217) *Bá būū plè gó búkábē dé ɣ̣ dí*
 1SG.PRF gun two sell hunter the.other REL.3SG.JNT so.REM

à gò.
 3SG.NSBJ PP

‘I have sold two guns to each hunter’.

(218) *Blúúkābē plē, bē gbà wà blōō yààgā-yààgā sú.*
 hunter two human all 3PL.PRF bag three-three take

‘Two hunters carry three bags each’.

(219) *Bláábē-dū, bē gbà wà dū tō plè-plè ká*
 peasant-PL human all 3PL.PRF come chicken two-two with

kúbáá dǎ sēé dǎ dē.
 prefect small before

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

(220) *Sóó dǎ-dū wà dà plè-plè yítàgò-dū gú.*
 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-Gwæetaa is at an early stage of grammaticalization. There are three count words, *gā* ‘grain, bone, drop’, *bē* ‘fruit’, *dǎ* ‘child’ whose formalization is relatively advanced (although there is still a great deal of lexical limitations in their use), and certain other nouns (*kp̄* ‘ball’, *gèè* ‘dead body, carcass’, *b̄* ‘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-Gwæetaa 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., *fáágā* ‘comb’, *làgā* ‘moonfish’, *sèdágā* ‘needle’, *pèègā* ‘adze’, *yéégā* ‘savanna’, *yóñbē* ‘rattle’, *yūbáá dǎ* ‘cat’, *bíl dǎ* ‘intestinal worm’, *sl̄ dǎ* ‘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.

gā ‘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 *zēñ* ‘mosquito’, *zōñ* ‘gravel’, *kāā* ‘body hair; hair of an animal; feather; wing of an insect’, *wū* ‘hair’, *dē* ‘leaves’, *sáádē* ‘paper’, etc.), long objects (*bíl* ‘rope’, *d̄ñ* ‘rope, wire’, *yí* ‘river’¹⁴, *gbōñ* ‘petiole of raffia palm’), and some others. The degree of necessity of *gā* 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 (*yá* ‘eye’, *s̄* ‘tooth’, *néé* ‘tongue’ (222)), with *bíl* ‘rope’ (223), with the word *wáá* ‘money, 5 CFA francs’ (224), and many others.

(221) *Yō yà kp̄ zòò/gòñ gā/*ø s̄óó dǎ b̄.*
 NOM.MF 3SG.PRF see caterpillar1/caterpillar2 bone five on

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

(222) *Bá yá/s̄/déé gā/*ø s̄óó dǎ dē-kā.*
 1SG.PRF eye/tooth/tongue bone five leaf-do

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

(223) *Bá bíl gā/*ø s̄óó dǎ d̄.*
 1SG.PRF rope bone five buy

‘I have bought five ropes’.

(224) *Bá wáá gā/*ø yààgā dū à dē.*
 1SG.PRF 5.francs bone three give 3SG.NSBJ before

‘I have given him fifteen francs’.

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

(225) *Bá yí gā/ø yààgā ká.*
 1SG.PRF water bone three cut

‘I have crossed three rivers’.

(226) *Bá ñ kāā gā/ø s̄óó dǎ wò.*
 1SG.PRF 1SG.NSBJ hair bone five extract

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

¹⁴ Without the classifier *gā*, the lexeme *yí* may mean ‘water’ or ‘river’ (or any other water reservoir).

‘I have pulled out five my bodyhair’.

- (227) *Bá tǒ-dě gā/ø sǔǔdǔ dǔ-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: *dīāā* ‘earthworm’, *kpāī* ‘multipede’, *yúǔǔ* ‘fish’, *blúù* ‘bread’. With nouns other than names of fruits, this count word can be always omitted (or replaced with another count word, see below).

Dǎ ‘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 *dǎ* implies that the fishes were bought alive¹⁵.

- (228) *Bá yúǔǔ gā/bē/dǎ yǎǎgā dǔ.*
1SG.PRF fish bone/fruit/child three buy
‘I have bought three fishes’.

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

- (229) *Yà bǔ gèè/bǔǔ yǎǎgā dǔ.*
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 védǔ yǎǎgā*
palm.wine glass three
‘three glasses of palm wine’,

- (231) *kǔī blǔ yǎǎgā*
maize bag three
‘three bags of maize’,

- (232) *sāā kpǔ yǎǎgā*
soap ball three
‘three cakes of soap’,

- (233) *bāā dèè yǎǎgā*
cassava root three
‘three cassava roots’,

- (234) *glǔ kpāā yǎǎgā*
banana bunch three
‘three bunches of banana’,

- (235) *kǎflǔ kídǔ yǎǎgā*
coffee kilogram three
‘three kilograms of coffee’.

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

- (236) *yí kǔǔ yǎ yǎǎgā*
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 *yǎ* is omitted (*yí kǔǔ yǎǎgā*), it means that water is necessarily placed in three gourds.

¹⁵ -*dǎ* is also a diminutive suffix, therefore, an alternative reading in this case is ‘three small fishes’.

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

Possibilities of combination of D-quantifiers 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-Gwetaa.

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) *Bǎŋglǎǎ yǎ ǎ dǔ bǎ.*
 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) *Dǎǎ díǎkǎdíǎkǎ yǎ ǎ gǎ.*
 knife sharp.ExtINT 3SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ PP
 ‘He has an extremely sharp knife’ [f86:7].

(239) *ǎ sé yǎǎ n̄ dē.*
 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 *dǎ*, where *dǎ* is a defective verb.

(240) *Yǎŋ yǎ dǎ dē.*
 sun.CMM 3SG.EXI be\NEUT today
 ‘It is very hot today’ [f57:8] (litt. ‘Sun exists today’).

(241) *... kǎ ǎ dǎ dē wěě bǎ yǎǎ dǎ.*
 that 3SG.NSBJ go place other certain 3SG.NEG.IPFV be
 ‘... for he had no other place to go’ [f2:7] (litt. ‘that another place for him to go did not exist’).

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

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

4.6. Floating quantifiers

Only restrictor *zǎǎ* ‘exactly’ (see 3.4.1.1) and adverb *zǎǎwǎ* ‘as many as’ (see 3.4.2) can float.

4.7. Bare quantifiers

The following bare quantifiers can function as predicates: numerals (242), *dódó* ‘a few, a small number’, *gbé* ‘many’ (243), *gbé dèdèwǎ* ‘very much, too much’, *kěě* ‘few’, *sěědǎ* ‘small quantity’, *tǎŋbǎsù* ‘a couple, a small number (with negation)’ (244).

(242) *ǎ bǎ kǎ yǎ yǎǎgǎ.*
 3SG.NSBJ POSS house 3SG.EXI three
 ‘He has three houses’ (litt. ‘his house is three’) [f77:14].

(243) *Bǎdǎ-kǎ-bǎ-dǔ wǎ yǎ-tǎ-sǎ n̄ gǎ wǎ gbé.*
 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) *Bǎdǎ-kǎ-bǎ-dǔ wǎ yǎ-tǎ-sǎ n̄ gǎ*
 work-do-human\IZF-PL 3PL.JNT eye-leave-DUR 1SG.NSBJ PP

wǎ tǎŋbǎsù.
 3PL.NEG.IPFV multitude

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

The following bare quantifiers can function as arguments: numerals, *bǎ* ‘certain’, *bǎ-dǔ* ‘some’, *dǎbǎ* ‘several’, *gbǎ* ‘many’, *gbǎ pěpě* ‘all (emphatic)’, *gbé* ‘many, numerous’, *gbé dèdè* ‘too many’, *gbédè* ‘majority’, *kěě* ‘few’, *kpǎdè* ‘overwhelming majority’, *kpǎdè gbǎ* ‘almost all’, *pěě dǎ* ‘a half’, *pěě kpǎ* ‘majority’, *pěě sěědǎ* ‘minority’, *sěědǎ* ‘little’, *sěědǎ bǎ* ‘several, few’, *tǎŋbǎsù* ‘a small number’ (with negation)?

(245) *Dǔǔkwáá-dǔ, yúǔǔ dǔǔ gǔ gǔ, ā ā*
 market-LOC fish market be.PST\NEUT good 1SG.EXI

kā plè/gbà/gbé/bá-dǔ/kpíndè dǔ.
 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) *Bā káá-dǔ gǔ. À gbà/gbé/dè/bá-dǔ/gbé/dódó*
 1SG.POSS hoe-PL see 3SG.NSBJ all/majority/certain-PL/many/rare

wǎ yé.
 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 *gbéǔ* and *séǔ* ‘only’. As for the restrictor *kpéǔdǔ* ‘exactly’, it can go with a bare numeral in the argument position only, contrary to *zǔ* ‘exactly’, which accompanies bare numerals only in the predicate position.

4.8. Relation between different types of pronouns

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

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

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) *Dēbǎ ǔ dǔ yǔ tǔ dō bō.*
 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 ambiguities in wh-questions:

(248) *Tǔ bǔǔ ǔ dēbǎ ǔ dǔ ǔ*
 dance which REL woman REL.3SG.JNT so.REM 3SG.JNT

ǎ bō?
 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) *Blúkǎbǔ yǎǎgā wǎ dǔǔ kǔǔ dō gā sǔǔdǔ gǎ.*
 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) *Dúú gā dǔ ā ǎ tǎ, ǎ*
 tree bone other 1SG.EXI 3SG.NSBJ close\NEUT 3SG.NSBJ

gbàǎ bō, yǎ kǎ dǔú kpí ká.
 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 *gbéǔ* and *séǔ*, 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 *dō* ‘one’, usually followed by a definite article (251), a focalizer (252, in a contrastive context), or a restrictor (253).

(251) *Ȳr̄r̄ dō bā ȳr̄ gũ t̄ ð pl̄ z̄ngú.*
 3SG.CNTR one ART 3SG.EXI be.PST\NEUT mountain two between
 ‘It (the way) was the only one between two mountains’ [zuase.013].

(252) *Sl̄l̄l̄ ȳr̄r̄ dō d̄l̄ r̄-’ d̄.*
 pepper 3SG.CNTR one FOC 3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ buy\JNT
 ‘She has bought only pepper’ [f56:5].

(253) *B̄l̄ r̄ k̄l̄ ȳr̄ yáá tó kwí*
 what 3SG.JNT do\JNT CONS 3SG.NEG.IPFV remain Caucasian

wò wāà wò w̄éé-d̄ȳ wōō dō sēñ b̄à?
 voice 3SG.and voice other-PL 3PL.CNTR one only on

‘Why does it (newspaper) not remain only in French and other languages?’
 [Pam̄l_1w̄n_tāng.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) *Z̄á, d̄l̄l̄l̄ d̄l̄ r̄-’ b̄, k̄ééñ*
 NOM.M walk FOC REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ remove\JNT but

yí wē b̄ȳ.
 3SG.NEG.PFV wine drink

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

(255) *Z̄á, p̄l̄ d̄l̄ r̄-’ b̄, k̄ééñ yí*
 NOM.M thing FOC REL.3SG.JNT-3SG.NSBJ eat\JNT but 3SG.NEG.PFV

yí b̄ȳ.
 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’).

4.14. Conversion of D-quantifiers into A-quantifiers with pre-verbal verbs

In Dan-Gw̄etaa 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) *Gb̄àt̄ò yà yā ḡ-d̄.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF work head-stand
 ‘Gbato has finished a work’.

(256b) *Yā bā ḡ yà d̄.*
 work ART head 3SG.PRF stand
 ‘The work has been finished’.

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

(257a) *Gb̄àt̄ò yà b̄èd̄é gú-gú-d̄.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF drug in-taste
 ‘Gbato has tested a drug’.

(257b) *Gb̄àt̄ò yà b̄èd̄é gú s̄éé-d̄l̄ d̄.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF drug in small taste
 ‘Gbato has tested a drug a little bit’.

(257c) *Gb̄àt̄ò yà b̄èd̄é-d̄ȳ gú-d̄-gú-d̄.*
 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 adverbialization 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) *Gbätò yà à bà dēb̀l̀ tà-kú.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface-catch
 ‘Gbato has helped his wife’.
- (258b) *Gbätò yà à bà dēb̀l̀ tà bá kú.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface any catch
 ‘Gbato has helped his wife in some way’.
- (258c) *Gbätò yà à bà dēb̀l̀ tà gbà kú.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface all catch
 ‘Gbato has helped his wife by all means’.
- (258d) *Gbätò yà à bà dēb̀l̀ tà-dũ kú.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface-PL catch
 ‘Gbato has helped his wife repeatedly’.
- (258e) *Gbätò yà à bà dēb̀l̀ tà gbé kú.*
 NOM.M 3SG.PRF 3SG.NSBJ POSS wife surface many catch
 ‘Gbato has helped his wife very much’.

5. Summary table

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

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

Table 4. Summary for quantifiers in Dan-Gwæetaa

	D-quantifiers	With mass nouns	With pl. form	A-quantifiers
Numerals	+	kind of	partitive	+
<i>bá</i>	certain; any; {other}	{other}	–	–
<i>báwō</i>	–	–	–	{again}
<i>dēb̀řř</i>	exactly (with numerals); {self}	–	{self}	–
<i>dēb̀řřwō</i>	–	–	–	exactly (with numerals)
<i>dèdèwō</i>	–	–	–	utterly; often; for a long time; in great number
<i>dō</i>	certain, a	–	–	ever; never (in negative sentences)
<i>dódó</i>	rare, few	–	some	occasionally; rarely; one by one
<i>d̀l̀bá</i>	several	a little, some	–	–
<i>d̀l̀bábō</i>	–	–	–	a little (small intensity); {at least}
<i>gbà</i>	all, entire (see Table 1)	all	all	–
<i>gbà p̀p̀p̀</i>	all (emphatic)	all (emphatic)	all (emphatic)	–
<i>gbáàd̄</i>	–	–	–	entirely
<i>gbéř</i>	only (with numerals)	–	–	only (with numerals)

	D-quantifiers	With mass nouns	With pl. form	A-quantifiers
<i>gbé</i>	many, enough	much	many, much (partitive)	much, often
<i>gbé dèdè</i>	too many	too much	too much (partitive)	–
<i>gbé dèdèwō</i>	–	–	–	too much, very much
<i>gbédè</i>	majority	major part	majority	–
<i>kéé</i>	few	–	–	–
<i>kpèèwō</i>	–	–	–	always
<i>kpèèṅdṛ</i>	exactly (with numerals)	–	–	exactly
<i>kpîdè</i>	overwhelming majority	the great part of	–	–
<i>kpîdè gbà</i>	almost all	almost all	–	–
X óó X	any, whatever	any (kind of)	–	(nominalization of the verb)
ṛ dṛ	every; any; (all)	any (kind of)	–	–
<i>pépé</i>	every, (all)	(‘kind of’)	–	–
<i>péé dō</i>	a half (of one object or of a group)	–	half of (the group)	–
<i>péé kpî</i>	majority	–	majority	–
<i>péé sèédá</i>	minority	–	minority	–
<i>sēṅ</i>	only (with numerals)	–	–	only (with numerals)
<i>sèédá</i>	(small)	few	–	little
<i>sèédá bá</i>	several, few	small quantity of	–	–
<i>sì</i>	–	–	–	sometimes, often; usually
<i>sìsì</i>	–	–	–	often
<i>sì tṣṣ́ bá-dù gú</i>	–	–	–	often
<i>tōṅtōṅdṛ</i> (NPI)	–	–	–	never
<i>tṣṣ́bàsù</i> (NPI)	a couple, a small number	a small quantity	–	–
<i>tṣṣ́ gú</i> (NPI)	–	–	–	few, insufficiently
<i>tṣṣ́ gbà gú</i>	–	–	–	all the time
<i>zìààwō</i>	–	–	–	as many as
<i>zòò</i>	exactly (with numerals)	–	–	exactly (with numerals)

Abbreviations

ADJ – adjective; adjectivizer suffix (-*sù*)

ADV – adverbial suffix (-*wō* ~ -*bō*)

ART – definite article *bā*

Atr – attribute

AUT – autonomous pronominal series

AUX – auxiliary

C – consonant

CMM – common case

CNTR – contrastive pronominal series
COM – comitative case
CONS – consecutive conjunction (*γʻ*)
COP – copula
Det – determiner
DIM – diminutive suffix
DO – direct object
DUR – durative verbal suffix *-sīā*
EXI – existential series of PPM
EXCL – 1 pers. exclusive plural pronoun/PPM
FOC – a) focalization particle (*dā̄ ~ dīū̄*); b) grammatical high tone on certain focalized nouns
GER – gerundive suffix *-sū̄*
IMP – imperative series of PPM
INF – infinitive marker (extralow tone suffixed to the verb stem)
INSTR – instrumental/comitative/transformational postposition (*ká*)
INT – intensive
IPFV – imperfective
IZF – isaphet marker (an extralow tone on the noun)
JNT – conjoint series of PPM; tonal modification on the verbal stem in the conjoint construction
LOC – locative case
LOG – logophoric pronoun
MSD – suffix of masdar (verbal noun, *-dē̄*)
N – noun
NEG – negative
NEUT – neutral aspect marker (extralow tone on the verbal stem)
NOM.F – female proper noun
NOM.M – male proper noun
NP – noun phrase
NPI – negative polarizing item (?)
NSBJ – non-subject pronominal series
OO – oblique object
OWS – object wide scope
PST – past
PFV – perfective
PL – plural
POSS – possessive marker (*bā̄, gō̄*)
PP – postposition with a broad meaning (*gō̄*)
PPM – predicative pronominal marker (auxiliary)
PRES – presumptive series of PPM
PRF – perfect series of PPM
PROH – prohibitive series of PPM
PROS – prospective series of PPM
Q – general question particle (*ē̄ē̄*, or a copy of the final vowel)
RECP – reciprocal pronoun
REFL – reflexive pronoun
REL – relativization marker (*ʻ*)
REM – remote
RETR – retrospective operator
S – subject
SBJV – subjunctive series of PPM
SG – singular
SLA – selective marker (*-sū̄*)

SUB – subessive case or postposition (*bã*)
SWS – Subject Wide Scope
TOP – topicalization particle (*zã*)
V – (a) verb; (b) vowel
X – post-verbal arguments and circonstants

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