Guided questionnaire for the development of a SSWL type database of Adjectival Properties in the World's Languages

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This questionnaire is in development comments welcome, collaboration welcomed, (there are typos, and open ended sections ..)

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1 Guided questionnaire for the development of a SSWL type database for Adjectival Properties

1.1 Goals

On the most general level, this questionnaire aims

- to (start to) generate finely-grained comparative data about the distribution of adjectives and adjective-like classes in the world's languages, building, as much as possible, on current understanding emerging from the formal and typological literature of the (morpho) syntax, semantics of adjectives and adjective-like classes.
- To generate tables that summarize the properties for individual languages, what is attested and what is not, in a format which allows easy entering of the data into the open source sswl database SSWL on Terraling, the next generation of the database http://test.terraling.com, thus gradually developing a finely grained comparative database which can serve as a basic tool in support of scientific research.

To reach these goals, in-depth studies and descriptions of individual languages are necessary, and these must involve native speaker linguists (to the extent possible).

The questionnaire should serve as a guide for generating data, and the description (and analysis) for individual languages. It should give clear, step by step instructions on how to proceed, so as to be able to code what is found in a particular language, and what is not. The basic idea is to break the tasks into small manageable pieces: given the complexity involved, there will be very many of these tasks, each of which should be relatively self contained. The questionnaire will without any doubt go through revisions, and further expansions.

- The questionnaire is a mix between the traditional linguistic questionnaire model, with the current property definitions of SSWL (see website for adjectival properties SSWL (these give a specific definition, define the task, give specific instructions for elicitation contexts, exemplify how the property is set for several languages (using yes and no values), and ask contributors to decide this task for his or her language). The questionnaire is set up in such a way that the many small properties that are necessary for coding cross linguistic variation can be easily summarized into Tables, which follow each subsection. Once the basic data and examples have been gathered, native speaker linguists are asked to code the relevant properties as yes/no/not sure values. These tables and the examples that illustrate them will constitute the basic data for the sswl database.
- For ease of entry, a separate excel file with the tables is under construction.

1.2 Outcomes

- Presentations and Publications: In depth descriptions and/or analyses of individual languages, to be published as a companion to the database on the SSWL site.
- Tables for the database that summarize the properties for individual languages, and many as are needed, with examples illustrating the properties, to be checked and entered into the sswl database (tagged by name of contributor).
- Presentations and publications on comparative syntax for closely related languages (Cameroon,...)., or for broad typological purposes.

1.3 What the questionnaire does not do

- The questionnaire does not guide a native speaker linguist in how to put the description into a narrative: this should be guided by the generalizations that emerge from the data. The native speaker linguist will of course be able to restrict the description to some subset of data in the questionnaire, while still contributing to the broader set of data.
- The questionnaire does not show how to pursue analyses: to some extent, tests are built into the questions, in such a way that some hypotheses about the fine structure of adjectival regains can be answered. Any analysis starts with questions, and finding ways to answer them, i.e. applying or setting up tests that can be used to probe the structures. Here the (vast) literature should be studied and consulted of course. Any particular question in this vast domain can be pursed in depth: this is up to the individual researcher(s).

1.4 (Some) Background

The literature on adjectives by now is vast, both in the typological tradition, Greenberg (1965), Dixon (2004), Rijkhoff (2002), etc, which draws on data from many languages, and in the formal syntax and semantics tradition which is based on a large number of in depth studies on particular languages over the years. This questionnaire draws in particular on Cinque (2010), whose book The syntax of adjectives: a comparative study builds on decades of (his own) research on adjectives in Romance and Germanic languages, incorporates the formal syntactic and semantic literature, and the findings of the vast linguistic literature on adjectives in the typological tradition (the reference section spans 36 pages, and is by itself a valuable source). The resulting picture suggests remarkable crosslinguistic stability from a bewildering complex and opaque picture of adjectives and adjectival-like classes in each individual language, and makes clear predictions about the expected behavior and interpretation depending on relative orders, and environments in which the adjectives occur.

One important finding by Cinque is that different semantic interpretations systematically seem to correlate with specific adjectival regions as revealed by the syntactic structures.

In this questionnaire, this is exploited to some degree, through the important difference between intersective adjectives and nonintersective adjectives, and what adjectival region the latter unambiguously must enter in (the region Cinque calls *direct modification*), after Larson 2005 and others).

A second important finding is that at least in some languages, some adjectives can enter into more than one structural region, creating structural ambiguity, and much opacity. The diagnostics Cinque develops help clear up this picture considerably, and make clear testable predictions about correlations (apparent flexible word order (with preferred orders), or fixed orders adjectives), interpretative properties (predicative/ non predicative), predictions about linear order variations etc.

As we know from the typological literature (Dixon 2004, Rijkhoff 2002, among others), there is variation in the size of the class of adjectives (form very many to few, or none), and there is variation in the formal realization of the category "adjective": whether they look like reduced relative clauses, verb-like, noun-like, true adjectives or compounds, how many classes are found etc. Taken together with Cinque's finding that a class of adjectives in English etc can appear, with no distinction in form, in two different regions, one for reduced relatives (indirect modification), the other closer to the noun (direct modification), the questionnaire will target adjectives and adjectival-like classes together. Questions about form are built into the questionnaire. This will allow determine how individual languages lexicalize these (possibly having multiple classes), and prepare for possible test cases (see Cinque p. ++) to test if these regions occur crosslinguistically, or not, and if so if the hierarchical arrangement is variable or invariant. This will allow moving towards a fine map of the internal structure of adjectival regions through comparative data.

++DELETE THE FOLLOWING

- 1. What adjectives or adjectival classes do we find in a particular language?
- 2. What are their formal morpho-syntactic and interpretative properties?
- 3. What is the hierarchical arrangement of classes of adjectives; how many adjectival 'fields' are there; how are they structured internally; and how are these ordered w.r.t. the N and other elements in the noun phrase properties (definite, indefinite), demonstratives, numerals, ordinals, different sizes of relative clauses,?

1.5 A brief note on the organization of the questionnaire

• The questionnaire starts out in a somewhat unusual way, with a section on the difference between predicative (roughly intersective), and nonpredicative (nonintersective) adjectives modifying nouns. As a prerequisite for

probing certain structures, particular adjectives (non-predicative/non intersective) need to be found for each language (if the language has them at all), to probe the structures. This section should be thought of as providing basic lab tools that can provide important information about classes of adjectives, the relation between their form, interpretation, and syntactic realization.

- Start the questionnaire, by carefully read through the section on 2.2. Do this at least once. This should help you start looking for non-intersective adjectives. Do not worry if you feel this is too daunting: just keep it in mind, and return to this section at some later point. The expected section on the basic classes of adjectives (size, color etc), forms, and distributions is found in section 3, and should be done by everyone.
 - Work your way through this section, enter your examples and comments into a separate file.
- Each section, throughout the questionnaire, has follow-up questions, and Tables which summarize the findings in that section, asking for yes, no, not sure values. (Simply check the rows for yes values, and non sure values, in the questionnaire).
 - Scan your pages with tables, and save them. (An excel file with all the tables is under development).

1.5.1 How to use the questionnaire

This questionnaire can be used at many levels to explore adjectives and adjectival classes in a particular language, and generate the data that underly any description or analysis. It is directed mainly to native speaker linguists.

It aims to code not only what we find in your language, but also what we don't find, but do find in other languages, or might expect to find given certain theories). If we do this for each language, and refining the tables of variation ultimately to their smallest components, we will construct an ever expanding database which can be queried to allow comparisons, test correlations, implications, and predicted gaps, and clustering of properties (which properties never seem to go together?).

Section 3 covers the basic classes (size, shape, color etc) (forms, classes of adjectives, and adjectival like categories, agreement, order, etc), and is followed by Tables which should be filled out.

Sections about orders should be filled out. Each section is followed by tables where you are asked to summarize the findings, by checking boxes, which asks for yes/no/not sure values. Indicate at least yes and not sure values (these can be combined). These tables will serve to code for database purposes what is found and what is not found in your language. For database any human language counts. This should allow to construct a database that allows comparing closely related languages or even dialects. The plan is to publish

descriptions that come out of the questionnaire electronically on the SSWL site. Minimally, all the ordering properties, and the tables relating to these should be filled out..

2 Semantic interpretations

The semantic interpretation of adjectives falls into two major classes (intersective (i.e. predicative) adjectives and non-intersective adjectives (i.e. non predicative), with different subclasses). This section introduces the difference between intersective adjective and nonintersective adjectives. It is meant to help you find non-intersective (or non predicative) adjectives in your language. At this point, questions about the category label adjective are not central.

Why are nonintersective adjectives important?

Non-intersective (i.e. non-predicative adjectives) have a more restricted syntactic distribution than (one class) of intersective adjectives. Read in particular (Cinque, 2010), and references cited there. This means that they be used to tease apart certain apparently very similar structures, or allow determining if some orders (violations of Universal 20 (Greenberg's 1966) Cinque (2005) are violations of some universal principle, or not.

Study this section, and familiarize yourself with understanding how to identify intersective and non-intersective readings. This should help you understand what to look for in a particular language, and help you identify non-intersective adjectives in an individual language: (you may find none, just a few, or many.)

with time, working through the questionnaire and literature, you may think of more.

2.1 Intersective Adjectives

Some adjectives, as in (1) give rise to intersective interpretations.

- (1) a big dog
- (1) is true for x, where x is big and x is a dog, i.e it is the intersection of set of individuals that are big and the set of individuals that are dogs.

This reading can always be paraphrased by a relative clause structure, with the adjective as main predicate a dog which is big. In some languages, it may be the case that the form of the main predicate cannot expressed in the same way as the adnominal adjective. (look for Yoruba examples). This does not mean the adnominal adjective is not intersective. It just means the form can only combine with a N.

- (2) a. a big dog b. a dog who is big
- 8

2.2 Nonintersective adjectives

Not all adjectives (or adjectival-like classes) (in English, Italian, Chinese, ...) give rise to intersective interpretations. There are different classes of nonintersective adjectives, but they can all be easily recognized:

(3) Non intersective adjectives cannot be paraphrased as a relative clause with the adjective as main predicate, keeping the meaning constant.

The distinction between predicative and non predicative adjectives is important and runs through the questionnaire.

The following examples should help you identify what to look for to find non-intersective adjectives in your language.

- 1. (former, past, old, mere, future ..)
 - (4) John is a former senator

does not mean John is former and John is a senator but rather: John was formerly a senator John was a senator in the past.

The paraphrase test fails: former senator cannot be paraphrased as a relative clause: *A senator who was former

2. old

The readings for *old* in English are ambiguous:

- (5) a. Mary is an old friend (intersective: a friend who is old)
 - b. Mary is an old friend (non-intersective: a longtime friend)
- (5) b cannot be paraphrased as a relative clause: *a friend who is longtime. In some languages, old may also be able to mean former (no longer a friend).
- 3. Some adjectives can give rise to either intersective or nonintersective meanings, depending on the structure.
 - (6) Mary is a beautiful dancer
 - a. [beautiful] [dancer]
 - = Mary is a dancer who is beautiful (*intersective*)
 - b. [[beautiful danc] er]
 - = Mary is someone who dances beautifully (adverbial, non-intersective)

It is not known at present how widespread such structural ambiguities are, in particular if they depend on linear order asymmetries or not, i.e. are the non-intersective (adverbial) reading also available in languages in

which the noun precedes the adjective: N A (lit dancer beautiful). Is the ambiguity systematically available in languages with the A N order or not?

An aside: Task: COME BACK WHEN YOU ARE DONE WITH THE CORE PARTS OF THE QUESIONNAIRE

To help generate data on these questions, translate sentences like (6) in your language, (give glossed examples), and inspect the possible readings. Discuss with other native speakers if you are not sure.

Here are some further examples to check:

- (7) he is a heavy smoker he is a big smoker she is a well wisher
- (8) a. Does your language show the same ambiguity as in (8)? Yes/No/not sure

 (potential follow up, does it depend on the type of adjective?

 answering this question will require of work)
 - b. What is the relative order in your language in these cases? A N, N A or both?
 - c. Possible follow up if your answer to a is Yes: In English the ambiguity disappears when you add *young*, and beautiful here can only have an intersective (i.e. predicative) reading: Mary is a beautiful young dancer? (see Saba (2008))
- 4. Idiomatic adjectives. cf. red herring does not mean a herring which is red, but rather something like "a false lead"// Idiomatic adjectives are necessarily non-intersective, and seem to occur close to the noun, making it sometimes hard to decide if they are compounds or simply in a region close to compounds (For some properties and tables of compounds, see appendix B)

Such adjectives can also enter into other adjectival regions, as well as (depending on the language), correlating with different interpretive properties.

The following triplet from Italian (Cinque 2010 p. 90) shows the same adjective *giallo* 'yellow' in different orders, correlating with different interpretative properties.

(9) a. a roman giallo lit: a novel yellow ("a thriller") (idiomatic: non intersective, post nominal, close to the N, "direct modification")

- b. le gialle colline dell'Andalusia the yellow hills of Andalousia non-intersective, "stage level" ("which are presently in a yellow state), prenominal, "direct modification"
- c. (Passami) la cravatta gialla Lit: (Pass me) me the tie yellow. (pass me the tie which is yellow) intersective, restrictive, postnominal, "indirect modification"

This is analyzed by Cinque as the adjective occurring in different hierarchical layers of the two adjectival fields, a complex field of "direct modification" adjectives (Larson 2005), and a field of "indirect modification" adjectives. The field of indirect modification adjectives is hierarchically ordered outside the layers for direct modification adjectives. see Cinque for further discussion.) This adjective can potentially enter into different layers of adjectival fields in the noun phrase. These fields seem to be ordered hierarchically; with idioms closest to N in an inner layer of structure, adjacent or partially overlapping with the compounding region, direct modification adjectives in a different layer of structure, and purely intersective A in the outer layer, which appears to be dedicated to reduced relatives.

```
Indirect > &Direct > &Direct Mod>& N 
Modification &Modification & ("idioms") & N 
(9-c) & (9-b)& (9-a) 
reduced rel" & .. color A.. & idiom & N
```

2.2.1 Follow-up questions and tables: non-intersective adjectives.

1. Look for nonintersective adjectives/adjectival-like classes, (or just identify potential candidates.) $\,$

Make a list.

Give examples

2. Look for idiomatic adjective noun (or noun adjectives) in your language. Make a list.

Give examples

These will provide you with tests that test certain hypotheses, and may serve you later in the questionnaire: combining these with other adjectives, and looking at ordering and interpretations, can potential provide important evidence about finer adjectival properties in your language. Think of these as lab tools that are part of what you need to analyze adjectives and their representations.

Non-predicative (non-intersective As) will be important (for some constellations of data)throughout the questionnaire

(10) a. Give the order(s) w.r.t. the N for nonintersective adjectives: (as many yes as are found, leave the table blank if you have not found any yet)

Table 1:

b. If you find idiomatic adjectives, how are they ordered with respect to the N?

Table 2:

Order & yes & no & don't know $A_{idiom} N & & & & \\ N A_{idiom} & & & & & \\ \end{array}$

c. If you find both classes, try if you can combine nonintersective and idiomatic adjectives; If you can, describe the relative ordering properties.

Further follow-up questions. (you may want to return to this question after 3)

(11) a. If As in your language look like (reduced) relative clauses (section 3.3) are there any nonintersective or idiomatic adjectives that look like relative clauses?.

yes/ no /not sure? If yes, give examples.

b. If not, are there any candidates for nonintersective in adverbs/tense particles etc? (perhaps past tense/ temporal adverbs, future markers (future president) particles

yes/ no /not sure? If yes, give examples.

c. Can adjective be used adverbially, as in (John runs fast)

yes/ no /not sure?

If yes, give examples.

d. Does your language build adverbs from adjectives, (e.g. English: quick, quickly clever: cleverly,.. etc.

yes/ no /not sure? If yes, give examples.

(12) Advanced:

For an exploration of a long list of further interpretive properties and references, study Cinque (2010) chapter 2, and try to construct similar examples in your language (in as far as they apply). This is advanced and difficult material. You may want to think about how you would say in your language: visible, different, only, other.

2.2.2 a good N vs be good

COMMENTS/FEEDBACK NEEDED?

(13) Mary is a good doctor.

does not mean: Mary is good and Mary is a doctor

(e.g. Mary can be good as a doctor but bad as a person). It rather means that Mary is good as a doctor, or that Mary is good at being a doctor. This reading is called subsective.

The paraphrase test however does not seem to fail (in English): Mary is a good doctor can be paraphrased as a relative clause Mary is a doctor who is good.

Translate:

Mary is good (as a person)), Mary is a good person..

This doctor is good (as a doctor)

In some languages a nominal element seems to be obligatory with this type of adjective.

- (14) a. Can you say in your language, keeping the meaning constant, and where good does not look nominal: Mary is good? This doctor is good? Yes/No/ Not sure. Give examples.
 - b. Do you have to add a N (Mary is a good person/doctor/professor, or some nominal element like "one": Mary is a good one?)

2.2.3 An aside: fake..

COMMENTS NEEDED?

(15) This is a fake knife

Does not mean this is fake and this is a knife, but rather something like this looks like a knife but this not a knife. 1 Check:

Here the paraphrase test causes some problems; fake in English can -at least appear to look predicative: ((16) a)

- (16) a. This knife is fake
 - b. This knife is a fake

How would you translate (15) in your language?

¹This meaning is sometimes called privative.

3 "Descriptive" adjectives – Basics

This section established basic formal properties of adjectives, and adjectival-like classes Identify potential adjectives or classes of adjectival-like categories, depending on meaning, and classify these according to their morphosyntactic properties.

You may find many adjectives in your language, you may find very few, or you may find different adjectival classes (noun like, verb like, or relative clause like). If you find different adjectival-like classes, you want to pursue over time what properties the different classes have in common, and how they differ. This section will walk you through basic properties; It is followed by Tables

3.1 Adjectives and adjective-like categories: Semantic classes and forms

Find candidates for adnominal adjectives in the semantic classes given in table 1. The questionnaire will refer to these particular semantic classes as *adjectival regions*. The regions are arranged according to what is suspected to be a universal hierarchy, with the regions on the right combining with the noun before the regions to their left, etc. i.e material As combine iwith the N before nationality A. Some of the regions on the right may show properties similar to compounding. Treat these as a special class of adjectives for the purposes of the questionnaire.

Table 3: subjective comment & size & age & shape & color & gender & nationality & material beautiful & small & new/old & round & red & female & French & wooden & &

- Construct examples, keep the contexts stable, and vary just the adjective. (This section deals with indefinite noun phrases only; for definite noun phrases, see section 3.7)
- Make sure you combine the "adjective" with a noun: this insures the structure is a noun phrase with an adnominal adjective rather than a sentence (with a silent copula/verb).

Here is an example from English:

that summarize the findings.

(17) context: Did you build something this year?
Answer: Yes, -

- a. I built [a nice house]
- b. I built [a small house]
- c. I built [a new house]
- d. a round house; a French house
- e. etc.

• Give glossed examples, using the following format

- (18) example sentence gloss translation comments
- (Gradually) Classify adjectives according to their morphosyntactic properties and semantic classes. (keep going back to your list, when you work through the questionnaire.)

 This will serve as the basis for follow up questions forms and tables (for indefinite, definite noun phrases, and relative orders of multiple adjectives. 3.5, 3.6.5, and definite noun phrases 3.7
- Construct a basic table, with a list of adjectives and adjective like elements.

3.1.1 sideline: bound morphemes

- If certain adjectival concepts are realized as bound morphemes, (diminutive (i.e. small), or augmentative (i.e. big), treat them as a special class of adjectives, and answer basic questions about form:
 - (19) a. Do these bound morphemes precede or follow the N, or does one part precede the N and one part follow?
 - b. Do these noun classes belong to a special noun class/gender?
 - c. If there is agreement in your language, what kind of agreement do these bound morphemes trigger? agreement with the N, agreement triggered by the augmentative (big) morpheme, or diminutive morpheme, or both.

3.2 Predicative As

For each adjective in Table 2 in your language: check if it can be used as the main predicate in a sentence or not (20).

(20) (Question: Do you like the house?)

Answer: Yes the house is nice;
yes, it is nice
yes, the house is big etc.

(21) (Question: What color is your bike?)

Answer: My bike is red.

etc.

Conclusions: *nice* and *big* etc can be used as the main predicate in a sentence. The form of the adjective is identical for adnominal and predicative adjectives. Compare the forms of adnominal adjectives, and predicative ones, and answer

the following questions: (these questions prepare for Table 6)

- is there a difference in form between the adnominal adjective and the predicative adjective ?
- If yes, is there a shared part (a root)?
- Do adnominal adjectives (or some adjectives) look like nouns?
- Do predicative (or some) adjectives look like Ns?
- Do adnominal adjectives look like Verbs? In what way?
- Do predicative adjectives look like verbs? In what way?
- Do adnominal adjectives agree?
- Do predicative adjectives agree?
 - -> If you find a difference in form, this can potentially be used to tease apart cases of structural ambiguity. (*The questionnaire follows up on this point at various places below*).

3.2.1 Basic Vocabulary: Adjectives from the Swadish list

For purposes of historical reconstruction, it is useful to give the forms for the following "adjectives" (use IPA fonts, whenever possible), drawn from the Swadish list or similar lists.

Give as many forms per item that is attested in your language

for a draminal for madi	Table 4:
& adnominal & predi	
& a good person	& to be good
good & &	
big & &	
small & &	
long (not 'wide') (rop	e)& &
red (color)& &	
black (color)& &	
green (color)& &	
yellow (color)& &	
white $(color)$ & &	
full & &	
$\mathrm{new} \& \ \&$	
round & &	
dry (substance) & &	
bitter& &	

3.3 Reduced relatives: verbal adjectives/participles

- Does your language have reduced relatives (e.g. verbal adjectives/participles) of the following type?
 - (22) a. There is grilled fish on the menu (grilled= reduced relative, i.e. fish (which is) grilled))
 - b. fried chicken
 - c. steamed rice
 - d. boiled cassavas
 - e. a painted wall etc..

Compare the forms in (22) with a full relative clause:

- (23) The chicken that I will fry tonight, ...
- Do any of these forms look like full relative clauses (i.e. do they share a morpheme like a relative clause marker)? Yes/No/Not sure
- What is the order with respect to the N? (N RedRel/ RedRel N), both orders?

3.4 "True" adjectives

Does your language also have 'true" adnominal adjectives: these could be quite small in number! and could exist next to nominal forms or verbal adjectives. NB these could be classified in descriptive grammars as compounds. (see appendix for further questions about compounds) Even if this is the case, give the list. Give the list.

3.5 Questions about Form, order, and Modification (1)

3.5.1 Forms

• Forms:

Describe the forms of the (different classes of) adjectives (do they look like adjectives, do they look like nouns, like verbs, or do they differ from verbs and nouns, how?) (cf prepares for Table 3.6.5 and 6)

3.6 Indefinite noun phrases

3.6.1 Order

How are adjectives (or the different classes of adjectives) ordered w.r.t. the N (indefinite noun phrases, no contrast).

NB: As many yes as apply, i.e. code *all* attested orders for indefinite noun phrases. (there is no notion of dominant order, for the database we want to

need variation where it occurs)

Table 5: Order A w.r.t the N (Indefinites)

- (24) a. If both orders are possible, does it depend on the type of adjective or not?
 - b. If both orders are possible with the same adjective and form, does the form of the adjective vary? If yes, describe how.
 - c. For each class of adjective-like elements: are the ordering possibilities the same or different: yes/ no. If no, explain what the orders are for each class of additives. True adjectives, verbal adjectives/reduced relatives, nominal adjectives.

3.6.2 Modification

Examine the list of adjectives/ adjectival classes found in your language

subjective comment& size&age&shape&color&beautiful & small & new/old & round & red & &

- For each class that is attested, can adjective be modified by elements like *very* (a very beautiful flower)?
- If some As (or classes of As) can be modified, but not all, state which ones.
 - Show examples
- Form: For each adjective-like class that is attested, can adjectives be modified?
 - (25) a. A very beautiful city b. a completely red wall
 - (26) A very beautiful/red/small/ bitter N
- \bullet For some further follow-up questions about comparatives and superlatives, see appendix $\!C\!$

3.6.3 Noun class/gender and sg nouns: indefinites

Vary the N for noun class (gender/animacy) (for each class of adjectives in (20)), for singular indefinite noun phrases):

- (27) "a small person/amimal/knife/tree." "a black amimal/knife/tree."
- (28) Questions about noun class and singular indefinite noun phrases:
 - a. Does the form of the A vary with noun class (i.e. agree with the noun)
 If you show and describe the forms (profixes suffixes both radu
 - If yes, show and describe the forms (prefixes, suffixes, both, ..reduplication,..)
 - b. Do all As change form? If not, does it depend on the linear order A N, N A, or the classes of As in 3 (for example, it could be that color adjectives don't agree)?

Agreement:

Does the form of the A vary with noun class in indefinite contexts? How? Do all A agree for noun class? How is agreement expressed?

3.6.4 Singular/plural marking

For each class of adjectives (where relevant), vary the N for singular/plural marking:

- (29) a small child /small children
 - a big animal, big animals
 - a beautiful tree/ beautiful trees
 - a long rope, long ropes
 - a red ball/ red balls etc
- (30) a. How are singular and plural expressed (indefinite contexts)
 (Is singular overly marked? if so how? Is plural marked, and how?
 (they may be expressed together)
 - b. Does singular/plural vary with noun class or gender? (Yes for noun class languages of the bantu type). (SKIP TOO DIFFICULT for other languages?))
 - c. Are singular and plural marked on both the noun and the A? (i.e. is there visible agreement on at least some As in indefinite contexts?)
 - (i) If so, do all classes of A agree?
 - (ii) If there is more than one A, does each A agree?
 - (iii) Plural marking: If plural is marked, is it marked once or twice. If a linear order can be established, where does plural appear?

3.6.4.1 Summary Table for plural indefinites

(31) Based on the properties so far, fill in the following table for plural marking, checking as many 'yes' as applicable, illustrate each yes value with an example; for cases you are unsure about, check the Not sure box. No need to check the No box. Write No plural in indefinite NPs for languages where the plural is unmarked in indefinites Add missing rows where necessary.

(If singular marking is different, repeat the table for singular.) If definite is different, repeat the table for definites. (or use a different color for definites)

Plural marking (indefinite noun phrases)
& & Yes & No & Not sure & Example
1 & A pl N & & & &
2 & A N pl & & & &
3. & pl A N & & & &
4.& pl A pl N & & & &
5.& A pl N pl & & & &
6. &pl A N pl & & & &
7 & pl N A & & & &
8 & N pl A & & & &
9. & N A pl & & & &
10.& pl N pl A & & &
11.& N pl A pl & & &
12. &pl N A pl & & &
13. & N A A pl & & &
14. & pl N A A & & &
14. & N pl A A & & &
15. & pl N pl A pl A & & &
16. & pl N A A & & &
17. & pl N pl A A & & &
18. & pl N A pl A & & &
19. & pl N A A pl & & &
20. & pl A A N & & &
21. & pl A A pl N & & &
22. & pl A pl A pl N & & &
&to complete & & &

3.6.5 Summary table: forms

Fill in the following table (yes/ no or not sure), based on your findings and answers in the preceding sections. Check as many as applicable, (you may have several classes of A in your language, this will come out in the table)) and copy or link the examples from your example file.

Check the not-sure column for any row you feel uncertain about, or ask for help (email!)

Check as many as apply.

Table 6	: F	orms:	Summary
---------	-----	-------	---------

^{*}looks like a relative clause: e.g. has a morphosyntactic property that is shared with relatives (cf like a relative marker).

Add comments (per row) (where relevant)

Add rows if necessary. Additional tables for bare reduced relative clauses can be found in the appendix.

3.7 Definite noun phrases

In many languages, definite and indefinite noun phrases have different properties and internal structures (even in languages without definite articles).

It is therefore very important to systematically control for definiteness. As a first step, compare indefinite and definite noun phrases, and give examples:

(32) Context:

- a. I saw a small girl and a small boy . (First mention, indefinite) Continuation:
- b. The small girl was laughing a lot. (Definite noun phrase)

(33) Context:

- a. I saw white birds and black birds Continuation:
- b. The black birds were sitting on a branch

(34) Context:

- I painted a red flower and a blue sky (indefinites)
 Continuation:
- b. I like the red flower
- c. The blue sky was nicer than the red flower

- Does the form of the A vary with the definiteness of the noun phrase?
- Does the order with respect to the noun vary, depending on definiteness? (cf. as in Shupamem, Nchare (2012) Yes/ No
- Is there a difference in phonology, prosody, or tones between definite/indefinite NPS. ? Yes/No/ Don't know.
- . Is there more than one "article/determiner"-like element, one on A and one on the nou n phrase in definite noun phrases?

 Is there an extra "article" /"augment/ linker" that appears on the A in definite noun phrases? (the-big the-elephant)
- If the language marks definiteness where does the definiteness marker appear? (ask for sswl property definitions excel sheet from Cristina Guardiano) You may also consider the following questions:
 - (35) a. If both orders are possible in definite contexts, does it depend on the type of adjective or not?
 - b. If both orders are possible with the same lexical item/semantic class, does the form of the adjective vary? If yes, describe how.
 - c. For each class of adjective-like elements true adjectives, verbal adjectives, noun like adjectives..: are the ordering possibilities the same or different: yes/ no/ don't know. If not, explain how they differ.
 - d. Can nonintersective adjectives like future or former, etc be used in definite contexts?

Fill in the following table for ordering of definite noun phrases w.r.t. the N. These could be identical in this simple case to indefinitenes, but they might also vary.

3.7.1 Multiple articles/linkers

- (36) a. Is there an indefinite article in your language? Yes/No /Not sure
 - b. If so, can there be more than one indefinite article in indefinite noun phrase?
 a man a big/ a big a man
 Yes/No /Not sure

- (37) a. Is there is more than one article/definite determiner/linker (also know as determiner spreading, poly definiteness) in definite A N or NA combinations in your language?

 Yes, No, not sure examples
 - b. IMPORTANT If yes, can you have non-intersective adjectives in definite contexts (go back to your list in section 2.2, test for each adjective, give examples. (Make sure these are fine in indefinite contexts)
- (38) If you have multiple determiners in your language (cf (38) a) is this obligatory for all definite noun phrases, or does it depend on the type of noun?

 Test what happens with unique objects, like *sun* and *moon* vs wheather, stove..
- (39) the hot sun vs the hot weather/water/etc

Watch for whether the hot sun can be said in two ways (the equivalent to the-hot the-sun vs. the hot sun with different meanings.

follow up questions: (to formulate)

3.7.2 Full relative clauses (tensed finite relatives)

Do full relative clauses precede or follow the N, are both possible? or does the N internal to the relative clause? (follow up with the sswl relative clause properties).

(40) the fish that you should grill tonight,,,

4 Combining adjectival fields: orders with respect to the N, relative orders of adjectives, and tables

4.1 Basic orders etc: Indefinites

- 1. Choose adjectives from the different fields in your table below, (for the fields that your language allows), and check if you can combine them with N;
- 2. Vary the order of multiple As with respect to the N; check indefinites/definites separately),. Make sure where there is no contrastive interpretation, i.e. no contrast).

 $subjective\ comment \&\ size \& age \& shape \& color \&\ gender \& nationality \& material$

beautiful & small & new/old & round & red & female & French & wooden & & &

Here is an example for some combinations of adjectives for indefinites noun phrases,

- (41) Context: What are you thinking about?
 - a. A beautiful small tree (indefinite)
 - b. An old French city
 - c. A big red bird
 - d. A beautiful old French city

And for some combinations in definite noun phrases:

- (42) Context. There is a beautiful small tree and a nice red bird on this painting. Which one do you like best?
 - a. The beautiful small tree
 - b. etc.

Indefinites: basic questions.

- (43) a. Can you combine two As with the N? (a beautiful red ball) $\frac{\text{Yes/No/No sure}}{\text{(Give some examples)}}$
 - b. Can you combine three As with the N?(This is not possible In some languages) (yes/no, give examples)
 - c. If you can combine all the 7 regions, please do, and give an example (Even if these may be difficult to interpret, they sound fine.) Is the order in (neutral contexts) rigid, or variable? Is one order prefered?

If the order is variable does it depend on the form of the adjective (predicative, adnominal)?

If the order is variable, is this true for both indefinite and definite noun phrases?

yes/no for indefinites yes/no for definites

4.1.1 Table: General Order w.r.t to N in Indefinite noun phrases

& & yes & no &perhaps &N A A & & & &A A N & & & &A N A & & &

4.1.2 Table: General Order w.r.t. N: definites

& & yes & no &perhaps &N A A & & & &A A N & & & &A N A & & &

4.2 Relative Ordering of adjectival regions: a full paradigm with follow-up tables)

This section contains an example of a full paradigm of combinations of two adjectival regions, and their relative ordering possibilities.

For datable purposes it is important to break the data down into as many small parts as necessary: to this effect, each section contains a summary table for that combination. Simply check the relevant boxes.

Here is the task for your language. The examples below are based on English orders

- (44) a. If both A precede the N (A A N) or follow the N (N A A), systematically vary the orders of As (no contrast)
 - b. If A N A is yes: can the adjectives be reversed? (cf. example: a beautiful tree small/ a small tree beautiful) (no contrast)

What you may expect to find. All this will be coded in the tables after each combination.

• you may find that the order is rigid

- that there is a preferred order
- that both orders seem equally fine
- that you are unsure.
- that there is some difference which may be hard to in down.
- That this may vary for different combinations of adjectival fields (if this is the case, see if there is a generalization that emerges, does it depend on the adjectival field and its position in the hierarchy? The form of the adjective? Are tue adjectives closer to the N than reduced relatives? etc.. The environment in which the adjective occurs (bare versus linker?) etc...

4.3 Subjective comment with all other regions

4.3.1 Subjective comment and size

- (45) a. A beautiful small tree
 - b. A small beautiful tree

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
3&Is one order preferred $&~&~&$
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section. Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

- If 2 is yes:
 - Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

- ullet If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones
 - are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No

 Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (gi
 - Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?
- Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.3.2 Subjective comment and age

- (46) a. A beautiful old table
 - b. An old beautiful table

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section. Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

cannot tell?

- If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones
 - are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples)
- Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.3.3 Subjective comment and shape

- (47) a. A nice round table
 - b. A round nice table

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.3.4 Subjective comment and color

(48) a. A nice red flower

b. A red nice flower

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.3.5 Subjective comment and gender

- (49) a. A beautiful male bird
 - b. A male beautiful bird

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

- If 2 is yes:
 Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives?
 Yes/No
 Give examples.
- If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?
- Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.3.6 Subjective comment and nationality

(50) a. A beautiful Malagasy woman b. A Malagasy beautiful woman

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.3.7 Subjective comment and material

- (51) a. A beautiful wooden chair
 - b. A wooden beautiful chair

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.4 Combining Size with the remaining regions

4.4.1 size and age

- (52) a. a big old house b. an old big house
- & & yes & no & not sure

 1&Are both orders possible & & &

 *2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
 3&Is one order preferred & & &

 4& if 3 yes, which order?

 5&Is one order excluded? & & &
 & if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

- If 2 is yes:
 Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives?
 Yes/No
 Give examples.
- If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?
- Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.4.2 size and shape

- (53) a. a big round belly b. a round big belly
- & & yes & no & not sure

 1&Are both orders possible & & &

 *2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
 3&Is one order preferred & & &

 4& if 3 yes, which order?

 5&Is one order excluded? & & &
 & if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.4.3 size and color

If they can be combined:

(54) a. a small red bird

b. a red small bird

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No

Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.4.4 size and gender

- (55) a. a small female birs
 - b. a female small bird

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

- If 2 is yes:
 - Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

- If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No
 - are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No
 - Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?
- Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.4.5 size and nationality

- (56) a. a small chinese vase
 - b. a chinese small vase

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples)

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.4.6 size and material

cannot tell?

(57) a. a big iron chest

b. an iron big chest

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.5 Combining age with remaining regions

4.5.1 age and color

- (58) a. an old red teashirt
 - b. a red old teashirt

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

- If 2 is yes:
 - Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No

Give examples.

- If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones
 - are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No
 - Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples)
- Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders,
- or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.5.2 age and gender

cannot tell?

- (59) a. a young female bird
 - b. a female young bird

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No Give examples.

- If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?
- Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.5.3 age and nationality

(60) a. b.

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.5.4 age and material

(61) a. b.

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.6 Combining color with remaining regions

4.6.1 color and gender

(62) a.

b.

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 ves which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No

Give examples.

- If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?
- Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.6.2 color and nationality

(63) a. b.

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.6.3 color and material

(64) a. b.

& & yes & no & not sure

1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
3&Is one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?

5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

• If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.7 Combining nationality with remaining regions

(65) a. b.

& & yes & no & not sure

1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
3&Is one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?

5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

If 2 is yes:
 Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives?
 Yes/No
 Give examples.

- If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?
- Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.7.1 nationality and material

(66) a. b.

& & yes & no & not sure

1&Are both orders possible & & &

*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
3&Is one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?

5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

• If 2 is yes:

Is there a difference in form between adnominal and predicative adjectives? Yes/No $\,$

Give examples.

- \bullet If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones
 - are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No
 - are both forms predicative A? Yes/No

Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

4.8 Definites noun phrases

You want to repeat the same exercise for definite DPs, for each pair, and discuss the behavior in definite DPs .

- (67) Context: There is a big red flower in a small white bottle.
 - a. I like the small white bottle a lot. (definite)

& & yes & no & not sure
1&Are both orders possible & & &
*2&If 1 is yes, do the forms of the A vary & & &
$3\&\mathrm{Is}$ one order preferred & & &
4& if 3 yes, which order?
5&Is one order excluded? & & &
& if 5 yes, which order?

If 1 is yes, answer the questions below. Otherwise go to the next section.

Follow up questions if row 2 is yes or no, or not sure.

- If 2 is yes: Are the A marked with a definite article?
- If 2 is no, and if there is a difference between adnominal adjectives and predicative ones

are both forms adnominal A? Yes/No are both forms predicative A? Yes/No

Is one form adnominal and the other predicative (give examples) cannot tell?

• Sometimes, one order feels like a coordinated structure. If this is your intuition, (perhaps because of the prosody), is this true for both orders, or for one order in particular? Which order (give example)?

5 Order: Num A N

5.1 Order: Num A N indefinite

(68) Check where As can appear w.r.t. the Numeral (indefinites). Different numerals (1, 2, 3 vs, 8, 12) may show different orders. add comments if this is the case.

&order $&$ Yes $&$ No $&$ Example
1 & Num A N & & &
2 & Num N A & & &
3.& N A Num & & &
4.& N Num A & & &
5*. & A Num N & & &
6. & A N Num & & &
Follow up questions:

- if 5 is yes:
 - For single As: (check different As (forms) from different regions): can all classes of A appear in the A Num N order?
 - Can nonintersective adjectives precede the Num N ? (show with examples)
 - Can reduced relative clauses precede Num N (i.e. is the RedRel Num A order fine?) Yes/ No/not sure (give examples for yes and no)
 - If 5 is yes: what are the ordering possibilities for 2 adjectives? Take adjectives from two different adjectival regions, where A1 comes from a region to the left of A2 in table 4.1. (For example: (beautiful A1, size A2), or any of the headings in section 4.2 .
 - (69) a. Is the order A1 A2 Num N possible? (give examples)
 - b. Is the order A1 Num A2 N possible? (give examples)
 - c. Is the order A2 A1 Num N possible? (give examples)
 - d. Is the order A2 Num A1 possible? (give examples)

5.2 three adjectives

- (70) a. If you can get 3 adjectives before the N, give the order in which they occur, and state if this order is variable or fixed.
 - b. Same for post nominal adjectives?

5.3 Order: Num A N definite

What are the ordering possibilities in definite contexts?

- (71) Context: there are four long ropes lying on the floor
 - a. Can you hand me the four long ropes?

Fill in the table for definite Num A N orders: and add comments where

& order & Yes & No & Example

1 & Num A N & & &

2~& Num N A & & &

appropriate: 3.& N A Num & & &

4.& N Num A & & &

5*. & A Num N & & &

6. & A N Num & & &

Follow up questions:

• if 5 is yes: If row 1 and 2 are yes (both Num A N and Num N A are possible in indefinite contexts

6 Orders: Dem A N

These correspond to already existing properties in SSWL.

Check where As can appear w.r.t. Demonstratives. Give (or refer to) examples for all yes cases.

& order & Yes & No & Example

- 1. & Dem A N & & &
- 2. & Dem N A & & &
- 3.& N A Dem & & &
- 4.& N Dem A & & &
- 5. & A Dem N & & &
- 6. & A N Dem & & &
- If 5* is yes:
 - form of the A? Can the A be a nonintersective adjective?
 - Can reduced relative clauses precede the demonstrative (RedRel Dem A?
 - How do multiple adjectives behave?
 Take adjectives from two different adjectival regions, where A1 comes from a region to the left of A2 in table 4.1. (For example: (beautiful A1, size A2), or any of the headings in section 4.2.
 - (72) a. Is the order A1 A2 Dem N possible? (give examples)
 - b. Is the order A1 Dem A2 N possible? (give examples)
 - c. Is the order A2 A1 Dem N possible? (give examples)

d. Is the order A2 Dem A1 possible? (give examples)

Examples for yes cases: Follow up questions:

7 Universal 20: Greenberg (1965) and Cinque (2005): the relative orders of Dem Num A N

In this section, you are asked to look at the ordering of 4 regions: demonstratives, numerals, adjectives and nouns. Translate the following sentences into your language (no contrast!), give examples of all possible orderings (in a neutral context).

- (73) a. (I picked) these three beautiful flowers
 - b. (Give me) those two red balls (there are two red balls) etc.

The 24 possible orders are split into several tables, depending on what elements comes first. Fill in the tables, so that all variations and orders are recorded

7.1 Table Dem initial

Dem initial

&order & yes & no ¬ sure

1&Dem Num A N & & &

2&Dem Num N A & & &

3&Dem N Num A & & &

4& Dem N A Num & & &

5*& Dem A N Num & & &

6*& Dem A Num N & & &

7.1.1 follow up questions Dem initial

- If 5 is yes: structural ambiguity: [A N] two ('i.e. two [large elephants]) or A as reduced relative. A [N Num] Check if the A can be non-intersective, or if A must have a predicative form. Can reduced relatives appear in this position in the language? (see appendix)
- If 6 is yes, Check if the A can be non-intersective, or if A must have a predicative form. Can reduced relatives appear in this position in the language? (see appendix)

7.2 Table N initial

N initial

&order & yes & no ¬ sure

1& N A Num Dem & & &

2& N Num A Dem & & &

3&N Dem Num A & & &

4*& N Dem A Num & & &

5*&N Num Dem A & & &

6*& N A Dem Num& & &

7.2.1 follow up questions N initial

- If 4 is yes: check if A can be non-intersective, or if A must have a predicative form. Can reduced relatives appear in this position in the language? (see appendix). Give examples
- If 5 is yes: same questions as 4.
- If 6 is yes, same questions as 4

7.3 Table A initial

A initial

&order & yes & no ¬ sure

1& A N Dem Num & & &

2& A N Num Dem & & &

3*& A Dem N Num & & &

4*& A Dem Num N & & &

5*& A Num Dem N & & &

6 *& A Num N Dem & & &

Follow up questions A initial

• If 3, 4, 5, 6 are yes: check if A can be non-intersective, or if A must have a predicative form. Can reduced relatives appear in this position in the language? (see appendix). Give examples

Table: Num initial 7.4

Num initial

&order & yes & no ¬ sure

1*&Num A N Dem & & &

2*& Num N A Dem & & &

3*& Num Dem A N & & &

4*& Num A Dem N & & &

5*& Num Dem N A & & &

6*& Num N Dem A & & &

7.4.1 Follow up questions Num initial

• If there are any Num initial orders:

What do partitive constructions in your language look like? Are they formally different from the Num Dem A N orders?

Here is an example of a partitive construction

- (74) Context: there are five nice children playing with a soccer ball
 - a. Three of these nice children are laughing, and
 - b. Two of these nice children are singing
- Translate (74) this into your language, (keeping the noun phrases long). Is this order fine with different demonstratives? Can this order occur in clearly indefinite contexts in your language?
- If your language has an element like *other*, where would it appear in the possible orders in your language?

7.4.2 Other

MOVE TO APPENDIXExpand:

Order: other A N (6 possibilities). (+ Indef article or not)

Order: other A N (6) (+ define 'article', + split indef article or not, + . In

some languages (Lebanese arabic), cannot occur in definite contexts.

Order other and Numerals (indef/ definite and meanings)

two other boys / *other two boys the other two boys the two other boys Form: sometime a special demonstrative; sometimes an ordinal like second (Hindi)

8 To do: here is an incomplete list of still missing from questionnaire, and appendix: feel free to add using the formats given

- focus on A (a BIG elephant, not a SMALL elephant) a big MOUSE , not a big ELEPHANT
- focus on numerals. (THREE big elephants, not TWO big ones)
- \bullet focus on Dem, and pronominal possessors. (widely attested in Grassfield Bantu)
- order: possessives, genitives (pronominal vs names vs DPs).
- ambiguities or not? Depends on order? In English, my former mansion is ambiguous, between two readings:

& order & Yes & No & not sure 1 & RedRel N & & & 2 & N RedRel & & &

& order & Yes & No & not sure 1 & modRedRel N & & & 2 & N modRedRel & & &

- (75) a. my former mansion (sa mansion formerly owned by me in the past)
 - b. [a former mansion] that I own. (no longer a mansion.
- ellipisis!
- expressions with light nouns: something big.
- etc
- Ordinals! The first elephant .. This is a first start..

A MOVE: Further questions about reduced relative clauses

A.1 Order: N red Rel/Red rel N

If reduced relatives can contain modifiers, the ordering possibilities may be different. Check unmodified reduced relatives, and modified reduced relatives separately

- (76) a. I saw a burned house (unmodified) vs.
 - b. I saw a [completely burned out] house (modified)

Do unmodified reduced relatives precede or follow the N? Or are both orders possible?

NB: If more than one order is possible, there may be meaning differences, sometimes hard to pin down! (See Cinque (2010, section 3.3. for further discussion and references.)

A.2 Order Num RedRel N

What is the order of Numerals and reduced relatives in definite noun phrases?

(77) (On his way home,) he saw three burned houses

Give example.

Fill in the table below. Check as many yes as apply.

Order: (RedRel = reduced relative)

&order & Yes & No & not sure

- 1 & Num Red Rel N & & &
- 2 & Num N Red Rel & & &
- 3. & N RedRel Num & & &
- 4.&N Num Red Rel & & &
- 5.*& RedRel Num N & & &
- 6. &RedRel N Num & & &

A.3 Order Num RedRel N Indef

What is the order of Numerals and reduced relatives?

(78) (On his way home,) he saw three burned houses

Give example.

Fill in the table below. Check as many yes as apply.

Order: (RedRel = reduced relative)

&order & Yes & No & not sure

- 1 & Num Red Rel N & & &
- 2 & Num N Red Rel & & &
- 3. & N Red Rel Num & & &
- 4.&N Num Red Rel & & &
- 5.*&RedRel Num N & & &
- 6. &RedRel N Num & & &

A.4 Order: Ord RedRel N definite

Follow up on row 5: If 5 is possible, check the order also with ordinals and demonstratives.

(79) a. On his way home, he saw his third burned-out house

Order: (RedRel = reduced relative)

&order & Yes & No & not sure

- 1 & Ord Red Rel N & & &
- 2 & Ord N RedRel & & &
- 3. & N RedRel Ord & & &
- 4.& N Ord RedRel & & &
- 5.*& RedRel Ord N & & &
- 6. &RedRel N Ord & & &

Table 7:

Order & yes & no & don't know A_{idiom} N & & & N A_{idiom} & & & &

A.5 Order Dem RedRel N

Order: (RedRel = reduced relative) & order & Yes & No & not sure 1 & Dem RedRel N & & & 2 & Dem N RedRel & & & & 3. & N RedRel Dem & & & 4.& N Dem RedRel & & & 5.*& RedRel DemN & & &

6. & RedRel N Dem & & &

B Compounds [SKIP? ELABORATE]

Compounds

- (80) Does your language have A N/N A compounds?² Yes/No/Don't know
 - a. If yes, how are they ordered?
 - b. If you pluralize the N where does plural show up? on N, on both N and A?
- (81) Does your language have N N compounds. (Yes/ No/Not sure) bookshelf rooftop sick people house 'hospital'
- (82) Does you language have ("er") V N or N V(er) compounds, or both

'church'
– N V: house (of) pray (in); V N 'pray house' tango dancer or dancer tango drum player or NCL
ass play drum ("er" play drum), or player (LNK) drum

 $^{^2 \}mbox{Follow}$ up with Tamanji (april 14) on Bafut, both compounds (N A) (plural outside) and idioms (Plural on both

Table 8: Headedness compound

Order & yes & no & don't know
'er'-V N & & &
V-er N & & &
N V- 'er' & & &

C Further questions about modifiers: comparatives and superlatives

Not explored in this questionnaire is how the preceding property leads to one questions about the forms of comparative and superlative constructions, and the typology of comparatives and superlatives found cross linguistically.

Can adjective combine with modifiers like more, -er and participate in comparative constructions? (bigger, smaller, longer, .. more A)? Does this correlate with whether adjectives can combine with very?

- (83) (There are two ropes with different lengths in front of you. You tell your friend):
 - You take the **longer** rope, I'll take the shorter one
- (83) He has a bigger house than his younger brother

Superlatives: Can adjective combine with modifiers like **most** or **-est**?

(84) This is the biggest town in the country

D ideophones, from Russel Schuh

IDEOPHONIC ADJECTIVE APPENDIX

This is a list of all the ideophonic adjectives in the dictionary with approximate senses. See dictionary entries for examples of use. See also IDEOPHONE APPENDIX. The distinction between ideophones and ideophonic adjectives is not always clear. There certain shapes that are not shared between the categories, e.g. only ideophones are represented by the shape CVC and only ideophonic adjectives are represented by the shape CVCCVCVC. There are likewise some differences in syntactic uses, e.g. only ideophones can be used adverbially with intransitive verbs and only ideophonic adjectives can be used as adjectival modifiers of nouns.

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F Appendix: Snider et al (2004) for African languages

10.1 DIMENSION, SHAPE & aiguiser (flèche) DIMENSION 1540 (be) blunt, dull (être) é moussé, 1507 (be) big &(être) grand, gros moins tranchant, moins 1508 enlarge & agrandir aigue 1509 (be) small & être petit 1541 (be) rough (être) rugueux, rabo-1510 diminish & diminuer, ré duire teux 1511 (be) high & (être) haut 1542 (be) smooth (être) lisse 1512 (be) low & (être) bas 1543 make smooth rendre lisse, lisser 1513 (be) long & (être) long 1544 (be) hard (être) dur 1545 harden durcir 1514 lengthen rallonger & render plus 1546 (be) soft (être) mou 1547 soften ramollir 1515 (be) short &(être) court 1516 shorten raccourcir& render plus 1548 (be) dry (être) sec 1549 (be) wet (être) mouillé 1517 (be) fat, (be) thick & (être) 1550 (be) slippery (être) glissant épais, gras 1551 (be) sticky (être) gluant, poisseux, collant 1518 (be) thin & (être) mince 1519 (be) wide &(être) large 1552 (be) hot (objects) (être) chaud 1520 widen & élargir 1553 (be) cold (objects) (être) froid 1521 (be) narrow (être) étroit 10.3 COLOUR COULEUR 1522 (be) deep (être) profond 1554 colour couleur 1555 (be) white (être) blanc 1523 deepen approfondir 1556 (be) black (être) noir 1524 (be) shallow (être) peu profond 1525 (be) flat (être) plat 1557 (be) red (être) rouge 1526 flatten aplatir, aplanir 1558 (be) blue (être) bleu 1527 (be) hollow (être) creux 1559 (be) green (être) vert 1528 swell (intr) se gonfler 1560 (be) brown (être) brun 1529 (be) round (être) rond 1561 (be) yellow (être) jaune 1530 (be) straight (être) droit 1562 (be) dark (colour) (être) foncé, 1531 straighten redresser, redonner sombre 1563 (be) light (colour) (être) clair une forme droite 1532 (be) crooked (être) courbé, 10.4 TASTE AND SMELL// GOTER ET SENTIR 1533 bend, crook, curve (n) courbe 1564 taste (n) gođt 1534 (be) heavy (être) lourd 1565 (be) sweet (être) bon (au gout), 1535 weight poids sucré 1536 (be) light (not heavy) (être) léger 1566 (be) sour (être) acide, aigre 10.2 FEEL TOUCHER 1567 (be) bitter (être) amer 1537 (be) sharp (être) pointu, tran-1568 odour, smell (n) odeur, parfum chant, aigu 1569 stink, smell (bad) puer, sentir 1538 sharpen (knife) aiguiser (couteau) mauvais 1539 sharpen, bring to point (arrow) 10.5 ABILITY CAPACITÉ

1570 (be) able (to) (être) capable, pouvoir 1571 (be) strong (physically) (être) fort 1572 strength force 1573 (be) weak (être) faible 1574 (be) great, (be) powerful (être) grand, puissant 1575 splendour, glory splendeur, gloire