# Supplemental Materials for Universals in Superlative Semantics 

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## 1 Full translation questionnaire

Instructions. Please translate the sentences below into your native language. More literal translations are preferred, but only as long as they sound natural. Give as many translations as you like, and comments are welcome but not required. (No need to translate the parts in parentheses; they are just supposed to help explain what is meant.)

1. Most of the kids who go to my school like to play music. (For example, there are 100 kids in my school, and 65 of them like to play music.)
2. Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments. (For example, I play 7 instruments, two of my friends play 6 instruments, and lots of people play one or two instruments, but nobody else plays more than 4.)
3. I don't like most of the music they play on the radio.
4. My brother Hans also plays many instruments, but not more than me.
5. The member of my family who plays fewest instruments is my sister Karin.
6. During most of the summer we have played music every day.
7. I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.
8. But it is probably Hans who has drunk the most coffee. (For example, Hans drank three cups every day, and the rest of us drink one or two cups every day.)
9. Mom says that he ought to drink less coffee.
10. I am the one who drinks the least coffee.
11. But I am also the member of our family who eats the most cookies. (For example, I eat on average 5 cookies per day, and other members of my family eat on average 4 or fewer cookies per day.)
12. Mom baked cookies yesterday and I ate most of them. (For example, she baked 20 cookies and I ate 14.)
13. I drank most of the milk too. (For example, there were two liters of milk and I drank 1.5 liters.)
14. I'm not the one in the family with the thinnest waist.
15. I ought to eat fewer cookies.
16. But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.
17. Many try, but few can resist mom's cookies!

## 2 Table of results

| Family | Genus | Language | Strategy | Prop-Rel |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Afro-Asiatic | Lowland East Cushitic | Somali | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  | Semitic | Arabic | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Hebrew | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  | West Chadic | Turoyo (Surayt) | CMPR | NO-YES |
| Algic | Algonquian | Hausa | CMPR | $\diamond-\diamond$ |
|  |  | Passamaquoddy | M | NO-YES |
| Altaic | Tungusic | Mik'maq | VERY | NA-NA |
|  | Turkic | Evenki | M | NO-YES |
|  |  | Azari | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  |  | Kazakh | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  |  | Turkish | PERIPH | NO-YES |
| Austro-Asiatic | Viet-Muong | Vietnamese | PERIPH | NO-YES |
| Austronesian | Barito | Malagasy | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  | Chamorro | Chamorro | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  | Greater Central Philippine | Tagalog | M | NO-YES |
|  | Javanese | Javanese | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  | Malayo-Sumbawan | Indonesian | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  |  | Balinese | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  | Oceanic | Maori | VERY | NA-NA |
|  | Yapese | Yapese | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  | Aymaran | Central Aymara | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  | Basque | Basque | M | YES-YES |
| Aymaran | Telugu | VERY | NA-NA |  |
| Basque |  | Kannada | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
| Dravidian | South-Central-Dravidian | Malayalam | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  | Southern Dravidian | Tamil | OTHER? | NO-YES |
|  |  | Luo (Dholuo) | CMPR | NO- $\diamond ~$ |
| Eastern Sudanic | Nilotic | Lango | CMPR | NO- $\diamond$ |
|  |  | Kenuzi-Dongola | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |


| Family | Genus | Language | Strategy | Prop-Rel |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gunwinyguan | Gunwinygic | Gunbarlang | VERY | NA-NA |
| Indo-European | Albanian | Albanian | CMPR | NO- $\diamond$ |
|  | Armenian | Armenian | CMPR | NO- $\diamond$ |
|  | Celtic | Breton | M | NO-YES |
|  |  | Irish | CMPR | NO- $\diamond$ |
|  | Germanic | Dalecarlian (Elfdalian) | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Danish | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Dutch (Flemish) | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | English | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Faroese | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Frisian | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Germanic | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Icelandic | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Norwegian | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Swabian | M | YES-YES |
|  |  | Swedish | M | YES-YES |
|  | Greek | Greek | CMPR + DEF | YES-YES |
|  | Indic | Hindi | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  | Iranian | Gilaki | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  |  | Kurdish (Sorani) | M | NO-YES |
|  |  | Luri | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  |  | Persian | M | NO-YES |
|  | Romance | Catalan | CMPR + DEF | NO-YES |
|  |  | French | CMPR + DEF | NO-YES |
|  |  | Italian | CMPR + DEF | NO-YES |
|  |  | Portuguese | CMPR + DEF | NO-YES |
|  |  | Romanian | CMPR + DEF | YES-YES |
|  |  | Spanish | CMPR + DEF | NO-YES |
| Indo-European | Slavic | Bulgarian | M | NO-YES |
|  |  | Macedonian | M | NO-YES |
|  |  | Polish | M | NO-YES |
|  |  | Russian | M | NO-YES |
|  |  | Serbian | M | NO-YES |
| Iroquoian | Southern Iroquoian | Cherokee | M | NO-YES |
| Japanese | Japanese | Japanese | PERIPH | NO-YES |
| Kartvelian | Kartvelian | Georgian | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
| Korean | Korean | Korean | PERIPH | NO-YES |


| Family | Genus | Language | Strategy | Prop-Rel |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Mande | Western Mande | Vai | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
| Mayan | Mayan | Kaqchikel | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
| Na-Dene | Athapaskan | Navajo | CMPR+ANY | NO-YES |
| Nakh-Daghestanian | Lezgic | Lezgian | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
| Niger-Congo | Bantoid | Kagulu | VERY | NA-NA |
|  |  | Swahili | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  | Defoid | Yoruba | CMPR | $\diamond-\diamond$ |
|  | Kwa | Akan | VERY | NA-NA |
|  |  | Ga | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  | Northern Atlantic | Wolof | CMPR | $\diamond-\diamond$ |
| Oto-Manguean | Chinantecan | Chinanteco | VERY | NA-NA |
|  | Mixtecan | Mixtec | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  | Zapotecan | Eastern Chatino | VERY | NA-NA |
| Quechuan | Quechuan | Cochabamba Quechua | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
| Salishan | Interior Salish | Okanagan Salish | M | NO-YES |
| Sino-Tibetan | Bodic | Tibetan | M | NO-YES |
|  | Burmese-Lolo | Burmese | M | NO-YES |
|  | Dhimalic | Dhimal | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  | Mahakiranti | Newar (Dolakha) | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |
|  | Chinese | Mandarin | PERIPH | NO-YES |
| Siouan | Core Siouan | Lakota | PERIPH | NO-YES |
| Tai-Kadai | Kam-Tai | Thai | PERIPH | NO-YES |
| Uralic | Finnic | Estonian | PERIPH | NO-YES |
|  |  | Finnish | M | YES-YES |
| Uto-Aztecan | Ugric | Hungarian | M | YES-YES |
|  | Aztecan | Nahuatl (Huasteca) | CMPR+ALL | NO-YES |

## 3 Selected glosses

Glossing outside of superlative structures may be simplified and approximate. In a few cases, a language that we included in our sample will not be represented below because we did not feel we could offer complete glosses for the area outside of the superlative structure. In addition, a small number of elicited sentences have been replaced by published data where available. For each language given below, we present glossed translations of prompts targeting three meanings:

1. Quality superlative on absolute reading
2. Quantity superlative on relative reading
3. Quantity superlative on proportional reading

For each language, we indicate the primary strategy used to translate superlative prompts as well as our classification for the language in terms of relative and proportional reading availability. Languages are organized by family (section) and genus (subsection) designations according to WALS. A summary of all results in table format can be found at the end of the supplement.

Spelling and orthographic conventions have been largely preserved from consultants' original responses. Minimal changes have been made in some cases for greater consistency with conventions used in previous published work on individual languages.

We use the following abbreviations:

| ABL: ablative | CMPR: comparative | HAB: habitual |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ACC: accusative | COP: copula | ILLA: illative |
| ACT: active | DAT: dative | INANIM: inanimate |
| ADD: additive | DECL: declarative | INESS: inessive |
| ADJ: adjective | DEF: definite | INCL: inclusive |
| ADJART: adjectival article | DELIM: delimitative | INDF: indefinite |
| ADN: adnominal | DEM: demonstrative | INF: infinitival |
| ADV: adverbializer | DUR: durative | INT: intensifier |
| ALLA: allative | ELA: elative | IPFV: imperfective |
| ART: article | EMPH: emphatic | LOC: locative |
| ATTRIB: attributive | ERG: ergative | MASC: masculine |
| AUX: auxiliary | EVID: evidential | NEG: negation |
| CLT: clitic | EZ: ezafe | NEUT: neuter |
| COMP: complementizer | FEM: feminine | NMLZ: nominalizer |
| COMPL: completive aspect | FOC: focus | NOM: nominative |
| CONT: continuous | GEN: genitive | OBJ: object |

obl: oblique
OM: object marker
PAST: past
PERF: perfective
PL: plural
POL: politeness
POSS: possessive
POT: potential
PRES: present

PROG: progressive
PRT: particle
PRTV: partitive
PTP: participle
Q: question marker
REL: relativizer
SG: singular
SIM: simple tense
STAT: stative

SPRL: superlative
SREL: subject relativizer
SUBJ: subject
SUPRS: supressive
TOP: topic
WH: WH-word
wK: weak ending

### 3.1 Afro-Asiatic

### 3.1.1 Semitic

Hebrew PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(1) aval ze kaše ki ima of-a et ha-ugi-ot but 3SG difficult because mom bake.PRES-3SG.FEM ACC DEF-cookie-PL haxi teim-ot b-a-olam. SPRL tasty-PL.FEM in-DEF-world
'But its hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(2) mi-kol ha-yelad-im be-beyt ha-sefer shel-i, ani (hi)
of-all DEF-child-PL.MASC in-house DEF-book of-1SG 1SG COP.FEM
zot še-menagen-et be-haxi harbe kley negina.
DEM.FEM REL-play.PRES-FEM.SG at-SPRL many instrument.PL
'Of all the kids in my school, Im the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

marbit ha-yelad-im še-holx-im le-beyt ha-sefer
majority DEF-child-PL.MASC REL-go.PRES-PL.MASC to-house DEF-book
Sel-i ohav-im li-šmoa musika.
of-1SG like-PL.mASC to-hear music
'The majority of kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(4) ani lo yoda-at kama kafe Sati-nu ve-kama

1SG NEG know.PRES-SG how.much coffee drink.past-1SG and-how.many
ugi-ot axal-nu be-meSex ha-kayits.
cookie-PL eat.PAST-1SG in-duration the-summer
'I dont know how much coffee weve drunk and how many cookies weve eaten during the summer.'

### 3.1.2 West Chadic

Hausa $\operatorname{CMPR}(+$ ALL $), \diamond-\diamond$

## Absolute quality

Amma zai yi wuya saboda mama na gasa biskit din da but 3 SG do hard because mother 1SG.PERF.REL bake biscuit TOP with ya-fi kowane dadi a duniya.
3SG-exceed every delicious in world
'But its hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

a. Hamid ya ci dabino ma-fi yawa.

Hamid 3SG eat date NMLZ-exceed quantity
'Hamid ate the most dates.'
b. Hamid ya fi kowa cin dabino

Hamid 3sG exceed every eat date
'Hamid ate the most dates.'

## Proportional quantity

Ma-fi yawa-n yaran dake makarantarmu su-na son nMLZ-exceed quantity-LINK children in school 3PL-CONT like yin waka.
make song
'Most of the kids in my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(8) Ba-n san yawa-n shayin da muka sha da NEG-1SG know quantity/many-LINK tea-LINK with 1PL.PERF drink with biskit din da muka ci ba lokaci-n bazara biscuit TOP with 1PL-PERF eat NEG time-LINK summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.2 Altaic

### 3.2.1 Turkic

## Kazakh PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

Biraq bul qïn, o'i'tkeny ana-m a'lem-de-gi
but DEM hard because mother-1sG.POSS world-LOC-ADJ
piskennan-da-g'y en' da'mdi pisir-e-di.
cookie-LOC-ADJ SPRL tasty cook-PRES-3
'But its hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

Biraq en' ko'p Kofe is'-ken Hans, mumkin.
but SPRL many coffee drink-PERF Hans probably
'But it is probably Hans who has drunk the most coffee.'

## Proportional quantity

Menin' mekteb-im-e bar-atśn bala-lar-dśn' ko'ps'lig-i
my school-1SG.1POSS-DAT go-PRES.PTP kid-PL-GEN majority-3POSS
my'zika oinay'-dy y'na-t-a-dy.
music play-ACC like-ACT-PRES-3
'The majority of kids who to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(12) Jaz-da biz qans'a kofe is'-ken-imiz-dy ja'ne qans'a summer-LOC we how.much coffee drink-PERF-1PL-ACC and how.many pispennan je-p koi'-g'an-imiz-dy bil-me-i'-myn cookie eat-? ?-PERF-1PL-ACC know-NEG-PRES-1SG
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

## Turkish PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(13) Ama bu zor, çünkü annem dünyann en leziz but DEM hard because mom-1SG.1POSS world-GEN SPRL delicious kurabiyelerini pişirir.
cookie.PL cook
'But that is very difficult because mom bakes cookies that are the most delicious in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(14) Okulumdaki çocuklar-n arasinda en çok müzik aleti 1SG.1POSS.school.in kid.PL-GEN among SPRL much music instrument çalan benim.
ringing 1 SG
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(15) Okulumdaki çocuklar-n çoğ-u muzik yapmay seviyorlar. 1SG.1POSS.school.in kid.PL-GEN much-3POSS music making love.3PL 'The children in my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(16) Yaz boyunca ne kadar kahve i̧tiǧimizi ve ka, örek summer during what amount coffee drank and how.many cookie yediǧimizi bilmiyorum.
ate know.NEG.1SG
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.3 Austronesian

### 3.3.1 Barito

Malagasy PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(17) Fa ny rononon'-osy no tsara indrindra. but DET milk-goat EMPH good SPRL
'But goat milk is best.'

## Relative quantity

(18) Izaho no mahay milalao zava-maneno maro indrindra noho 1SG EMPH able play musical.instruments many SPRL against ireo ankizy hafa rehetra mahay mitendry mozika ao am-pianarako. 3PL children others all skill play music there in
classroom.1POSS
'I'm the one who plays the most instruments out of other children in my school.'

## Proportional quantity

(19) Tia milalao mozika ny ankamaroan'ny ankizy mianatra ao amin'-ny like play music DET majority.DET child learn there in-DET fianarako. school.1POSS
'The majority of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(20) Tsy haiko ny kafe nosotroiko sy ny mofomamy laniko nandritra NEG know DEF coffee drank and DEF cake ate during ny fahavaratra.
DEF summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.3.2 Malayo-Sumbawan

## Indonesian PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(21) Tapi susah sejak mama masak kue yang paling enak di seluruh but difficult because mother cook cookie REL SPRL tasty in whole dunia.
world
'But it's difficult because Mom makes the yummiest cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(22) Dan karena saya paling lapar, saya makan kue paling banyak. and because 1SG SPRL hungry 1SG eat cookie SPRL many 'And because I was the hungriest, I ate the most cookies.'

## Proportional quantity

(23) Kebanyakan anak kecil tidak suka kopi. many.NmLZ child small NEG like coffee 'Many children do not like coffee.'(Soemarmo, 1979 )

## Quantity q-word

(24) Kita tara tahu berapa banyak kofi yang torang ada we ?NEG know how.many much/many coffee REL ? there.is minum dan kue yang torang ada makan selama musim panas drink and cookie REL ? there.is eat during summer 'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.4 Oceanic

### 3.4.1 Māori: VERY, NA-NA

## Absolute quality

(25) Engari he uaua inā ko taku māmā te kaitunu pihikete but DET.INDF difficult INT PRT 1POSS mother DET.SG chef biscuit pai rawa atu i te ao katoa. be.good INT STND/away LOC DET.SG world whole
'But it is really difficult since mother is the chef of very good biscuits in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(26) O ngā tamariki katoa i taku kura, ko au te tohunga ki te of DET.PL children all in 1POSS school, PRT 1SG DET be.expert SUBR whakatangi taonga puoro.
play musical.instrument
'Of all the children in my school, I am an expert of playing musical instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

Pai te whakatangi taonga puoro ki te nuinga o good DET.SG play musical.instrument to DET.SG majority of ngà tamariki i taku kura. DET.PL children LOC my school.
'The majority of the children like to play musical instruments at my school.' Note: nuinga 'majority' appears to be composed of nui 'be many' and nga nominalizer suffix. Gloss as 'majority' follows entry in online Māori Dictionary.

### 3.4.2 Yapese

## Yapese PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(28) Machane ba sma'maw' rogon ya nina e ba-th'abi fel' but STAT difficult way because mother ART STAT-SPRL good lamen e kukis ni ma lith. taste ART cookies REL HAB cook 'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(29) Machane sana Hans e thabi yo'or e kofiy ni ke unum. but probably Hans art sprl many art coffee rel perf drink 'But it is probably Hans who has drunk the most coffee.'

## Proportional quantity

(30) Bo'or e bitir ni ma yen ko skul rog ni stat.many art child Relstat go to school 1sG.1poss Rel stat.like baa'dag i chubeeg e musik.
3SG play ART music
'Many of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

### 3.5 Aymaran

### 3.5.1 Aymaran

Central Aymara CMPR+ALL, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

a. Isawila-x taqi-ni-t-s jil(a)-pach(a) jach'a-w. Isabel-TOP all-ATTRIB-ABL-ADD CMPR-INCL big-DECL 'Isabel is the tallest.'
b. Isawila-x taq(i)-pacha-t jila jach'a-w.

Isabel-TOP all-INCL-ABL CMPR big-DECL 'Isabel is the tallest.'

## Relative quantity

Hansu-w(a) kaphiy-x(a) taqi-ni-t(a)-s jil(a)-pach(a)
Hans-DECL coffee.ACC-TOP all-ATTRIB-ABL-ADD CMPR-INCL
umantaway-pacha.
drink-EVID
'Hans probably drank the most coffee.'

## Proportional quantity

Na-ki-w jil(a)-pach(a) manq'antawj-t.
1SG-DELIM-DECL CMPR-INCL
'I ate most (of the cookies).'

### 3.6 Basque

### 3.6.1 Basque

Basque M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(34) Baina zaila da, amak munduko gaileta goxoen-ak egiten ditu eta. but difficult is mom world cookie good.SPRL-PL make have and 'But it's hard, mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(35) Nire eskolako haurre-tatik, ni naiz instrumentu gehi-en jotzen 1SG.1POSS school child-among 1SG am instrument much.SPRL play dituena.
AUX
'Among the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(36) Nire eskolara doazen haur gehien-ek musika jotzea atsegin 1SG.1POSS school in child much.SPRL-PL music play gladly dute. have. 3 PL
'In my school, most of the kids like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(37) Ez dakit zenbat kafe edan dugun eta zenbat gaileta jan not know how.much coffee drunk have.COMP and how.much cookie eat ditugun udan.
AUX.COMP summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.7 Dravidian

### 3.7.1 Southern Dravidian

Malayalam PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(38) engilum, athe valare prayaasam aane, kaaranam amma lookatth-il but that very hard COP because Mom world-LOC eettavum nalla kukki undaakk-unnu
SPRL good cookie make-PROG
'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(39) Engilum Hans aayirikkum eettavum adhikam kaappi kuDich-ittull-athe. but Hans be SPRL much coffee drink-PERF-NMLZ but it is probably Hans who has drunk the most coffee.

## Proportional quantity

(40) ente skuul-il pook-unn-a bhuribhaakam kuTTikalum sangeetha my school-LOC go-PROG-REL most children music upakaranangal vaayikk-aan iSTappeD-unnu. instruments read-INF like-PROG 'Most of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(41) ee veenalkaalathu nammal ethra kaappi kuDich-enn-um this summer we how.much coffee drank-COMP-and ethra kukki thinn-enn-um enikke ariy-illa how.many cookie ate-COMP-and know-NEG 'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.8 Indo-European

### 3.8.1 Albanian

## Albanian CMPR , NO- $\diamond$

## Absolute quality

(42) Por është e vështirë përderisa mami pjek biskotat më but COP.3SG ADJART difficult as/while mother bake biscuit.PL CMPR
të shijshme në gjithë botën.
ADJART delicious in all world
'But it is difficult when mother bakes more/most delicious biscuits in all the world.'

## Relative quantity

(43) Nga të gjithë fëmijët në shkollën time, unë jam ai që from of all child.PL.DEF in school 1POSS 1SG COP.1SG 3SG REL
i bie më shumë instrumenteve.
3.DAT.CLT strike CMPR many instrument.PL
'Out of all the children in my school, I am the one who plays the most instruments / who plays instruments the most.'
Note: This could be an adverbial superlative, since there is no adjectival article të between $m e ̈$ and the quantity word, as was found in the quality superlative examples.

## Proportional quantity

(44) Shumicës së fëmijëve që shkojnë në shkollën time u pëlqen të majority of child.PL.DEF REL go in school 1POSS CLT like INF luajnë muzikë.
play music


## Quantity q-word

(45) Nuke di se sa kafe kemi pirë dhe sa

NEG 3.ACC.CLT know COMP how coffee AUX.1PL drank and how
biskota kemi ngrënë gjatë verës.
biscuit.PL AUX.1PL ate during summer

[^0]'I do not know how (much) coffee we have drunk and how (many) biscuits we have eaten during the summer.'

### 3.9 Armenian

### 3.9.1 Armenian: CMPR, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(46) Bayć da džwar ē ḱani or mayriks amboğj ašxarhowm but it difficult is how.many since mom.DEF.NOM whole world.LOC amenahame $\dot{g}$ t́xwaçḱkablit́nern ē patrastowm.
delicious.SPRL cookies.DEF.ART is prepared.LOC
'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

Im dproći erexaneri meǰ, es em amenašat
1SG.POSS school.DAT child.DAT.PL among 1SG am many.SPRL
gorçiḱnerov nwagowm.
instrument.PL play.1SG
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(48) Im dproćë ya ${ }^{\text {ccaxog }}$ erexaneri meçamasnowtiwnë

1SG.POSS school.DEF.NOM who.attend child.DAT.PL most-DEF.ART sirowm en nwagel.
like.PTP is.PL play
'Most of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(49) T́è inčḱan sowrc enk xmel ew inčḱan t́xwaçḱablit enk that how.much coffee am.PL drink and how.much cookie are kerel amran ëntaćkin, es čgitem. eat.PAST.PTP summer.DAT course.1.POSS.DAT, 1SG NEG.know
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.9.2 Celtic

Irish CMPR, NO- $\diamond$

## Absolute quality

(50) Ach tá sé deacair ó tharla go ndéanann mamaí na brioscaí but is it hard since happen COMP make mother DEF.PL biscuit.PL is blasta fud fad an domhain. COMP.WH.COP.PRES tasty throughout extent the world
'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

Is má an duine is mó a d'ith
COP 1SG DEF person COMP.WH.COP.PRES big.CMPR COMP ate
brioscaí.
biscuit.PL
'I'm the one who ate most biscuits.'

## Proportional quantity

(52) Is maith leis an chuid is mó de na COP good with DEF part COMP.WH.COP.PRES big.CMPR of DEF páistí ar an scoil sagamsa ceol a sheinm. child.PL.GEN at DEF school 1SG.1POSS music COMP play
'The largest part of children who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

Níl a fhios agam cé mhéad caife atá be.not COMP know at.1SG WH quantity/extent coffee COMP.be ólta againn agus cé mhlad briosca a dith drink.PAST.PTP at.us and wh quantity/extent biscuits to eat.PAST muid le linn an tsamhraidh.
we during time.period the summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.9.3 Germanic

## Dalecarlian (Elfdalian) M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(54) Ig ar naug digrest miðað just dar ig ar faið 1SG have probably fat.SPRL waist.DEF just because 1SG have gotten guäðest matn. yummy.SPRL food-DEF
'I probably have the fattest waist because I have the most delicious food.'

## Relative quantity

Åv oll unger iär i skaulan ir eð ig so spiler mjäst åv of all child.PL here in school.DEF is it 1 SG as plays much.SPRL of instrument-um. instrument-DAT.NEUT.PL
'Of all the children here in the school, Im the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

Eð ir naug Ans so ar drutşeð mjäst (åv) kaffi idag. it is probably Hans as has drunk much.Sprl of coffee today 'It's probably Hans who has drunk the most coffee today.'

## Quantity q-word

Ig wet $t$ ur mitjið kaffi am druttjeð og ur mikkel 1SG know NEG how much coffee 1SG.have drunk and how many kakur am ietið issn såmårn. cookies 1SG.have eaten this summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

## Danish M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(58) Men det er svært fordi mor bager de lækreste but DEF.NEUT is difficult because mother bakes DEF.PL tasty.SPRL.WK småkager i hele verden.
cookie.PL in entire world.DEF.MASC.SG
'But it's hard, mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(59) Af alle børnene i min skole er jeg den der kan of all.PL child.PL.DEF in 1SG.POSS school be 1SG DEF.MASC.SG there can spille flest instrumenter.
play many.SPRL instrument.PL
'Among the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

De fleste børn på min skole kan lide at spille musik. DEF.PL many.SPRL.WK child at 1SG.POSS school can like to play music 'In my school, most of the kids like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(61) Jeg ved ikke hvor meget kaffe vi har drukket, eller hvor mange 1SG know NEG how much coffee 1PL have drunk or how many
småkager vi har spist over sommeren.
cookies 1PL have eaten during summer.DEF
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

## Dutch (Flemish) M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(62) Mama bakt de lekkerste koekjes van de wereld. mother bakes DEF.PL tasty.SPRL cookie.PL of DEF world 'Mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(63) Van alle kinderen in mijn school ben ik degene die de, het of all kids in my school am 1SG DEM that \{DEF.PL, meeste instrumenten speelt.
DEF.NEUT.SG\} many.SPRL instrument.PL plays
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(64) De meeste kinderen die naar mijn school gaan spelen

DEF.PL many.SPRL child.PL that to 1SG.POSS school go play
graag muziek.
gladly music
'In my school, most of the kids like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(65) Ik weet niet hoeveel koffie we gedronken hebben en hoeveel 1SG know NEG how.much coffee 1PL drank have and how.much koekjes we gegeten hebben gedurende de zomer.
cookies 1PL eaten have during DEF summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

## Faroese M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(66) Mamma bakar tær lekrastu smákøkurnar í verðini.
mother bakes DEF yummy.SPRL.WK cookie.PL.DEF in world.DAT.DEF 'Mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(67) Av øllum børnunum í mínum skúla, eri eg tann, sum spæli of all.DAT kid.DAT.PL.DEF in 1SG.POSS school, am 1SG DEM as plays flest ljóðføri. many.SPRL.NEUT.SG instrument.PL
'Of all the kids in my school, Im the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

\{Flestu, Tey flestu\} børnini í \{many.SPRL.WK, DEF.NEUT.PL many.SPRL.WK\} kid.NOM.PL.DEF in mínum skúla dáma at spæla tónleik. 1SG.POSS school like to play music
'Most of the kids in my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(69) Eg veit ikki hvussu nógv kaffi vit hava drukkið, og hvussu nógvar 1SG know NEG how much coffee 1PL have drunk and how many smákøkur vit hava etið ígjøgnum summarið.
cookies 1PL have eaten through summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

Frisian M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(70) Mar dat is dreech om't mem de lekkerste koekjes fan but DEM is difficult because mother DEF.PL tasty.SPRL cookie.PL of de hiele wrâld bakt.
DEF.SG.common.gender whole world baked
'Mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(71) Fan alle bern op myn skoalle bin ik dejinge dy't de of all child on 1SG.POSS school am 1SG someone REL DEF.PL
measte ynstruminten spilet.
many.SPRL instruments plays
'Of all the kids in my school, Im the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(72) De measte bern dy't op myn skoalle sitte fine it

DEF.PL many.SPRL child REL on 1SG.POSS school sit find 3SG.NEUT
moai om muzyk te meitsjen.
lovely around music also make
'Most of the kids in my school like to play music.'

## Quality q-word

(73) Ik wit net hoefolle kofje wy dronken hawwe en hoefolle 1SG know NEG how.much coffee 1PL drunk have and how.much koekjes wy iten hawwe yn de simmer. cookies 1PL eaten have in DEF summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

## German M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(74) Mama backt die leckersten Kekse in der ganzen Welt. mother bakes DEF.PL yummy.SPRL.WK cookie.PL in DEF whole world 'Mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity, 1

(75) Von allen Kindern in meiner Schule bin ich derjenige, der of all child.PL in 1SG.POSS school am 1SG the.one DEF.MASC
die meisten Instrumente spielt.
DEF.PL many.SPRL.WK instrument.PL plays
'Of all the kids in my school, Im the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Relative quantity, 2

(76) Hans war derjenige, der am meisten Kaffee getrunken Hans was the.one who on.DEF.DAT.SG many.SPRL.WK coffee drunk hat. has
'It was probably Hans drank the most coffee.'

## Proportional quantity

(77) Die meisten Kinder an meiner Schule spielen gerne Musik. DEF.PL many.SPRL.WK child.pl in my school play gladly music 'Most of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(78) Ich weiß nicht, wieviel Kaffee wir getrunken und wieviele Kekse 1SG know NEG how.much coffee 1PL drunk and how.many cookies wir während des Sommers gegessen haben.
1PL while of summer eaten have
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

Icelandic M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(79) Mamma bakar bestu kökur-nar í
mother bakes good.SPRL-PL.WK cookie[FEM].PL-PL.DEF in
heiminum.
world.DAT.DEF
'Mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(80) Af öllum krökkunum í skólanum mínum er ég sú sem spila av all child.PL in school.DAT 1SG.POSS.DAT is 1SG DEM REL play á flest hljóðfæri.
on many.SPRL instrument.PL
'Of all the kids in my school, Im the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

Flestum krökkunum í skólanum mínum many.SPRL-MASC.DAT kid[MASC].PL.DAT in school.DAT 1SG.POSS.DAT finnst gaman að spila á hljóðfæri.
find fun to play on instrument.PL
'Most of the kids in my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

Ég veit ekki hversu mikið kaffi við höfum drukkið eða hversu margar 1SG know NEG how much coffee 1PL have drunk or how many smákökur við höfum borðað í sumar.
cookies 1PL have eaten in summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

## Norwegian M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(83) Men det er vanskelig når mamma baker de beste but DEF.NEUT is difficult when mother bakes DEF.PL good.SPRL.WK kakene i hele verden. cookie.PL.DEF in whole world.DEF 'But it's difficult because Mom bakes the best cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(84) Av alle barna på skolen er jeg den som spiller flest of all child.PL.DEF at school.DEF is 1SG DEM REL plays many.SPRL instrumenter. instrument.PL
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

De fleste barn som går i skolen min, DEF.PL.WK SPRLSPRL.WK child.PL REL go in school.DEF 1SG.POSS.MASC
liker å spille musikk.
like to play music
'Most of the kids in my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(86) Jeg vet ikke hvor mye kaffe vi har drukket og hvor mange 1SG know NEG how much coffee 1PL have drunk and how many kaker som vi har spist i løpet av sommeren. cookies REL 1PL have eaten in course.DEF av summer.DEF
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.9.4 Swabian

## M, YES-YES

Absolute quality
(87) Mai Muader de läggerschde Käks uf də Wäld bechd. 1SG.1POSS mother DEF.PL tasty.SPRL cookie av DEF world bakes 'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(88) Vo: älle Kender en mairer Schual ben i: dä:r, wo: de maischde of all child.pl in 1SG.POSS school am 1SG REL ? DEF many.SPRL Inschdrument schpi:ld. instrument play
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(89) Di: maischde Kender, wo: en d'Schual gangəd, machəd gern Musigg. DEF many.SPRL child.PL?? school go play gladly music
'Most of the kids in my school like to play music.'

## Swedish M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(90) Men det ár svårt eftersom mamma bakar de godaste but DEF.NEUT is difficult because mother bakes DEF.PL good.SPRL.WK kakorna i hela världen. cookie.PL.DEF in whole world.DEF 'But it's difficult because Mom bakes the best cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(91) Av alla barn i skolan är jag den som spelar flest of all child.PL in school.DEF am 1SG DEM REL plays many.SPRL instrument. instrument.PL
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(92) De flesta barn som går i min skola gillar att DEF.PL many.SPRL.WK child.PL REL go in 1SG.POSS school like to
spela musik.
play music
'Most of the kids in my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(93) Jag vet inte hur mycket kaffe vi har druckit eller hur många

1SG know NEG much coffee 1PL have drunk or how many cookies
kakor vi har ätit under sommaren.
1PL have eaten during summer.DEF
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.9.5 Greek

Greek CMPR + DEF, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

Spania haidevo tin mikroteri ti gata.
seldom pet DEF small.SPRL DEF cat
'I seldom pet the smallest cat.' (Alexiadou, 2014)

## Relative quantity

Apó óla ta paidiá sto scholeío, egó paízo ta pio pollá órgana.
of all DEF child.PL at school, 1SG play DEF CMPR many instruments 'Of all the kids in my school, Im the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(96) S-ta perissótera paidiá sto scholeío mou arései na paízoun DAT-DEF many.CMPR child.PL at school mine like to play mousikí.
music
'Most of the kids in my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(97) Den xéro póso kafé ípiame kai pósa biskóta fágame NEG know.1SG how.much coffee drink.1PL and how.many cookies ate.1PL aftó to kalokaíri.
this DEF summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.9.6 Indic

## Hindi CMPR+ALL, NO-YES

## Absolute quality ${ }^{\text {D }}$

par ye mushkil hai kyunki maaM duniyaa ki sab-se acchii but this hard is because mother world GEN all-than good cookies banaa-tii hai
cookie.PL make-IPFV be.PRES
'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

school ke sabhi baccoM meiM se maiM sab-se zyaadaa school GEN all child.PL in from 1SG all-than CMPR saaz bajaa-taa huuM musical.instrument.PL play-IPFV be.PRES.1SG
'Of all the kids at school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(100) mere school jaa-ne waale zyaadaatar bacce gaa-naa bajaa-naa

1POSS school go-INF REL many.CMPR child.PL sing-INF play-INF
pasand karte haiM
like do be.PRES.PL
"More of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(101) mujhe nahiM pataa ki garmiyoM meiM ham-ne kitnii coffee 1SG.DAT NEG know that summer in 1Pl-ERG how.much coffee pii aur kitnii cookies khaayiiM
drink.PERF and how.much cookies eat.PERF
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.9.7 Iranian

Kurdish (Sorani) M, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

[^1]Balaam awe aastama labaraweye ke Dayak-im xosh-tir-in but that impossible because that mom-1POSS tasty-CMPR-SPRL klucha la hamu gadroon dadrosdeka. cookie from whole world makes 'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(103) La nevaan tawaw-i mndalaan-i qutaabxaan-aka-m mn taaqe from between whole-EZ child.PL-EZ school-DEF-1SG.1POSS 1SG only kas-eka-m Ka zor-tir-in aamer-i musiqaa person-INDF-1SG that much-CMPR-SPRL instrument-EZ music dazaanem wa dajanem. know.PRES-1SG and play.PRES-1SG
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(104) Zorba-i mndalaan awanái va dena qutaabxaana-i mn majority-EZ child.PL those- such come.PRES school-EZ 1SG pe-yan musiqa bezhan-in xosh-a. to-3PL pleasant-is music play.PRES-3PL 'The majority of kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Persian M, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(105) un aval say kard-ø az boland-tar-in deraxt-e baq bala 3SG first effort do.PAST-3SG from tall-CMPR-SPRL tree-EZ garden up be-re vali un xeili boland bud- $\varnothing$. subj-go.3sG but 3sG very tall be.PAST-3SG
'First he tried to climb the tallest tree in the garden, but it was too tall.'

## Relative quantity

(106) Man biš-tar-in cookie ra khord-am.

1SG much-CMPR-SPRL cookie OM eat.PAST-1SG
'I ate the most cookies.'

## Proportional quantity

Man biš-tar-e cookie-ha ra khord-am.
1SG much-CMPR-EZ cookie-PL OM eat.PAST-1SG
'I ate more of the cookies.'

## Quantity q-word

(108) Man ne-mi-dān-am čeqadr qahve nušid-im va 1SG NEG-know.PRES-1SG how.much coffee drink.PAST-1PL and čeqadr širini xord-im dar tul-e tābestān. how.much pastry eat.PAST-1PL in during-EZ summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.9.8 Romance

Catalan CMPR + DEF, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(109) Però em costa molt, perquè la mare fa les galetes més but 1SG costs a.lot because DEF mother makes DEF cookie.PL CMPR delicioses del món.
delicious of DEF world
'But its hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(110) Jo sóc qui toca més instruments.

1SG am REL plays CMPR instrument.PL
'I am the one who play the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(111) A la majoria de nens que van amb mi a l'escola els agrada to DEF majority of DEF kid.PL REL go with 1SG to DEF school tocar algun instrument.
3PL like play some instrument
'The majority of kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(112) No sé quant (de) cafè hem begut i quantes galetes NEG know how.much of coffee have drunk and how.many cookie.PL hem menjat durant l'estiu.
have eaten during summer.DEF
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

## French CMPR+DEF, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(113) Mais c'est difficile parce que Maman fait les meilleurs but 3SG.is difficult because COMP mother makes DEF.PL good.CMPR cookies du monde.
cookie.PL of world
'But its hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

De tout les enfants de mon école, je suis celui qui joue of all DEF kid.PL of 1SG.1POSS school 1SG am the.one REL plays le plus dinstruments.
DEF CMPR of.instrument.PL
'Of all the kids in my school, Im the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(115) La plupart des enfants qui vont à mon école aiment jouer DEF majority of kid.PL REL go to 1SG.1Poss school love to.play de la musique. of DEF music
'The majority of kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(116) Je ne sais pas combien de café on a bu ni combien de 1SG NEG know NEG how.much of coffee 1PL have drunk or how.much of cookies on a mangé pendant l'été.
cookies 1PL have eaten during DEF.summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

Italian CMPR + DEF, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(117) Ma è difficile quando la mamma fa i più buoni
but 3SG.is difficult when DEF mom makes DEF CMPR tasty
biscotti del mondo.
cookie.PL of.DEF world
'But its hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

Di tutti ragazzi della mia scuola io sono quello che suona of all kid.PL in.DEF 1sG.1POSS school 1SG am the.one REL plays più strumenti.
CMPR instrument.PL
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

Alla maggior parte dei bambini che frequentano la mia to.DEF big.CMPR part of child.PL REL attend DEF 1SG.1POSS scuola piace suonare.
school like to.play
'The majority of kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(120) Non so quanto caffè abbiamo bevuto e quanti biscotti NEG know.1SG how.much coffee have.1PL drunk and how.many cookies abbiamo mangiato durante l'estate.
have.1PL eaten during DEF.summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

Portuguese CMPR + DEF, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(121) Mas é difícil porque a mẽe faz as bolachas mais but is difficult because to mother makes DEF.PL cookie.PL CMPR deliciosas do mundo. delicious.PL of.DEF world
'But its hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(122) Eu sou o que toca mais instrumentos.

1SG am the.one REL plays CMPR instrument.PL
'I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(123) A maioria das crianças que andam na minha escola gostam de to majority of child.PL REL go on 1SG.1POSS school like of
música.
music
'The majority of kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

Não sei quanto café bebemos e quantas bolachas NEG know.1SG how.much coffee drank.1PL and how.many cookies comemos durante o Verão.
ate.1PL during DEF summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

Romanian CMPR+DEF, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(125) Dar e greu pentru că mama face cele mai bune but COP difficult because mother make DEF.PL CMPR good.PL dulciuri în întreaga lume.
sweet.PL in worldwide
'But it's difficult because mother makes the best sweets (the better sweets) worldwide.'

## Relative quantity

Dintre toţi copiii din şcoala mea, eu sunt cel care from all child.PL.DEF.GEN from school.DEF 1POSS 1SG COP DEF REL joacă cele mai multe instrumente. play DEF.PL CMPR many instrument.PL 'Of all the children from my school, I am the one who plays the most (the more) instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(127) Cele mai multe dintre copiii care merge la

DEF.PL CMPR many of child.PL.DEF.GEN REL go DEF.FEM
scoala mea place să se joace muzica.
school 1POSS.FEM like INF 3SG play music
'Most of the children (the more of the children) who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

Nu ştiu câtă cafea am băut şi câte prăjituri am NEG know how.much coffee AUX drank and how.much cake.PL AUX mâncat în timpul verii.
eaten in time summer.GEN
'I don't know how much coffee we drank and how many cakes we have eaten in summertime.'

## Spanish CMPR+DEF, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(129) Pero es difícil porque mi mami hace las galletas más but is difficult because 1SG.1POSS mom makes DEF.PL cookie.PL CMPR ricas del mundo.
delicious.PL of.DEF world
'But its hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

Yo soy el que toca más instrumentos. 1SG am the.one REL plays CMPR instrument.PL 'I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(131) A la mayoría de los niños que van a mi escuela to DEF majority of DEF.PL child.PL REL go to 1SG.1POSS school les gusta tocar música.
to.3PL enjoy to.play music
'The majority of kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(132) No sé cuánto café bebimos ni cuántas galletas NEG know.1SG how.much coffee drank.1PL or how.many cookies comimos durante el verano.
ate.1PL during DEF summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

### 3.9.9 Slavic

### 3.9.10 Bulgarian (Indo-European): M, NO-YES

Absolute quality

Trudno e obache, otkakto mama prigotvya nai-vkusnite hard COP.3SG however since mother prepare.3SG SPRL-tasty biskvite na sveta.
biscuit.PL in world
'However it is hard since mother prepares the tastiest biscuits in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(134) Az svirya na naí-mnogo instrumenti, v sravnenie s vsichki 1SG play.1SG on SPRL-many instrument.PL in comparison to all ostanali sŭuchenitsi.
other classmate.PL
'I play on the most instruments, in comparison to all other classmates.'

## Proportional quantity

(135) Golyama chast ot detsata, poseshtavashti uchilishte obichat da large part of child.PL.DEF attending.PL school like.3PL SUBR sviryat muzika.
play.3pl music
'A large part of the children attending school like to play music.'

Macedonian M, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(136) No toa e dosta teško bidejki mama gi pravi naj vkusnite but DEM is rather hard because mother then make SPRL tasty kolačinja vo celiot svet. cookie.PL in whole world
'But it's difficult because Mom makes the best cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(137) Od site moj sooučenici jas sum edinstvenata koja što of all 1sG.1POSS fellow.student.PL 1SG am only.one REL sviri najmnogu instrumenti. plays many.SPRL instrument.PL 'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(138) Poveketo od učenicite koj što učat vo moeto CMPR.many.NMLZ from student.PL REL what study in 1SG.1POSS
učilište sakaat da sviraat muzika.
school love to play music
"The more' of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(139) Jas ne znam kolku kafe sme ispile i kolku kolačinja 1SG NEG know how.much coffee 1PL.have drank and how.much cookies imame izedeno vo tekot na letoto.
1PL.have eaten in course on summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

Russian CMPR+ALL, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(140) Eti derevya vyshe vsekh.

DEM.PL tree.PL tall.CMPR all.GEN.PL
'These trees are the tallest.'

## Relative quantity

(141) Ya sobrala bolshe vsekh yablok. 1SG collected much.CMPR all.GEN.PL apple.PL.GEN 'I collected the most apples.'

## Proportional quantity

(142) Bolshee kolichestvo vody bylo razlito. big.CMPR quantity water.GEN was spilled 'Most of the water was spilled.'

## Quantity q-word

(143) Ne znaju, skolko my za leto vypili kofe i sjeli NEG know how.many 1PL during summer drank coffee and ate pechenja. cookies
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

Serbian M, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

Ali teško je jer mama pravi najukusnije kolačiće na cijelom but hard is since mother makes delicious.SPRL cookie.PL on whole svijetu.
world
'But it's difficult because Mom makes the yummiest cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(145) Od sve djece $u$ školi, ja sam ono koje svira najviše from all kid.PL in school 1SG am DEM REL plays many.SPRL
instrumenata.
instrument.PL
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(146) Većna djece koja idu u moju školu vole svirati. majority kid.PL REL do in 1SG.1POSS school like to.play
'The majority of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(147) Ne znam koliko smo kafe popili i koliko smo kolaia pojeli NEG know how.much are coffee drank and how.much are cookies eaten u toku ljeta.
in course summer
'I don't know how much coffee we've drunk and how many cookies we've eaten during the summer.'

## 4 Japanese

### 4.1 Japanese

### 4.1.1 Japanese: PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(148) sikasi, haha-ha sekai-de itiban oisii kukki-wo yaku no-de, but mother-TOP world-in most delicious cookie-ACC bake because-of sore-ha muzukasii.
that-TOP difficult
'But it's difficult because mother bakes the most delicious cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

watasi-no gakkou-no kodomo-tati-no naka-de, watasi-ga itiban 1SG-GEN school-GEN child-PL-GEN among-in 1SG-NOM most ooku-no gakki-wo hiku-koto-ga dekiru.
many-GEN instrument-ACC play-NMLZ-NOM do.POT
'Among all the children in my school, I play the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(150) watasi-no gakkou-ni kayo-u ooku-no kodomo-tati-ha ongaku-wo 1SG-GEN school-to go-to many-GEN child-PL-TOP music-ACC suru-koto-ga suki-desu. do-NMLZ-NOM like-COP 'Many children who go to my school like to play music.'
(151) natu-no aida nani hai-no kohi-wo nonde nani summer-GEN span how.many counter-GEN coffee-ACC drink how.many bira-no kukki-wo tabe-ta-ka oboete-i-masen.
counter-GEN cookie-ACC eat-PAST-Q remember-PROG-NEG
'I don't remember how much coffee I drank and how many cookies I ate during the summer.'

### 4.2 Kartvelian

### 4.2.1 Kartvelian

Georgian CMPR + ALL, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(152) magram es dzalian rtulia, mashin, rodesats deda msoplioshi but 3sG very difficult then when mother in.the.world q'vela-ze gemriel ortskhobilas atskhobs.
all-stnd tasty biscuit.PL bake
'But it is very difficult when mother bakes the tastiest biscuits in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(153) chemi sk'olis bavshvebidan, mkholod me vuk'rav q'vela-ze met' 1POSS school child.PL only 1SG play all-STND many.CMPR inst'rument'-ze. instrument-on
'Of children in my school, only I play on the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(154) bavshvebis umet'esobas, vints chems sk'olashi dadis, mosts'ons child.PL many.INT.NMLZ.DAT REL 1POSS school go like musik'is dak'vra.
music to.play
'A majority of the students who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(155) ar vitsi ramdeni q'ava davliet da ramdeni ortskhobila NEG know how.much coffee drank and how.much biscuit.PL shevch'amet zapkhulis ganmavlobashi.
ate summer during
'I don't know how much coffee we drank and how many biscuits we've eaten during the summer.'

## 5 Korean

### 5.1 Korean

### 5.1.1 Korean: PERIPH, NO-YES

Absolute quality
(156) haciman emma-ka mantu-nun [kwaca-ka seysang-eyse kacang however mom-NOM bake-ADN [cookie-NOM world-ADV DEF.SPRL masiss-ki] ttaymwun-ey ku-ken himtule-yo. yummy-NOM] reason-ADV it-AUX.TOP hard-DECL 'However it's hard because mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the world'.

## Relative quantity

cey-ka wuli hakkyo-uy motun ay-tul cwung-eyse [kacang 1SG-NOM 1PL.POSS school-GEN all kid-PL of-ADV [SPRL manh-un akki-lul] yencwuhay-yo. many-ADN instrument-ACC] play-DECL
'Of all the kids in our school, I play the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(158) wuli hakkyo-ey tani-nun [taypwupwun-uy ai-tul-un] umak 1PL.POSS school-ADV go-ADN [in.large.part-GEN kid-PL-NOM] music
yencwuha-ki-lul cohahay-yo.
play-NMLZ-ACC like-DECL
'Most of the kids who go to our school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(159) yelum naynay [khephi-lul elma-na] masyess-nun-ci [kwaca-nun summer throughout [coffee-ACC how-much] drink-ADN-AUX [cookie-TOP elma-na] mekess-nun-ci molukeysse-yo.
how-much] eat-ADN-AUX NEG.know-POL
'I don't know how much coffee I drank and how many cookies I ate in summer.'

### 5.2 Na-Dene

### 5.2.1 Athapaskan

Navajo CMPR+ANY, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

Mary tsin 'a-láah-go 'áníłnééz-ígíí yaah
Mary tree indF.obJ-CMPR-ADV 3subJ.tall-nMLZ 3obJ.up
haas'na'.
3SUBJ.climb.PERF
'Mary climbed the tallest tree.'

## Relative quantity

'Ółta'í t'áá 'át'é nél'ịi-go, Mary 'éíts'ídá 'a-láah-go student all 3SUBJ.be-ADV Mary really INDF.OBJ-CMPR-ADV naaltsoos yiyíílta'.
book 3OBJ.3SUBJ.read.PERF
'Of all the students, Mary read the most books.'

## Proportional quantity

Shilíí' bilasáana baa níjaa'-go, k'asdą́áa 'ałtso
1POSs.horse apple 3OBJ.to 1sUBJ.handle-ADV almost all yooldéél.
3OBJ.3SUBJ.eat.PERF
'I gave my horse apples and he ate almost all of them.'

### 5.3 Nakh-Daghestanian

### 5.3.1 Lezgic

Lezgian CMPR+ALL, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

amma zi didedi düne.da viri-d-lay-ni vers'i churunar but 1SG.GEN mother.OBL world all-NMLZ-SREL-also sweet cookie.PL chrchazwa luhu-z im chetin ya.
cook say-DAT this difficult INF
'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

Zi tarsalag-da awa-y ayal-r.i-n qene viri-d-lay-ni
1SG.GEN school-INESS be.in-PAST kid-PL-GEN among all-NMLZ-SREL-also
para aletral qugha-zwa-y-d.i zun ya. many instrument.PL play-IPFV-PTP-NMLZ.1SG(ERG) 1SG.ABS INF
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments'

## Proportional quantity

$\mathrm{Zi} \quad$ tarsalag-diz qwezway ayal-r.i-n para-bur.u-z
1SG.GEN school-DAT come kid-PL-GEN many-NMLZ.PL-DAT
maq'amar yaghaz k'ani ya.
music play like INF
'The many kids who go to my school like to play music.'

### 5.4 Niger-Congo

### 5.4.1 Bantoid

Kagulu VERY, NA-NA

## Absolute quality

(166) Hachihananga kutega somba ing'hulusi.

PAST.1PL.want set.a.trap fish big.INT
'I wanted to catch the very big fish.'
Prompt: I wanted to catch the (absolute) biggest fish.

## Relative quantity

Ikaka hakadiya ubwabwa mwingisi.
1SG.1POSS.brother PAST.eat cooked.rice many-INT
'My brother ate very much rice.'
Prompt: My brother ate the most rice.

## Proportional quantity

Hachidiya kalibia somba wose wochalowile.
PAST.1PL.eat near fish all 1PL.PAST.fish.PERF
'We ate almost all of the fish that we caught.'
Prompt: We ate most of the fish that we caught.

### 5.4.2 Defoid

Yoruba $\mathrm{CMPR}, \diamond-\diamond$

## Absolute quality

(169) Sugbon o soro nitoripe maami lo n din bisikiti ti o but 3SG difficult because mother go PROG bake biscuit.PL REL 3SG dun ju-lo lagbaye. sweet exceed CMPR $^{- \text {-go world }}$
'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(170) Sugbon emi naa ni ara inu ebi wa ti o n je but 1SG DEM in family inside family 3PL REL 3SG PROG eat kukiisi ti o po ju-lo. biscuit.PL of 3 SG many exceed $_{\mathrm{CMPR}^{-}}$-go
'But I am also the member of our family who eats the most cookies.'

## Proportional quantity

(171) Opolopo awon omo ile-iwe mi ni won feran lati maa ko orin. many 3PL child school 1SG POSS 3PL like to DUR make music 'Many of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

### 5.5 Kwa

### 5.5.1 Akan

Ga CMPR+ALL, NO-YES

## Absolute quality superlative

Wiémò nć-દ́ yè dòlè fè f f̀̀. speech ART-DEF have sorrowfulness surpass all 'This is the most sorrowful speech.' (Otoo, [2014, 225)

## Relative quantity

Shi efeo mi ake Hans ji mo ni e-nu kofi fe mo but think 1sG COMP Hans COP one REL PERF-drink coffee surpass one fعє mo.
all one

## Proportional quantity

(174) Gbekebii ni yaa skuul $l \varepsilon$ atey mei babaoo smoo lala tswaa. child.PL REL attend school DEF ?among many.people like song play 'Among the children who attend my school, many of them like to play music.'

### 5.5.2 Northern Atlantic

Wolof CMPR, $\diamond-\diamond$

## Absolute quality

(175) Waye da fey metti ndax suma yaay bonbon yu but AUX 3sG.HAB be.difficult because 1sG.1poss mom cookie REL mui defar mo gën neez si aduna bi yép. 3SG.HAB make FOC surpass be.good LOC world DEF all
'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(176) Ci xale yu nekk sama ekkol yép, man ma ci tëgg lu gën LOC child REL be 1pOSS all school 1SG 1SG LOC play REL surpass bëre ci sabar.
be.many LOC drum
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most drums.'

## Proportional quantity

(177) Xale yu gën bëre ci sama ekkol bëgg na ñu tëgg mízik. child REL surpass be.many loc 1poss school like PERF 3Pl play music 'Most of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

### 5.6 Oto-Manguean

### 5.6.1 Zapotecan

Chatino (San Juan Quiahije Eastern Chatino) VERY, NA-NA
Capital letters correspond to tone sequences (Cruz, [2014). Sequence laE tiE described by Cruz ( (ZOID) as an emphatic adverbial sequence.
Absolute quality superlative
shoqaC ndwiqA: NaqG tqenB laE tiE yjoG sniH
Juan COMPL.say 1SG heavy EMPH pumpkin COMPL.lift
'I picked up a really heavy pumpkin.'
Prompt: I picked the heaviest pumpkin.

## Relative quantity

qoE naqG nganJ nonA kyqanB laE ti gaA yeC taJ ykonE and 1 SG COP the.one many EMPH cookie COMPL.eat.1SG
'I am the one who ate a lot of cookies.'
Prompt: And I am the one who ate the most cookies.

## Proportional quantity

qoE naqG kyqanJ laE tiE ranC ykonE
and 1SG many EMPH INANIM COMPL.eat.1SG
'And I ate a lot of cookies.' Prompt: And I ate most of them (cookies).

### 5.7 Quechuan

### 5.7.1 Quechuan

Cochabamba Quechua CMPR+ALL, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(181) Chayq'a ancha sasacha imaraykutaq mama-y michk'i
so very hard ?since mother-1SG.1Poss sweet
gallitasta p'ukurun k'ala pacha-manta.
biscuit-ACC? all world-from
'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(182) Ichaqa ñuka tukuy familia-y-manta astawan ashka-ta galletas but 1SG all family-1POSS-from CMPR many-ACC cookies
mikhu-ni.
eat-1SG
'I am also the member of our family who eats the most cookies.'

## Proportional quantity

(183) Mana gustawan-chu casi k'ala ñauraytaki radiu-pi chura-sqa-nku. NEG like-NEG almost all music radio-LOC put-PAST-3PL 'I dont like most of the music they play on the radio.'

### 5.8 Sino-Tibetan

### 5.8.1 Chinese

Mandarin PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(184) Dan zhe hen nan, yinwei mama hongkao de binggan shi shijie but this very hard because mother bake ATTRIB cookie COP world shang zui haochi de. LOC SPRL tasty ATTRIB
'But it's hard since mom bakes the yummiest cookies in the whole world.'

## Relative quantity

(185) Wo chi le zui duo de binggan. 1SG eat PERF SPRL many ATTRIB cookie 'I ate the most cookies.'

## Proportional quantity

(186) Wo chi le dabufen de binggan.

1SG eat PERF big.part ATTRIB cookie
'I ate the majority of the cookies.'

### 5.9 Tai-Kaidai

### 5.9.1 Kam-Tai <br> Thai PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

tàe: nân pen rûan jâ:k mâ:k prô? màe: $10 ̀ p \mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ úk-kî: $\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{i}:$ but that be matter difficult very because mom bake cookie that Ra-ròj thî:-sùt naj lô:k lr:j
delicious SPRL in world PRT
'But that is very difficult because mom bakes cookies that are the most delicious in the world.'

## Relative quantity

 but 1SG LP be person that eat cookie many SPRL in $k^{h} r \hat{o}: p-k^{h} r u: a k^{h}$ ǒ:y raw.
family POSS 1PL
'But I am the person that eats many most cookies in my family.'

## Proportional quantity

(189) dèk sùan-mâ:k thî: roŋ-ri:an kȟ:! $c^{h}$ ǎn $c^{h} \hat{\jmath}: p$ lên don-tri: .
child part.large at school POSS 1SG like play music
'A large part of children at my school like to play music.'

### 5.10 Uralic

### 5.10.1 Finnic

## Estonian PERIPH, NO-YES

## Absolute quality

(190) Aga see on raske, sest ema teeb maailma but 3SG COP difficult because mother 3SG.make the.world maitsva-im-aid küpsis-eid. tasty-SPRL-PL.PRTV cookie-PL.PRTV
'But it is difficult because mother makes the tastiest cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(191) Kõigist minu kooli lastest valdan mina kõige all.ELA 1POSS school child.PL.ELA 1SG.master 1SG.NOM SPRL rohkem pille. many.CMPR instrument 'Of all the children in my school, I can play the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

Suur-ema-le osa-le minu kooli lastest meeldib mängida big-CMPR-ALLA part-ALLA 1POSS school child.PL.ELA 3.like to.play pilli.
instrument
'The bigger part of kids who go to my school like to play music.'
Finnish M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(193) Tosin se on vaikeaa, koska äiti tekee maailman indeed 3sG COP difficult because mother 3sG.make world parhaita keksejä.
good.SPRL.PL.PRTV biscuit.PL.PRTV
'Indeed, it is difficult because mother makes the best biscuits in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(194) Kaiki-sta koulu-ssa-ni käyvistä lapsista, minä soitan all-ELA school-ELA-1pOSS going.ELA child.PL.ELA 1SG.NOM 1SG.play use-im-pia instrumentteja. many-SPRL-PL.PRTV musical.instrument.PL.PRTV
'Out of all children going to my school, I play the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(195) Use-imm-at lapset minu-n koulu-ssa-ni tykkäävät soittaa many-SPRL-PL child.PL 1SG-GEN school-ELA-1POSS 3PL.like 3SG.play musiikkia.
music
'Most children who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(196) En tiedä kuinka paljon olemme juoneet kahvia ja 1SG.NEG know.NEG how much 1PL.be/have drunk coffee and syöneet keksejä tämän kesän aikana. eaten biscuit.PL.PRTV DEM summer during 'I do not know how much coffee we have drunk and biscuits we have eaten during this summer.'

### 5.10.2 Ugric

Hungarian M, YES-YES

## Absolute quality

(197) De ez nehéz, mert anyu süti a legfinomabb sütiket but this hard because mother cookie DEF SPRL.fine.CMPR cookie.PL az egész világon.
DEF whole world.SUPRS
'But it's difficult because Mom bakes the best cookies in the world.'

## Relative quantity

(198) Az összes gyerek közül, aki az én iskolámba jár, én vagyok DEF all child of REL 1SG.1POSS school.ILLA go 1SG COP
az, aki a legtöbb hangszeren játszik.
DEF REL DEF SPRL.many.CMPR instrument.PL play
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

## Proportional quantity

(199) A legtöbb gyerek, aki az én iskolámba jár, szeret DEF many.SPRL child REL 1SG.1pOSS school.ILLA go love zenélni.
to.play.music
'Most of the kids who go to my school like to play music.'

## Quantity q-word

(200) Nem tudom mennyi kávét ittunk és hány sütit NEG 1SG.know how.much coffee 1PL.drank and how.many cookies ettünk a nyár folyamán.
1PL.ate DEF summer during
'I don't know how much coffee we drank and how many cookies we ate in the summer.'

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Gloss of shumicës as 'majority' based on glosses from Curtis 2012: 72.
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[^1]:    ${ }^{2} \mathrm{M}=$ nasalization, $\mathrm{R}=$ retroflex r .

