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Universals in superlative semantics: supplementary material

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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	M	YES-YES
	West Chadic	Hebrew	PERIPH	NO-YES
		Turoyo (Surayt)	CMPR	NO-YES
Algic	Algonquian	Hausa	CMPR	◇-◇
		Passamaquoddy	M	NO-YES
Altaic	Tungusic	Mik'maq	VERY	NA-NA
		Evenki	M	NO-YES
	Turkic	Azari	CMPR+ALL	NO-YES
		Kazakh	PERIPH	NO-YES
Austro-Asiatic	Viet-Muong	Turkish	PERIPH	NO-YES
Austronesian	Barito	Vietnamese	PERIPH	NO-YES
		Malagasy	PERIPH	NO-YES
	Chamorro	Chamorro	PERIPH	NO-YES
	Greater Central Philippine	Tagalog	M	NO-YES
		Javanese	Javanese	PERIPH
	Malayo-Sumbawan	Indonesian	PERIPH	NO-YES
		Balinese	PERIPH	NO-YES
		Oceanic	Maori	VERY
Yapese		Yapese	PERIPH	NO-YES
Aymaran	Aymaran	Central Aymara	CMPR+ALL	NO-YES
Basque	Basque	Basque	M	YES-YES
Dravidian	South-Central-Dravidian	Telugu	VERY	NA-NA
		Kannada	CMPR+ALL	NO-YES
	Southern Dravidian	Malayalam	PERIPH	NO-YES
		Tamil	OTHER?	NO-YES
Eastern Sudanic	Nilotic	Luo (Dholuo)	CMPR	NO-◇
		Lango	CMPR	NO-◇
	Nubian	Kenuzi-Dongola	CMPR+ALL	NO-YES

Family	Genus	Language	Strategy	Prop-Rel	
Gunwinyguan	Gunwinygic	Gunbarlang	VERY	NA-NA	
Indo-European	Albanian	Albanian	CMPR	NO-◇	
		Armenian	CMPR	NO-◇	
	Celtic	Breton	M	NO-YES	
		Irish	CMPR	NO-◇	
	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	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	Lezgif	Lezgian	CMPR+ALL	NO-YES	
Niger-Congo	Bantoid	Kagulu	VERY	NA-NA	
		Swahili	CMPR+ALL	NO-YES	
	Defoid	Yoruba	CMPR	◇-◇	
	Kwa	Akan	VERY	NA-NA	
		Ga	CMPR+ALL	NO-YES	
	Oto-Manguean	Northern Atlantic	Wolof	CMPR	◇-◇
		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	
	Ugric	Hungarian	M	YES-YES	
Uto-Aztecan	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	PROG: progressive	SPRL: superlative
OM: object marker	PRT: particle	SREL: subject relativizer
PAST: past	PRTV: partitive	SUBJ: subject
PERF: perfective	PTP: participle	SUPRS: suppressive
PL: plural	Q: question marker	TOP: topic
POL: politeness	REL: relativizer	WH: WH-word
POSS: possessive	SG: singular	WK: weak ending
POT: potential	SIM: simple tense	
PRES: present	STAT: stative	

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

- (3) 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 CMPR(+ALL), ◇-◇

Absolute quality

- (5) Amma zai yi wuya saboda mama na gasa biskit din da
 but 3SG 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

- (6) 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

- (7) 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

- (9) Biraq bul qın, 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

- (10) 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

- (11) 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 arasında en çok müzik aleti
1SG.1POSS.school.in kid.PL-GEN among SPRL much music instrument
çalan benim.
ringing 1SG
‘Of all the kids in my school, I’m the one who plays the most instruments.’

Proportional quantity

- (15) Okulumdaki çocuklar-n çoğ-u müzik yapmayı 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 içtiğimizi ve kaç örek
summer during what amount coffee drank and how.many cookie
yediğimizi 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 instru-
ments.'

Proportional quantity

- (27) Pai te whakatangi taonga puoro ki te nuinga o
good DET.SG play musical.instrument to DET.SG majority of
ngā 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

- (31) 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

- (32) 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

- (33) Na-ki-w jil(a)-pach(a) manq'antawj-t.
1SG-DELIM-DECL CMPR-INCL eat-1SIM
'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.3PL
'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-◇

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 *më* 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
'The majority of the children who go to my school like to play music.'¹

Quantity q-word

- (45) Nuk e 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

¹Gloss of *shumicës* as 'majority' based on glosses from Curtis 2012: 72.
Curtis, Matthew Cowan. 2012. Slavic-Albanian Language Contact, Convergence, and Coexistence.
PhD dissertation, The Ohio State University.

‘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) Bayc da džwar ē kani or mayriks amboğj ašxarhowm
 but it difficult is how.many since mom.DEF.NOM whole world.LOC
 amenahameğ íxwaçkablítnern 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

- (47) Im dproci erexaneri mej, es em amenašat
 1SG.POSS school.DAT child.DAT.PL among 1SG am many.SPRL
 gorçiknerov 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 dpročë ya çaxoğ 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) Tē inčkan sowr̥ç enk xmel ew inčkan íxwaçkablí enk
 that how.much coffee am.PL drink and how.much cookie are
 kerel amrian ëntáćkin, 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-◇

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

- (51) 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

- (53) 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

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

Proportional quantity

- (56) Eð ir naug Ans so ar drutgeð mjäst (áv) 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

- (57) 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 sámárn.
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

- (60) 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 ljóðfóri.
many.SPRL.NEUT.SG instrument.PL
'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

Proportional quantity

- (68) {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, I’m 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, I’m 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, I’m the one who plays the most instruments.’

Proportional quantity

- (81) 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

- (82) 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

- (85) 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 är 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

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

Relative quantity

- (95) 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, I’m 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 quality²

- (98) 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

- (99) 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

²M=nasalization, R=retroflex r.

- (102) Balaam awe aastama labarawe ye 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 musiqa
 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 awanaí 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-ø.
 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

- (107) 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

- (114) 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

- (118) 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

- (119) 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 mãe 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

- (124) 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

- (126) Dintre toți copiii din școala 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
școala 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

- (128) Nu știu câtă cafea am băut și 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

- (130) 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

- (133) 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 nai-mnogo instrumenti, v sravnenie s vsichki
 1SG play.1SG on SPRL-many instrument.PL in comparison to all
 ostanali suuchenitsi.
 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 tesko 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 součnici 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 drunk 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, koliko my za leto vypili kofe i sjeli
NEG know how.many 1PL during summer drank coffee and ate
pečenja.
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

- (144) Ali teško je jer mama pravi najukusnije kolačiće na cijelom svijetu.
 but hard is since mother makes delicious.SPRL cookie.PL on whole 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 instrumenata.
 from all kid.PL in school 1SG am DEM REL plays many.SPRL instrument.PL
 'Of all the kids in my school, I'm the one who plays the most instruments.'

Proportional quantity

- (146) Većina 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 u toku ljeta.
 NEG know how.much are coffee drunk and how.much are cookies eaten 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

- (149) 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 kofi-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

- (157) 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

- (160) Mary tsin ’a-láah-go ’ánífnééz-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

- (161) ’Ólta’í t’áá ’át’é nél’ǵi-go, Mary ’éits’ídá ’a-láah-go
 student all 3SUBJ.be-ADV Mary really INDF.OBJ-CMPR-ADV
 naaltsoos yiyíilta’.
 book 3OBJ.3SUBJ.read.PERF
 ‘Of all the students, Mary read the most books.’

Proportional quantity

- (162) Shilǵí’ bilasáana baa níjaa’-go, k’asdáǵá’ ’aǵtso
 1POSS.horse apple 3OBJ.to 1SUBJ.handle-ADV almost all
 yoodéél.
 3OBJ.3SUBJ.eat.PERF
 ‘I gave my horse apples and he ate almost all of them.’

5.3 Nakh-Daghestanian

5.3.1 Lezgian

Lezgian CMPR+ALL, NO-YES

Absolute quality

- (163) 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

- (164) Zi tarsalag-da awa-y ayal-r.i-n gene 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

- (165) Zi 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

- (167) 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

- (168) 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 CMPR, ◇-◇

Absolute quality

- (169) Sugbon o soro nitoripe maami lo n din bisikiiti ti o
 but 3SG difficult because mother go PROG bake biscuit.PL REL 3SG
 dun ju-lo lagbaye.
 sweet exceed_{CMPR}-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 3SG many exceed_{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

- (172) Wiémò né-é yè dólè fè fèè.
 speech ART-DEF have sorrowfulness surpass all
 ‘This is the most sorrowful speech.’ (Otoo, 2014, 225)

Relative quantity

- (173) Shi efeo mi akε Hans ji mǝ ni e-nu kɔfi fe mǝ
 but think 1SG COMP Hans COP one REL PERF-drink coffee surpass one
 fεε mǝ.
 all one

Proportional quantity

- (174) Gbekεbii ni yaa skuul lε atεj mεi babao smǝ 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, ◇-◇

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 tegg 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 tegg 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 (2011) as an emphatic adverbial sequence.

Absolute quality superlative

- (178) 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

- (179) qoE naqG nganJ nonA kyqanB laE ti gaA yeC taJ ykonE
and 1SG 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

- (180) 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-Kadai

5.9.1 Kam-Tai

Thai PERIPH, NO-YES

Absolute quality

- (187) t̄a: n̄an pen r̄uaj̄ j̄a:k m̄a:k pr̄ô? m̄a: ʔòp k^húk-k̄i: t̄h̄i:
 but that be matter difficult very because mom bake cookie that
 ʔa-r̄òj t̄h̄i:-s̄ùt naj l̄o:k l̄ɤ: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

- (188) t̄a: c^hǎn k̄o: pen k^hon t̄h̄i: kin k^húk-k̄i: m̄a:k t̄h̄i:-s̄ùt naj
 but 1SG LP be person that eat cookie many SPRL in
 k^hr̄ô:p-k^hru:a k^hõ:ŋ raw.
 family POSS 1PL
 ‘But I am the person that eats many most cookies in my family.’

Proportional quantity

- (189) d̄èk s̄uan-m̄a:k t̄h̄i: roŋ-ri:an k^hõ:ŋ c^hǎn c^hõ:p l̄ên 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
 maitstva-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

- (192) 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 sütitet
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 hangszerezen 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.drunk 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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