

LANGUAGE APPENDIX

N-A-Num-Dem (Cx): 638 lgs, 138 genera

SEMITIC: Sudanese Arabic (Abubakr 1970, Chapter IV; and Atim Hassan, p.c.)¹

Niger-Congo: EASTERN MANDE: Beng (Paperno 2014, §8 and Denis Paperno p.c.)², **Bisa** (Naden 1973, §5.3; Vanhoudt 1992, 373ff)³, **Boko** (Perekhval'skaya and Vydrin 2019, §2.2)⁴ **Busa** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Wedekind 1972, 23), **Dan** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Doneux 1968, 39-40)⁵, **Koranko** (Kastenholz 1987, §4.3), **Mano** (Khachaturyan 2015, §3)⁶, **(Toma) Samo** (Platiel 1975, Chapter 13), **Toura** (Bearth 1971, §10.17 and §11.153; Ruhlen 2008, 59), **Wan** (Tatiana Nikitina, p.c.)

Niger-Congo: WESTERN MANDE: Bandi (Grossmann 1992, 35), **Dafing (Marka)** (Jenks 2017, §2), **Jalkunan** (Heath 2017, §6.1), **Jenaama Bozo** (Heath 2019, §2.3 and §6.1.1)⁷, **Jɔ** (Carlson 1993, §3.3), **Kakabe** (Vydrina 2017, §2.5)⁸, **Kono** (Konoshenko 2017, §5), **Kpelle** (Welmers 1969, 97; Thach and Dwyer 1981, 56), **Loma** (Prost 1967, Chapters 3 and 4; Wilhoit 1999, 27; Ruhlen 2008, 54), **Seenku** (McPherson 2020, §8.1), **Tigemaxo** (Blecke 1996, Chapter 10)⁹, **Vai** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Welmers 1976, 66; also see Ruhlen 2008, 47), **Xasonga** (Koité-Herschel 1981, 114f)¹⁰, **Worodugukan** (Gingiss 1973, Chapter III), **Zialo** (Babaev 2010, 53)¹¹

Niger-Congo: NORTHERN ATLANTIC: Adamawa Fulani (Stennes 1967, §6.1; Ruhlen 2008, 63), **Balant Ganja** (Creissels and Biaye 2016, §3.7)¹², **Fula** (Arnott 1966; 1992, 36)¹³, **Jóola Banjal** (Bassene

¹ Universal quantifiers instead precede the noun. Also Standard Arabic has N A Num Dem as an alternative order, in addition to Dem Num N A and Dem N A Num (cf. Fassi-Fehri 1999, §6.4; Kremers 2003, 69ff).

² N Num A Dem is also possible.

³ According to Naden (1973, §5.3) N Dem Num is also an option.

⁴ Perekhval'skaya and Vydrin (2019, §2.2, ex.(6)) provide the following example:

(i) Má pǒ bǝǝ mǝǝ sǝǝ pǝ-ǒ 'è.
1sg.pfv thing alive CLFobject four det-pl see.pfv
'I saw these four living things'.

⁵ Doneux (1968) gives N Num A Dem as an alternative order for Dan. Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 18, fn.13) reads: "The numeral can precede or follow the adjective in Dan, but the order depends on the definiteness of the noun phrase: it precedes the adjective if the noun phrase is definite, but follows if it is indefinite. Since noun phrases with a demonstrative are definite, I treat Dan as nNAD for the purposes of this study (Doneux 1968: 39)."

⁶ Less commonly the adjective may precede the noun (A N Num Dem) (Khachaturyan 2014, Chapter III, §5).

⁷ See, for example:

(i)a. sǝǝdǝ sǝgǝ pǝǝ pǝndǝ
S goat black two
'Seydou's two black goats'
b. sǝgǝ pǝndǝ gǝ
goat two Dem.Def
'these/those two goats'

Demonstratives can also appear pre-nominally or sandwiching the noun, as in (ii):

(ii) kǝǝ sǝgǝ-ǝ gǝ sǝǝǝ
Dem goat-Pl Dem.Def all
'all these/those goats'

Heath (2019, 114) says that "Demonstratives split into prenominal (deictic) and postnominal (discourse-definite) types.

⁸ The demonstrative can also precede the N (giving the order Dem N A Num).

⁹ Demonstratives can also precede the N (giving the order Dem N A Num) (p.123).

¹⁰ Citing Koité-Herschel (1981a), Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 31) attributes to Xasonga the order Dem N A Num. According to Koité-Herschel (1981b, 114f), the order is N A Num Dem, demonstratives *nij* 'this' and *wòo* 'that' being an exception in that they precede the noun giving the order Dem N A Num.

¹¹ See the example in (i) given in Babaev (2010, §6.6.1)

(i) nú wǝlǝ-y fǝlǝ-gǝsǝ
people big two these
'these two big people'.

¹² The order appears to be N A Num Def Dem (anaphoric).

¹³ An alternative order is N Num A Dem (Arnott 1966, 53).

2006, Chapter 4), **Mancagne (Mankanya)** (Gaved 2007, §3.3; 2020, §7.3; Gaved and Gaved 2007, §2)¹⁴, **Manjako** (Karlik 1972, Chapter 3), **Ndut** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Morgan 1996, 44)¹⁵, **Saafi** (Piquero 2011, 21; Stanton 2011, Chapter 3)¹⁶

Niger-Congo: SOUTHERN ATLANTIC: Gola (Fachner 1990, 28; Koroma 1994, Chapter 4), **Mani** (Childs 2011, Chapters 6 and 10), **Sherbro** (Rogers 1967, Chapter 3)

Niger-Congo: DOGON: Ben Tey (Heath 2011a, 6.1.1; Heath and McPherson 2013, 268)¹⁷, **Dogul Dom** (Cansler 2011, Chapter 6), **Kamma So (Donno So)** (Farquharson 2012, §6.1.1), **Mombo Songho** (Prokhorov 2011; 2012, §6.1.1), **Najamba Dogon** (= Bondu-So) (Heath 2011b, §6.1.1)¹⁸, **Nanga** (Heath 2011c, §6.1.1; 2016, §6.1)¹⁹, **Tebul Ure** (Heath 2011d, §6.1.1), **Tiranige** (Heath 2012c, §6.1.1)²⁰, **Togo Kan** (Heath 2011e, §6.1.1), **Tommo So** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - McPherson 2013, 106.109)²¹, **Toro Tegu Dogon. Tabi dialect** (Heath 2011f, chapter 6), **Yanda-Dom** (Heath 2011g, §6.1.1), **Yorno-So** (Heath 2017, §6.1.1)

Niger-Congo: KRU: Guébie (Sande 2015, §2)²², **Kouzié** (Allou 2017, §7.1.2, Allou and Andredou 2018, §3)²³, **Vata** (Hilda Koopman, 2012 and p.c.)²⁴, **Wobé** (Egner 1989, 36, 45, 73)

Niger-Congo: GUR: Bago (Alansary 2021, 69)²⁵, **Bariba** (Pike 1970, Chapter IV), **Bimoba** (Kpreebi 1992, 9)²⁶, **Buli** (Sulemana 2012, Chapters 4 and 5, and George Akanlig-Pare no date and p.c.)²⁷, **Chakali** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Brindle 2010, 280; 2017, 386; also see Brindle 2008, 131f), **Dagaare** (Bodomo 1993, 24; Kropp Dakubu 2005, 49), **Dagbani** (Issah 2013, 204; 2018, 285; Yakubu 2018, §4.1)²⁸, **Deg** (a.k.a. **Mo**) (Anto 2014a, 167; 2014b), **Kassem** (Niggli and Niggli 2008, Chapter 4),

¹⁴ Trifković (1969, 96f), however, gives examples for Mancagne with the order N Dem Num A.

¹⁵ Morgan (1996, 49) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) kuddí bítí éyeyí yèh
pestles heavy three these
'these three heavy pestles'

¹⁶ According to Stanton (2011, 41f) an alternative order is N Num A Dem.

¹⁷ An alternative order is N Num A Dem (Heath n.d., 3).

¹⁸ An alternative order is N Num A Dem (Heath n.d., 3).

¹⁹ Alternative orders are N Num A Dem (Heath n.d., 3), and Dem N A Num with the strong discourse-definite demonstrative *kú* 'that (same)' (Heath 2016, 88).

²⁰ In Nanga, Tebul Ure and Tiranige, one type of demonstrative is pre-nominal, giving the order Dem N A Num (which is the unmarked order of the Dogon language Bunoge).

²¹ Alternative orders appear to be N A Dem Num and N Num A Dem (McPherson 2013, §7.1).

²² Although Sande (2015, §4.1) states that Guébie lacks nominal demonstratives, in the properties of Guébie in the *Syntactic Structures of the World's Languages* archive (<http://test.terraling.com/groups/7/lings/976?page=2>) she states that demonstratives follow numerals. Sande (2017, §3.2.1) reports the existence of the order N-Def Num A alongside the order N A Num-Def saying that "when the noun is immediately followed by a definite marker, the order of the other elements in the noun phrase can only be numeral>adjective." (p.26)

²³ One example given by Allou (2017, 202) and Allou and Andredou (2018, 200) is:

(i) bìdì klìgbí sò ní
maison/grands/deux/ces
'Ces deux grandes maisons' [these two big houses]

²⁴ An alternative order of Vata is Dem N A Num.

²⁵ The author provides the following illustrative example:

(i) ɔ fé mɛ nso-níŋe fólí-tɔ tɔ-tooro tɔ-dʒé lɔlɔ
3SG.CI give.FAC 1SG gun-PL.CIV new-PL.CII.AGR PL.CIV.AGR-three PL.CIV.AGR-DEM only
'He gave me only these three new guns.'

²⁶ Cited in Schaefer and Schaefer (2004, 198).

²⁷ Akanlig-Pare (no date, 1) provides the following example, among others:

(i) í:k nàlɪŋsà sɪ wà dé
child nice pl. two distal
'those two beautiful children'

²⁸ Yakubu (2018, 75) gives the illustrative example in (i), adding in §4.6 that there is only one pre-nominal demonstrative ('reference particle 'that'), *lala*, presumably yielding Dem N A Num as an alternative order.

(i) paɣ' viɛla ata ŋɔ
woman.PL beautiful three PDD
'These three beautiful women'

Konkomba (Likpakpaaln) (Bisilki 2021, §3.8.2 and Abraham Kwesi Bisilki, p.c.)²⁹, **Koromfe** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Rennison 1997, 87)³⁰, **Kulango** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Elders 2008, 294; also see Tchagbalé 2007 §2.1)³¹, **Kusaal** (Abubakari 2011, §2.1.1; Niggli 2014, §1.2.2 and §5.3.2.1; Samuel Issah, p.c.; Musah 2018, Chapter 5)³², **Lama** (Hilda Koopman, p.c.)³³, **Lobiri** (Becuwe 1982, 418 and 445), **Mo/Deg** (Anto 2014, §3), **Mòoré** (Ruhlen 2008, 96; Teo 2016, §4)³⁴, **Nawdm** (Albro 1998, §2.4)³⁵, **Safaliba** (Schaefer 2009, 96ff; also see Schaefer and Schaefer 2004 and Inusah 2015), **Sisaali** (Mustapha 2018, §3.6)³⁶, **Tagbana** (Traoré and Féry 2018, §1; Traoré 2020, §5.2), **Tiefo-D** (Heath 2021, §6.1.1), **Tiefo-N** (Heath, Ouattara, and Hantgan 2017, §5.1)³⁷, **Vagala** (Pike 1970, Chapter IV)
Niger-Congo: ADAMAWA: Day (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Nougayrol 1979, 137-138), **Dii** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Bohnhoff 2010, 155), **Doyayo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Wiering and Wiering 1994, 166)³⁸, **Fali** (Kramer 2014, Chapter 5), **Kam** (Lesage 2020, §10.2), **Koh** (Glidden 1985, §1.5.1.2), **Kolbila** (Littig 2016, 154, §3.6.3, and Sabine Littig p.c.)³⁹, **Mambay** (Anonby 2011, §§5.14, 9.2 and Erik Anonby, p.c.), **Mbum** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - Hagège

²⁹ Here is an example kindly provided by Abraham Kwesi Bisilki:

- (i) Bi-yaa-nyaam-b bi-taa gban/ya
 CL.PL-children-nice-CL.PL CL.PL-three DEM
 'Those three nice children'

³⁰ An example provided by Rennison (1997, 85) is:

- (i) dɔɔfi jɔɔnɛ bĩnĩɔ tãã hɛŋɛ
 animal+PL small+PL black+PL three LONGDET.NON-HUM.PL
 'those three small black animals'

³¹ Tchagbalé (2007, 19) provides the following illustrative example, among others:

- (i) jɛbɔ kpɔ-bɔ bla rɛm bɔ
 woman bad-[animate, PL] two DEM [animate, PL]
 'these two bad women'

³² Eddyshaw (2017, §20.8) gives the same order for Agolle Kusaal. The Wikipedia page for Kusasi (Kusaal) (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kusasi_language#Syntax) appears to suggest N A Dem Num as the canonical order. Samuel Issah tells me (p.c.) that his informant allows both N A Num Dem and N A Dem Num. In the latter case, however, the adjective cannot appear in the plural form even if it modifies a plural noun.

³³ See (i), from <https://www.webonary.org/lama/files/Grammaire-Semantique.pdf>

- (i) dʒasɔ́ cɔ́fásɔ́ cúŋkásɔ́ cɔ́'hólómásɔ́ nàsɔ́l nsá wê cɔ́
 bois nouveaux petits blancs deux ces sont ici
 'Ces deux nouveaux petits bois blancs sont là.'

Lama also appears to allow for Dem N A Num and N A Dem Num (Hilda Koopman, p.c.).

³⁴ Teo (2016, 48) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) kòr béd-à yìib kǎĩ-s-á
 bag big-a two dem-cl13-def
 'These two big bags'

The demonstrative can also be marked via a final accent on the numeral (Véronique Savadogo, p.c.).

Sara Pacchiarotti (p.c.) provides the following example (due to Timbwaoga Aime Judicaël Ouermi):

- (i) wám bédà náàs kaysà
 calabash big.PL four this.PL
 'these four big calabashes'

³⁵ Albro notes that this is the order with the proximal demonstrative. The order with the distal demonstrative is Dem N A Num.

³⁶ An example given by Mustapha (2018, 85) is:

- (i) ŋ yɔ́ɔ a kpàhí -bál-á bɔ́nɔ́ŋ hú
 1SG buy.PST DET chair-big-PL five those
 'I bought those five big chairs.'

³⁷ Hantgan (2014, Appendix B) also gives examples with the order N A Num A.

³⁸ Wiering (1994, 170) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) wá²lɛ³ se¹rɛ³ rɔ⁴be¹ gbɔ¹lɛ³ ee¹rɛ¹ wɔ¹rɔ¹
 man.pl young foreign big two those
 'those two big young aliens'

³⁹ Sabine Littig (p.c.) informs me that some N A Dem Num orders are also found.

1970,242; also see Ruhlen 2008,126)⁴⁰, **Mingang Doso** (Benson and Andrason 2022,§3.3)⁴¹, **Mundang** (Elders 2000,229f)⁴², **Samba Leko** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 –Fabre 2002,202; also see Fabre 2004,219)

Niger-Congo: KWA: Abbey (Gbéry 1987,3), **Abidji** (Hager-M‘Boua 2014,36)⁴³, **Adangme** (Ruhlen 2008,170)⁴⁴, **Adioukrou** (Herault 1978, Chapter 3; Kaul 2006,110), **Akan** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials - Christaller 1875,106; also see Afriyie 2014,§4.2; and Ruhlen 2008,155, for the Fante dialect)⁴⁵, **Anlo Ewe** (Wolwengrey 1991,§4.2), **Attie (Akye)** (Bogny 2010)⁴⁶, **Avatime** (van Putten 2014,§2.3; Adjei, 2007,134 and p.c.)⁴⁷, **Baule** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - N’Guessan 1983,296; Konan and Puskas 2021,§1.1; also Denis Creissels p.c.; cf. also Timyan 1976,120f, and Creissels and N’Guessan 1977), **Chumburung** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Hansford 1990,71), **Dòmpò** (Manu-Barfo 2020,§3.10), **Ebrie** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Bolé-Richard 1983a: 334), **Esahie** (Broohm 2017,115, Broohm and Rabanus 2018,113, and Obed Nii Broohm, p.c.)⁴⁸ **Ewe** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Ameka 1991,45; also see Essegbey 1993,54; Ameka 2001,211; Motte and Bodua 2011,§1.2), **Fongbe** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002: 56; also see Lefevre 2013,Chapter 3), **Gã** (Kropp Dakubu 2006, 33f; Ollennu 2010,§2.2; Ollennu 2016,§4; Koopman 2012 and p.c.)⁴⁹, **Gen (Mina)** (Kangni 1989,22), **Gonja** (Kotochi 2017,51), **Gungbe** (Aboh 1998,11; 2004,92, Enoch Aboh,p.c.)⁵⁰, **Igo** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Gblem 1995,187; also see Gblem-Poidi

⁴⁰ Hagège (1970,238) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) yónj im húnáké dóà áí
calabasse bière grande deux ce
‘these two big calabasse beers’

⁴¹ Benson and Andrason (2022,17) provide the following illustrative example, which could also be interpreted as instantiating the order N A Dem Num Dem_{reinforcer}.

(i) lè kwì jìf̀wì ní nàp̄ə ní
PL old man DEM four DEM
‘These four old men’

⁴² Mundang also has N Num A Dem as an alternative order.

⁴³ Hager-M‘Boua (2014,36) provides the following example:

(i) ójú ánámò ádá ènè
femmes jolies quatre ces
N A Num Dem

‘these four beautiful women’

⁴⁴ This is the order Apronti (1971,66ff) gives with the proximal demonstrative (‘this’). With the distal demonstrative (‘that’) he gives the order Dem N A Num.

⁴⁵ Arkoh and Matthewson (2013,§1.1) state that demonstratives in Akan precede the N, but this is apparently the case of only some (*dem/saa* ‘that/those’), according to Appah (2003,§2.1.3.1), where the following illustrative example is given:

(i) m-bofra n-ketewa mienu no
PLU-child PLU-small two DEF
‘those two small children’

⁴⁶ One illustrative example provided by Bogny (2010) is (i):

(i) dzākwé bí gbāgbā mī yí
tree green nice alone this
‘this one nice green tree’

⁴⁷ ‘These three nice children’ is rendered in Avatime (Siya) as in (i) (Francisca Adzo Adjei, p.c.)

(i) Ba nuvo gba tiata ya
CM: PL child nice three these

⁴⁸ One of the examples provided by Dr. Obed Nii Broohm is:

(i) n-gra maa-maa nza hene-mɔ
PL-cat RED-small three DEM-PL
‘Those three small cats’

⁴⁹ Campbell (2017,§2.3.5) gives the order (DEM.DET) - (NOUN.MOD.) - NOUN.HEAD - (ADJ₁) - (ADJ₂) - (ADJ₃) - (QUANT) - (DEM.DET/ART), saying that if the pre-head demonstrative is *nākā̀r̄* ‘that’ the NP-final position must have an article, while if it is *nḕkḕ* ‘this’ the NP-final position must have *nḕ!ḕ* ‘this’.

⁵⁰ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials,20) attributes to Gungbe the order N A Dem Num (citing Aboh 1999,94), but Aboh (1999), as Aboh (1996,12), had the order N-Adj-Nral-Dem-Det-Num (cf. [(i)]), from Aboh 1996,12):

2021,254), **Kaakye** (Abunya 2018,§3.2.4), **Lete** (**Larteh**) (Akrofi Ansah 2009,§5.2, 2014,§4, and Mercy Akrofi Ansah, p.c.; also see Akrofi Ansah 2013,§2.2)⁵¹, **Logba** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Dorvlo 2008,69; also see Dorvlo 2009,§2), **Nawuri** (Sherwood 1982,§5.1.2), **Nkami** (Rogers Krobea Asante, p.c.; cf. Also Asante 2016,Chapter 4)⁵², **Nkonya** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Painter 1970,282), **Nzema** (Welman 1926,109f; Mohammed Yakub, p.c.)⁵³, **Okere** (Oppong 2019,Chapter 3)⁵⁴, **Saxwe(gbe)** (Beavon-Ham 2019,22), **Selɛ** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Agbetsoamedo 2014,27)⁵⁵, **Sekpelé** (Delalorm 2016,§5.1 and Cephas Delalorm, p.c.)⁵⁶, **Siwu** (Mark Dingemane, p.c.)⁵⁷, **Tafi** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Bobuafor 2013,99; also see Bobuafor 2009,§4;)⁵⁸, **Tongugbe** (Kpoglu 2019,§4.1), **Tutrugbo (Nyangbo)** (Essegbey 2019,Chapter 4)⁵⁹, **Tuwuli** (Harley 2005,§3.2)

Niger-Congo: KAINJI: Ut-Ma'in (Paterson 2019,58; also see Dow Smith 2007,§2.2.2)

Niger-Congo: NUPOID: Gwari (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Hyman and Magaji 1970,46; also see Ruhlen 2008,179)

(i) àvun yù àt'òn éhé ló' lɛ'
chien noir trois Dém Dét Num
'ces trois chiens noir ci (these three black dogs)'

The same order is given in Aboh (1998,11; 2004,§3.2).

⁵¹ One example kindly provided by Mercy Akrofi Ansah, p.c., is:

nyirebi feəfeəw ɛsɛsa mɔ
children beautiful/nice three these
'these three nice children.'

Another example is given in Ansah (2014: 18).

⁵² Rogers Krobea Asante kindly offered the example below in personal communication, saying that like some other Kwa languages such as Akan Nkami can also have a pre-nominal demonstrative, in which case the order would appear as Demonstrative-Noun-Adjective-Cardinal Number-Demonstrative. Nonetheless, while the initial demonstrative/determiner cannot occur without the final demonstrative, the reverse is possible):

(i) (ɔlɔ) a-kplabɔ n-timi.n-timi asa amɔ (lɛ-ba mi)
Dem PL-traditional priest PL-RED.PL-short three the/that PRF-come here
'Those three short traditional priest have come here.'

⁵³ Mohammed Yakub kindly provided the following illustrative phrase:

(i) ngakula ngenlema nsa ehye
children nice three these
'these three nice children'

⁵⁴ Oppong (2019,70) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) n-nye-mi n-timitimi nyó mó-né
PL-boy-DIM PL-short two PROX.DEM-PL
'These two short boys'

⁵⁵ Agbetsoamedo (2014,27) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) ba-sanko kunkuru ba-nɔɔ ba-mle ko
CL2-woman short CL2-five CL2-this INT
'only those five short women'

N A Dem Num is also a possible order (p.27).

⁵⁶ Cephas Delalorm informs me that ideophonic and some derived adjectives occur immediately after the noun while verb-like and noun-like adjectives are relativized and occur between Num and Dem. 'Those three tall children' can be rendered either as *bəkpəfi ketsyenkle itsyə bəmfó* (N A Num Dem) or as *bəkpəfi itsyə bā dikulə bəmfó* (N Num Rel A Dem) where *ketsyenkle* and *kulə* are ideophonic and verb-like respectively.

⁵⁷ Mark Dingemane tells me that the order N A Num Dem is appropriate only with adjectives that express an intrinsic property of the N. With adjectives expressing contingent properties the canonical order is instead N Num A Dem.

⁵⁸ Tafi (2013,99) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) bukudzɔgɛ gbliɣblä tugéné úlilíni pétée
dog.PL big seven those all
'all those seven big dogs'

⁵⁹ Essegbey (2019,106) illustrates this order with the following example:

(i) Ke-plukpá búlí te-nukpó kɛ-lɛ (ko)
CM4-book small AM-one AM-this (just)
'(just) this one small book'

Niger-Congo: DEFOID: Igala (Gideon Omachonu, p.c.; Èjèbá 2016, §4.3.1.1 and Salem Èjèbá, p.c.), **Yoruba** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 - Bamgbose 1966, 124; Rowlands 1969, 125; also see Ajíbóyè 2005, §1.2.5; Ruhlen 2008, 184)⁶⁰

Niger-Congo: IDOMOID: Eloyi (Mackay 1976, 198)⁶¹, **Igede** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Bergman 1981, 18)

Niger-Congo: EDOID: Degema (Kari 2004, §1.2.5; Ruhlen 2008, 188)⁶², **Emai** (Awoniyi n.d., §4.1; Schaefer and Egbokhare 2017, §4.3), **Engenni** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Thomas 1978, 114; also see Thomas 1969, 141), **Urhobo** (Aziza 2003, 6 and 13; Asaigbovo 2015, §3.3 and §4.1.1)

Niger-Congo: IGBOID: Igbo (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Emenanjo 1987, 80; also see Welmers and Welmers 1969, §4.2 and §8.2, Mbah 1989, Chapter 1; Obiamalu 2013, 2016; Amaechi 2014, 6)⁶³ **Iká** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Maho 1998, 21)⁶⁴

Niger-Congo: PLATEAU: Birom (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Bouquiaux 1970, 276, 278), **Rigwe** (Blench n.d.)⁶⁵, **Tarok** (Longtau 2008, §4.5.3.5)⁶⁶

Niger-Congo: CROSS RIVER: Kohumono (Ruhlen 2008, 216), **Leggbó** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Hyman 2002)⁶⁷, **Obolo** (Faraclas 1984, 38)⁶⁸, **Obolo-Andoni** (Rowland-Oke 2003, Chapter 2), **Niger-Congo: BANTOID: Bafia** (Guarisma 1973, §5.II), **Bafut** (Tamanji 1999, Chapter 3)⁶⁹, **Basaá** (Hyman 2003, §3.7)⁷⁰, **Bena** (Morrison 2011, §4.2), **Chichewa** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Bentley and

⁶⁰ See, e.g., the example given in Ajíbóyè (2005, 263):

(i) àwọ̀n ajá dúdú dúdú méje wòn-yí
PL dog black black = black.PL seven Dem-PL
'these seven black dogs'

When "expressing a special attribute of a person or thing" (Adelabu 2014, 512) few adjectives can also be preposed to the noun.

⁶¹ To judge from Mackay (1976) the order is N A Num (Dem) and alternatively N Num A Dem.

⁶² The order N A Num Dem is available with numerals up to 10 and with colour, age, quality adjectives. One example provided by Kari (2004, 102f) (also see Rolle and Kari 2022, 18) is:

(i) ákpò dégíná ívà nò̀n w náà
skewers old two his this
'these two old skewers of his'

Numerals above 10 either precede the noun or surround it. Size and shape adjectives precede the N. It remains to be seen if the A Num N order mentioned by Kari is a marked order.

⁶³ Obiamalu (2013, 55) reports that "All modifiers, except the adjectives, *aj* 'bad', some adjectival nouns like *ogologo*, *obele*, etc, and the numeral 'one' occur after the noun".

Mbah (1989, 10) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) Ụlọ ọcha ọma anyị ato niile ahụ
houses white beautiful three our all those
'all of those three beautiful white houses of ours in their entirety'

⁶⁴ Maho (1998, 21) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) ọkite uku ọgi ebuo haũ
dog big black two Dem
'those two big black dogs'

⁶⁵ An alternative order is A N Num Dem.

⁶⁶ See the following example adapted from (Longtau 2008, 89):

(i) nchatchat ivá mí ilóbèr pa inèdǎng vâ cho
all dogs mine black of four those yonder
'All those four black dogs of mine'

⁶⁷ Hyman (2002), while giving N A Num Dem as the unmarked order of Leggbó nominal phrases, mentions the fact that the numeral can also be found preceding the adjective (in the order N Num A Dem).

⁶⁸ Faraclas gives Dem Num A N as an alternative order.

⁶⁹ In addition to the order N A Num Dem, Bafut allows for the order N Num A Dem (Tamanji 1999, 122f). There is also (§3.4.3) one class of adjectives (nominal adjectives) which precede the N (giving rise to the order A N Num Dem). However, Ambe (1989, §3.4.0) attributes to Bafut the order N A Dem Num.

⁷⁰ Other possible orders are N Num A Dem and (for some speakers, Hyman 2003, fn.29) N A Dem Num.

Demonstratives can also precede the N. For a more general discussion of adjectives in Basaá, see Hyman, Jenks, and Makasso (2013).

Kulemeka 2001,221; also see Ruhlen 2008,361 under the name Nyanja)⁷¹, **Chindali** (Robert Botne, p.c.), **CiNsenga** (Ron Simango, p.c.)⁷², **Maore Comorian** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Alnet 2009,72-73; also see Rombi 1983,§2.3.1.3;)⁷³, **Denya** (Seguin 1998,§4.2.9), **Embosi** (Yvon Pierre Ndongo Ibara, p.c.)⁷⁴, **Fang** (Mba-Nkoghe 2001,344), **Kenswei Nsei** (Lonbeck 2013,§3.1), **Kikae** (Racine-Issa 2002,§2.3), **Kitalinga** (Paluku 1998,201 and 206), **Lefa** (Isaac 2022,§2.4), **Leke** (Vanhoudt 1987,143), **Limum** (Fransen 1995,Chapter 8; Francis Wepngong Ndi, p.c.)⁷⁵, **Luganda** (Deweese 1971,Chapter 3)⁷⁶, **Lushese (Olussese)** (Stüwe-Thanasoula 2016,§2.2.2)⁷⁷, **Malila** (Kutsch Lojenga 2010,140), **Mboshi** (Sara Pacchiarotti, p.c., based on information by Guy Noël Kouarata)⁷⁸, **Mbuk** (Tschonghongi 2018,§5.1.9)⁷⁹, **Modele** (Boum 1981,35f)⁸⁰, **Mungbam** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Lovegren 2013,176), **Nanga** (Heath 2011c,§6.1.1), **Ndumu** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Biton 1969,628), **Ngoni** (Ngonyani 2003,74)⁸¹, **Nizaa** (Kjelsvik 2002 and p.c.), **Obang** (Asohsi 2015,150), **Orungu** (Ambouroué 2007,§3.3)⁸², **Rumanyo (Dciriku)** (Wilhelm Möhlig, p.c.)⁸³, **Olusuba** (Ochieng, Lonyangapuo and Sikuku 2018,258)⁸⁴, **Orungu** (Ambouroué 2007,§3.3)⁸⁵, **Sari** (Bep Langhout, p.c.)⁸⁶, **Silozi** (Kashina 2000,119;

⁷¹ Mchombo (2004,25) also reports the partial order N Dem Num.

⁷² Miti (2001,165) gives for CiNsenga the order N Dem A Num, but Ron Simango (p.c.) tells me that such an order, though possible, is marked.

⁷³ Alnet (2009,74) also gives N Num A Dem as an alternative order.

⁷⁴ An alternative order is N Num A Dem. Yvon Pierre Ndongo Ibara provided the following examples:

- (i)a. *bánà bá àlámí- àlámí ásárí bá*
 children who nice nice three these
 b. *bánà ásárí bá àlámí- àlámí bá*
 children three who nice nice these
 'these three nice children'

⁷⁵ Francis Wepngong Ndi kindly provided the following example:

- (i) *m-dap b-bòŋboŋ b-taar b-câa/câ*
 houses nice three DEM-DIS/ANAPHORIC.DEM
 'those three nice houses'

⁷⁶ Fagbolu and Azizi (2019,table1) attribute to Luganda the order N Dem A Num.

⁷⁷ "The proximal demonstrative can also precede its head; then the word order is emphatic." (p.92). Stüwe-Thanasoula (2016,66fn22) treats Lushese as a separate language from Luganda.

⁷⁸ One example provided by Guy Noël Kouarata is:

- (i) *àtsòò m'ánèàné ànàà m'éè*
à-tsòò m-á á-né à-né á-nàà má-ì
 Cl6-calabash Cl6-associative Cl6-big Cl6-big Cl6-four Cl6-those
 'those four big calabashes'

⁷⁹ An alternative order is N A Dem Num.

⁸⁰ An alternative order is N Num A Dem.

⁸¹ N Num A (Dem) is also a possible alternative order.

⁸² An alternative order is N Num A Dem.

⁸³ Möhlig (1967,164) also gives an example with the order N Dem Num.

⁸⁴ One example they give is:

Omwala owange omuliire omwakanya omulala
o- mw- ala o- wa- nge o- mu- lire o- mw- akanya
 aug 1Agr girls aug 1aug my aug 1agr tall aug 1agr brown o- mu- lala o- yo aug 1agr one aug that
 'That tall brown only daughter of mine'

⁸⁵ An alternative order is N Num A Dem.

⁸⁶ The numeral can be moved to the end for focus, and the demonstrative can be moved before the noun for focus (Bep Langhout, p.c.).

2005, §4.3.1.4)⁸⁷, **Simákonde** (Manus 2010, §3.2.2.5)⁸⁸, **Simbiti** (Aunio et al. 2019,516), **Tikar** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Stanley 1991,211)⁸⁹, **Vili** (Baka 1998,47)⁹⁰, **Vute** (Thwing 1987, 58; Maxey 1994,10,27 and 43), **Yemba** (Harro and Haynes 1991,§7.1)⁹¹, **Zanzibar Simakonde** (Hyman 2019,98)⁹²

Niger-Congo: YUKUNOID: Jukun (Shimizu 1980,Part IV; Evenhouse n.d), **Kuteb** (Koops 2009, Chapter 6), **Yukuben** (Anyanwu 2013,§4.4.12 and 4.4.13)

Niger-Congo; NUPE-OKO-IDOMA: Oko (Atoyebi 2010,§13.3)

Niger-Congo: UNCLASSIFIED: Pere (Heath and Tioté 2019,§6.1)

Nilo-Saharan: SONGHAY: Humburi Senni (Heath 2014,§2.1), **Koyraboro Senni** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Heath 1999b,114), **Koyra Chiini** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Heath 1999a,83), **Tondi Songway Kiini** (Heath 2005,§5.1), **Zarma** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 - Tersis 1972,121-122; also see Ruhlen 2008,386 under the name Songhai)

Nilo-Saharan: WESTERN SAHARAN: Dazaga (Walters 2015,§4.2)⁹³, **Kanuri** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Lukas 1937,30,128; Hutchison 1981,203; Gazali 2020,204)⁹⁴

⁸⁷ Kashina (2000,119) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) mandu amatuna amalalu ale.
houses big three those
'those three big houses.'

Klitchka (2023,§10.0) however assigns to Silozi the order N Dem Num A, providing examples like the following:

- (i) bà-nà̀nà̀ v-à̀lè̀ bà-bà̀è̀lì̀ bà-bà̀ndè̀ ki-b-à̀-kà
C2-child C2-those C2-two C2-good. are C2-ASO-my
'those two beautiful children are mine'

Kashina (2005,119f) also gives Dem N Num A and N Dem A Num as possible orders.

⁸⁸ An alternative order is N Num A Dem (Manus 2010,168f).

⁸⁹ Stanley (1991,212) gives the example in (i) [my English translation]:

- (i) yì klwəkea lê ton yi
sacks big three those
'those three big sacks'

⁹⁰ Moñino (2007,§1), however, attributes to Vili the order N Num A Dem.

⁹¹ In the Syntactic Structures of the World's Languages data base Elsie Mawamba gives for Yémba A N Dem Num as the canonical order in the nominal phrase (<http://sswl.railsplayground.net/browse/languages/Y%C3%A9mba%20>).

⁹² Hyman (2019,98) illustrates this order with the following example:

- (i) ví-lóngó ví-kúméné vy-á náswé ví-vílí aviilá
CL8-pot CL8-big CL8-GEN white CL8-two CL8.DEM
'those two big white pots'

⁹³ N Num A Dem is an alternative order in Dazaga (Walters 2015,§4.2).

⁹⁴ Gazali (2020,204) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) fato-wa kura yakkə anyi
house-PL big three these
'These three big houses'

This is also the order given by Ruhlen (2008,389). Cyffer (1998,51) gives N Num A Dem as another possible order, while Zeller (2020,70) attributes to Kanuri the order N Dem Num A.

Nilo-Saharan: KOMAN: Gwama (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Kievit and Robertson 2012,85-86)⁹⁵, **Komo** (Otero 2014,§3.4)⁹⁶, **Opo** (Smolders 2021,§4.6)⁹⁷, **Uduk** (Killian 2015,p.65 and §4.7)⁹⁸

Nilo-Saharan: BERTA: Wabosh dialect of Berta (Neudorf 2021,§3.6)⁹⁹

Nilo-Saharan: BONGO-BAGIRMI: 'Bēli (Kol et al. 2013,30), **Bongo** (Moi et al. 2018,85)¹⁰⁰, **Kabba** (Moser 2004,122)¹⁰¹, **Kenga** (Neukom 2010,§3.2), **Mbay** (Keegan 1997,§7.1.1), **(Sara) Ngambay** (Thayer 1978,§2.2.1; Ndjerareou, Melick, and Moeller 2010,§3.1)

Nilo-Saharan: KUNAMA: Kunama (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Thompson 1983,304; also see Bender 1996,41)¹⁰²

Nilo-Saharan: NILOTIC: Bor Dinka (Nguyen 2012,§2)¹⁰³, **Kumam** (Hieda 2011,§4.8; 2020,620)¹⁰⁴, **Nyangatom** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Schröder and Kadanya 2011,20), **Shilluk** (Remijsen and Gwado Ayoker 2021,48,86)¹⁰⁵, **Turkana** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Dimmendaal 1983,206)¹⁰⁶

Nilo-Saharan: NUBIAN: Kenyan Nubi (Owens 1997,§4.1.5)

Nilo-Saharan: MORU-MA'DI: Logoti (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Tucker 1940,289; Irumu 1986,250)¹⁰⁷

Afro-Asiatic: BIU-MANDARA: Buduma (Awagana 2001,158,192), **Buwal** (Viljoen 2013,Chapter 5), **Kilba** (Mu'azu 2009,pp.87f and 153), **Cuvok** (Dadak 2021,151), **Dghwede** (Kropp Dakubu 1976,137;

⁹⁵ Zelealem Leyew (2005,§4.2) gives the partial orders N A Dem and N A Num (also see Getu Gebeyehu 2021,§7.1.1). Goldberg and Hellenthal (2014,§3.4) however attribute to Gwama the order N Num A Dem.

⁹⁶ For Ethiopian Komo Sara Pacchiarotti provides (p.c.) the following illustrative example:

(i) gò-tòm tōl-i-n-à á=dògòn=bā
PL=spear be.long-DDØ-3PL-ADJ ASS=four=DEM.PROX
'these four long spears'

Also see https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Komo_language#/Grammar

⁹⁷ The author gives (p.30) the following example, among others:

(i) nakha sesék' tusú=ni
spears long three=those
'those three long spears'

⁹⁸ An alternative order appears to be (by transitivity from given examples): N A Dem Num (cf. §4.7.2).

⁹⁹ Neudorf (2021,17) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) beerí cquucquriqí mannamu mbé
spears long four those
'those four long spears'

¹⁰⁰ Certain adjectives/modifiers precede the noun yielding the order A N Num Dem.

¹⁰¹ To judge from Moser (2004,122) Kabba like other Bongo-Bagirmi languages has the order N A Num Dem, although she notes that A N Num Dem is also possible.

¹⁰² Kunama has N A Num Dem with demonstrative suffixes, but also Dem N A Num Dem, with pre-nominal "independent demonstratives [which] are optional and are usually omitted." (Thompson 1983,293).

¹⁰³ Nguyen (2012,§2.4) reports that adjectives appear to be freely ordered with respect to numerals, thus also yielding the order N Num A Dem. Andersen (2020) attributes to Dinka the order N A Dem Num.

¹⁰⁴ While N A Num Dem is the canonical order, the orders N Num A Dem (and N Num Dem A) are also possible (Hieda 2011,86).

¹⁰⁵ Remijsen and Gwado Ayoker (2017,35) attributed to Shilluk the order N Num A Dem, but this appears to be an alternative order possible if the numeral is in the construct state and can take the adjective as its own modifier (see the discussion in Remijsen and Gwado Ayoker (2021,86).

¹⁰⁶ Heine (1980,51,53f) and Heine and Reh (1984,231) give for Turkana the order N Num A Dem. Even though the adjective, from the example given there (cf. (i)), may appear to be a (reduced) relative clause, Heine argues that it isn't, as relative clauses follow the demonstrative:

(i) ŋi-coéí lu-uni lu a-pol-ok lu
bags three REL big these
'these three big bags'

Heine (1981a,183) however gives N Dem Num A as the order of Turkana.

¹⁰⁷ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,23fn21) specifies that "[t]he claim that the adjective precedes the numeral and demonstrative is based on Irumu (1986: 250). The claim that the demonstrative follows the numeral is based on Tucker (1940: 289)."

Hartmann and Zimmermann 2006,198)¹⁰⁸, **Lamang** (Croft and Deligianni 2001,7), **Makary Kotoko** (a.k.a **Mpade**), Allison 2012, Chapters 6 and 7)¹⁰⁹, **Malgwa** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Löhr 2002,239), **Mofu-Gudur** (Barreteau 1983,427 and 431), **Zina Kotoko** (Demeke 2002,97ff)¹¹⁰
Afro-Asiatic: OMOTIC: Dizin (Beachy 2018,§3.7)¹¹¹, **Sheko** (Hellenthal 2010,251ff)¹¹²
Afro-Asiatic: MASA: Pévé (Shay 2019,85,96-97)
Afro-Asiatic: WEST CHADIC: Kwami (Leger 1994,§2.3 and §5.1), **Ngizim** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Schuh 1972,165-166)
Afro-Asiatic: EASTERN CUSHITIC: Oromo (Harar) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Owens 1985,86)¹¹³, **Oromo (Munyo)** (Heine 1980,§2.33), **Rayya Afaan Oromoo** (Kumssa 2019,§9.1.1)¹¹⁴, **Yaaku** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 - Heine 1974,38ff)
Khoisan: NORTHERN KHOISAN: !Xun (Heine and König 2013, Chapter 7,§3.1.4; 2015,Chapter 4)
Austro-Asiatic: PALAUNGIC: (Man Noi) Plang (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Lewis 2008,52; also see Block 1996,3)¹¹⁵, **Lawa (Eastern)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Blok 2013,56; also see Ruhlen 2008,955)¹¹⁶, **Lawa La-oop** (Wajanarat 1980,302; Jiranan 1985,66ff), **Palaung** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Mak 2012,24; also see Jones 1970,5; Rijkhoff 1990,32; Nguyen 2004,143; Ruhlen 2008,952)¹¹⁷, **Wa** (Ma Seng Mai 2012,Chapter 4; Bei 2014,§3.1.5; Watkins 2019,§3.1.1), **Austro-Asiatic: MANGIC: Bugan** (Li and Luo 2015,1043)¹¹⁸
Austro-Asiatic: BAHNARIC: Brao (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Keller 1976,29ff), **Mnong (Central) (Bunong)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Bequette 2013,28,33; also see Butler

¹⁰⁸ The N A Num Dem order can be garnered from Kropp Dakubu (1976,137) and Hartmann and Zimmermann (2006, 198), who give the following partial orders, respectively:

- (i)a. wùd òk`wnán`ε mícè
man short two
'two short men'
b. n^wasra mícè na
women two Dem
'the/those two women'

¹⁰⁹Allison (2012) says that the various "Kotoko languages are all mutually unintelligible" (p.3). The canonical order is N A Num Dem (cf. (i)), with Numerals preceding Dem (p. 124) but ordered after or before adjectives (p.101). Thus an alternative order is N Num A Dem.

- (i) le n shame n gokuro nde you (Sean David Allison, p.c.)
child:PL Mod:PL small:PL Mod:PL three DEM:PL DET:PL
'these three small children'

¹¹⁰ An alternative order is N Num A Dem.

¹¹¹ Allan (1976b,381) gives an example with the order N A Num.

¹¹² Both Dizin (Beachy 2018,§3.7), and Sheko (Hellenthal 2010,§9.1) have as an alternative order the order Num N A Dem. Beachy (2018,19) gives the following examples:

- (i)a. garz shadnz kubm hhaakie
noun adjective numeral demonstrative
b. kubm garz shadnz hhaakie
numeral noun adjective demonstrative
'those four long wooden spears'

¹¹³ In other dialects of Oromo (Boraana, Orma and Wanta), as reported in Rijkhoff (2002,325) after Stroemer (1987,59), the numeral can also appear before the adjective (N Num A Dem) or after the demonstrative (N A Dem Num).

¹¹⁴ One example given in Kumssa (2019,204) is:

- (i) ?izoollee baaj?ee k'a-k'all-oo wajjaa ?adaadii raajjaa dzaha kan dzabana dargii san duudaa
children.COLL very RED-thin-PL cloth white.PL Rayya six of period Derg **that** all
'All those six thin boys of Rayya with white cloths in Derg regime,..'

¹¹⁵ For the same order in Huay Namkhum Plang see Suchada (2004,§5.1.1).

¹¹⁶ Blok (2013,57) illustrates this order with the following example, among others:

- (i) sɔ? khɔ? la?ɑ(tua) kə?ɔ
dog young two those
'those two young dogs'

¹¹⁷ This is also the order of Dara'ang Palaung (see Deepadung, Rattanapitak and Buakaw 2015,1085).

¹¹⁸ Although Li (1996,156f) had attributed to Bugan the order N A Dem Num, Li and Luo (2015) say that "demonstratives are always the farthest from the head" (p.1043).

2015, §4.4 and §5)¹¹⁹, **Loven (Jruq)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Jacq 2001, 364, 379), **(Mondulkiri) Phnong** (Vogel 2006, §§II and III)¹²⁰ **Sapuan** (Jacq and Sidwell 1999, 28), **Sedang** (Smith 1975, Chapter 7; 1979, §7; Alves 2001, 3)¹²¹, **Stiêng** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Miller 1976, 21)¹²²

Austro-Asiatic: KHMER: Khmer (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Ehrman 197[2], 19; Haiman 2011, 141; also see Ruhlen 2008, 98; Bisang 2015, §4.4; Haiman 2019, §3.1.1), **Jruq** (Jacq 2011, chapter 5)

Austro-Asiatic: MONIC: Mon (Bauer 1982, Part III; Alves 2001, 3; Jenny 2019, §3.1)¹²³

Austro-Asiatic: KHMUIC: Khmu' (Svantesson 1986, 49; Premrirat 1987, 31; Alves 2001, 3; Steeb 2008, §2.4.6; Osborne 2009, §2.3; Svantesson and Holmer 2015, §4.4)¹²⁴, **Mal** (Wajanarat 1980, §2; Ruhlen 2008, 959)¹²⁵, **Mlabri** (Alves 2001, 3)¹²⁶, **Nam Sod Khmu** (Wongnoppharalert 1993, 71ff), **Pray** (Malapol 1989, §2.1)¹²⁷, **T'in** (Filbeck 1976, 287f; Alves 2001, 3; Ruhlen 2008, 959)¹²⁸

Austro-Asiatic: VIETIC: Thavung (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Srisakorn 2008, 88)

Austro-Asiatic: KATUIC (West): (Khok Sa-at) Bru (Tebow 2010, 22ff)¹²⁹, **(Surin) Kuay** (Sa-Ard 1984, 24ff), **Kuy** (Ota 2007, 4; Bos 2009, §6)¹³⁰, **So** (Lerthirunwong 1980, §2.1.2)

Austro-Asiatic: PEARIC: Chong (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Rojanakul 2009, 103), **Kasong** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Sunee 2002, 62; also see Sunee 2003, §3.1)¹³¹, **Samre** (Pornsawan 2001, 108)

Sino-Tibetan: KAREN: Bwe Karen (Swanson 2011, §2.5), **Geba Karen** (Naw Hsar Shee 2008, §4.1), **Kayah Monu** (Aung 2013, Chapter 3)¹³², **Pwo Karen** (Phillips 2004, 2; 2023, §2.3; Ruhlen 2008, 860; Kato

¹¹⁹ Butler (2015) states that numerals can also precede the noun.

¹²⁰ According to Vogel, Mondulkiri Phnong also displays the order Num N A Dem. The pre- or post-nominal position of Num (and the accompanying classifier) depends on the type of classifier and the dialect.

¹²¹ An alternative order is Num N A Dem (Jones 1970, 6; Smith 1975, Chapter 7), which is given as the canonical order in Nguyen (2004, 143). All the examples in Smith and Sidwell (2015) are with prenominal Num CLF. Ruhlen (2008, 981) attributes to Sedang the order N Num A Dem.

¹²² Bon (2014, §2.5) reports for the variety of Stiêng that she studied the order N Dem Num CLF A.

¹²³ Moe Pwint Phyu (2022, §2.2.1) attributes to Mon the order N Possessor A Dem Num CLF.

¹²⁴ Premrirat (1987, 31) and Alves (2001, 5f) give the following illustrative example:

(i) sóʔ híŋ pà:r tó: sná: nà:j
dog black two (item) they those
'those two black dogs'

The same order is found in the eastern variety of Khmu (Soundara 2019, §4.1.8)

¹²⁵ See (i), from Wajanarat (1980, 300):

(i) khaa thiit phoon naŋ nee
fish small four CLF this
'these four small fish'

According to Filbeck (1997, 67) Mal is distinct from and mutually unintelligible with other T'in dialects.

¹²⁶ Alves (2001, 3) gives the following order, with a question mark for the adjective: N A? Num CLF Dem.

¹²⁷ Num N A Dem is also possible when the numeral is topicalized. Pray is considered a dialect of T'in, but see <https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/phai1238>.

¹²⁸ Alves (2001, 5) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) siŋ kluak ʔəŋ [bakɛɛw thoon] piã naŋ ʔɛn pəl.
Pig white I [Mr. Kaew buy] two CLF that die
'The two white pigs of mine (that) Mr. Kaew bought died.'

¹²⁹ But Ruhlen (2008, 964) gives Num N A Dem as the order of Bru, and Miller (2017, 16) gives the same order for Eastern Bru providing the following illustrative example:

(i) nɛ:ʔ tapɜ:t tapu:l ʔali:k kuci:t ki...
all six seven pigs dead those...
'All six or seven of those dead pigs...'

¹³⁰ This is also the order reported for the Ntua dialect in Bos and Sidwell (2015, §4.4).

¹³¹ Sunee (2003, 172) illustrates this order with the following example:

(i) chɔ': caŋ kan pá: mo:l ten
dog black big two clf that
'those two big black dogs'

¹³² Aung (2013, 61) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) ʔà p^hà hí ʔàli dó sù m^ɛ hénù

2019, §3.2.1)¹³³, **Sgaw Karen** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 – Jones 1961, 43; also see Suriya 1998, §2; Ruhlen 2008, 863; Olson 2014, 67)¹³⁴

Sino-Tibetan: BODIC: (Sikkim) Bothia (Mukherjee 2011b, §5.2), **Classical Tibetan** (Ruhlen 2008, 872; Simon 2016, §7.7), **Tibetan (Drokpa)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 – Kretschmar 1986, 84), **Kham (Nangchen)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 – Causemann 1989, 78 (unchecked)), **Kham (Dege)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 – Häsler 1999, 93, 238)¹³⁵, **Western Tamang** (Regmi and Regmi 2018, 91)

Sino-Tibetan: LOLO-BURMESE: Lahu Si (Upai 2009, 12)¹³⁶, **Zaiwa** (Wannemacher 2010, 89, 102f, 116)¹³⁷

Sino-Tibetan: KUKI-CHIN: Ao (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 – Coupe 2007, 201, 209; 2017, §6.2; also see Gowda 1975, 63)¹³⁸, **Angami** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 – Giridhar 1980, 57)¹³⁹, **Bawm** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 – Reichle 1981, 37, 42)¹⁴⁰, **Gangte** (Devi 2010, §7.1.1.1), **Inpui** (Devi 2014, §3.1; 2014b, 116; 2015, 14298)¹⁴¹, **Khezha** (Kapfo 2005, §4.2.1)¹⁴², **Lotha** (2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 – Acharya 1983, 120-121), **Makuri Naga** (Shi 2009, §1.4.1.1)¹⁴³, **Mao**

3S.Poss father house red big three CLFround.big that
'His father's three red big houses'

¹³³ Phillips (2004, 13) gives the following illustrative example for West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen:

(i) mà kələ thèthō bō lə-bū jò
have only eel yellow one CLFlong.things this
'I have only caught this yellow eel.'

¹³⁴ See one of the examples given in Suriya (1998, 111):

(i) na¹ri¹ γe² khi² sho² ne¹
watch good two Clf that
'those two good watches'

For Moulmein Sgaw Karen Voegelin and Voegelin (1965, §8.1) give the order N A_{colour} A_{size} Num CLF Dem and also N Num CLF A_{colour} A_{size} all Dem.

¹³⁵ To judge from Häsler (1999) the order N A Dem Num may also be a possible order. She reports on p. 94 an example with the order N Dem Num, and on p.95 an example with the order N A Dem.

¹³⁶ Adams (2007) gives for Lahusi the orders N A Dem Num (with “core adjectives” like size adjectives) and N Dem Num A (with “non-core adjectives” like color adjectives). Possibly Adams (2007) and Upai (2009) analysed different varieties of Lahusi.

¹³⁷ An alternative order is Dem N A Num (though N Dem Num is also attested).

¹³⁸ As reported in Coupe (2007, Chapter 6) certain adjectives in Mongsen Ao can also precede the N (with restrictive interpretation). Dryer's (2018, Supplementary Materials, 15fn2) reads: “While the formula given by Coupe (2007: 201) includes both prenominal and postnominal positions for “attributes”, the prenominal position is reserved for relative clauses, so semantic adjectives follow the verb (p. 209).”

¹³⁹ One example given by Giridhar (1980, 57) is:

(i) lēsédá kēvī mēpfe sēkō pēté(kô)
books good twenty those all
'all those twenty good books'

¹⁴⁰ Reichle (1981, Chapter 3, §7) gives for Bawm the order Dem N A Num.

¹⁴¹ See the illustrative example (i), from Devi (2015, 14298):

(i) dip sanu inthum hōyə
book good three this
'these three good books.'

Adjectives can also precede the noun (“The order of AdjN and NAdj are equally common form as used by the speaker” – Devi 2015, 14297), yielding the alternative order A N Num Dem. Demonstratives can also be initial or ‘frame’ the noun phrase.

¹⁴² Kapfo (2005, §4.2.1) illustrates the order with examples like the following:

(i) aro lakhō ketre pedi hyro medō
our(pl) bag old four these all
'All these four old bags of ours'

¹⁴³ An alternative order apparently is N A Dem Num (Shi 2009, §1.4.1.1).

Naga (Giridhar 1994,452)¹⁴⁴, **Paoula** (Pao 2017,§5.2.1.4 and §7.1.1)¹⁴⁵, **Senthang Chin** (Ngun 2016,§3.3.2; Watson 2019,14)¹⁴⁶, **Sizang Chin** (Davis 2017,§2.2.1), **Sümi** (Teo 2019,42), **Tangkhu Naga** (2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Arokianathan 1987,145)¹⁴⁷

Sino-Tibetan: rGYALRONG: rTa'u (Bra'go variety) (Tunzhi 2019,§6.4)¹⁴⁸, **Stau** (Jacques, Lai, Antonov and Nima 2016,§4.1; Gates 2021,§4.1)¹⁴⁹

Sino-Tibetan: MEITEI: Meithei (a.k.a. Meiteilon or Manipuri) (Chelliah 1997,§3.1)¹⁵⁰

Sino-Tibetan: TANI: Nyishi (Abraham 2005,82)

Tai-Kadai: KAM-TAI: (Tai-)Ahom (Buragohain 2011 and p.c.; also see Duangthip 2012,§4.2 and Phukan 2009,Part 2), **Aiton** (Morey 2002,§8.3.2; Morey 2005,29f and §8.3.2), **Bouyei (Yay)** (Snyder 1995,16; 2018,§4.1)¹⁵¹, **Dehong Tai** (Zhang 1992,211), **Lanna** (Insonk 2005,Chapter 2)¹⁵², **Lao** (Gething 2001,410; Enfield 2004,130; Nguyen 2004,143; Do-Hurinville and Dao 2014,2)¹⁵³, **Phake** (Morey 2002,§8.3.2; Morey 2005,29f and §8.3.2), **Shan** (Jones 1970,5; Rijkhoff 1990,32; Nguyen 2004,143; Minh 2006,§2.3.1.1; Moroney 2018,§3; Soh 2019,§1.3.2.1)¹⁵⁴, **Tai Khamti** (Morey 2002,§8.3.2; Morey 2005,29f and §8.3.2; Inglis 2007: §3.2.3 and §3.4; 2014,§2.4.3), **Tai Khamyang** (Morey 2002,§8.3.2; Morey 2005,29f and §8.3.2;

¹⁴⁴ Giridhar (1994,452) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) ocü kajü padi lokhru thopfü
houses big four those all
'all those four big houses'

¹⁴⁵ Adjectives can also precede the noun giving the alternative order A N Num Dem (Pao 2017,188).

¹⁴⁶ The demonstrative (with a demonstrative reinforcer) can also precede the noun (Ngun 2016,§3.3.2.2).

¹⁴⁷ Ozarkar (2006,67) and Victor (2014,§3.1.2.1) document adjectives in attributive position preceding the N, in which case "the adjectival suffix /-ə/ is attached to the adjectives." (Ozarkar 2006,67). See for example:

- (i) kətʃər.ə sikui
white+ADJ horse
'A white horse'

For Kabrang Tangkhul Takhellambam (2014,23ff), gives the following partial orders: Dem N, A N, N Num. Khuraijam (2014,§6.1.1) gives for Hundung Tangkhul the following orders: A N Num, N A Num, saying that demonstratives follow the noun. In Shangshak Tangkhul "The adjectives can be pre-nominal or post-nominal without any change of meaning" (Thokchom 2011,135). Adjectives can also precede the noun in the Kabonglo dialect of Tangkhul (Devi 2019,§6.1). In Chanu (2019,§6.1) the following orders are reported for the Lairamlo dialect of Tangkhul: Dem A N Num, A N Num (Dem).

¹⁴⁸ Tunzhi (2019,§6.4) gives N A Dem Num as an alternative order with change of meaning.

¹⁴⁹ Gates (2021,209) gives the following illustrative example for Mazur Stau, saying at p.189 that the language also has pre-nominal demonstratives (*ədi* 'this' and *tʰi* 'that'). These can occur without the post-nominal one (as in one example on p.316):

- (i) ɬæ kɛ-rku æ-lu dɛ
hand adj-cold one-cn.generic dem
'one cold hand'. (Elicited)

¹⁵⁰ Sharma (1999,145) gives A N Num Dem as an alternative order. Also see Singh (1985,fn3, "an adjective usually can either precede or follow the noun, without semantic change", and 1984,Chapter 2).

¹⁵¹ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,31), following Boonsawasd (2012,152) gives for Bouyei the order Num N A Dem (with cardinals) saying that ordinals follow the noun.

¹⁵² See the example in (i) (Insonk 2005,36). Other alternative orders are N Num A Dem and N A Dem Num (Insonk 2005,Chapter 2).

- (i) haw siː hian mà y sǎ:m lǎŋ lǎwnán
I buy house new three CLF Dem
'I bought those three new houses'

¹⁵³ Enfield (2007,§6.3.1) gives Num N A Dem as a possible alternative order. Kosaka (2000,112) instead gives N Num A Dem as the canonical order of Lao.

¹⁵⁴ Moroney (2021,126) states that gives the following illustrative example with the order N Clf A Num Clf RC Dem:

- (i) mǎa tǒ jǎj sǎam tǒ tsý ʔǎn lâk kǐn kǎj (*tsý) nǎn. . .
dog clf.anml big three clf.anml pl comp steal eat chicken pl that
'The/Those three big dogs that stole and ate the chicken...'

Chow Kensan Tunkhang, p.c.)¹⁵⁵, **Tai Lue** (Jagacinski 1987,52; Hanna 1995,§2)¹⁵⁶, **Thai** (2018, Supplementary Materials,29 - Smyth 2002: 36; also see Haas 1942,§3; Singhapreecha 2001,259; and Ruhlen 2008,1012)¹⁵⁷, **Xishuangbanna Tai** (Zhang 1992,211)

Austronesian: MOKEN-MOKLEN: Moken (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Chantanakomes 1980,158; also see Veena 1980,159f)

Austronesian: CELEBIC: Tukang Besi (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Donohue 1999a,304)¹⁵⁸

Austronesian: KENYAH: Uma Baha (Wong and Mantenuto 2017,§2.2)¹⁵⁹

Austronesian: NORTH BORNEO: Ida'an (Begak) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Goudswaard 2005,271,273)¹⁶⁰, **Kelabit** (Hemmings 2016,154f)

Austronesian: (EAST) BARITO: Malagasy (Paul 2009,§3)¹⁶¹

Austronesian: NORTHWEST SUMATRA-BARRIER ISLANDS: Nias (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 – Lea Brown p.c.)¹⁶²

Austronesian: MINAHASAN: Tondano (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Sneddon 1975,114)¹⁶³

¹⁵⁵ Chow Kensan Tunkhang (p.c.) provided the following illustrative example:

(i) chāng an khāo sām tow nai khao
elephant CLF white three CLF this 3PL
'these three white elephants'

¹⁵⁶ Jagacinski (1987,52) and Hanna (1995,3) provide the examples in (i)a. and (i)b., respectively:

(i)a. teu² mai² sɔŋ¹ phuu¹ xɔŋ¹ man⁴ ni⁴
trouser new two CL belong to s/he this
'These two new trousers of his/her'

b. xu⁴ di¹ // sɔŋ¹ kun⁴ nan⁶
teacher good two CLF that
'those two good teachers'

Conklin (1981,108) however gives for Lii (Tai Lue) the following example, with a N Num CLF A Dem order:

piing³ paa¹ saam¹ too¹ loong¹ nii⁶ nɔø⁴
bake fish three BODY big this reg.permission
'May I bake these three large fish?'

¹⁵⁷ Haas (1942,204) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) mā· tua lég sǒ·ŋ tua nán
dog CLnominal little two CLnumeral that
'those two little dogs'

¹⁵⁸ See the example in (i), adapted from Donohue's (1999a,307) ex. (20):

[na wowine mandawulu dua-mia [umala te pandola]_{RC} [meatu'e ai]_{Dem}]_{KP}
NOM woman beautiful two-CLF [fetch.SI art eggplant] REF-that ANA
'those two beautiful women who were bringing eggplants'

¹⁵⁹ Wong and Mantenuto (2017,941) say that "[t]he Uma Baha DP presents two word orders: noun-adjective-numeral-demonstrative [(i)a] and numeral-PRT-noun-adjective-demonstrative [(i)b]. In the case of [(i)b], where the numeral appears to the left of the noun, the particle *re* is always required.

(i)a. mija bileng telu rei buwei
table green three those clean
'Those three green tables are clean'
b. telu re mija bileng rei buwei
three PRT1 table green those clean
'Those three green tables are clean'

¹⁶⁰ An alternative order is Num N A Dem.

¹⁶¹ Hanitramalala and Paul (2012,614) say that "demonstratives typically 'frame' the DP – in other words they appear at the beginning (like determiners) and at the end" yielding the order det/dem + N + poss'r + adj + numerals + quantifiers + rel clause + dem. Ruhlen (2008,1115) attributes to Malagasy the order Dem N A Num D. Nthelitheos (2012,64) gives an example with the order (anaphoric) Dem N A Num:

(i) n.i.vidy ilay f.i.as.ana vaovao roa aho
PST.V.buy DEM NML.V.work.CT new two 1SG/NOM
'I bought these (aforementioned) two new tools (*lit. things to work with*)'

¹⁶² Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,25fn28) adds: "Numerals in Nias either precede or follow the noun, but when definite follow the noun.". Brown (2001,Chapter 8) gives for Nias Selatan the order N Dem A Num.

¹⁶³ Sneddon (1975,121) also give the orders N Num A Dem (p.121) and N A Num Dem (p.122). Ruhlen (2008,1086) gives the order Num N A Dem. Also see Brickell (2014,312) who gives the template in (i):

Austronesian: MALAYO-SUMBAWAN/CHAMIC: Western Cham (Baumgartner 1998,11f)¹⁶⁴
Austronesian: CENTRAL MALAYO-POLYNESIAN: Alorese (Moro 2018,§4.1.1)¹⁶⁵, **Amarasi** (Kranenburg 2016,46 and 65), **Batuley** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Daigle 2015,99), **Big Nambas** (Fox 1979,§2.1.5.3)¹⁶⁶, **Buru** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Grimes 1991,185)¹⁶⁷, **Dela** (Tamelan 2021,209), **Dhao** (Balukh 2020)¹⁶⁸, **Helong** ((Gilles) Gravelle 2010,145fn3; Balle 2017,§2.2, and pp.18 and 91; Balle and Cameron 2014,§7.1)¹⁶⁹, **Javanese** (Uhlenbeck 1965,§2; Jones 1970,5; Hayward 1995,42; Steinhauer 2001,353)¹⁷⁰, **Keo** (2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Baird 2002,186), **Kola** (Winne 2013,25f), **Lamaholot** (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007,44; Nagaya 2012,Chapter 5)¹⁷¹, **Larike** (Laidig and Laidig 1991,§4; 1995,§5)¹⁷², **(Central) Lembata** (Fricke 2019,§3.3.4), **Leti** (2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Van Engelenhoven 1995,166; also see van Engelenhoven and Catharina Williams-van Klinken 2005,§3.6.1), **Luang** (Taber and Taber 2015,§4.1), **Makuva** (Van Engelenhoven 2010,§3.2), **Maumere (Sikka)** (Rosen 1979,292; Ruhlen 2008,1146), **Nuaulu** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Bolton 1990,71)¹⁷³; Donohue 2007,369;), **Nga'da** (Conklin 1981,273), **Selaru** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary

(i) (QNT) (NUM) (MOD) (NP Mrkr) Head (NP/PRO[POSS]) (PP) (REL) (MOD) (QNT) (DEM)
 which seems to allow for the orders N A Num Dem and Num N A Dem. Brickell (2023,165) reports the order <Num> N Num A Dem.

¹⁶⁴ Ruhlen (2008,1138) gives for Western Cham the partial orders Num N, N A and N Dem. “Thurgood puts the number and classifier at the beginning of the phrase instead of at the end: (Num) CLF Head (Mod) (Demonstrative). However, I never encountered this word order in noun phrases (Ueki 2011,61).

¹⁶⁵ Here is one example kindly provided by Francesca Moro (p.c.):

(i) beka kalake rua kete
 child male two those
 ‘those two children’

¹⁶⁶ Fox (1979,36) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) mlin lil a-i-ru lera
 chief big they-real.-restr.pl.-two that
 ‘Those two important chiefs’

¹⁶⁷ Grimes (1991,185) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) enhero pe-panga rua dii
 spears barbed two those
 ‘those two barbed spears’

¹⁶⁸ Balukh (2020) provides examples of N A Num on page 82 and on page 126, and of N Num Dem on page 92 and on page 94, warranting the overall order N A Num Dem. Charles Grimes, p.c., indicates N Num A Dem as an alternative order of Dhao.

¹⁶⁹ Balle and Cameron (2014,54) give the following illustrative example:

(i) tana-ana blutu mea dua na-s.
 child small red two DemDIST-PL
 ‘Those two small babies’

¹⁷⁰ Hayward (1995,42) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) bocah cilik wòlu iku
 boys small eight those
 ‘those eight small boys’

Ishizuka (2008,§2) says that numerals can also precede the N. Agung Nugroho, in the Javanese 2 page of the Language Documentation Training Center of the Linguistic Society of Hawaii

(<http://www.ling.hawaii.edu/ldtc/languages/javanese2>) gives CLF N Num A as the order of Boso Jowo (Javanese):

wong wedok loro ayu-ayu
 person female two beautiful
 ‘two beautiful women’

Also see Davies and Dresser (2005).

¹⁷¹ Lamaholot apparently also allows N Num A Dem as an alternative order (Nishiyama and Kelen 2007,44; Nagaya 2012,240f). Kroon (1998,§3.2.2; 2016,§6.2.1) attributes the order N A Num Dem to Solor-Lamaholot.

¹⁷² Laidig and Laidig (1991,29) provide the following illustrative example:

(i) hato mete-te hatur-dua hi
 rock black-ADJ CLASS-two this
 ‘these two black rocks’

¹⁷³ Bolton gives (p.76) the following illustrative example:

manu hanai msina-ya ua rai

Materials,28 - Coward 1990,44), **Tetum** (Hull and Eccles 2001,59; van Klinken 1999,§7.2.2.3; van Engelenhoven and Williams-van Klinken 2005,758)¹⁷⁴, **Tugun** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Hinton 1991,45), **Uab Meto** (Metboki and Bellamy 2014,65,74,76; Yakob Metboki and Kate Bellamy, p.c.)¹⁷⁵

Austronesian: BALI-SASAK-SUMBAWA: Balinese (Wayan Arka, p.c.), **Sumbawa** (Shiohara 2014,20)¹⁷⁶

Austronesian: MALAYIC: Jambi Malay (Yanti 2011,346; Yanti and Cole 2012,§2.8)¹⁷⁷, **Kerinci** (Mckinnon 2011,Chapter 5)¹⁷⁸, **Mualang** (Tjia 2007, Chapter 4)¹⁷⁹, **Tanjung Raden Malay** (Yanti 2007,§2)¹⁸⁰, **Urak Lawoi'** (Capell 1979,8; Hogan 1999,§2.3)¹⁸¹

Austronesian: SOUTH HALMAHERA - WEST NEW GUINEA: Ambai (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,15 - Silzer 1983,85), **Ambel** (Arnold 2018,§6.2; Gasser 2019,17), **As** (Laura Arnold, p.c.)¹⁸², **Biak** (2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - van den Heuvel 2006,206), **Biga** (Laura Arnold,p.c.)¹⁸³, **Batta** (Laura Arnold,p.c.)¹⁸⁴, **Irarutu** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Matsumura and Matsumara 1991,105, Jackson 2014,64), **(Magey) Matbat** (Remijsen 2010,283)¹⁸⁵, **Ma'ya** (Gasser 2019,17), **Patani** (Linn Iren Sjøanes Rødvand,p.c.)¹⁸⁶ **Pom** (Gasser 2019,17), **Sawai** (Gasser 2019,17), **Taba** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Bowden 1997,204; 2001,179), **Waropen** (Gasser 2019,17)

bird male red-pl two these
'those two red roosters'

¹⁷⁴ van Engelenhoven and Williams-van Klinken (2005,758) give the following illustrative example:

(i) feto kawa'ik na'in neen ne'e
woman older CLF.HUM six PRX
'these six older women'

¹⁷⁵ Yakob Metboki and Kate Bellamy (p.c.) kindly provided the following example of the N A Num Dem order of Uab Meto:

(i) liana a-masat mese i
child 3S-nice one DEM
'this one nice child'

¹⁷⁶ Shiohara (2014,20) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) bale balong dua ta
house good two this
'these two good houses'

Numerals can also be found preceding the N (yielding the order Num N A Dem) (Shiohara 2014,21).

¹⁷⁷ An alternative order of Jambi Malay nominal phrases is Num N A Dem. The latter is also the order given to Malay in Ruhlen (2008,1132).

¹⁷⁸ An alternative order of Kerinci nominal phrases is Num N A Dem. This is the order given in Ernanda (2017,§5.3).

¹⁷⁹ The order Num N A Dem is also possible.

¹⁸⁰ An alternative order of Tanjung Raden Malay is Num N A Dem.

¹⁸¹ Hogan gives Num N A Dem as a possible alternative order.

¹⁸² Lura Arnold provided the following illustrative example:

(i) ane mam n-falaso um kando lu fa
1SG father 3SG-build house big two DEM
'My father built those two big houses.'

¹⁸³ Laura Arnold provided the following illustrative example:

(i) awon te la-kan um paley lu e
3DU REL 3PL-build house big two DEM
'It was the two of them who built those two big houses.'

¹⁸⁴ Laura Arnold provided the following illustrative example:

(i) hulu to li-pilin nuw hinyape luw ite
3DU REL 3PL-build house big two DEM
'It was the two of them who built those two big houses.'

¹⁸⁵ Remijsen (2010,283) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) ak-dɛ¹²¹ si³ni³ nu³n-ha-no
1s-friend Chinese CLF-one-Dem
'this Chinese friend of mine'

¹⁸⁶ Linn Iren Sjøanes Rødvand provides the following illustrative example:

(i) nyangan lól i-só ta

Austronesian: OCEANIC: Adzera (Howard 2002, §2.4), **Ahamb** (Rangelov 2020, 191, 195), **Amara** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 - Thurston 1996, 213), **Ambae (Lolovoli Northeast)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 - Hyslop 2001, 105), **Arop-Lokep** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - D'Jernes 2002: 255), **Arop-Sissano** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - Whitacre 1986, 29), **Avava** (2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - Crowley 2006a, 64), **Awad Bing** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - Bennett and Bennett 1998, 178-79), **Bali-Vitu** (2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - van den Berg and Bachet 2006, 64); also see Ross 2002a, §2.6), **Bariai** (Gallagher and Baehr 2005, §3.), **Bola** ((van den) Berg and Wiebe 2019, §4.9)¹⁸⁷, **Buang (Mapos)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Hooley 1970, 186), **Buhutu** (Sadileutu, Bania, and Hafford 2015, §3.6)¹⁸⁸, **Bukawa** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Eckermann 2007, 106ff), **Daakaka** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 – von Prince 2015, 96; also see von Prince 2012, 91), **Daakie** (Krifka 2011, 12 and p.c.), **Dalkalaen** (Kilu von Prince, p.c.), **Dami** (Elliott 1979, 20f), **Dorig** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Gumawana** (Olson 1992, §5.1), **Hiw** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Hote** (Good 1991, §2)¹⁸⁹, **Ifira-Mele** (2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Clark 2002, 685), **Iwal** (Davidson and Davidson (1976, §6)¹⁹⁰, **Jabêm** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Dempwolff 1939, 279, Bradshaw and Czobor 2005, 91; also see Ross 2002d, §2.6), **Kairiru** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Wivell 1981, 39), **Kara-Lemakot** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Dryer 2013b, 59), **Karnai** (Raymond 2005, 15), **Koro** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Kosraean** (2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Lee 1975, 237; also see Good 1985, Chapter 1, §4.4.; Ruhlen 2008, 1250), **Labu** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Siegel 1984, 95; also see Lynch 1998, 121)¹⁹¹, **Lakon** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Lehali (a.k.a Teqel)** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Lelepa** (Lacrampe 2009, 21, 24 and passim; 2014, Chapter 5)¹⁹², **Lemerig** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Lenakel** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Lynch 1978, 74; also see Ruhlen 2008, 1234)¹⁹³, **Lewo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Early 1994, 186)¹⁹⁴, **Loniu** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Hamel 1985, 144; 1994, 89), **Lo-Toga** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Löyöp (a.k.a Lehalurup)** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Maisin** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Ross 1984, 53; also see Frampton 2014, §4.2), **Maleu** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 – Haywood 1996, 163; also see

woman be.big Clf-one DemDIST
'that one big woman'

¹⁸⁷ One example on p.113 is:

(160) a kureko kiroko nau i rua nga (Art N Adj Poss Num Dem)
ART chicken little 1S.OBL 3S two DEM.PLUR
'those two little chickens of mine'

¹⁸⁸ An alternative order is N Num A Dem.

¹⁸⁹ To judge from Muzzey (1979, 67, 82f) the order N A Dem Num is also possible.

¹⁹⁰ Davidson and Davidson (1976, 14) provide the following illustrative example:

(i) wenk bamo ailu etok
fish big two these/here
'these two big fish'

¹⁹¹ Lynch (1998, 121) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) hanô anamô maipi lene
house big five this
'these five big houses'

¹⁹² Lacrampe (2014) gives the orders N A Dem (§5.2.1), N Num (§4.10). The examples reported in Lacrampe (2009) show the following orders: N A Num, N Num Dem and N A Dem.

¹⁹³ Lynch (1978, 75) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) nimwa esuaas vi mil kiu ka
house small new dual two that
'those two small new houses'

¹⁹⁴ Early (1994, 65) contains the following illustrative example:

(i) sira kokan la telu nene nap~a sup~e la a-pisi pani-la
female small PL three these Rel chief PL 3Pl-spoke to-3Pl
'These three girls that the chiefs reprimanded'

Haywood 1978,§7.7)¹⁹⁵, **Malua Bay** (Wessels 2013,§4.5)¹⁹⁶, **Manam** (Lichtenberk 1983, Chapter 5)¹⁹⁷, **Mangap-Mbula** (Bugenhagen 1995,§4.2.1), **Mangga Buang** (Hardwick and Healey 1966,10; Healey 1984,§2.5, 1988,55f; Hooley 2010,114), **Mangseng** (Milligan 1992,§5.1), **Maori** (Pearce 2005,§2.3)¹⁹⁸, **Mato** (Stober 2013,§3.7), **Meramera** (Ohtsuba 1999,§5.1), **Misima** (Callister and Callister 1985,§3.2), **Mokilese** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Harrison 1976,105; also see Ruhlen 2008,1251)¹⁹⁹, **Mota** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Mwerlap** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Mwesen** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Mwotlap** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Crowley 2002a, 592; François 2005,122)²⁰⁰, **Nahavaq** (Dimock 2009,Chapter 3, and Laura Gail Dimock, p.c.), **Nalik** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Volker 1998,109; also see Volker 1994,Chapter 7), **Nese** (Takau 2016,§4.2; 2023,§4.2)²⁰¹, **Neverver** (Vanuatu) (Barbour 2008,§4.3; 2012,§4.3), **Nguna** (Nose 2007,§3.6), **Ninde** (Pearce 2012,85f), **Nume** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Olrat** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Owa** (Mellow 2014,33,41)²⁰², **Pingilapese** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Good and Welley 1989,8; also see Hattori 2012,§2.4.7)²⁰³, **Ponapean** (Rehg 1981,§4.3; Lynch 1998,121)²⁰⁴, **Raga** (Vari-Bogiri 2011,80), **Rotuman** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Schmidt 2002,823; Vamarasi 2002,46; also see Ruhlen 2008,1303), **Sio** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Clark and Clark 1987,46)²⁰⁵, **Sivisa Titan** (Bower 2011,§5.3-5.5)²⁰⁶, **South Efate** (Thieberger 2006,§5.5), **South-West Tanna** (Lynch 1982a,§4.1.2), **Sudest** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Anderson and Ross 2002,330; also see Anderson and Anderson

¹⁹⁵ Haywood (1996,164) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) na-ga na-kuril amviŋe tiavolem talo
 NM-pig NM-brown big.S one that
 ‘that one big brown pig’

¹⁹⁶ As mentioned in Wessels (2013,2), “[t]he SIL *Ethnologue* record of Malua Bay (Lewis, Simons and Fennig, 2013) states alternative names for the language including Espiegle’s Bay and Middle Nambas. The exact relationship between these varieties has not yet been studied. It may be the case that each name indicates a local dialect, or a distinct language (Holmes 2014,31 gives N A Num Dem also as the noun phrase order for Espiegle’s Bay).

¹⁹⁷ Lichtenberk gives for Manam N Num A Dem as a less frequent alternative order.

¹⁹⁸ Demonstratives may also appear in pre-nominal position. Alongside (i)a, (i)b is also possible (Pearce 1997,41):

- (i)a. te wahine nei b. tēnei wahine
 the woman near the-near woman
 ‘this woman’ ‘this woman’

¹⁹⁹ Harrison (1976,105) illustrates this order with the following example:

- (i) ni koalik rahpas-o
 coconut big two-those
 ‘those two big coconuts’

²⁰⁰ Alex François (p.c.) kindly provided the following example from Mwotlap:

- (i) n-ēṁ susu tēvēlēṁ anen
 art-house small five DEM
 ‘those five small houses’

²⁰¹ Takau (2023,140) provides the following illustrative example (also see Takau 2016,153):

- (i) Ø-se-woj [nebetnakhav velvele r-ak rru nge
 3sg-irr-eat bread small cled-1sg:poss two dem
 ‘S/he will just eat those two small breads of mine.’

²⁰² The adjective “small”, which precedes the noun, (p.36) is possibly a diminutive morpheme.

²⁰³ This word order is exemplified in (i):

- (i) kidi koaroahroah sili-maen mwoa (Hattori 2012,37)
 dog white three-NCL DEM
 ‘those three white dogs’

²⁰⁴ Lynch (1998,121) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) pwutak reirei sili-men-o
 boy tall three-CLASSIFIER-that
 ‘those three tall boys’

²⁰⁵ Clark and Clark (1987,46) provide the following illustrative example:

- (i) kâŋgu iŋa ara rua ŋine
 1s.poss fish good two these
 ‘these two good fish of mine’

²⁰⁶ An alternative order is N Num A Dem (Bower 2011,72).

1991,§3.1.1)²⁰⁷, **Tami** (Colich 2000,§3.1), **Tirax** (Brotchie 2009,§3.1; Pearce 2011,198;)²⁰⁸, **Tongan** (Macdonald 2014,§1.3)²⁰⁹, **Unua** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - 2011,186; 2015,206; also see Pearce 2010,152), **Ura** (Lynch 1983,§3.1.2)²¹⁰, **V'ënen Taut** (Dodd 2014,§2.10), **Vera'a** (Schnell 2011,§4.3 and Stefan Schnell, p.c.)²¹¹, **Vinmavis** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials 30 - Crowley 2002c,642), **Volow** (Alexandre François, p.c.), **Vurës** (Malau 2016,Chapter 6), **Whitesands** (Hammond 2009,55; 2014,§2.2.7)

Trans-New Guinea: FINISTERRE-HUON:²¹² **Borong** (Kosorong) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Olkkonen and Olkkonen 2000,16; also see Ruhlen 2008,1331)²¹³, **Burum** (Ruhlen 2008,1336), **Dedua** (Ruhlen 2008,1329), **Iyo** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Minter 2009,83), **Karo/Rawa** (Toland and Toland 1991,§6.1)²¹⁴, **Kate** (Ruhlen 2008,1328), **Kewieng** (Ruhlen 2008,1346), **Komba** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Southwell 1979,135,137f; also see Ruhlen 2008,1334), **Konai** (Årsjö 2016,§5.2.2.1.1), **Kovai** (Ruhlen 2008,1327), **Kube** (Lee 1993,§4.1; Ruhlen 2008,1330)²¹⁵, **Ma Manda** (Pennington 2016,Chapter 14), **Mape** (Ruhlen 2008,1329), **Migabac** (McEvoy 2008,§2.3.3.1), **Nabak** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Fabian, Fabian and Waters 1998,72; also see Ruhlen 2008,1337)²¹⁶, **Nahu** (Mintner 2004,§5.1), **Nukna** (Taylor 2015,§3.1), **Nungon** (Sarvasy 2014,§4.4.2), **Ono** (Ruhlen 2008,1332), **(Northern) Rawa** (Ruhlen 2008,1341), **Selepet** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - McElhanon 1972b,76; also see McElhanon 1972a,§7.2), **Timbe** (Foster 1981,107; Ruhlen 2008,1334), **Tobo** (Ruhlen 2008,1335), **Urii** (Ruhlen 2008,1339), **Wantoat** (Ruhlen 2008,1340), **Yaknge** (Ruhlen 2008,1335)

Trans-New Guinea: SOUTH EAST PAPUAN: **Biangai** (Dubert and Dubert 1978,§4.2.1.11.2), **Weri** (Boxwell 1990,§5.3.2)

Trans-New Guinea: CHIMBU: **Dom** (Tida 2006,112 and personal communication), **Golin** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Bunn 1974,79,82-83; also see Ruhlen 2008,1362), **Maring** (Woodward 1982,§1.9), **Nii** (Stucky and Stucky 1976,§3.1.2)²¹⁷

Trans-New Guinea: OK: **Bimin** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Weber 1997,47), **Mian** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Fedden 2011,203; also see Fedden 2007,§6.1; Smith and Weston

²⁰⁷ According to Sheppard (2020,97) a numeral can also precede the adjective.

²⁰⁸ N A Dem Num may be an alternative order (Brotchie 2009,§3.6; Pearce 2011,198).

²⁰⁹ Few adjectives ('big', 'small', 'other' and ordinals) precede the N. While anaphoric demonstratives follow post-nominal adjectives and numerals, spatial demonstratives precede post-nominal adjectives and numerals, giving the alternative order N Dem A Num.

²¹⁰ Lynch (1983,155) reports that only the deictic demonstrative *imo* precedes the noun. Crowley (1998b,§2.1) (also see Crowley 1999,§7.1) attribute to Ura the order Dem N Num A.

²¹¹ The order N Num A Dem is also attested with adjectives in reduced relative clauses (Stefan Schell, p.c.).

²¹² McElhanon (1973,§2) attributes the order N A Num Dem to all the over sixty Finisterre-Huon languages mentioned there.

²¹³ Olkkonen and Olkkonen (2000,16) provide the following illustrative example:

(i) komiti-waanoý bora-woi-ta awaa totooy woi koi.
leader-of daughter-du-his good very two this
'these two very good daughters of the village leader'

²¹⁴ Dem N A Num is also given as a possible order.

²¹⁵ Lee (1993,118) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) Nuac nang-na kuneng éréhéc i-mi néng-oc.
my son-1SG.GEN big.one two that-SPEC 1SG.OBJ.givePAST.2,3dl
'Those(dl) two big sons of mine gave it to me.'

²¹⁶ See the example given in Fabian, Fabian and Waters (1998,72):

(i) bo sobmaṅ tembe kwep ke
pig black big one that
'that big black pig'

²¹⁷ Stucky and Stucky (1976,37) provide one example:

(i) Na owu ping kembis olt kis tał ele
I dog black small long bad two these
'my two bad long small black dogs over there'

1974, §3.2.1; Ruhlen 2008, 1389)²¹⁸, **Muyu** (Zahrer 2019, and Alexander Zahrer, p.c.)²¹⁹, **Telefol** (Healey 1965, §1.0, §2.1), **Tifal** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Boush 1975, 43-44), **Yongkom** (Christensen 2013, §4.9.2 and §5.1)

Trans-New Guinea: DANI: Nggem (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Etherington 2002, 42), **Wano** (Burung 2017, §3.7)²²⁰, **Yali** (Riesberg 2017, §4.3)²²¹

Trans-New Guinea: DUNA: Duna (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - San Roque 2008, 128; also see Cochrane and Cochrane 1966, 7)

Trans-New Guinea: ANGAN: Baruya (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Lloyd 1989, 4, 95; also see Lloyd 1969, §4), **Menya** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - Whitehead 2004, 47)

Trans-New Guinea: MADANG: Amele (Croft and Deligianni 2001, 7), **Anamuxra** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 - Ingram 2001, 288; also see Ingram 2003, §7.2.1), **Bargam** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Hepner 2006, 91)²²², **Karam** (Pawley 1966, Chapter 7), **Bau** (Meer 2007, §5.1.1 and examples on pp. 21, 34f and passim)²²³, **Maia** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Hardin 2002, 93), **Mauwake** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - Berghäll 2010, 207; 2015, 231; also see Järvinen 1991, §5.1)²²⁴, **Nend** (Harris 1990, §§2.3.1 and 3.1), **Pamosu** (Tupper 2012, §4.8.1), **Siroi** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Wells 1979, 44; also see Reesink 1987, 215; Ruhlen 2008, 1442)²²⁵, **Usan** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Reesink 1987, 120), **Waskia** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Ross with Paol 1978, 38; also see Ruhlen 2008, 1455)²²⁶

Trans-New Guinea: MEK: Yale (Kosarek) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 - Heeschen 1992, 29)²²⁷

Trans-New Guinea: BINANDEREAN: Binandere (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Wilson 1996, 82), **Guhu-Samane** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Gamudze, Hadzata and King 2013, 25), **Korafe** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Farr 1999, 67), **Orokaiva** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary

²¹⁸ According to Fedden (2007) an adjective can also precede the N (giving A N (A) Num Dem as an alternative order).

²¹⁹ One of the sentences elicited from one of Alexander Zahrer's informants is given in (i)a. Alexander Zahrer reports (p.c.) that with a human head noun he got instead the rigid order N Num A Dem (see (i)b.):

- (i)a. Opnon kudok alop odo amtom-in.
evening good two that spoil-1SG
'I spoiled those two nice evenings.'
b. Tana alopmim kudok edo angg-od-ip.
child two good this sleep-DUR-3PL.SBJ
'These three nice children are sleeping.'

²²⁰ Burung (2017, 141) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) at ova anggwo yedok ki kena muni ta
he his-father his-pig large very three that specific
'his father's those three very big pigs' or 'those three very big pigs of his father's'

²²¹ Riesberg (2017, 19) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i)a. malik tot/toron piren ari
child small two this
'these two little children'

²²² Hepner (2006, 92) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) ...on geger baras-barasta gi-wa? dimdimun di?-ta na...
women two young-MOD their-appearance good INTNS-MOD that
'...those two beautiful young women whose appearance was very good...'

²²³ Adjectives can also precede the noun.

²²⁴ Järvinen (1991, 81) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) koorā maneka arrow nain
house big three that
'those three big houses'

²²⁵ Wells (1979, 44) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) nu tuku wande urfu-nu armba ta
he REL house old-ns two that
'those two old houses of his'

²²⁶ Nationality adjectives, however, precede the noun yielding the order A N Num Dem (Ross with Paol 1978, 38ff).

²²⁷ Demonstratives and adjectives can also be found preceding the noun (Campbell and Campbell 1987, §3.1.1).

Materials,26 - Healey, Isoroembo and Chittleborough 1969,49; also see Ruhlen 2008,1425)²²⁸, **Suena** (Wilson 1974,§6.1.1)

Trans-New Guinea: EAST KUTUBU: Foe (Rule 1977,69; Ruhlen 2008,1373)

Trans-New Guinea: ENGAN: Enga (Lang 1973,xxii; Lynch 1998,171; Franklin 2010,note 3)²²⁹, **Huli** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Lomas 1989,222; also see Rule 1977,69; Ruhlen 2008,1367), **Kyaka Enga** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Draper and Draper 2002,17,21; also see Ruhlen 2008,1368), **Lembena** (Heineman 1998,§5.1.3)

Trans-New Guinea: KAINANTU-GOROKA: Gahuku (Deibler 1976a,§3.4;1976b,§2.3.5 and §4.3.4)²³⁰, **Yaweyuha** (Deibler 1976a,9f)²³¹

Trans-New Guinea: EAST STRICKLAND: Odoodee (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Hays and Hays 2002,55)

Trans-New Guinea: KAMULA: Kamula (Routamaa 1994,§5.1)

Trans-New Guinea: BOSAVI: Edolo (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Gossner 1994,91), **Eibela** (Aiton 2016,§8.2), **Kaluli** (Grosh and Grosh 2004,§4.1), **Kasua** (Logan 1994,56)²³²

Arai-Kwomtari: ARAI: Ama (Årsjö 1999,94)

Baibai-Fas: FAS: Momu (Honeyman 2016,§5.1)

Koiaran: KOIARIAN: Barai (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Olson 1975,490)²³³, **Koiali (Mountain)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Garland and Garland 1975,434; also see Dutton 1969,156), **Koita** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Dutton 1975,315)²³⁴, **Managalasi** (Dutton 1969,156)

Timor-Alor-Pantar: GREATER ALOR: Abui (Saad 2020a,§4, 2020b,§4.4)²³⁵, **Adang** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,15 - Haan 2001,124; also see 332 and Chapter 7), **Blagar** (Steinhauer 2014,§4)²³⁶, **Bukalabang** (Steinhauer 2020,§4)²³⁷, **Bunaq** (Schapper 2009,Chapter 5), **East Fataluku** (van

²²⁸ Healey, Isoroembo and Chittleborough (1969,49) provide the following illustrative example:

(i) hasiwo pe-peni heriso orovi
knife pl.-big two that
'those two big knives'

²²⁹ Lynch (1998,171) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) akáli épé kitúmende dúpa
man good four those
'those four good men'

²³⁰ Colour adjectives precede the N (Deibler 1976a,10; 1976b,§2.3.5; Ruhlen 2008,1357). In Ruhlen (2008) Gahuku is given the order Dem N A Num (even though A, Num and Dem are given as postnominal for the Asaro dialect).

²³¹ Colour adjectives precede the N (Deibler 1976,10).

²³² Adjectives can also follow demonstratives.

²³³ N A Num Dem is also the order given in Oraro, Unini and Bradshaw (2015,§3.2.5), who also give an example with the order N Num A (with number 'one').

²³⁴ Adjectives of nationality however precede the N (Dutton 1975,315).

²³⁵ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials,15), citing Kratochvíl (2007,14), has the following footnote: "The formula in Kratochvíl (2007: 14) includes an item "Dem" at the end of the noun phrase. This denote (sic) "anaphoric demonstratives", while "Dei" at the beginning of the noun phrase denotes demonstratives used exophorically. I treat the latter as demonstratives for the purposes of this study." Also see pp.167f. Saad (2020a,295; 2020b,p.180, template (70), adapted from Kratochvíl, 2007,156) however give N A Num Dem as the canonical order of Abui.

²³⁶ Steinhauer (2014,178) gives (i) as an illustrative example:

(i) Bapa kuta-t ?amara ?ari=nu ta?mi ?apo
crocodile thick-GRAD very ten=on sea=in Dem.Low
'those ten very fat crocodiles down there in the sea'

²³⁷ Steinhauer (2020,163) gives (i) as an illustrative example:

(i) te bololu tuge gamo
tree high three DEM.LEVEL
'those three high trees over there'

Hengenlehoven and Huber 2020,§4)²³⁸, **Kaera** (Klamer 2014a,§4), **Kafoa** (Baird 2017,§4.1)²³⁹, **Klon** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Baird 2008,81)²⁴⁰, **Kui** (Windschuttel and Shiohara 2017,§4), **Kula** (Williams 2016,§2.4; 2017,§4), **Nedebang** (Schapper 2020,§4), **Reta** (Willemsen 2020,§4)²⁴¹ **Sawila** (Kratochvíl 2014,§4)²⁴², **Teiwa** (Klamer 2010, Chapter 5; 2014b,155)²⁴³, **Wersing** (Schapper and Hendery 2014,§4), **Western Pantar** (Holton 2014a,§2.5; Holton 2014b,§4), **Woisika (Kamang)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Schapper 2014,307; also see Schapper and Klamer 2011,2)
Lakes Plain: EAST LAKES PLAIN: Abawiri (Yoder 2020,§3.1.4)
Lakes Plain: TARIKU: Iau (Bateman 2021,§5.2)
Mairasi: MAIRASI: Mairasi (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,23 - Peckham 2000,108)
Dagan: DAGAN: Daga (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,18 - Murane 1974,89)
South-Central Papuan: YELMEK-MAKLEW: Yelmek (Gregor 2020,§5.5)
West Papuan: ABUN: Abun (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,15 - Berry and Berry 1999,67,69),
West Papuan: MAYBRAT: Maybrat (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Dol 1999,141, 2007,127; Brown 1990,47; also see Reesink 1996,9f)
West Papuan: HATAM: Hatam (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Reesink 1999,79)²⁴⁴

²³⁸ The authors give an example of N A Num=Neutral.Dem, saying that numerals “occupy the attributive slot, occurring after all other attributives” (p.380), and reporting that proximal and distal demonstratives occupy the same slot as neutral demonstratives (§4.2.2), which gives the overall order of N A Num Dem. They also reports the existence of a pre-nominal emphatic demonstrative, which gives the alternative order of Dem N A Num. East Fataluku thus appears to have orders different from that attributed to Fataluku by Dryer (2018). See under Fataluku.

²³⁹ Baird (2017,81) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) hi kikai kika leya aaku oho
 Chicken male.animal red big two that
 ‘those two big red roosters’

²⁴⁰ Baird (2008,87) provides the following illustrative example, among others:

(i) hi keek kikiik kulbin aal nuk yo
 chicken male.animal red old big one that
 ‘that one big old red rooster’

²⁴¹ Willemsen (2020,216) gives (i) as an illustrative example:

(i) kabiab abal atoga ʔaŋa
 goat white three NPROX
 ‘these three white goats’

²⁴² One of the examples given in Kratochvíl (2014,382) is reported in (i):

(i) [sen siila_{MOD} likka_{MOD} dana_{QUANT} angana_{DEM}]_{NP} iring
 chicken white large FIN.one DIST.DEF fly
 ‘that large white rooster flew...’

²⁴³ Klamer (2010,206) says that “Nouns with adjectival attributes can be further modified by numerals and demonstratives” giving the example in (i), where “the pronoun *ga’an* has a demonstrative function” (p.213):

(i) Quaf yas nuk ga’an a hafan me’...
 grandmother bad one Dem 3s village be.in
 ‘That one poor grandmother stayed in the village...’”

²⁴⁴ Reesink (1999,58) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) nab ni-ndig can di-ma
 pig 3SG-big two REL-that
 ‘those two big pigs’

N Num A Dem is also an attested order (Reesink 1999,58). See (ii):

(ii) nab ni-ngud can ni-ndig di-ma
 pig 3SG-CLF two 3SG-big REL-that
 ‘those two big pigs’

Donohue (1997,§3.5) gives N A Num as the (partial) order of Hatam.

West Papuan: NORTH HALMAHERAN: Tidore (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Van Staden 2000, 193)²⁴⁵, **Ternate** (Hayami-Allen 2001, §6.1)²⁴⁶, **Tobelo** (Holton 2003, 29 and 48; 2014, §2.5 and §3.1)

East New Britain: TAULIL: Tulil (Meng 2018, Chapters 5 and 7)

West Papuan: WEST BIRD'S HEAD: Tehit (Reesink 1996, §4.1)²⁴⁷

West Papuan: EAST BIRD'S HEAD: Meyah (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - (Gilles) Gravelle 2004, 167, 176; 2010, 145, 151), **Moi** (Gasser 2019, 39)²⁴⁸, **Moskona** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - (Gloria) Gravelle 2010, 215), **Sougb** (Reesink 1996, 10; Reesink 2002, §4.1)²⁴⁹

Skou: KRISA: I'saka (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20- Donohue and San Roque 2004, 90)

Skou: SERRA HILLS: Poko-Rawo (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Dryer's fieldwork), **Barupu** (Corris 2005, 134)

Skou: SKOU: Skou (Donohue 2004, §8.1), **Wutung** (Marmion 2010, Chapter 7 and p.272)

Toricelli: WAPEI-PALEI: Au (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - Scorza 1985: 240; also see Scorza 1976, §3.1.1.3), **Olo** (Staley 1995, 47; 2007, 28), **One** (Donohue 2000, 9)²⁵⁰, **Walman** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - own data), **Yeri** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 - Wilson 2017, 303; and Jennifer Wilson, p.c.)

Toricelli: KOMBIO-ARAPESH: Kombio (Henry 1992, 74, ex. (493) and 88, ex. (583))²⁵¹,

Toricelli: URIM: Urim (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Hemmilä and Luoma 1987, 122ff)²⁵²,

Toricelli: MARIENBERG: Kamasau (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Sanders and Sanders 1994, 6)

Border: BEWANI: Kilmeri (Gerstner-Link 2004, 80 and p.c.)

Sepik: RAMU-LOWER SEPIK: Hewa (Vollrath 1982, §4.2), **Kopar** (Foley 2022a, 59), **Murik** (Foley 2022b, 560)²⁵³ **Mwakai** (Barlow 2020b, 79), **Pondi** (Barlow 2020a, §6.1), **Ulwa** (Barlow 2018, §9.2)

²⁴⁵ Van Staden (2000, 122) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) Ngofa kene ngaruha nde gahi akal lau!
 child small clf.four 3nh.here make trick too
 'These four small children are just too naughty!'

²⁴⁶ N Num A Dem is an alternative order in Ternate (Hayami-Allen 2001, 135).

²⁴⁷ See (i):

- (i) na w-aa hnyo mres-w w-aqo-w
 man 3sM-REL good one-3sM 3sM-that[mentioned]-3sM
 'that one good man already mentioned'

Reesink (1996, 9) also gives for Tehit (with an anaphoric demonstrative) an example with the order N Num A Dem, which is the order given by Flassy (1991, §3.1.1) as the canonical order of Tehit:

- (ii) mqaŋ qayn tolik-y y-ii fle y-eke-y
 dog CLASS three-3p 3p-REL big 3p-DEM(anaphor)-3p
 'those three big dogs that were already mentioned'

In the same section Reesink (1996) states that "all of the languages of the West Papuan Phylum and almost all of the Torricelli languages as well as the Austronesian languages of the Cenderawasih Bay have as general order: N-Adjective-(Classifier)-Numeral-Determiner" (p.8).

²⁴⁸ Menick (1995, 68) reports the order N A Num and Menick (2000, 14) gives an example with the order N Num Dem.

²⁴⁹ Reesink (2002, 246) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) ketmei mougrei hwai gae
 knife small two those
 'those two small knives'

²⁵⁰ Donohue (2000, 9) reports that while the order of demonstratives, numerals and adjectives can apparently be either pre- or post-nominal, when a relative clause is present it gets very rigidly fixed as: NP → N Adj Num Poss'n RC Dem. The same order is found in the northern One dialects Onnele Wolwale (Pehrson, with Musi and Malan 2016, §3.7), Onnele Goiniri (Pehrson, with Pusai and Mokou. 2018, §3.6).

²⁵¹ Dem may also precede Num (Henry 1992, §5.2.1).

²⁵² Hemmilä and Luoma (1987, 122) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) wel watet wail-en wekg pa
 bird red big-ATR two Dem
 'those two big red birds'

²⁵³ Foley (2022b, 560) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) ira(n)-moara ap-aara keronggo e-ra
 house-PC big-PC three PROX-PC

Sepik: KARAWARI: Yimas (Foley 1986,85f; Rijkhoff 2002,97f)
Sepik: NUKUMA: Mende (Hoel, Ikaheimonen and Nozawa 1994,§4.1.1)
Sepik: SANIO: Yoliapi (Cochran 1968,§2.1; Ruhlen 2008,1526)
Sepik: ABAU: Abau (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials - Lock 2011,77,106,109)
Sepik: YELLOW RIVER: Namia (2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Feldpausch and Feldpausch 1992,51)
Australian: DALY: Murrinhpatha (Walsh 1997,272f)²⁵⁴, **Marrithiyel** (Green 1997,246f)²⁵⁵
Australian: PAMA-NYUNGAN: Kugu Nganhcara (2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Smith and Johnson 2000,388; also see Johnson 1988,108), **Kuuk Thaayorre** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Gaby 2006,277; 2017,195; 297-98)²⁵⁶, **Arrernte (Mparntwe)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Wilkins 1989,102,418), **Ngaanyatjarra** (2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Douglas 1964,85), **Western Desert Language** (Douglas 1958,71f; Ruhlen 2008,1636), **Watjarri** (Douglas 1981,§4.2.1)²⁵⁷, **Wik-Mungkan** (Ruhlen 2008,1586; Ray 2021,§7.1)
Siouan: WESTERN SIOUAN: Assiniboine (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Cumberland 2005,384)²⁵⁸, **Hidatsa** (Boyle 2007,Chapter 3 and Park 2012,§10.2), **Hocank (Winnebago)** (Helmbrecht 2004/2006,§2.3)²⁵⁹, **Lakhota** (2018,Supplementary Materials, ; also see Van Valin 1977,60)²⁶⁰, **Mandan** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Mixco 1997,21,38)²⁶¹, **Omaha** (Rudin 1993,366f; Eschenberg 2005,17)²⁶²
Muskogean: WESTERN MUSKOGEAN: Chickasaw (Munro and Billerey-Mosier 2011,1394; Dryer 2018,810; Munro 2020,§1)²⁶³, **Choctaw** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Nicklas 1979,27-28)²⁶⁴
Cochimi-Yuman: YUMAN: (Northern) Diegueño (Seiler 2000,152; Ruhlen 2008,1791), **Kiliwa** (Mixco 2000,25), **Mojave** (Munro 2020,§1)²⁶⁵

‘these three big houses’

²⁵⁴ Blythe (2009,102) however gives N A Dem Num as the canonical order.

²⁵⁵ To judge from Blythe (2009,§6.1.2) where Murriny Patha (sic) is reported as having N A Dem Num and from Green’s (1997,246) description of the Marrithiyel noun phrase, both languages may have the alternative order N A Dem Num. Also see Louagie (2017,196) for the orders N A Num Dem and N A Dem Num of Marrithiyel.

²⁵⁶ Gaby (2006, Chapter 6) and Louagie (2017,198) also give N Num A Dem as a possible order of the language.

²⁵⁷ An alternative order is Num N A Dem.

²⁵⁸ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,16fn7) reads: “The formula given by Cumberland (2005: 384) shows quantifiers (including numerals) either preceding or following a demonstrative, but p. 367 explains that N-Dem-Num order involves partitive meaning (‘three of those ...’) while N-Num-Dem involves the meaning relevant to this study (‘those three ...’).” Ruhlen (2008,1704) gives the partial order N Num A (an example of which is also given in Cumberland 2005,388) and reports the possibility for the demonstrative to also precede the N.

²⁵⁹ An alternative order of Hocank is N A Dem Num. Nationality and classificatory adjectives precede the Noun (Rosen 2015,§3.2.3) giving the order A N Num Dem/Dem Num.

²⁶⁰ Ruhlen (2008,1705) gives for the Teton dialect demonstratives before the N.

²⁶¹ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,23fn23) says “Although the formula given by Mixco (1997: 38) does not include adjectives, it is clear that adjectives precede numerals in Mandan, since p. 38 that the definite article enclitic attaches to relative clauses (and this includes semantic adjectives (p. 21)), while the formula on p. 38 shows the definite article clitic preceding quantifiers (including numerals).”

²⁶² This is an order found especially in polydefinite NPs (where an article follows each modifier), though the demonstrative can also precede the head N (Rudin 1993,364f). N Dem Num is also a possible order, actually given by Koontz (1984,164), as reported in Rudin (1993,364), as the basic order.

²⁶³ Munro (2020,2) gives (i)a. as an illustrative example for the order N A Num Dem, noting that the order N A Dem Num is also possible (cf. (i)b.):

- (i)a. holisso homma tochchí’na yamm-a/ako
book be.red be.three that-acc/contr.acc
‘those three red books [object]’
b. holisso homma yamm-a tochchí’na-ho
book be.red that-acc be.three-foc.ds
‘those three red books’ (object)

She further notes that “[h]omma ‘be red’ is an adjectival verb used here as a modifier; *tochchí’na* ‘be three’ is also a verb, marked for switch-reference.” (p.2,fn6)

²⁶⁴ N Num A Dem appears to be an alternative order (Broadwell 1990,§2.1 and Broadwell 2006,§5.1).

²⁶⁵ Munro (2020,2) gives (i) as an illustrative example:

Tupian: TUPI-GUARANI: Kokama-Kokamilla (Vallejos 2010,§5.1)²⁶⁶

Chibchan: TALAMANCA: Bribri (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Margery Peña 1982, xxvii)²⁶⁷, **Cabécar** (Quesada 1999,232; 2007,79)²⁶⁸

Chibchan: GUAYMIIC: Ngäbere (Ngäbe or Guaymí) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Quesada Pacheco 2008,147-149)²⁶⁹

Chibchan: CHIBCHAN PROPER: Tunebo (Quesada 2007,145)²⁷⁰

Macro-Jê: GE-KAINGANG: Parkatêjê (Ferreira 2003,150; Ferreira 2005,75)

Eskimo-Aleut: ESKIMO: West Greenlandic (Fortescue 1984,118; Rijkhoff 2002,326)²⁷¹

CREOLE (PORTUGUESE BASED): Fa d'Ambu (Post 1995,201f; Haddican 2002; Rijkhoff 2008,802; Hagemeyer et al. 2020,Chapter 7)

CREOLES (MALAY BASED): Ambonese Malay (van Minde 1997,§4.1)²⁷², **Papuan Malay** (Kluge 2014,Chapter 8; 2017,Chapter 8; Harms and Kluge 2014,§1)²⁷³, **Ternate Malay** (Litamahuputy 2012, Chapter 4)²⁷⁴

(i) kapel 'ahwaat hamok hovaachva
book be.red be.three those
'those three red books'

²⁶⁶ Cabral (1995,§4.3.2) attributes to Kokama the orders Dem Num A N and Dem Num N A.

²⁶⁷ Sara Pacchiarotti provided the following example (from Alí García Segura p.c.):

(i) tchabë spöpō tchëtöm äwi
snake green four:CL:LONG that.DIST
'those four green snakes'

²⁶⁸ Quesada (1999,232) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) sálkoló dolóna bō-tkō jé
spider black two-CL.FLAT DEM
'those two black spiders'

²⁶⁹ On the other hand Murillo Miranda (2008,84f; 2009,§2.1) gives the order N Num A Dem (and Dem N Num A as a possible, less frequent, order). See the illustrative example given by Murillo Miranda in (i). An example with the order N Num A is also given in Smith Sharp and Zamora (1979,128) for the Nobere dialect of Guaymí.

(i) nu ti gwe Krä-jätä Krä se (cf. Miranda 2009,59)
perro 1sg pos cfl.animal-diez flaco aquel
lit. dogs my CLF-ten slim these'
'these ten slim dogs of mine'

²⁷⁰ A possible alternative order is N Num A Dem.

²⁷¹ West Greenlandic also has N A Dem Num as an alternative order (if Num is focused). See the two possibilities given in Fortescue (1984,118) (also see Rischel 1971 and Manlove 2015):

(i)a. qimmi-t qaqrutu-t marluk taakku
dog-PL white-PL two.PL those.PL
'those (two white dogs)'
b. qimmi-t qaqrutu-t taakku marluk
dog-PL white-PL those.PL two.PL
'those two (white dogs)'

²⁷² An alternative order is Dem Num N A.

²⁷³ Harms and Kluge (2014,54) provide the following illustrative example:

(i) ana kecil satu ini
[[[child] be.small] one] D.PROX]
'this one small child'

Numerals can also precede the noun (yielding the order Num N A Dem, which is the order in fact attributed to Papuan Malay by Mark Donohue in the SSWL archive). Paauw (2008,155 and 184) gives instead the order N Num A Dem, and Dem Num N A is also a possible order apparently. See

<http://sswl.railsplayground.net/browse/languages/Papuan%20Malay>

²⁷⁴ To judge from pp. 78 and 80, when they follow, adjectives, numerals and demonstratives appear in the order N A Num Dem. The author says that they can also precede (with some meaning bhumtang es), although the examples do not permit to establish the pre-nominal relative order.

SIGN LANGUAGE: Italian Sign Language (Bertone 2006,83; 2009,22f; Brunelli 2011)²⁷⁵
SIGN LANGUAGE: Cambodian Sign Language (Woodward, Bradford, Sokchea and Samath 2015,171 and James Woodward, p.c.)
SIGN LANGUAGE: Ha Noi Sign Language (Woodward, Nguyen, Nguyen, Nguyen, Nguyen and Nguyen 2015,345 and James Woodward, p.c.)²⁷⁶
SIGN LANGUAGE: Ho Chi Minh City Sign Language (Woodward, Nguyen, Nguyen, Le, Luu and Ho 2015,402 and James Woodward, p.c.)
SIGN LANGUAGE: Modern Thai Sign Language (Woodward, Danthanavanich and Janyawong 2015,642 and James Woodward, p.c.)
SIGN LANGUAGE: Original Bangkok Sign Language (Woodward and Suwanarat 2015,683 and James Woodward, p.c.)
SIGN LANGUAGE: Original Chiang Mai Sign Language (Woodward and Wongchai 2015 and James Woodward, p.c.)
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Bangime (Hantgan 2013, Chapter 7 and Abbie Hantgan, p.c.)²⁷⁷
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Mpur (Reesink 1996,10; Odé 2002,§6.8)
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Kol (Dunn, Reesink and Terrill 2002,36)²⁷⁸
LANGUAGE ISOLATE (Oklahoma): Tonkawa (Wier 2016,§3.1.2 and 4.1)
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Laal (Lionnet 2021,§3.3)

Dem-Num-A-N (Ca): 451 lgs, 115 genera

Afro-Asiatic: SEMITIC: Harari (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,20 – Mitiku 2013,478; also see Mitiku 2004,63,69), **Syrian Arabic** (Croft and Deligianni 2001,7)²⁷⁹
Afro-Asiatic: ETHIO-SEMITIC: Amharic (Beermann and Ephrem 2007,26; Workneh 2011,§2.4.1; Zeller 2020,70)²⁸⁰, **Argobba** (Wetter 2010,Chapter 6; Getahun 2018,145)²⁸¹, **Chaha** (Ford 1986,§10; Degif Petros Banksira,p.c.)²⁸², **Ezha** (Assefa 2010,75 and 81; 2014,§5.1; 2016,61), **Ge'ez** (Belesti Abawa 2014,43f),

²⁷⁵ In addition to N A Num Dem, which is the normal order, also N Num A Dem, Dem N A Num, and Dem N Num A are also possible (Bertone 2009,22f). Mantovan (2015,176) found in her corpus Num N A Dem to be the most frequent order of Italian Sign Language. Also see Mantovan and Geraci (2017).

²⁷⁶ James Woodward says (p.c.) that Ha Noi Sign Language and Ho Chi Minh City Sign Language are distinct languages and that there is no one Vietnamese Sign Language as such.

²⁷⁷ A possible alternative order is N Num A Dem.

²⁷⁸ A possible alternative order is N Num A Dem (Dunn, Reesink and Terrill 2002,36).

²⁷⁹ Croft and Deligianni (2001,7) give Dem A N Num as an alternative order of Syrian Arabic. For Chahristan (1991, Chapter 5) adjectives and numerals necessarily follow the N in Syrian Arabic, while demonstratives may either precede or follow, thus presumably giving Dem N A Num and N A Num Dem as alternative orders.

²⁸⁰ Zeller (2020,70) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) innāñña-n sost tällik' bet-otʃtʃ (ayyā-hu).
 those-ACC three big house-PL see-1SG
 'I saw) those three big houses.'

²⁸¹ Getahun (2018,145) gives an example of the overall order:

(i) inno ə-k'əmərə hət'et gudədər ə-t'it' səro-čč
 those GEN-Kemera two long.PL GEN-cotton dress-PL
 'Those two long cotton dresses of Kemera'

²⁸² Chaha is considered a member of the Gurage group of languages. Degif Petros Banksira reports (p.c.) that the unmarked order is Dem Num A N (as in (i)a) (this is also the order given in Ford 1986,§10, 1991,§10.1). He also says that when a definite suffix is added to the adjective both Dem Num A N ((i)b) and Dem A Num N ((i)c) are possible orders (the latter being the preferred one):

(i)a. za sost wəxe bet
 that/those three nice house
 b. za sost wəxe-jə bet
 that/those three nice-def. house
 c. za wəxe-jə sost bet
 that/those nice-def. three house
 'those three nice houses'

Gumer (Völlmin 2017, Chapter 4 and p.c.)²⁸³, **Kistaninna (Soddo)** (Tesfaye 1990, §3.2.1.1; Pascalau 2015, §3.7)²⁸⁴, **Mesqan** (Ousman Shafi 2019, §3), **Tigrinya** (Gebregziabher 2012, 168 and Keffyalew Gebregziabher, p.c. and Tesfay Tewolde, p.c.)²⁸⁵, **Wolane** (Meyer 2006, §4.2.1; also see Meyer 2010, 141) **Afro-Asiatic: NORTH OMOTIC: Gamo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Taylor 1994, 59), **Kafi Noonoo** (Tesfaye Tekle 2012, Chapter 5)²⁸⁶, **Kullo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Allan 1976a, 328), **Northern Mao** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Ahland 2012, 309), **Wolaytta (Wolaitta)** (Adams 1983, §6.1; Lamberti and Sottile 1997, 215; Amha 2001, 814; Ruhlen 2008, 500; Belay Tebabal 2010, §3.7)²⁸⁷, **Yemsa** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 - Lamberti 1993, 270), **Zargulla** (Baye Yimam 1995, §3.1), **Zaysete** (Bogale 2017, §6.1.1.2.1 and §8.1.1) **Afro-Asiatic: SOUTH OMOTIC: Dime** (Seyoum 2008, §7.1)²⁸⁸, **Hamer** (Joswig 2011b, §3.6)²⁸⁹, **Kara** (Belete 2018, §8.4.1)²⁹⁰

²⁸³ Sascha Völlmin provided the following example from one of his informants, saying that the informant rejected any other word order:

zi ammist t'ik'wir bet
DEM five black house
'these five black houses'

²⁸⁴ Adjectives can also be found preceding numerals.

²⁸⁵ According to Gebregziabher and Esayas (2003, 41) demonstratives generally appear pre-nominally, in which case “they usually substitute the deictic article in D^o”. Otherwise they appear finally with an article appearing initially (art Num A N Dem). This situation recalls the case of Spanish (where the alternation Dem (Num) N A and art (Num) N (A) Dem (A) obtains, with the first being deictic and the second only anaphoric).

For Tesfay Tewolde, who provides the following illustrative example, the unmarked order is art Num A N Dem:

- (i) ?itän sälästä milkuḥat ?anisti ?iti?en
the (3fpl) three beautiful women those (3fpl)
"those three beautiful women"

In Rayya Tigrinya the order given by Dagnew Mache (2019, §4.3.1) and Weldezgu Mehari (2021, §6.2.1.1) is Dem Num A N, illustrated with the following examples:

- (ii)a. ?ita ḥanti d-motət χ'ajah laḥmi (Dagnew Mache 2019, 77)
that:3SF one:f that-died:F red:F cow
b. mis-?iz-i-om ?arbaḥtə ḥas's'ər-t səb-at (Weldezgu Mehari 2021, 232)
P-Dem-3MSG-3MPL four short-PL person-PL
'with these four short persons'

²⁸⁶ Adjectives can also follow the N for special emphasis (Tesfaye 2012, 56).

²⁸⁷ Lamberti and Sottile (1997, 215) give this illustrative example:

- (i) he [taa- w kuttuwa ehida] iccashu adussa laagge-t-I
those me-dat chicken having-brought five tall friend-PL-NOM
'those five tall friends who brought me a chicken'

²⁸⁸ This is the order one gets from Seyoum's examples, by transitivity, when all of demonstrative numeral and adjective precede the noun. Seyoum (2008, §7.1) says that adjectives, numerals and demonstratives may also follow the head N but does not specify in which order.

²⁸⁹ An alternative order is N Dem Num A. Joswig (2011: 13) reports that “in Hamer the noun can be at the end or the beginning of the noun phrase. The other elements need to come in the fixed order demonstrative – numeral – adjective. Therefore, the following two orders of the noun-phrase are possible: demonstrative-numeral-adjectives-noun; noun-demonstrative-numeral-adjectives.” Also see Petrollino (2016a, §7.2; 2016b) for the order N Dem A and N Num.

²⁹⁰ Alternative orders are Dem N Num A and N Dem Num A (Belete 2018, 212f). The author specifies that “Noun modifiers like demonstrative, numeral and adjective can co-occur in a noun phrase. In such a case, the order of these modifiers with respect to each other is fixed, but, flexible with respect to the noun. The fixed order of modifiers is represented as: **demonstrative-numeral- adjective**. As can be seen in the following examples, the noun can occur preceding or following this fixed order of modifiers, and it may also occur between the demonstrative and the numeral modifiers:

- (i)a. kina lama-na guduḥi-na naa-na
DEM:PL two-PL tall-PL child-PL
b. naa-na kina lama-na guduḥi-na
child-PL DEM:PL two-PL tall-PL
c. kina naa-na lama-na guduḥi-na
DEM:PL child-PL two-PL tall-PL
“these two tall boys”

Afro-Asiatic: CENTRAL CUSHITIC: Awngi (Tadesse 1984, §2.3.7; Berhanu 2020, 114)²⁹¹, **Khimt'anga (Xamtanga)** (Teshome Belay 2011, §4.5.4; 2015, §9.2.7; Darmon, 2015, §4.6.8)²⁹²

Afro-Asiatic: EASTERN CUSHITIC: Afar (Bliese 1981, 106, passim; Hassan Kamil 2015, 214), **Alaaba** (Schneider-Blum 2007, 139f; 2009, 78)²⁹³, **Gedeo** (Tesfaye Baye Assefa 2010, 55; Eyob Kelemework 2015, 336; Dawit Tilahun Jembere 2019, §6.3)²⁹⁴, **Hadiyya** (Sim 1989, §2.2.4)²⁹⁵, **K'abeena** (Crass 2005, §9.3.2), **Saho** (Tsegay Muhur Gidey 2010, 39f; Safisa 2008, 46; 2010, 39)²⁹⁶, **Sidaama** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Kawachi 2007, 513; also see Kawachi 2011, 27; and Teferra 2014, §4.1; 2015, §4.2.1)²⁹⁷

Nilo-Saharan: SURMIC (or isolate): Chabu (Shabo) (Kibebe Tshay Taye 2015, §11.1.2 and p.245)²⁹⁸

²⁹¹ See, for example:

(i) a. an-i laNa sark-Ika aq-ka (Tadesse 1984, 34)

‘those two black men’

b. ïnni walta safelka sirasri (Berhanu 2020, 114)

‘these six young children’

²⁹² Teshome Belay (2015, 305) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) i-zzaj adəru-t-k'w liŋə sər-k'w guləfə tatinə dʒiβ-Ø-ək'w fitf'ir-d nitf'ir-diz-Ø-i-ŋ-u

DIST-PL Aderu-GEN-PL two red-PL Guleshe yesterday buy-PRV-3PL.REL goat.PL-DEF today get.lost-3-EP-3PL-PRV

‘Those two red goats that Guleshe bought yesterday got lost today.’

²⁹³ Schneider-Blum (2009, 78) provides the following example:

(i) kan(i) saso t'uma meentaaka

‘these three nice women’

²⁹⁴ Dawit Tilahun Jembere (2019, 246) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) ikki dʒaan-i lum-oll-i manni (~ mann-uww-i)

this.NOM.M six-NOM.M big-PL-NOM man.PL (man-PL-NOM.M)

‘those six big men.’

Eyob Kelemework (2015, 337) says that demonstratives (and more rarely adjectives) can also follow the N.

²⁹⁵ Sim claims that apart from the final position of the noun, the order of pre-nominal modifiers is rather free, but most of the examples in fact have Dem Num A N order and where Num precedes Dem and A the interpretation may well be partitive (three of those tall...). Tadesse Sibamo (2015, §8.8.1) reports the possibility in Hadiyya of the following orders Dem Rel Num A N (see (i) below), Dem Num Rel A N, Dem Rel A Num N, which may suggest that adjectives can also enter a reduced relative clause.

(i) ʔoo=beebálla waar-am-ú-kkǐ lámǐ kadaállǐ ʔoós-ǐ (Tadesse Sibamo 2015, 214)

those.NOM=yesterday come-3PL-PV-ASM.REL two white child-NOM

‘those two white children who came yesterday’

²⁹⁶ Safisa (2008, 46) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) toy adoha udud numa

those three short woman

‘those three short women’

²⁹⁷ Kawachi (2011, 27) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) hakku/hakkuri lam-u kolid-d-u dangur-í ise la'-'-ino hand-i

that.m.nom/that.m.pl.nom two-nom.m black-pl-nom.m Dangura-gen.prop.m 3sg.f.nom see-3sg.f-perf.3 oxen-nom.m.mod

‘those two black oxen of Dagura that she saw’

²⁹⁸ Also see Teferra (1991, §4.1) for the order Num A_{size} A_{colour} N.

Niger-Congo: IJOID: Defaka (Bennett, Akinlabi, Connell and Essien 2011, §3.1; 2012; Zeller 2020,70)²⁹⁹, **Ijo** (Williamson 1969,43 and 67), **Kalabari** (Harry and Hyman 2014, §3)³⁰⁰, **Nkoroo** (Will Bennett, p.c.; Obikudo 2016,33 and Ebitare Obikudo, p.c.)³⁰¹

Niger-Congo: NORTHERN ATLANTIC: Arigidi (Oshòdì 2011, §5.6 and Bólúwají Oshòdì, p.c.) **Ògè** (Adénúgà 2019, §4; Priscilla Adénúgà, p.c.)³⁰²

Khoisan: KHOE //Ani (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,15 - Heine 1999: 34), **lGánà** (Letsholo 2011,112), **Nama (Khoekhoe)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Hagman 1977,21)³⁰³, **Khwe** (Kilian-Hatz 2008, §3.4)³⁰⁴, **!Ora (Korana)** (Ruhlen 2008,9)

Indo-European: ARMENIAN: (Eastern) Armenian (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Dum-Tragut 2009,599, Stevick 1955,56; also see Donabédian 2000:41; Rijkhoff 2002,310; Hodgson 2013,3; 2019, §2.1.1.1)³⁰⁵

Indo-European: INDIC: Assamese (Asamiya) (Kakati 1973, §5.142; Goswami and Tamuli 2003, §13.3; Kidwai & Sutradhar n.d.)³⁰⁶, **Bagri** (Gusain 1999,74ff)³⁰⁷, **Bangru** (Singh 1959, §4.32 and §7.20; Ruhlen 2008,628), **Bengali (Bangla)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Thompson 2010,299; 2012,127; also see Bhattacharya 1998,226; 1999,Chapter 2; Guha 2017, §2.1, Syed 2017, §1.4)³⁰⁸, **Bhojpuri** (Lohar 2020,270)³⁰⁹, **Brajhasha** (Gopalakrishnan 2011,190), **Brokskat** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 -

²⁹⁹ Zeller (2020,70) gives the following example:

- (i) nùmà mààmà gògòrì r̄gì
 those two red axe
 ‘those two red axes’

Bennett, Akinlabi, Connell, and Essien (2011, §5) however report that while Defaka numerals 1 through 19 precede the noun, 20 and higher numerals follow the noun (Dem A N Num). Will Bennett, p.c., tells me that the same situation holds in Nkoroo, and possibly throughout Ijoid. In fact this is confirmed for Nkoroo by Obikudo (2016, §1.1.2.1).

³⁰⁰ Harry and Hyman (2014,662) illustrate this order with the following example:

- (i) má sònà ìbì mìnjì kùkú
 Dem five good water pots
 ‘these five good water pots’

³⁰¹ “From 20 and above, the cardinals occur after the nouns they modify.” (Obikudo 2016,31), thus giving the order Dem A N Num.

³⁰² Adenuga (2019,95) gives the following example:

- (i) òtúro ígè ìyí ìhòhò áchó
 PL Dem two white cloth
 ‘those two white cloths’

³⁰³ This is also the order given in Hagman (1973,41), Haacke (1976), who also reports the existence of other orders, and Witzlack-Makarevich (2006, §3.3.1).

³⁰⁴ An emphatic alternative order is: Dem Num N A (p.195).

³⁰⁵ See, for ex., (i), from Hodgson (2013,3):

- (i) ajs jerku (hat) vrats^hakan jerg-er-ə
 DEM1 two (CLF_{piece}) Georgian song-PL-DEF
 ‘these two Georgian songs’

Hilda Koopman and Sona Haroutyunian (p.c.) report that in Eastern Armenian N A is possible only in poetry but Dem N A (in addition to Dem A N) is fine. Hodgson (2013,4) reports that in addition to the canonical Dem Num A N the order N Dem Num N is also possible.

³⁰⁶ Kakati (1963,207) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) ei tini zoni dhunia oxomia soali
 these three CLF beautiful Assamese girls
 Dem A N Num is also a possible order.

³⁰⁷ The adjective can be first if specially emphatic (Gusain 1999,75).

³⁰⁸ See the illustrative example in (i), provided by Bhattacharya (1999,55). An alternative order if the DP is specific is Dem A N Num (Bhattacharya 1998,2f; 1999,Chapter 2). The order Num A N Dem is also possible (Bhattacharya 1999,56).

- (i) ei tin-Te Sobuj boi
 this 3-CLA green books
 ‘these three green books’

³⁰⁹ Chandan Kumar (p.c.) provided the following illustrative example:

- (i) hæu/u ʈin-o ʃ^hot-kən kitəb-wən

Ramaswami 1982,86), **Bundeli** (Jain 2010,73), **Chinali** (Sharma 1991,§13.2.1.1), **Chitoniya Tharu** (Paudyal 2014,§4.2.4 and §9.3.4), **Dakkhini** (Mustafa 2000,§6.1), **Dameli** (Perder 2013,Chapters 10 and 15), **Dangaura Tharu** (Paudyal 2022,Chapt.7), **Darai** (Dhakal 2012,§4.2.4), **Dhivehi** (Fritz 2002)³¹⁰, **Gojri** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Losey 2002,107; also see Sharma 1982,§4.1.1), **Gujarati** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Doctor 2004,77), **Hindi** (Sahai and Narayan 1964; Kakhrū 1966,§4.0)³¹¹, **Hindko** (Bashir et al. 2019,§9.1.1.2), **Kalami** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Baart 1999,25f; also see Baart and Sagar 2002,13)³¹², **Kangri** (Eaton 2008, §9.1.4 and p. 204), **Kashmiri** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Wali and Koul 1997,103; also see Koul 2003,§6.1.2), **Konkani** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Almeida 1985,234)³¹³, **Kumauni** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Apte and Pattanayak 1967,61), **Lamani** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Trail 1970,83; also see Trail 1968,§4.1)³¹⁴, **Maithili** (Yadav 1996, §3.4), **Magahi** (Chandan Kumar, p.c.)³¹⁵,

those three.Part. small-specificity.PL book.Def.PL

‘those three small books’

³¹⁰ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,19fn.14) reads: “The statements in Cain and Gair (2000: 33) and Cain (2000: 78) only make it clear that the numeral immediately precedes the noun in Dhivehi, without explicitly stating that the demonstrative precedes the adjective (although it does in the one example they cite [see (i),G.C.]). However, Gnanadesikan (2017: 194) is explicit about the demonstrative preceding the adjective.”

(i) mi rangalu tin fot

this good three book

‘these three good books’

Gnanadesikan (2017, Chapter 10) also states that the order is Dem A Num N saying however that “occasionally the numeric quantifier is found before an adjective” (p.192). And Fritz (2001), in her texts with interlinear analysis in the second volume of Materials, in addition to one example with the order Dem A Num N ((15)a, where the numeral ‘two’ and the noun seem to make up a unit = couple), gives two examples with the order Num A N ((15)b and c) (as well as examples where the demonstrative precedes the numeral, not reported here)

(15)a. ..varaṣ fakīri fakīri de mafīriakāmen.. (1, p.80)

..very poor poor two woman-(with)-a-man-together

‘..a very poor couple..’

b. ..fas mā mule.. (23, p.112)

..five big root..

‘..in five big roots..’

c. .. hat firi hen kūdun.. (17, p.117, and 63, p.126)

..seven male sort children..

‘..seven boys (lit. "seven male children")’

It is thus at least possible that (pace Cain 2000, Cain and Gair 2000 and Gnanadesikan 2017) the order Dem A Num N is an alternative order alongside Dem Num A N, i.e. not the only order attested. Given that (restrictive) participial relative clauses are also pre-nominal in Dhivehi and that restrictive pre-nominal relatives often occur in head-final languages between the demonstrative and the numeral, it could well be that the order Dem A Num N has the adjective in a reduced relative clause. In any event the question deserves further scrutiny before any firm conclusion can be drawn.

³¹¹

(i) rəm-ke pəpə-ke ve ʃin purne juṭe (,65)

ram.GEN father-GEN those three old.PL shoe.PL

‘the three old shoes of Ram’s father’

³¹² Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,21 fn18) adds: “In definite noun phrases, the order of numeral, adjective and noun is Num-Adj-N, while in indefinite noun phrases the order is Adj-Num-N.”

³¹³ Almeida (1985,234f) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) tī ċ a:r kalī b^hou berī mama-n v^hertā m^hen-lelī amčī mejā

those four black very good uncle-instr take-1 sg.pres say-3 pl.n.Ple our tables

‘those four excellent black tables of ours which uncle said he would take’

³¹⁴ Trail (1968,122) provides the following example:

(i) e ek moṭi goḍi

this one big mare

³¹⁵ Chandan Kumar (p.c.) provided the following illustrative example:

(i) həu ʃin-o ʃ^hotə-ka kiṭəb-wa

DEM. three-Partitive small-specificity/def. book.def.

‘those three small books’

Marathi (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - Pandharipande 1997, 157, Dhongde and Wali 2009, 195; also see Sonar (1979, §3.1)³¹⁶, **Marwari** (Mukherjee 2011a, 94 and §5.1.1), **Mewati** (Srivastava 2011, 312), **Nasinu Fiji Hindi** (Prasad 2016, §4.1.1), **Nepali** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Acharya 1990, 98, 100; 1991, 98, 100; also see Toba 1998, 68), **Outer Siraji** (Sharma 2003, §2.5), **Palula** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Liljegren 2008, 245; 2016, 280), **Panjabi** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Gill and Gleason 1963, 167), **Potwari** (Nazir 2014, 130), **Rājbanshi** (Wilde 2008, §7.2.1), **Rana Tharu** (Dhakal 2015, Chapter 3), **Saraiki** (Bashir et al. 2019, §9.1.1.2), **(Gurezi) Shina** (Ahmed 2017, §2.2; 2019, §5.1.2)³¹⁷, **Surgujia** (Shubert 2018, §6.1.1)³¹⁸, **Torwali** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Lunsford 2001, 4[7])³¹⁹, **Urdu** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Z. Faquih pc), **Varli** (Abraham and Abraham 2012, §2.5), **Wagdi** (Phillips 2012, 69)
Indo-European: ROMANI:³²⁰ **Albanian Romani** (Tirard 2019, 103), **Lithuanian Romani** (Tenser 2005, §2.6 and §4.7), **Mitrovica Roma** (Leggio 2011, §4.3), **Romanes (Sinte)** (Holzinger 1995, 29), **Vlax Romani** (Rijkhoff 1998, 343; 2002, 310)
Indo-European: NURISTANI: Waigali (Degener 1998, 219-227)³²¹
Indo-European: IRANIAN: Balochi (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Axenov 2006, 232; also see Ruhlen 2008, 661), **(Eshkevarat) Gilaki** (Kahnemuyipour and Shabani (2018, §1)³²², **Judeo-Tat** (Authier 2010, Chapter 3; 2012, Chapter 3 and p.80)³²³, **Khotanese** (Emmerick 2009, §4.2.3), **Kurdish (Central)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,), **Ossetic** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 – David Eschler p.c.; also see Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310; Erschler 2019a, §4.1; 2019b, §2; 2020, 667)³²⁴, **Pashto** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Tegey and Robson 1996, 171; Robson and Tegey 2009, 754; also see David 2014, §11.2.1; Baldoria, Mitsuhashi, Tsujita 2021)³²⁵, **Saravi** (Mirdehghan and Melomanchian

³¹⁶ Sonar (1979, 102) provides the following example, among others:

- (i) ti tin sund'ar gare
 'those three beautiful houses'

³¹⁷ One example given on p.84 is:

- (i) se mē-j dū prōḡṇe kaḷme lip biḷu
 Those.Nom I-Gen two old pen.Plur lost become
 'Those two old pens of mine are lost.'

³¹⁸ Schubert (2018, 85) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) e tin dḡere bəṛa lal ghər
 DEM.PROX three very large red house
 'these three very large red houses'

³¹⁹ Lunsford (2001, 47) illustrates this order with the example in (i):

- (i) pəy maṣ si se du kolowol nəswari p^haṅ
 FAR.NOM man of those 2 crooked brown branches
 'Those two crooked brown branches of that man'

³²⁰ Dem Num A N is in fact the order given in Matras (2002, §7.1) for Romani in general.

³²¹ Dryer (2018, 821 and Supplementary Materials, 30) attributes to Waigali the order Num Dem A N. Degener (1998) indeed states that "[e]in Demonstrativum steht zwischen Numerale und Nomen, z.B. 8:5 tre tē tāw [Lit. three those stars] 'die drei stellen', 11:5 tre ye manaṣ [Lit. three these men] 'diese drei Männer'" (p.219) [a demonstrative occurs between a numeral and a noun, e.g. 8:5 'the three stars', 'these three men'], but on the same page she also gives an example with the order Dem Num N: tē wiṣe čatāy manaṣa [lit. those twenty four men]. It thus remains to be seen whether the alternative order Num Dem N is due to a fronting of the numeral before the demonstrative, or, more plausibly, is to be analysed as a partitive structure ('three of those N').

³²² Kahnemuyipour and Shabani (2018, 627) give the following illustrative example:

- (i) mi i du tə zərəng vəchə
 my this two CLF smart child
 'these two smart children of mine'

³²³ Relational adjectives, however, follow the noun.

³²⁴ Erschler (2020, 667) gives for Iron Ossetic the following illustrative example:

- (8) ʃoʃlan-ə asə dəwa ʃaw qudʒ-ə
 Soslan-GEN this two black cow-NUM
 'these two black cows of Soslan's'

³²⁵ Baldoria, Mitsuhashi, Tsujita (2021, 68) provide the following illustrative example:

- (i) Da dwa ɣat kitabuna merumano barake
 these two big-M books-M guests-M/F about

2012,383,386,392), **Sarikoli** (Kim 2014,37, who cites Arlund & Ibrukhim 2013:18; 2017,§2.3), **Shughni** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Edelman and Dodykhudoeva 2009,801; also see Ruhlen 2008,652; Mueller 2015,§3.1), **Taleshi** (Paul 2011,§6.2), **Tumshuqese** (Emmerick 2009,§4.2.3), **Wakhi** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Bashir 2009,840)³²⁶

Indo-European: GREEK: Greek (Modern) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Mackridge 1985,193-194)), **Pharasiot Greek** (Bağrıaçık 2018,§2.4.1.5)

Indo-European: ROMANCE: Istro-Romanian (Zegrean 2012a,§3.5.1; 2012b,§2)³²⁷, **Walloon** (Bernstein 1991,105 and note 5)

Indo-European: GERMANIC: Afrikaans (Theresa Biberauer p.c.), **Danish** (Sten Vikner, p.c.), **Dutch** (Holmberg and Rijkhoff 1998,96; Broekhuis 2012,630), **English** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - personal knowledge)³²⁸, **Faroese** (Holmberg and Rijkhoff 1998,96; Hjalmar P. Petersen, p.c.), **German** (Seiler 2000,44; Ruhlen 2008,720)³²⁹, **Icelandic** (Sigurðsson 1993; 2006,§5; Norris 2011,§1; Harðarson 2014,§1.2)³³⁰, **Norwegian** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Lohndal 2007,294; also see Julien 2002,§2.1; Svenonius 2008,28)³³¹, **Old English** (Sampson 2010,§1.4), **Swedish** (Andersson 1994,290), **Frisian** (Hoekstra and Tiersma 1994,520), **West Flemish** (Liliane Haegeman, p.c.), **Yiddish** (Moshe Taube, p.c.)³³²

Indo-European: SLAVIC: Bosnian-Serbian-Croatian (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Browne and Alt 2004,63; also see Leko 1999,245,248), **Bulgarian** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Scatton 193,223; Iliyana Krapova,p.c.), **Czech** (Lucie Medová, p.c.), **Macedonian** (Friedman 2001,53; Zdravkovska-Adamova 2017,92), **Polish** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Barbara Jacennik, pc)³³³, **Russian** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Rijkhoff 1998,343)³³⁴, **Slovenian** (Mišmaš

‘these two big books about guests’

³²⁶ Hughes (2014,§2.2.1) gives the same order for Darshai Wakhi, illustrating it with the example in (i):

- (i) yūt tru lup xun-ish
DEM.DIST three big house-PL
‘those three big houses’

³²⁷ Zegrean (2012b,235) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) Căste trei mușate case
these.F.PL three beautiful.F.PL house.F.PL
‘these three beautiful houses’

‘[A]djectives occur prenominally [...], except for nationality adjectives derived by suffixation with *-an* which are obligatorily postposed’ (Zegrean 2012a,91). Adjectival postposition is optional in certain contexts and/or marks a stylistic change. Cf. Also Ruhlen (2008,682). Vlaški-Žejanski-Istro-Romanian has both Dem Num A N and Dem Num N A (Terraling <https://terraling.com/groups/7/lings/913>)

³²⁸ English has few classes of post-nominal adjectives (only predicative adjectives that can enter a reduced relative clause – Larson and Marušič. 2004, Cinque 2010, and references cited there), thus apparently at odds with Greenberg’s (1963 Universal 19).

³²⁹ Cf. Seiler (2000,45):

- (i) diese zehn schönen Kugeln
‘these ten pretty balls’

³³⁰ Sigurðsson (2006,6) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) þessar þrjár frægu greiningar
‘these three famous analyses’

In definite DPs, the orders N-def.art Num A and A N-def.art Num are also possible (suggesting raising of N or A N around Num) (cf. Hardarson 2014,§1.3).

³³¹ See for example Julien’s (2002,ex.(8)b.):

- (i) alle desse meir enn tí veldig gamle husa
‘all these more than ten very old houses’

³³² Fleisher (2009) mentions the possibility of a postnominal position for Yiddish adjectives (provided they are accompanied by an article, as with determiner spreading in Greek). Jacobs (2005,242), however, takes them to be ‘separate NPs in apposition’.

³³³ Classificatory adjectives can also follow the N in Polish. See Rutkowski and Progovac (2005), among others.

³³⁴ Pesetsky (2013,3) provides the following example:

- (i) et-im posledn-im dvu-m krasiv-ym stol-am
these-DAT.PL last-DAT.PL two-DAT.PL beautiful-DAT.PL table-DAT.PL
‘to these last two beautiful tables’

2014,179; 2019,65 and Petra Mišmaš, p.c.)³³⁵, **(Upper) Sorbian** (Schaarschmidt 2002,48), **Ukrainian** (Pugh and Press 1999,192), **West Polesian** (Roncero Toledo 2019: 174,391)

Indo-European: BALTIC: Latgalian (Nau 2011, §6.1.1 and p.c.), **Latvian** (Nau 1998 and p.c.), **Lithuanian** (Rijkhoff 1998,342; 2002,310; Ambrazas [et al.] 2006,703; Trakymaitė 2018,108)³³⁶

Uralic: UGRIC: Hungarian (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Kenesei, Vago and Fenyvesi. 1998,102; also see Szabolcsi 1994,180; Dekany 2011,274)³³⁷, **Khanty** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Filchenko 2007,303; 2010,309)

Uralic: MARI: Hill Mari (Shagal and Volkova 2018,§2), **Meadow Mari** (Guseva and Weisser 2018,§2; Anna Volkova p.c.)³³⁸

Uralic: SAMI: North Sámi (Julien 2017,171)³³⁹, **Pite Saami** (Wilbur 2013,§12.2; 2014,§11.2), **Skolt Saami** (Feist 2010,§7.1; 2015), **South Saami** (Kowalik 2023,181), **Ter Sami** (Behnke 2010,§6.10)

Uralic: SAMOYEDIC: Enets (Künnap 1999,33; Siegl 2013,§6.7; Shluinsky 2020,§2)³⁴⁰, **Kamas** (Gerson Stefan Klumpp, p.c.), **Nenets (Tundra)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Nikolaeva 2014,171; also see Rijkhoff 1998,343; 2002,310), **Nganasan** (Wagner-Nagy 2019,308,323), **Selkup** (Däbritz and Budzisch 2022).

Uralic: MORDVIN: Erzya (Rueter 2013,§5)

Uralic: FINNO-UGRIC: Estonian (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Tauli 1983: 189; also see Norris 2014,83f; Kungla 2015 and Maarja Kungla, p.c.)³⁴¹, **Finnish** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Dal Pozzo 2007,13; also see Vilkuina 1998,218; Brattico 2010,69)³⁴²

Uralic: PERMIC: Komi (Vilkuina 1998,218), **Udmurt** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Winkler 2001,69; also see Rijkhoff 1998,343; 2002,310; Georgieva 2018,§2.3.1)³⁴³

³³⁵ Mišmaš (2014,§4.3) gives the following template for the Slovenian DP: Dem > Num ORD > Num CARD > A POSSESSOR > A COLOR > A ORIGIN/NATION > N illustrating it with the example in (i):

(i) Tisti prvi Majin rdeč nemški avto
That first Maja's red German car

³³⁶ Trakymaitė (2018,125) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) visos tos trys saldžiosios tėvo žieminės kriaušės
all.nom.pl.f that.nom.pl.f three sweet.nom.pl.f.def father.gen.sg.[m] winter.nom.pl.f pear.nom.pl.[f]
'all those three sweet father's winter pears'

³³⁷ Dékány (2011,274) illustrates this order with the sentence in (i):

(i) eme három szép lány
this three beautiful girl
'these three beautiful girls'

³³⁸ Guseva and Weisser (2018) provide the example in (i) (their example (1)):

(i) nine kok kugu olmna
dem two big apple
'these two big apples'

³³⁹ Julien (2017,171) also provides the following illustrative example:

(i) dat guokte mañemus iskosa..
dem.nom two.nom latest test.gen
'those two latest tests..'

³⁴⁰ Shluinsky (2020,50) presents the following illustrative example:

(i) [tʃike] [[ʃize] [[aga] [[kasa] [nʲe-xu-nʲiʔ]]]]
this two big man child-du-pl.1sg
'these my two elder sons'

³⁴¹ Norris (2014,83f), citing Erelt note that while the order Dem Num A N is the canonical one (see (i)), Dem A Num N is also possible though "it certainly seems to be the case that this higher position is a marked position" (p.83)

(i) nee-d viis ilusa-t maja
these-PL five beautiful-PAR house-PAR
'these five beautiful houses'

³⁴² Brattico (2010) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) ne kolme pien-tä las-ta
those.nom three small-par child-par
'those three small children'

³⁴³ Georgieva (2018,23) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) ta ḳiḳ čeber p̣ispu

Altaiic: MONGOLIC: Buryat (Svetlana Toldova and Polina Pleshak, p.c.)³⁴⁴, **Dagur** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Martin 1961; Gong 2021, 14)³⁴⁵, **Kalmyk** (Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310), **(Minhe) Mangghuer** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 – Slater 2003, 90; also see Slater 1998, Chapter 3, §2), **Mongolian** (Ruhlen 2008, 797; Guntsetseg 2009, 117; Janhunen 2012, §6.2)³⁴⁶, **Ordos (Urdus)** (Georg 2003, 207)³⁴⁷, **Santa** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Field 1997, 243; also see Lefort 2017)

Altaiic: TURKIC: (Iranian) Azerbaijani (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - Lee 1996, 124; Yavar Dehghani p.c.), **Bashkir** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Poppe 1964, 81, Berta 1998, 297; also see Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310 and Ruhlen 2008, 778), **Chuvash** (Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310; Savelyev 2020, 459), **Dolgan** (Däbritz 2022, 310, 312), **Kazakh** (Johanson 2001a, 378), **Kirghiz** (Johanson 2001b, 388), **Monguor** (Chuluu 1994b, 9-10), **Nogai** (Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310), **Qashqay** (Dolatkhah 2012, Chapter 5, and Sohrab Dolatkhah, p.c.), **Sakha** (Nadya Vinokurova, p.c.), **Salar** (Simon 2016, §7.7), **Saryg Yugur** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Roos 2000, 138)³⁴⁸, **Tatar** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Poppe 1968, 114; Goljihan Kashaeva, p.c.; also see Ruhlen 2008, 781 and Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig 2015)³⁴⁹, **Turkish** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Kornfilt 1997, 109; also see Rijkhoff 1998, 342)³⁵⁰, **Turkmen** (Johanson 2001c, 772; Hoey 2013, §4.1), **Tuvan (Dzungar)** (Rind-Pawłowski forthcoming §2.2.4 and §324)³⁵¹, **Urum** (Skopeteas 2013,)³⁵², **Uyghur** (Dwyer 2001, 789;

this two beautiful tree
‘these two beautiful trees’

³⁴⁴ This appears to be the canonical order even though other orders are also possible.

³⁴⁵ Gong (2021, 14) reports that “in Dagur noun phrases, the possessor (if available) is always the first element, followed by demonstratives, which is in turn followed by numerals, adjectives, and the head noun. The order between numeral and adjective could be flexible, but neither may precede the demonstrative or the possessor”. See (i):

(i) Mergen -ii en <saikan> gwarben <saikan> ujin -inj
Mergen -gen this <beautiful> three <beautiful> daughter -3sg.poss
‘These three beautiful daughters of Mergen’s’

³⁴⁶ Adjectives can apparently also precede numerals, but only if non-restrictive (Whitman 1981, 414). Also see [fn.22](#) on Japanese.

³⁴⁷ Georg (2003, 207) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) tere nege minggan saikan mori
‘those one thousand beautiful horses’.

³⁴⁸ The same order is manifested in Jegün Yogur (Chuluu 1994a, 13, 15).

³⁴⁹ Culinovic (2018, fn.3) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) Bu un matur qez-lar-nVn biS-e-se-nV kur-d-im
this ten beautiful girl-PL-GEN five-e-3-ACC see-PST-1SG
‘I saw five of these ten beautiful girls.’

³⁵⁰ Bošković and Şener (2012) claim that Turkish displays the orders Dem Num A N and Dem A Num N indifferently. But Jaklin Kornfilt confirmed to me (p.c.) Rijkhoff’s conclusion that the canonical order is Dem Num A N (I take the other to be derived by a marked raising of the adjective above the numeral for reasons that have to be properly understood). On special raising of adjectives in Mandarin and Bangla see Zhang (2015) and Guha (2017), respectively. Jaklin Kornfilt (p.c.) provided the following illustrative example:

(i) o üç ilginç kitap
those three interesting book
‘those three interesting books’

³⁵¹ This order seems indicated by the two partial orders in (i)a.-b.:

(i)a. ol iyi gïmiñ (p.30)
‘those two revolutions’
b. aldan biñji ool (p.10)
‘sixty small children’

³⁵² Skopeteas (2013, 29) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) gör-dü-m äp bu üç bayaz tayuh-lar-i
see-PST-1.SG all this three white chicken-PL-ACC
‘I saw all these three white chicken.’

Abdurehim 2014, §4.1.1; also see Yakup 2020, 426)³⁵³, **Uzbek** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Boeschoten 1998, 371; also see Türker 2019, §1.3.3)³⁵⁴

Tungusic: NORTHERN TUNGUSIC: Even (Andrej Malchukov, p.c.), **Evenki** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Nedjalkov 1997, 86), **Kilen (Nanai)** (Zhang 2013, §5.5.5 and §5.5.6), **Tungusic: UDEGHEIC: Udihe** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001, 505)

YUKAGHIR: Kolyma Yukaghir (Maslova 2003a, Chapter 8), **Tundra Yukaghir** (Maslova 2003b, Chapter 3; Schmalz 2013, §4.1)³⁵⁵

Chukotko-Kamchatkan: CHUKOTKAN: Chukchi (Rijkhoff 2002, 330)³⁵⁶

Koreanic: KOREAN: Korean (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Sohn 1994, 117)³⁵⁷

Japonic: JAPANESE: Japanese (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Kimio Tanihara (p.c.))³⁵⁸

Yeniseian: NORTHERN YENISEIAN: Ket (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Werner 1997, 335),

KARTVELIAN: Georgian (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Vogt 1971, 220; also see Boeder 1998, 16; Testelefs 1998a, 652, 2020, 517; Ruhlen 2008, 550)³⁵⁹, **Laz** (Holisky 1991, §3.1; Kutscher 2001, §2.2.3; Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310; Öztürk and Eren 2020, 838), **Svan** (Schmidt 1991, 537; Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310)

³⁵³ Yakup (2020, 426) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) šu ikki qiyin iš
that two difficult matter
'those two difficult matters'

This is also the order of Western Yugur (Yellow Uygur) (Roos 2000, §7.1).

³⁵⁴ Türker (2019, 25) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) Bu besh qiziqarli yangi kitob
this five interesting new book
'these five interesting new books'

³⁵⁵ See Schmalz (2013, 236), for the following illustrative case:

- (614) Tuŋ jaan n'id'erpe-j uraričiice-peŋ
ADL.PROX three.GEN be.new-PTCP teacher-PL
'these three new teachers'

³⁵⁶ Rijkhoff (2002: 330) cites the following example provided by Vladimir Nedjalkov, p.c.:

- (i) əngena-t ngəroq n-ilg-ə-qine-t qora-t
this-pl three stat-white-ə-3-pl deer-pl
'these three white reindeer'

Dunn (1999, §9.2) states that demonstrative can also follow the noun ("demonstratives are always at one extreme or another of a NP" (p.162)).

³⁵⁷ Korean also displays the order Dem A N Num. According to Joo (2013), of the two internal orders Dem Num A N and Dem A N Num, it is the latter that two experiments show to be the preferred one and easier to process. Also see Kang (2016).

³⁵⁸ Adjectives can apparently also precede demonstratives and numerals, but only if non-restrictive (Whitman 1981, 412ff).

³⁵⁹ See the following example from Testelefs (1998a: 652):

- (i) am or lamaz kal-s
that:obl two nice:obl woman-dat
'to those two nice women'

AVAR-ANDIC-TSEZIC: (Andalal) Avar (Testelec 1993,§6)³⁶⁰, **Bagvalal** (Testelec 1998,277)³⁶¹, **Bezhta** (Testelec 1998,277)³⁶², **Godoberi** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Kibrik 1996,153), **Hinuq** (Forker 2013,§27.2), **Hunzib** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Van den Berg 1995,117), **Khwarshi** (Khalilova 2009,§4.2.1)³⁶³, **Karata** (Testelec 1998,277)³⁶⁴, **Tsez** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Alekseev and Radzhabov 2004,148; also see Comrie, Polinsky, and Rajabov 1998, §5.1; Polinsky 2015,Part 1,§11)³⁶⁵

Northeast Caucasian: LEZGIC: Agul (Ganekov and Maisak 2020,§3.6.1)³⁶⁶, **Archi** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Kibrik 1994, 341-342; also see Testelec 1998,277; Bond and Chumakina 2016,55; Chumakina 2020,295,297)³⁶⁷, **Kina Rutul** (Nasledskova 2019,§3.6), **Kryz** (Authier 2009,Chapter 12)³⁶⁸, **Lezgian** (Haspelmath 1993,§14.4.3)³⁶⁹; Rijkhoff 1998,342; 2002,310), **Tsakhur** (Schulze 1997,§5.1; Testelec 1998,277)³⁷⁰, **Tabasaran** (Testelec 1998,277)³⁷¹, **Udi** (Schulze 2001, Excursus III,§3.2.2.2, Wolfgang Schulze, p.c.)³⁷²

³⁶⁰ Testelec (1993,36) states that the unmarked order is Dem Num A N, giving (i) as an illustrative example.

(i) ha=j k'ajgo bercina=j jasik'aj
this two nice doll
'these two nice dolls'

He reports that adjectives, when contrasted, can either be pre- or post-nominal (p.31), also noting that N Num is possible as a marked order meaning “not less than..” (p.32). Also see Forker (2020b,§6.5.1), where it is stated that adjectives can also follow the noun (p.270).

³⁶¹ Testelec (1998,277) gives the following as an illustrative example:

(i) haj ěc'ida bercneje igruška-be
this two nice toy-PL

³⁶² Testelec (1998,277) gives the following as an illustrative example:

(i) wahaddōl q'onana bercinab-la nani-ja
this.PL two nice-PL toy-PL
'these two nice toys'

³⁶³ Adjectives, numerals and demonstratives can also be found postnominally if contrasted.

³⁶⁴ Testelec (1998,277) gives the following as an illustrative example:

(i) hab k'eda č'ikororaj igruška-bdi
this two nice toy-PL
'these two nice toys'

³⁶⁵ Polinsky (2015,41) reports the following example:

(i) yisi Tolstoy-ä cäx-ru(-ni) ľena y-exora t'ek
DEM Tolstoy-ERG write-PST.PTCP-(DEF) five II-long book.ABS.II
'these five long books written by Tolstoy'

³⁶⁶ Ganekov and Maisak (2020,123) give the following illustrative example:

(i) ha-me ʔu c'üre baw-a-n berHem
EMPH-PROX two old mother-OBL-GEN dress
'these two old dresses of Mom's'

³⁶⁷ Bond and Chumakina (2016,55) illustrate this order with the following example:

(i) to-b ł:wěju do:˘zu-b χ˘šon
that five be.big.ATTR-IIIsg dress (III)[sg.ABS]
'those five big dresses'

³⁶⁸ An adjective can come to precede the N if ‘mis en relief’.

³⁶⁹ The adjective may be found preceding the numeral and also the demonstrative (under special conditions).

³⁷⁰ Testelec (1998,277) gives the following as an illustrative example:

man ql'oble uftanən igruška-bə
this two nice toy-PL
'these two nice toys'

³⁷¹ Testelec (1998,277) gives the following as an illustrative example:

(i) hamu q'üb uč˘wu žak˘l-ar
this two nice toy-PL
'these two nice toys'

³⁷² Wolfgang Schulze, p.c., says that alongside (i)a (Dem Num A N) (i)b (Num Dem A N) is also possible, but with a partitive meaning:

(i)a me xib kala ghar(-mux)
PROX three old boy(-PL)

Northeast Caucasian: DARGI: Dargwa (Rijkhoff 2002,310)³⁷³

Nakh-Daghestanian: NAKH: Chechen (Komen 2012)³⁷⁴, **Ingush** (Nichols 1994b,116; Guérin 2001,127),³⁷⁵ **Lak** (Schulze 2007, §3.12; Friedman 2020,§5.6.1), **(Batsbi)** (Holisky (with Gagua) (1994,190; and pers. comm.; Yasuhiro Kojima (pers. comm.)³⁷⁶

'these three old boys'

b xib me kala ghar(-ux)

three PROX old boy(-PL)

'three of these old boys'

Lander and Maisak (2019) also give examples where the numeral 'one' follows the noun:

(i) **viči-muɣ-oj soɣ-o** al-in at:až-a ne karɣ-sa j, t:e soɣ-o oq:-in at:až-a.
brother-PL-GEN one-NA up-GEN floor-DAT=3SG live-PRS=PST DIST one-NA down-GEN floor-DAT

'One brother lived on the upper floor, the other one on the lower floor.'

³⁷³ The same order is found in Icari Dargwa (Sumbatova and Mutalov 2003,§3.2.2.1), Sanzhi Dargwa (Forker 2020a,§21.1), and Tanti Dargwa (Lander 2022,§4).

³⁷⁴ Dryer 2018,pp.3,24 and p.18 of the Supplementary Materials attributes to Chechen the order Dem A Num N, following Nichols, p.c. But this appears only to be an order alternative to Dem Num A N. Komen (2008,§2.7), who also gives an example with the order Dem A Num N (see (i)), says that "alternative orderings are possible, as illustrated in (111) and (112), where the translation is the same as in [(i)].

(i) [_{NP} Hara [cigahw laettash jolu] pacchahwan xaza pxi juow] eesharsh lyeqush ju.

this-ABS [there stand-PRS-PTC J-REL] king-GEN **beautiful five daughter-ABS**
song-PL-ABS sing-PRS-PTC J-PRS

'These five beautiful daughters of the king, who are standing there, are singing songs.'

(111) [_{NP} Pacchahwan [cigahw laettash jolu] **hara pxi xaza juow**] eesharsh lyeqush ju.

king-GEN there stand-PRS-PTC J-REL **this-ABS five beautiful daughter-ABS**

song-PL-ABS sing-PRS-PTC J-PRS

(112) [_{NP} [cigahw laettash jolu] pacchahwan **hara pxi xaza juow**] eesharsh lyeqush ju.

there stand-PRS-PTC J-REL king-GEN **this-ABS five beautiful daughter-ABS**

song-PL-ABS sing-PRS-PTC J-PRS

In the above two cases the numeral needs to precede the adjective." Similar remarks are present in Komen (2007).

Dotton and Wagner (2019,§6.7) also state that "[f]or noun phrases that are headed by a count noun that is quantified with a number, there are two possible sites. For the number one, *chwa*, this is placed before the entire noun phrase.

(173) *chwa c'ien knizhka*

one red book.j.abs.sg

'1 red book'

(174) *qo c'ien knizhka*

3 red book.j.abs.sg

'Three red books'

However, relative clause are placed before the number phrase.[..]

(175) *hwieq'aliehw d-olu d-i' bier-ash*

mind-iness d-cop.rcp.pres d-4 child.d-abs.sg

'Four smart children / Four children, who are smart.'

More recently Komen (2012) seems to consider Dem Num A N as the basic order of Chechen. See his example (iii), with the observation that "only the order Dem-Num-Adj-N has a true full-blown core adjective (the word *voqqa* 'old'):

(iii) Hwastagha **ocu cwana voqqachu staga** shaa shien cwa pensin kiexatash nisdan ghiertash, yeshu kyygalxuo ca karuosh ghaala cwajttolgha vooghush vu booxura? [m00287:92]

long-ago that-OBL one-OBL old-OBL man-ERG himself his some pension-GEN letters straighten-INF attempt-PTC necessary leader NEG find-PTC city-ALL eleven v-go-PTC V-PRS say-IMPF

'Didn't they say that long time ago this one old man had to visit the city eleven times without finding the necessary person in charge, as he was trying to straighten out some pension letters for himself?'"

³⁷⁵ Citing Nichols (2011: 445), Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,21) attributes to Ingush the order Dem A Num N. Nichols (2011,445) indeed gives Demonstrative > Delimiter > Relative Clause> Genitive1 > Degree Word > Adjective > Genitive2 > Numeral > N as the internal order of elements in the Ingush Noun Phrase (apparently correcting what she gave in Nichols 1994b,116, namely demonstrative > delimiter/relative clause > possessive pronoun > numeral > adjective/adnominal genitive N, i.e. Dem Num A N), However Guérin (2001,127) attributes to Ingush the order Dem Num A N, and so does Rijkhoff (1998,342).

³⁷⁶ An example kindly provided by Yasuhiro Kojima (pers. comm.) is given in (i):

(i) e qo k'ac'k'oN k'uyt'l (N stands for nasalization of the preceding vowel)

BURUSHASKI: Burushaski (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Lorimer 1935,404), **Eastern Burushaski** (Yoshioka 2012,§8.1.1), **Hunza Burushaski** (Munshi n.d., §2.3), **Jammu and Kashmir Burushaski** (Munshi 2006,§4.1.3)³⁷⁷

Dravidian: NORTHERN DRAVIDIAN: Malto (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials , also see Ruhlen 2008,826)

Dravidian: SOUTH-CENTRAL DRAVIDIAN: Abujhmaria (Natarajan 1985,§10.2.1), **Dandami Maria** (Pandey 1979,§4.1.1.1), **Kuvi** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Israel 1979,257-258), **Telugu** (Krishnamurti 1992,139; Lakshmi 1996,155; Ruhlen 2008,833)³⁷⁸

Dravidian: SOUTHERN DRAVIDIAN: Kannada (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Schiffman 1983,98; Sridhar 1990,98; also see Ruhlen 2008,836)³⁷⁹, **Malayalam** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Asher and Kumari 1997,133; Hany Babu 1997,Chapter 2)³⁸⁰, **Solega (Sholaga) (Si** 2020,§3.2)³⁸¹, **Tamil** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Asher 1982,65; also see Krishnamurti 2003, 428; Ruhlen 2008,843)³⁸², **Uruli** (Mohan Lal 1991,§6.3.1)³⁸³

Sino-Tibetan: CHINESE: Amoy (Hokkien) (Jones 1970,5)³⁸⁴, **Cantonese** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Matthews and Yip 1994,88; also see Ruhlen 2008,858, and Cheng and Sybesma 2014)³⁸⁵,

‘these three little cats’

Dem A Num N is also a possible alternative order (Yasuhiro Kojima pers.comm.)

³⁷⁷ But see Rijkhoff (2002,328; 2008,801), where Burushaski is attributed the order Dem Num N A.

³⁷⁸ Krishnamurti (2003, 429) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) ā reṇḍu manci kotta tellaṭi pedda pustkālu
those two good new white big books

³⁷⁹ Krishnamurti (2003, 429) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) ā eraḍu doḍḍa maysūru mallige hūv-ina hāra-gaḷu
those two big Mysore jasmine flower-gen garland-pl
‘those two big jasmine flower garlands from Mysore’

³⁸⁰ Hany Babu (1997,20fn4) offers the following example, which has an absolutely rigid order (certain other adjectives can instead also precede the numeral (p.19)):

(i) ente ii rāntú ṇiila pustakanna
my this two blue books
‘these two blue books of mine’

³⁸¹ Si (2020,36) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) i: mu:ru ba:ri doḍḍa mara-ga
PROX three very big tree-PL
‘these three very big trees’

³⁸² Krishnamurti (2003,428) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) anta mūṅru periya peṭṭi
those three big boxes
‘those three big boxes’

³⁸³ Mohan Lal (1991,204) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) a: onRe pa:ya mara
that one old tree

³⁸⁴ Jones (1970,5) provides the following example:

(i) hīt sā nuī pē? huê
those three clf white flower
‘those three white flowers’

The same order is also found in Penang Hokkien (see (ii)), except that adjectives can also precede numerals (“DEM occurs before QUAN, while AdjP may occur before or after QUAN.” Wen 2019,123f)

(ii) há k-seng ê hí sann-lê phuà-khang ê tsheeh-pau
student POS that three-CLF break-hole LP book-bag
‘Those three broken schoolbags of (the) student’

³⁸⁵ Cheng and Sybesma (2014,248) provide the following example:

(i) li¹ saam¹ bun² hou² peng⁴ ge³ syu¹
DEM.PROX three CL very cheap DE book
‘these three very cheap books’

Chaozhou (Teochew) (Xu and Matthews 2011,§2), **Hainan** (Dell 1977,6 and 20)³⁸⁶, **Hakka** (Ruhlen 2008,857; Chappell and Sagart 2011,1023; Tseng 2011,47,52), **(Tunxi) Hui** (Lu 2012,p.30 and §§2.1.4-5; and 2018,227), **Mandarin** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Li and Thompson 1981,124; Lin 1997; Chappell 2002,§1.1, Wang 2012,21)³⁸⁷, **Singapore Teochew** (Yeo 2011,§5), **Southern Min** (Chappell 2019,§3.3.1.1)³⁸⁸, **Swatow** (Childe 1971,Chapters 4,5 and passim)³⁸⁹, **Taiwanese** (Croft and Deligianni 2001,7; Bartlett and González-Vilbazo 2013,§1)³⁹⁰, **Jambi Teochew** (Peng 2011,§4.2)³⁹¹, **Wenzhou** (Hu Shenai, p.c.)³⁹², **Wu** (Xu-Ping Li, p.c.)³⁹³, **Xúwén** (Li and Thompson 1983,§I.2)³⁹⁴
Sino-Tibetan: BODIC: Baram (Kanasakar, Yadava, Chalise, Prasain, Dhakal and Paudel 2011,§10.3; Dhakal 2014,§4.3)³⁹⁵, **Bhujel** (Regmi 2007,§11.2; 2012b,§5.2.5), **Bunan** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Widmer 2014,360; 2017,315)³⁹⁶ **Byansi** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Trivedi 1991,24; also see Sharma 1989b,149), **Chantyal** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 – Noonan 2003a,329), **Chhitkuli** (Sharma 1992b,250), **Darma** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Willis 2007,316), **Darmiya** (Sharma 1989a,60), **Dhankute Tamang** (Poudel 2006,§4.2.3), **Dhimal** (King 2008,68 and 90; Khatiwada 2017,§2.2), **Dolakha Newar** (Genetti 2007, Chapter 11)³⁹⁷, **Dura** (Schorer 2016,§6.10), **Johari** (Sharma 1989c,230), **Kinnauri** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Sharma 1988,114; also see Kumar and Bezily. 2018,§3.1), **Khwopa Newar** (Regmi 2012a,53), **Pattani** (Sharma 1982,170, Sharma 1989d,106), **Rai (Bantawa)** (Nakkeerar 2011,307; also see Doornenbal 2009,60 and 112ff), **Rera** (Goswami

³⁸⁶ Alternative orders are Dem Num N A and A Dem Num N (the latter presumably with A as a reduced relative clause, which can be found in front of demonstratives).

³⁸⁷ Lin (1997) and Lu (1998) provide examples like the following:

(i) a. na san wei gaogaoshouhou-de nanhain (Lin 1997,)

that three CL tall-and-thin-DE boy

'those three tall and thin boys'

b. zhe san-ben youqu de shu (Lu 1998, 97)

these 3-CL interesting book

'these three interesting books'

³⁸⁸ The same order is reported for the Hui'an dialect of Southern Min in Chen (2011,97), where the following example is given:

(i) hit7-8 lj4 saŋ1 sen1 bəʔ8

that two pair new sock

'those two new socks'

³⁸⁹ The order Dem A N Num is a more marked order, placing emphasis on the numeral (Childe 1971,175).

³⁹⁰ Bartlett and González-Vilbazo (2013,66) provide examples like the following:

(i) tsit go riab tua riab tin kam-a

this five CL_{round} big CL_{round} sweet orange

'these five large sweet oranges'

³⁹¹ In this variety of Teochew relative clauses can also be postnominal.

³⁹² Wenzhou is taken to be a 'dialect' of Wu, but has the peculiar property of having many adjectives that follow the noun (Hu Shenai, p.c.), giving rise to the alternative order Dem Num N A.

³⁹³ Like with other Chinese languages, Wu has the order A Dem Num Cl N (but not Dem A Num Cl N) as an alternative order. The pre-Dem position can also be occupied by relative clauses (Xu-Ping Li, p.c.).

³⁹⁴ The adjectives 'male' and 'female' instead follow the noun (Li and Thompson 1983,11).

³⁹⁵ Kanasakar et al. (2011,137) give the following illustrative example:

(i) ŋa-go jo dheŋ ikine wa

I-GEN this one.CLF small hen

'this one little hen of mine'

³⁹⁶ Widmer (2017,361) gives the following illustrative phrase:

(i) the niskiŋ juj petea

this two old book

'these two old books'

Adjectives and numerals can also follow in the order N Num A (but only in indefinite noun phrases) (Widmer 2014,360f).

³⁹⁷ Numerals can also be found following the head noun.

2017, §2.2.1)³⁹⁸, **Rongpo (Marchha)** (Sharma 1990,164; Sharma 2001, §10.0; Sharma 2003,41),³⁹⁹ **Tanahu and Syangja Magar** (Grunow-Hårsta 2008, §10.1), **Thangmi** (Turin 2006,284,301), **Thulung Rai** (Lahaussais 2003, §5.1), **Tinani** (Sharma 1989e,181), **Tod** (Sharma 1989f, §8.3), **Toto** (Basumatary 2016,182; Perumalsamy 2016,666)⁴⁰⁰

Sino-Tibetan: MAHAKIRANTI: Athpare (Dryer 2018 Supplementary Materials,16 - Ebert 1997,108), **Chepang** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Caughley 1982,40f), **Chintang** (Paudyal 2012,150)⁴⁰¹, **Hayu** (2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Michailovsky 1988,170)⁴⁰², **Kham** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,22 - Watters 2002,192)⁴⁰³, **(Chhatthare) Limbu** (Tumbahang 2007 and Govinda Bahadur Tumbahang, p.c.), **Magar** (Dryer 2018 Supplementary Materials,23 - Grunow-Hårsta 2008,362), **Yakkha** (Schackow 2014, §5.4.5; 2015, §5.4.5)

Miao-Yao: MIAO-YAO (HMONG-MIEN): She (Sposato 2014, §§3.3 and 3.6), **Kiranti-Koits** (Rapacha 2014, Chapter 4; 2022,197)⁴⁰⁴

Austroasiatic: MUNDA: Bhumij (Ramaswami 1992,74,85), **Ho** (Choudhary 2012, §3.2; Pucilowski 2013, §3.4), **Kharria** (Biligiri 1965,77; Peterson 2011, Chapter 5), **Mundari** (Cook 1965,278), **Remo** (Ruhlen 2008,948; Anderson et al. 2011), **Santali** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Gosh, 2008,76)

Austronesian: EAST FORMOSAN: Amis (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,15 - Wu 2006: 99; also see Wu 2003)⁴⁰⁵

Austronesian: NORTHWEST FORMOSAN: Saisyat (Lee 2010,125 and 134)⁴⁰⁶

Austronesian: PAIWAN: Paiwan (Tang, Chang and Ho 1998,362)⁴⁰⁷

Austronesian: RUKAI: Rukai (Tanan) (2018,Supplementary Materials,27 -Li 1973,73; also see Zeitoun 2007,316; Ruhlen 2008,1020)⁴⁰⁸

³⁹⁸ Goswami (2017,21) reports that demonstratives numerals and adjectives can appear either post-nominally or pre-nominally in the following orders: (DEM) (NUM) (ADJ) HEAD (ADJ) (NUM) (DEM), giving examples of the prenominal order like (i) (demonstratives can also appear simultaneously in both positions).

(i) kəra² wa⁴rum² a²-nɛ² a²-dʒɔŋ² a²-fɛ⁴kəm² dʒum²
that three ATTR-new ATTR-big ATTR-red house
'those three big new red houses'

³⁹⁹ Sharma (2003,41) provides the following example:

(i) dhitye pi tiŋdə khuisse
these four black dogs

⁴⁰⁰ Adjectives can also follow the noun (Basumatary 2016,152).

⁴⁰¹ The orders Dem A Num N and Num A Dem N orders are also apparently possible (although the author gives Dem Num A N as the standard order).

⁴⁰² Numerals can also appear postnominally (Michailovsky 1981, §5.326), but it is possible that the order N Num is a kind of apposition (Michailovsky 1981,239).

⁴⁰³ Watters (2002,192) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) no tubu gyo:h-wo mi:
that one big-NML person
'that one big person'

⁴⁰⁴ Rapacha (2022,197) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) məkə niʔsi rimšo wāisāl-nimp^ha
that two good boy-DUAL
'those two handsome boys'

⁴⁰⁵ One example given by Wu (2003,70) is

(i) ya ta-tulu-ay a ma-laluk-ay fa'inayan a kapah
that RED-three-FAC LNK MA-diligent-FAC man LNK young.man
'Those three diligent young men'

Wu (2003,68) states that adjective-like modifiers follow numerals whereas relative-clause-like modifiers can either precede or follow numerals.

⁴⁰⁶ Lee says that adjectives have the same distribution of relative clauses and relative clauses, when internal, follow demonstratives and numerals (Dem Num RC/A N, which I take to be the basic position) as well as precede them.

⁴⁰⁷ Tang, Chang and Ho (1998,363) report that Dem A Num N is also possible, and that A and Num (but not Dem) can also follow N.

⁴⁰⁸ Zeitoun (2007,316) illustrates this order with the following example:

(i) dhona'I ta-ka-dho'a ta-ka-si'i a'-ilap-ae-ni ta'olro-ni dhipolo
that Subj.Nmz-stat.NFin-two SubjNmz-Stast.NFin-small Obj.Nmz-Dyn.NFin:look for-ObjMnz-3sGen dog-3sGen Dhipolo

Austronesian: MALAYO-POLYNESIAN: Arta (Kimoto 2017, Chapter 5 and Yukinori Kimoto, p.c.)⁴⁰⁹, **Ayta Abellen** (Stone 2010,161; Stone and Nitsch 2013, §5.6)⁴¹⁰, **Binukid** (Maria Rosario Gamayot-Saldua, p.c.)⁴¹¹, **Hiligaynon** (Wolfenden 1975,Chapter 2; Grant 2002,23)⁴¹², **Chamorro** (Ruhlen 2008,1028; Chung 2020,Chapters 6 and 7), **Ilocano** (Wimbish 1987,§5.1)⁴¹³, **Kalinga** (Burquest 1981,Chapter 4)⁴¹⁴, **Maranao** (Kaufman 2007,§2.2), **Masbatenyo** (Mhawi Rosero, p.c. and Rosero 2011,passim)⁴¹⁵, **(Northern) Subanen** (Sanicas Daguman 2013,Chapter 6)⁴¹⁶, **Tagalog** (Himmelman 2005,359; 2016; Kaufman 2009,§4.1; Tada 2018,§3)⁴¹⁷

Austronesian: MALAYIC: Bazaar Malay (Daw 2006, PartII,§5.1)⁴¹⁸

Austronesian: BISAYAN: Cebuano (Jones 1970,5; Bell 1992,§3.3; Ossart 2004,121; Nguyen 2004,143fn4)⁴¹⁹

Austronesian: PALAUAN: Palauan (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Josephs 1975,480; also see Ruhlen 2008,1029)

‘those two small dogs that Dhipolo looked/looks for’

⁴⁰⁹ In addition to (i)a (with the order Dem Num A N) possible alternative orders are (ii)b-c (Dem Num N A and Dem N A Num) (thanks to Yukinori Kimoto for providing the examples):

- (i)a. aytidya a ta'lu a malala:ki a bunbun
 those LINKER three LINKER nice LINKER house
 b. aytidya a ta'lu a bunbun a malala:ki
 those LINKER three LINKER house LINKER nice
 c. aytidya a bunbun a malala:ki a ta'lu
 those LINKER house LINKER nice LINKER three

‘Those three nice houses’

⁴¹⁰ Dem N A Num is also a possible order.

⁴¹¹ An example provided by Maria Rosario Gamayot-Saldua is:

Saini sa tatulu ha madagway ha mga bata.
 these three nice children

⁴¹² Adjectives (and Demonstratives) can also be found postnominally.

⁴¹³ Adjectives can also be found postnominally.

⁴¹⁴ This is an example given by Burquest (1981,59):

- (i) na sachi wi chuwa wi magkit wi ain
 the that Linker two Linker pretty Linker skirt
 ‘those two pretty skirts’

⁴¹⁵ See (i), and the alternative order Dem Num N A in (ii), both kindly provided by Mhawi Rosero:

- (i) DEM + Linker + NUM + linker + ADJ + N
 idto na tulo na dako na balay (in natural speech: idton tulo na dako na balay)
 (ii) DEM + Linker + NUM + Linker + N + linker + ADJ
 idto na tulo na balay na daragko/dako (in natural speech: idton tulo na balay na dako)
 ‘those three large houses’

⁴¹⁶ Demonstratives can also occur in final postnominal position (co-occurring with a pre-nominal one – Sanicas Daguman 2013, Chapter 8).

⁴¹⁷ According to Himmelman (2005) Dem Num N A is a possible alternative order. Both him and Kaufman (2009) state that demonstratives can also be repeated noun phrase finally. Also see Kaufmann (2010,§5.5.1).

⁴¹⁸ Daw (2006,Part II,§5.1) reports that demonstratives are either initial in the noun phrase (the prevalent order), or final and that adjectives can also follow the noun (thus giving Num A N Dem, Num N A Dem, Dem Num N A as possible alternative orders). Aye (2013,89) attributes to Singapore Bazaar Malay the order Num A N Dem but says that demonstratives can also be noun phrase initial (Dem Num A N).

⁴¹⁹ Jones (1970,5) provides the following example:

- (i) kiní upát buqúk takú bátaq
 these four clf big children
 ‘these four big children’

An alternative order is Dem Num N A (Bell 1976,§3.2.1)

Austronesian: OCEANIC: Patpatar (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Condra 1989,89,92-93, 103-104)⁴²⁰, **Tolai** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials ; also see Mosel 1984,§2.3)⁴²¹, **Wuvulu** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 - Hafford 2014,66)
South-Central Papuan: MOREHEAD-UPPER MARO (YAM): Aram(m)ba (Baku, Findjar and Pauw 2016,3.7)⁴²², **Komnzo** (Döhler 2016,§7.2; 2018,271-73)⁴²³
Trans-New Guinea: EASTERN HIGHLANDS: Awa (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Loving 1973,78-80)⁴²⁴, **Agarabi** (Goddard 1974,§5; 1980,§ 4.1)⁴²⁵, **Hua** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Haiman 1980,257), **Gadsup** (Frantz 1974,6; 2007,§II; Pikus, Berola and Glissmann 2016,§3.7), **Kanite** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Gibson and McCarthy 2002,67)⁴²⁶
Trans-New Guinea: KAINANTU-GOROKA: Gimi (McBride and McBride 1973,§3)
Trans-New Guinea: EASTERN TRANS-FLY: Wipi (Dondorp and Shim 1997,§4.1.1)⁴²⁷
Sepik: SEPIK HILL: Alamblak (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,15 - Bruce (1984,99); also see Bruce 1979,Chapter IV,§2)⁴²⁸, **Sare** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Sumbuk 1999,125), **Washkuk** (Kooyers 1974,§3.5; Ruhlen 2008,1519)⁴²⁹
Sepik: RAMU-LOWER SEPIK: Chambri (Foley 2022b,560)⁴³⁰
Solomons East Papuan: BILUA: Bilua (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Obata 2003,77), **Savosavo** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Wegener 2008,121; 2012,119)
Australian: PAMA-NYUNGAN: Bandjalang (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Sharpe 2005,98; also see Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek 1971,33; Ruhlen 2008,1576)⁴³¹, **Mangarla** (Agnew 2020,§9.2.4)⁴³², **Yanyula (Yanyuwa)** (Ruhlen 2008,1551), **Yingkartá** (Dench 1998,55)
Australian: TANGKIC: Kayardild (Evans 1995,235ff; Round 2009,§6.6), **Yukulta** (Round 2015,448)
Australian: NYULNYULAN: Nyulnyul (McGregor 2011,§10.2.2), **Yawuru** (Osokawa 2011,482)⁴³³

⁴²⁰ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,26ffn31) reports that “[t]he formula given by Condra (1989: 89) shows both demonstratives and adjectives either preceding or following the noun, but the discussion on pp. 92-93 implies that DemN is basic while that on 103-104 implies that AdjN is basic.” To judge from Condra (1989,§V.1), Num A N Dem and Num N A Dem are also possible orders.

⁴²¹ Some adjectives (of the direct modification type – cf. Cinque 2010) follow the N (giving the order Dem Num N A). Cf. Mosel (1984, Chapter 2).

⁴²² Baku, Findjar and Pauw (2016,31) give the following illustrative example:

(i) ne ngám̄bi xanda gafu ngarúweni meṅg me thrye xanda
 this one big good man.his house ?? is big
 'This one big good man's house is big'

⁴²³ See, for example, (i), from Döhler (2018,271):

(i) zane eda zanfr garda
 dem:prox two long canoe
 'these two long canoes'

Some adjectives also follow the noun, and so can the demonstrative.

⁴²⁴ Also see Loving (1973,§4.2), where the following order of adjectives is given: (Dem Num) A_{quality} A_{size} A_{colour} A_{classifying} N.

⁴²⁵ Few adjectives follow, giving the order Dem Num N A, which is the order given in Ruhlen (2008,1350) (also see Devane 2008). Goddard (1980,53) also gives an example with the order Dem N Num.

⁴²⁶ Numerals can also follow the noun (Gibson and McCarthy 2002,§2.1.2).

⁴²⁷ Adjectives and numerals can also, less frequently, be found postnominally (p.88).

⁴²⁸ Bruce (1979,Chapter IV,§2) gives Dem Num A N as the canonical order of Alamblak, noting (p.17 and Chapter IV passim) that adjectives can also follow the N. Croft and Deligianni (2001,7) also give (the problematic) Dem A Num N as a possible alternative order.

⁴²⁹ Dem Num N A is also a possible order.

⁴³⁰ Foley (2022b,560) provides the following illustrative example, saying that adjectives can also follow the noun:

(i) maka-sim wi-sim amərəmpəkə-nasim yuranasim
 PROX-I.DL two-I.DL hungry-I.DL dog.I.DL
 'those two hungry dogs'

⁴³¹ Sharpe (2005) reports that “certain adjectives follow nouns denoting humans and animals but preced[e] those denoting trees and neuters”(p.98). Also see Louagie (2017,12).

⁴³² The mirror-image order is also possible.

⁴³³ The demonstrative can also follow the N (p.334f).

Australian: YIWAIDJAN: Iwaidja (Ruhlen 2008,1555)⁴³⁴, **Mawng (Maung)** (Siewierska 1988,44; Singer 2006,95; Forrester 2015,Chapter 4)

Australian: WORRORRAN: Ngarinjin (Coate and Oates 1970,35)

Australian: YANYI: Garawa (Furby and Furby 1977,§3.1)

Australian: WEST BARKLY: Wambaya (Nordlinger 1998,131)⁴³⁵

Australian: TIWIAN: Tiwi (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Osborne 1974,73; also see Lee 1987,§5.1.1, and Ruhlen 2008,1553)⁴³⁶

Eskimo-Aleut: ESKIMO: Iñupiaq (Lanz 2010, §5.4.3 and §7.1.1)

Na-Dene: TLINGIT: Tlingit (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials)⁴³⁷

Wakashan: NORTHERN WAKASHAN: Kwak’wala (Chung 2007,106,110), **Nootka (Nuuchahnulth)** (Rose 1981,§3.1.2⁴³⁸; Yiu and Stonham 2003,§§3.2,4.2 and 5.2)⁴³⁹

Algic: ALGONQUIAN: Innu-aimun (Montagnais) (Oxford 2010,2n1 and §1.3), **Maliseet-Passamaquoddy** (LeSourd 2004,245f), **Meskwaki** (Morris 2018,§3)

Iroquoian: SOUTHERN IROQUOIAN: Cherokee (Pulte and Feeling 1975,353; 2001,129; Montgomery-Anderson 2008,516f)

Plateau Penutian: SAHAPTIAN: Nez Perce (Deal 2010,§1.4.1, 2016,320, and Amy Rose Deal, p.c.)⁴⁴⁰

Salishan: CENTRAL SALISH: Lushootseed (Beck 2020,6f)⁴⁴¹, **Musqueam** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Suttles 2004,66,339)

Salishan: INTERIOR SALISH: St’át’imcets (Henry Davis, p.c.)

Totonacan: TONACAN: Papantla Totonac (Levy 2004,148), **Tepehua (Huehuetla)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Kung 2007,405 (and 519f)), **Upper Necaxa Totonac** (Beck 2004,5 and p.c.)⁴⁴², **Xicotepec de Juárez Totonac** (Reid 1991,65ff)

Mixe-Zoquean: ZOQUEAN: Chiapas Zoque (Faarlund 2012,43,52)⁴⁴³, **Mixe (Ayutla)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Romero-Méndez 2008,269)⁴⁴⁴, **San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque** (Johnson

⁴³⁴ However Pym (with Larrimore) (1979,154ff) states that nominal modifiers can also follow the noun.

⁴³⁵ An alternative order is Dem Num N A

⁴³⁶ Also see Louagie and Verstraete (2016,38f).

⁴³⁷ According to Crippen (2010,93), in addition to pre-nominal adjectives there are also a number of post-nominal adjectives.

⁴³⁸ Rose (1981) is on the Kyukuot dialect of Nuuchahnulth.

⁴³⁹ The (partial) order Num A N is also given by Nakayama (2001,§4.2.2.1).

⁴⁴⁰ Deal (2016, 320) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) yo^ˆx-mé lep-ú? ki-kúhet ha-?áayat
DEM.NOM-PL two-HUM PL-tall PL-woman
‘those two tall women’

⁴⁴¹ Adjectives can also be found before numerals (Beck 2020,7).

⁴⁴² David Beck (p.c.) tells me that, though the order Dem Num A N is the most frequent, adjectives are also possible after the N giving rise to the alternative order Dem Num N A. Few cases of (possibly spurious) A Num N, A Dem N are also found.

⁴⁴³ Adjectives can also follow the noun, yielding the alternative order Dem Num N A (Faarlund 2012,52).

⁴⁴⁴ See the illustrative example in (i), adapted from the example (33)a. of Romero-Méndez (2008,269):

(i) ja’a tu’uk mutsk mixy-u’unk
DEM.D one little boy-DIM
‘that one little boy’

But Hills (1990,§3.1.3) reports that demonstratives in Ayutla Mixtec follow the noun and so do adjectives, which he glosses as relative attributes.

2000, Chapter 9)⁴⁴⁵, **Sierra Popoluca** (de Jong Boudreault 2009,215,223,237)⁴⁴⁶, **Zoque of Copainalá** (Harrison and Harrison 1984,§2.1)⁴⁴⁷

Uto-Aztecan: CAHITA: Choguita Rarámuri (Caballero 2022,§12.1), **Yaqui** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 - Lindenfeld 1973,25-26,78); also see Ruhlen 2008,1824)⁴⁴⁸

Uto-Aztecan: NUMIC: Northern Paiute (Snapp, Anderson and Anderson 1982,51,55; Thornes 2003,§3.2), **Pipil** (Rijkhoff 2002,330; Rijkhoff 2008,801), **Southern Ute** (Oberly 2004,§5), **Timbisha** (McLaughlin, p.c.)⁴⁴⁹, **Western Shoshoni** (Crum and Dayley 1993,74)

Uto-Aztecan: PIMIC: Nevome (Shaul 1982,47,51), **Oob No'ok** (Shaul 1994,§4.1.2)⁴⁵⁰, **Papago (Tohono O'odham)** (Saxton 1982,192ff; cf. also Zepeda 1983,Lessons 17 and 18), **Tepecano** (Ruhlen 2008,1820)

Uto-Aztecan: TEPIMAN: Pima Bajo (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Estrada Fernández 2014,114; also see Munro 2020,§1)⁴⁵¹,

Penutian(?): MAIDUAN: Maidu (Baković 1992,§1)⁴⁵²

Arawakan: SOUTHERN MAIPURAN: Ashéninka Perené (Mihas 2010,§3.4 and Elena Mihas, p.c.)⁴⁵³

Arawakan: ARAWAKAN: Arawak (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Pet 1987,91; also see Pet 2011,§3.1), **Caquinte** (Castillo Ramirez 2017,§6.1.3), **Resígaro** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 – Allin 1976,223; also see Ruhlen 2008,1988), **Yukuna** (Lemus Serrano 2020,48,59; also see Schauer and Schauer 1978,28-30)⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁴⁵ Adjectives can also follow the noun if they are marked with a relativizer (Johnson 2000,66).

⁴⁴⁶ Dryer (2018,822 and Supplementary Materials,27), following de Jong Boudreault (2009,237,248), Lynda de Jong Boudreault (pc) attributes to Sierra Popoluca the order Num Dem A N, adding in fn.33 of the Supplementary Materials that “[i]t is clear from de Jong Boudreault (2009: 237, 248) that all three modifiers of the noun precede the noun and that the numeral precedes both the demonstrative and the adjective. Lynda de Jong Boudreault (pc) confirms that the demonstrative precedes the adjective.” Numerals may also appear before articles/demonstratives (de Jong Boudreault 2009,245-46). It remains to be seen whether this order receives a partitive interpretation (‘three of these children’). This is actually rendered plausible by the glosses in (i), from de Jong Boudreault (2009,246):

(i) tuum ?an+jayuk ?ii tuum je?m ?anh+woonyi
one xpsr+nephew and one that xpsr+daughter
‘one of my nephews and one of my daughters.’ (PQH.010/11)

⁴⁴⁷ Harrison and Harrison (1984,38) provide the following illustrative example:

(i) ʌsʏʌ' metsa mʌyata'mbʌ nwacas
my.this two big.ones my.cow
‘these two big cows of mine’

⁴⁴⁸ Guerrero Valenzuela (2005,20) however says that “Attributive adjectives may precede or follow the nouns that they modify.”

⁴⁴⁹ Although closely related languages, “Timbisha and Shoshoni are two separate languages. There is some mutual intelligibility although it is not equally bi-directional. The Timbisha can understand Shoshoni better than the Shoshoni can understand Timbisha” (John E. McLaughlin, p.c.).

⁴⁵⁰ The adjective may also be postnominal yielding the order Dem Num N A.

⁴⁵¹ Munro (2020,1) gives (i) as an illustrative example:

(i) hegam vaik svepegi 'o"ohan
those three red.pl book.pl
‘those three red books’

⁴⁵² Here is an example of the canonical order of Maidu nominal modifiers given in Baković (1992,53)

?uni-im sapy-im tete-im wepa-im
prox-ATTR three-ATTR big-ATTR coyote-NOM
‘these three big coyotes’

⁴⁵³ Dem Num A N is the order with underived adjectives; derived adjectives and relative clauses instead follow the N (Elena Mihas, p.c.). Dem Num A N is also the order reported in Pedrós Caballero (2023,§4.2), where the following example is given on p.173:

(i) i-ro=ra mawa anta-ro panko-tsi
dem-f=med three big-f house-ali
‘those three big houses’

⁴⁵⁴ Lemus Serrano (2020) attributes to Yukuna the orders Dem Num A N as well as Dem Num N A. WALSONline, based on Schauer and Schauer (1978,28), attributes to Yukuna the partial order A N.

Mayan: MAYAN: Achi (Ampérez Mendoza 2008,115)⁴⁵⁵, **Cajolá Mam** (England 2017,507f)⁴⁵⁶, **Central Mam** (Collins 1994,365)⁴⁵⁷, **Ch'ol** (Vázquez Álvarez 2011,§8.1; Coon 2010, 207ff; 2017,664; Jessica Coon, p.c.)⁴⁵⁸, **Chontal Maya** (Knowles 1984, Chapter 13,p.302), **Huastec (Southeastern)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Kondić 2012,141; also see Abdíans, Everett and Walker 1984,§§ 3.1 and 3.3.2.4)⁴⁵⁹, **Kaqchikel** (Brown, Maxwell and Little 2006,158)⁴⁶⁰, **K'iche(e)' Mayan** (Duncan 2010,§6.3; Can Pixabaj 2015,§2.3)⁴⁶¹, **Sipakapense** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Barrett (1999,200,202)⁴⁶², **Tacaná Mam** (Godfrey 1981,18), **Tzeltal** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Polian 2004,163; 2013,§18.3; also see Polian 2006,Chapter 5; 2017,§4.6; Monod Becquelin 2011,1416; Kaufman 1963,200ff;;

⁴⁵⁵ Although adjectives generally precede the noun, they can also follow (p.113). Ruhlen (2008,1773) attributes to Achi the order Num A N Dem.

⁴⁵⁶ England (2017,508) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) e'ye' kaaje' keq xb'aalin
DEM four red blankets

Some adjectives also follow the noun, though it remains to be seen if those that follow are reduced relative clauses, indirect rather than direct modifiers (in the sense of Cinque 2010 and references cited there).

⁴⁵⁷ England (1983, Chapter 5) gives Dem Num N A as the order of Mam (see Mam under this order for a possible reason for the disparity of orders).

⁴⁵⁸ Coon (2017,664) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) ili cha'-p'ej kolemax
DEM two-CLF big oranges
'these two big oranges'

⁴⁵⁹ The same order is given by Edmonson (1988,Chapter 17) for the Potosino dialect of Huastec. Kondić (2012,136) however gives the template in (i)

(i) demonstrative - quantifier - adjective 1 - determiner - noun - (adjective 2) - intensifier-plural
saying that "Nominals that function as modifiers follow the head nominal", and giving (ii)a. and b. (on p.135) as examples:

- (ii)a. oox i mixtun alobeel t'ajatx
three NM cat beautiful very
'three very beautiful cats'
b. naa' otro juun i kwitool maas puulik
DEM other(Sp) one NM boy more(Sp) big
'that other bigger boy'

⁴⁶⁰ Demonstratives actually frame the noun phrase, as shown in (i), from p.158 (the rightmost possibly being a demonstrative reinforcer):

- (i) la oxi' xti tzij la'
Dem three little word Dem
'those three little words'

Pleshak (2018,2) gives the following illustrative example:

- (ii) re oxi' k'ak'a taq ru-libro xta María
este tres nuevo dim.pl poss.3sg-libro pers María
'these three new books of Maria'

⁴⁶¹ Demonstratives can also follow the noun (Can Pixabaj 2015,§2.3).

González (2016,§2.10.1) gives the following template
(DEM)+(ART)+(PL)+(QUANT)+(PL)+(ADJ)+(PL)+(CLF)+N+(DEM)

Also saying that demonstratives are the only postnominal modifiers, all others being pre-nominal.

⁴⁶² Barrett (1999) states that demonstratives follow the N (§3.7), while determiners precede numerals, the plural marker and adjectives in this order before the noun (Det Num PL A N). Perhaps it is possible to interpret the postnominal demonstrative as a demonstrative reinforcer.

Brown and Levinson 2018,§4), **Tsotsil** (Polian (2017,§4.6)⁴⁶³, **Tzutujil** (Dayley 1981,§8.1.1)⁴⁶⁴, **Yukatec Maya** (Lehmann 2002,§2.2.2 and §2.4.4; Butler 2011,Chapter 2; Vapnarsky 2011,1421)⁴⁶⁵
Oto-Manguean: OTOMIAN: Otomí (Mezquital) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Hess 1968,47-49)⁴⁶⁶

Barbacoan: BARBACOAN: Awa Pit (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Curnow 1997: 117), **Namtrik** (Gonzales Castaño 2019,238), **Tsafiki** (Dickinson 2002,§4.1)⁴⁶⁷

Cariban: CARIBAN: Carib (Courtz 2008,§2.20)⁴⁶⁸, **Panare** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Payne and Payne 2013,268)⁴⁶⁹

Quechuan: QUECHUAN:⁴⁷⁰ **Ancash Quechua** (Ruhlen 2008,1914), **Ayacucho Quechua** (Ruhlen 2008,1910), **Cajamarca Quechua** (Quesada 1976,80; Myler 2009,§2,;2013,176)⁴⁷¹, **Chimborazo Quichua** (Beukema 1975, Chapter 3), **Cusco Quechua** (Ebina 2010,23)⁴⁷², **(Huallaga) Quechua** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - also see Weber 1989,17; also see 1996,§2.4.2)⁴⁷³, **Huaylas Quechua** (Estrella and Larsen 1982,§3.2.1; Julca-Guerrero 2008,15)⁴⁷⁴, **Imbabura Quechua** (Cole 1982,77f; Rijkhoff 1998,356; 2004,176; 2008,801; Munro 2020,§1)⁴⁷⁵, **Inga** (Levinsohn 2000, §1.2.2.2.3), **Quichua**

⁴⁶³ An alternative order is Num A N Dem.

⁴⁶⁴ Dayley (1981,388) gives the following illustrative example (demonstratives occupy the same slot as articles):

- (i) [Jar ee oxí7 chom laj taq aachi7aa7] xeeb'e iiwiir.
the B3p three fat very plr men went yesterday
'The three very fat men left yesterday.'

Adjectives and demonstratives can also appear postnominally.

⁴⁶⁵ According to Butler (2011,69f) Dem Num N A is also a possible order in Yucatec Maya. Hofling (2017,§4.1) and Skopeteas, Verhoeven, and Fanselow (2022,§3.1) attribute to Yukatac the order Det Num A N Dem, Hofling giving on p.720 the example (i):

- (i) le óox=túul mejen paalo'ob'-a'
det three-CLF young child-that
'these three young children'

⁴⁶⁶ Acosta Aguilera (2020,95) states that adjectives in Otomí del Valle del Mezquital can also follow the noun.

⁴⁶⁷ While demonstratives are always pre-nominal, numeral and adjectives may also appear postnominally (but no relative order is specified)

⁴⁶⁸ Courtz (2008,138) gives the following example to illustrate the order:

- mòkaron oko tawàporamon pitanikon
those two happy children

⁴⁶⁹ Payne and Payne (2013) say that Demonstratives, Numerals and Adjectives can also appear post-nominally (but they don't say in which overall order, though the example given on p. 268 shows the order N Num A).

⁴⁷⁰ As noted in Myler (2013,175), the different Quechua dialects, unless very closely related, are mutually unintelligible and one would be well justified in calling them independent languages.

⁴⁷¹ Quesada (1976,80) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) kay kimsa yuraq wasi-kuna
this three white house-PLU
'These three white houses'

A possible alternative order is Dem Num N A.

⁴⁷² Ebina (2010,23) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) chay iskay hatuñ alqu
that two big dog
'those two big dogs'

⁴⁷³ Weber (1989,17) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) chay ishkey hatun wasi-kuna
that two big house-PL
'those two big houses.'

⁴⁷⁴ Julca-Guerrero provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) tsay iskay mallwa kuchi-kuna
DEM two young pig-PL
'those two young pigs'

⁴⁷⁵ Munro (2020,1) gives (i) as an illustrative example for Imbabura Qichua:

- (i) chay kinsa puka libru-kuna
that three red book-pl

ecuatoriano (Catta Q. 1994,55), **San Martín Quechua** (Ruhlen 2008,1911), **South Bolivian Quechua** (Spent, Spent, Wrisley and Sherman 1967,60; also Ruhlen 2008,1912, and Myler 2013,176), **Tena Kichwa** (Grzech 2016,51f), **Yauyos Quechua** (Shimelman 2017,§7.1)
TUPI-GUARANÍ: Tapiete (González 2005,§3.2)
Aymaran: AYMARAN: Aimara (Cerrón-Palomino and Carvajal 2009,§2.4.2.1), **Jaqaru** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Hardman 2000,107; also see Hardman 1966, §4.2; Ruhlen 2008,1915), **Muylaq' Aymara** (Coler-Thayer 2010,414; Coler 2014,§15.3)⁴⁷⁶
Matacoan: MATACOAN: Maká (Gerzenstein 1995,154)
Tucanoan: TUCANOAN: Siona (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Wheeler 1970,76), **Secoya** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Johnson and Levinsohn 1990,50)
Araucanian: ARAUCANIAN: Mapudungun (Mapuche) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Smeets 2008,131, Hernández Sallés, Pizarro and Cayuqueo 2006,67; also see Catrileo Chiguailaf 1972,§IV)
Uru-Chipaya: URU-CHIPAYA: Chipaya (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Cerrón-Palomino 2006,195; also see Cerrón-Palomino 2009,§2.4.2.1)⁴⁷⁷
CREOLES (ENGLISH BASED): Antiguan Creole (Farquhar 1974,§3.0), **Bahamian Creole** (Haddican 2002), **Belize Kriol** (Decker 2005,§5.1.1), **Broken** (Shnukal 1988,§3.2.2)⁴⁷⁸, **Hawai'i Creole** (Sakoda and Siegel 2003,53), **Jamaican Creole** (Durrelman-Tame 2008,Chapter 4; Durrelman-Tame 2015), **Krio** (Nyampong 2015,39), **Lockhart River Creole** (Mittag 2016,Chapter 5), **Ngukurr-Bamyili** (Sandefur 1979,§4.4), **Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin** (Todd 1984,200)⁴⁷⁹, **Pichi** (Yakpo 2009,153), **St.Vincent and the Grenadines Creole** (Prescod 2011, Chapter 4),
CREOLES (PORTUGUESE BASED): Diu Indo-Portuguese (Cardoso 2009,§6.5), **Korlai Creole Portuguese** (Clements 2013,104)⁴⁸⁰
CREOLE (MALAY BASED): Sri Lanka Malay Creole (Noordhoff 2009, Chapter 8)⁴⁸¹
CREOLE (CHINESE BASED): Thong Boi (Erenst Ruslan Anip, p.c.)⁴⁸²
PIDGINS: Chinook Jargon (Vrzić 1999,§3.4.1.1), **Nefamese** (Bhuyan 2013,§5.2.1)⁴⁸³, **New South Wales Pidgin** (Troy 1994,§4.3.2.4 of Vol.I), **Ngatikese Pidgin** (Tryon 2000,368), **Nigerian Pidgin English** (Elugbe and Omamor 1991,96; Mowarin 2010,§4.0; Faraclas 2013,179)⁴⁸⁴, **Pijin** (Beimers 2008: §5.1), **West African Pidgin English** (Schneider 1966,85-94; Todd 1984,136; Leoue 1996,22)⁴⁸⁵

'those three red books'

⁴⁷⁶ Coler (2014,605) illustrates this order with the following example:

(i) kha pa jach'a janq'u anu
those two big white dogs

⁴⁷⁷ Cerrón-Palomino (2006,195) provides the following example, among others:

(i) nii pizk chiw paku
these two white dogs'

⁴⁷⁸ Broken is an English-based creole language of Torres Strait.

⁴⁷⁹ A number of adjectives can also occur postnominally with (Verhaar 1995, Chapter 13) or without (Verhaar 1995, Chapter 12) a linker. Haddican (2002) attributes to Tok Pisin the order Dem Num N A (see under this order).

⁴⁸⁰ Adjectives and demonstratives can also occur postnominally.

⁴⁸¹ Noordhoff (2009,§8.1.13) notes that an adjective or a numeral, but not both, can also be found following the N.

⁴⁸² An example of this order, provided by Erenst Ruslan Anip, is:

di sam cak anho anak
this three classifier nice/good children

Also see the University of Hawai'i page on Thong Boi:

<http://www.ling.hawaii.edu/ldtc/languages/thongboi/translation2.html>

⁴⁸³ An example provided by Bhuyan (2013,149) is:

(i) heitu ekta dunia suali
Dem Num Adj N
'That one beautiful girl'

⁴⁸⁴ Faraclas (2013,179) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) À si [dat mà fɛst tu [yelo [man pikin]]] fòr haws.
I see [that my first two [palor [male child]]] at house
'I saw [those my first two light skinned boys] at home.'

⁴⁸⁵ Schneider (1966) (cf. Obilade 1976,65), Todd (1984), and Leoue (1996) consider the Cameroon variety of West African Pidgin English.

SIGN LANGUAGE: Sign Language of the Netherlands (Brunelli 2011,76)⁴⁸⁶
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Esselen (Huelel) (Shaul 1995,§4.1)
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Tarascan (P'urhépecha) (Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado 2012 and p.c.)⁴⁸⁷
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Kamsá (Fabre 2002 and p.c.; O'Brien 2018,§8.2)⁴⁸⁸
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Kusunda (Watters 2006,Chapter 5 (in part), and Madhav Pokharel and Bhojraj Gautam, p.c.)
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Yurakaré (Gijn 2004; 2006,Chapter 4)⁴⁸⁹
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Leco (Leko) (Krasnoukhova 2012,188)
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: A'ingae (Fisher and Hengeveld forthcoming,§4)⁴⁹⁰
MIXED LANGUAGE (Amdo Tibetan and Mandarin): Zhōutún (Zhou 2020,151; and Chenlei Zhou p.c.)⁴⁹¹

Dem-N-A-Num (Co): 205 lgs, 90 genera

Afro-Asiatic: SEMITIC: Libyan Arabic (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Owens 1984: 81, Abdunnabi 2000: 231-232)⁴⁹²

Niger-Congo: EASTERN MANDE: Mona (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Fleming 1995,56-57)

Niger-Congo: WESTERN MANDE: Bambara (Rijkhoff 2004,176⁴⁹³, Rijkhoff 2008,801 and fn.12), **Bobo Madaré (Southern)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Sanou 1978,219-222,231), **Dzùngoo**

⁴⁸⁶ A possible alternative order is Dem N A Num (Brunelli 2011,76f).

⁴⁸⁷ See (i), kindly provided by Violeta Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado:

(i) ihtsĩ tsmáni tsíkata-(icha) turhipit-icha tirhe-h-ti=ia

[dem.pl](#) two hen-(pl) black-pl eat-pfve-3=already

"These two black hens have already eaten"

She also pointed out (pc) that adjectives used restrictively (in Cinque's 2010 terms, those derived from relative clauses) are both pre- and (preferably) post-nominal, and that the latter option is the only possible alternative when both a demonstrative and a numeral precede the noun.

⁴⁸⁸ O'Brien 2018 says that certain As can also follow the N but Alain Fabre actually reports (p.c.) that Adj+N and N+Adj appear in roughly the same proportions.

⁴⁸⁹ To judge from Gijn (2004,71 and endnote 2) adjectives can also follow the noun, yielding Dem Num N A).

⁴⁹⁰ Adjectives can also occur after the noun in the order Dem Num N A. <https://sails.clld.org/languages/con> gives for Cofán A N as the basic order.

⁴⁹¹ Chelei Zhou (p.c.) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) kɾ i kɾ ka ua
 this one CL little child
 'this one little child'

⁴⁹² Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,16, fn.5) writes: "The formula in Owens (1984: 81) shows both prenominal and postnominal positions for demonstratives, but Abdunnabi (2000: 231-232) implies that the prenominal one is dominant." The numerals 'one' and 'two' necessarily follow the noun, but the numerals from 3 to 10 precede (Abdunnabi 2000,218ff). Abdunnabi (2000,220) writes: "The cardinals 3-10 [...] are in a construct form with the noun they precede, but unlike noun constructs such numeral nouns may be definitized by the prefixation of the article /i_ial-/ and can be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, pre-posed or post-posed to the whole phrase: the demonstrative precedes when it is a bound morpheme; otherwise it almost always follows (Num N A Dem). Elfitoury (1976,Chapter 11) attributes to Lybian Arabic the order Dem Num N A. He writes (p.118): "A cardinal numeral may modify a noun and occurs commonly before it and rarely after it [footnote omitted, G.C.]. When the definite article or a demonstrative is to be added to the phrase the article is attached to the numeral itself and the demonstrative precedes it. If an adjective is to be added to modify the noun, it is placed at the end of the whole phrase; e.g.

(i) ha-l-xāms krahīb l-kbar
 these-five cars big
 'these five big cars'

⁴⁹³ In note 5 of Rijkhoff (2004) the author illustrates this order with an example provided by Bernd Heine:

(i) nín jíri bèlebele sàba
 these tree big three
 'these three big trees'

(Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Solomiac 2007,309,319)⁴⁹⁴, **Jalonke** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Lüpke 2005,100; also see Pruett and Pruett 2006,80), **Jeli** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Tröbs 1998,166)⁴⁹⁵, **Mandinka (Gambian)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Rowlands 1959,46,65); also see Ruhlen 2008,48)⁴⁹⁶

Niger-Congo: NORTHERN ATLANTIC: (Fuuta Jaloo) Pular (Diallo 2000,197)⁴⁹⁷

Niger-Congo(?): DOGON: Bunoge (Heath 2012a,§6.1.1), **Penange** (Heath 2012b,§6.1.1), **Tomo Kan** (Dyachkov 2012,§2.2)

Niger-Congo: SENUFO: Nanerge, (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Ouedraogo 1984,460,470,477)), **Sucite Senufo** (Anne Garber Kompaoré, p.c.)⁴⁹⁸, **Supyire** (Carlson 1994, Chapter 6)

Niger-Congo: KWA: Anufo (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,15 - Smye 2004: 41; also see Stanford and Stanford 1970,§5.2 under the name Chakosi; and Ruhlen 2008,160), **Efutu** (Obeng 2008, Chapter 4, especially p.27, and Chapter 6)⁴⁹⁹, **Ga (Gã)** (Kotei 1969,42f⁵⁰⁰; Kropp Dakubu and Ollennu 2011; Otoo 2014,§6.2), **Gichode** (Soglo 2015,Chapter 3)⁵⁰¹, **Ikposo** (Soubrier 2007,52f; 2013,Chapter 3), **Krachi** (Harold Torrence, p.c., based on consultants' information)⁵⁰²

Nilo-Saharan: NUBIAN: Nubian (Dongolese) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Armbruster 1960,320,359), **Nubian (Kunuz)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Abdel-Hafiz 1988,205,207)⁵⁰³, **Tabaq** (Alamin 2014,§4)

Nilo-Saharan: EASTERN SUDANIC: Chai (Last and Lucassen 1998,§3.5 and §4.1)⁵⁰⁴, **Mursi** (Worku 2020,193,198; 2021,Chapter 4)⁵⁰⁵, **Tama** (Dimmendaal 2009,313,317,321)

Nilo-Saharan: NILOTIC: Bari (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Spagnolo 1933,58,75,85)⁵⁰⁶

Afro-Asiatic: WEST CHADIC: Miya (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Schuh 1998,257,277)⁵⁰⁷

and adds another example with the more marked order N A Num Dem (also see Rijkhoff 2008,fn.12; Creissels 2011,42). Diallo (2005,56) gives examples of two demonstratives sandwiching the N(P).

⁴⁹⁴ In addition to the pre-nominal demonstrative there is a demonstrative reinforcer enclitic on the N (§9.4.2.1)

⁴⁹⁵ According to Tröbs (1998,166) the demonstrative can also follow the N, presumably in final position, as in other Western Mande Languages (see above), though that is not stated explicitly.

⁴⁹⁶ Creissels (to appear,§5.1) reports that determiners/demonstratives can also appear in final position post-nominally, yielding the order N A Num Dem.

⁴⁹⁷ Diallo (2000,197) gives Dem N Num A as an equally natural alternative order.

⁴⁹⁸ Nikitina and Silué (2022) report for Kafire (Senufo) that the demonstrative can also occur post-nominally after the numeral.

⁴⁹⁹ An alternative order is N A Num Dem (with Dem possibly a demonstrative reinforcer) (Obeng 2008,24ff).

⁵⁰⁰ Kotey (1970,§3.6.2) however gives examples with postnominal demonstratives. Hilda Koopman (p.c.) confirms that Gã also allows for the order N A Num Dem.

⁵⁰¹ Cleal (1976a,254) gives the order N Num A Dem, which for Soglo (2015,§3.1,§3.4 & §3.9) is a less frequent alternative order of Dem N A Num (or Dem N Num A), on a par with N A Num Dem.

⁵⁰² The following two sentences, provided by Torrence's consultant, show the presence of a demonstrative reinforcer and, (ii), the possible alternative order Dem N Num A (which, according to the consultant, has the same meaning as (i)):

(i) kɛnəŋ e-wuri deda w aɲɔ
DEM CLASS-book old there two
'those two old books'

(ii) kɛnəŋ e-wuri aɲɔ deda w
DEM CLASS-book two old there
'those two old books'

Cleal's (1976b) postnominal demonstrative may then be taken to be the demonstrative reinforcer.

⁵⁰³ While this is the order given in Habel-Hafiz (1988), Zeller (2020,70) attributes to Nubian the order N Dem Num A.

⁵⁰⁴ The pre-nominal demonstrative prefix is always in combination with one of two suffixes expressing two degrees of distance with reference to the speaker and the hearer (demonstrative reinforcers?).

⁵⁰⁵ Non-clitic demonstratives follow the noun (p.197), although the author does not say in which order they come wrt adjectives and numerals.

⁵⁰⁶ Nyombe (1987,§2.10.1) gives N A Num Dem as an alternative order for Bari. Yokwe (1987,240) says that "[t]he usual construction is one where the demonstrative precedes the noun that it modifies, but sometimes the noun is allowed to precede the demonstrative pronoun."

⁵⁰⁷ Schuh (1998,277f) gives Dem A N Num as an alternative order. Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,24fn24) clarifies that "[w]hile the formula given by Schuh (1998: 277) shows position for adjectives both before and after the noun, he says (p. 257) that the preferred position for adjectives is after the noun."

KAINJI: Duka (Bendor-Samuel, Cressman and Skitch 1971;§5 and §6; Bendor-Samuel, Skitch and Cressman 1973,Chapter 5; Ruhlen 2008,227)⁵⁰⁸

Niger-Congo: BANTOID: Akoose (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,15 - Hedinger 2008,34)⁵⁰⁹, **Chibemba** (Givón 1969, §1.4.3 and §1.6.3)⁵¹⁰, **Ha** (Rugemalira 2007,§3.2.3.1)⁵¹¹, **Ikizu** (Aunio et al. 2019,516), **Lwena** (Ruhlen 2008,344)⁵¹², **Sambaa** (Riedel 2009,25), **Tunen** (Mous 1997,124; Isaac 2007,§3.6; Kerr 2020,242)⁵¹³, **Kifuliiru** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,22 - Van Otterloo 2011,138-139)

Khoisan: SANDAWE: Sandawe (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Eaton 2010,§8.3; van de Kimmenade 1954)⁵¹⁴

MONGOLIC: Bao'an Tu (Fried 2010,§4.3)⁵¹⁵

Andamanese: GREAT ANDAMANESE: (Present-day) Great Andamanese (Abbi 2013,245)

NORTHWEST CAUCASIAN: Adyghe (West Circassian) (Rijkhoff 1998,342; 2002,310; Kumakhov and Vamling 2009,§2.4)⁵¹⁶, **Kabardian** (Hawkins 1983,119; Colarusso 1992,§3.2.2-4; and 6.1.1 and Kumakhov and Vamling 2009,§2.4; Applebaum 2013,70; Öztürk and Eren 2020,836)

Austro-Asiatic: PALAUNGIC: Mok (Tannumsaeng 2020,§2.1.1.1)

Sino-Tibetan: TIBETO-BURMAN (UNCLASSIFIED): Hruso (Aka) (Anderson 2012,10; Blench 2018,8)⁵¹⁷, **Koro Aka** (Anderson 2012,10)⁵¹⁸

⁵⁰⁸ Bendor-Samuel, Skitch and Cressman 1973,Chapter 5) give Dem N Num A as an alternative order for Duka. Ruhlen (2008,227) reports the (less frequent) possibility for adjectives to be pre-nominal.

⁵⁰⁹ This is the unmarked order. An alternative order is N A Num Dem. Sara Pacchiarotti reports that her informant, Ivo Ntiege Mesumbe Ngade, attributed to Akoose the order N Dem Num A.

⁵¹⁰ Other orders of the adjective and the demonstrative are possible but they appear to be contrastive.

⁵¹¹ See the illustrative order given in Bichwa (2022,114):

(i) baya abantu banje basore bataanu
those people my good five
'those five good people of mine'

The second choice is N Dem Num A (Rugemalira 2007,140).

⁵¹² Ruhlen (2008,344) reports that demonstratives can also follow the N but what their order is with respect to adjectives and numerals is not specified.

⁵¹³ Kerr (2020,242) illustrates this order with the following example:

(1) tóéyè tóbànanà tǒfítitià tǒté↓ té tǒfàndè
/tǒ-eyɛ tǒ-banana tǒ-fítitià tǒ-tete tǒ-fandɛ/
13-DEM.PROX 13-banana 13-black 13-small 13-two
'these two small black bananas'

⁵¹⁴ Although this appears to be the unmarked order given in Eaton (2010,§8.3), Steeman (2011) reports that "[n]oun phrases generally have a noun-modifier order, but pragmatically marked modifiers precede the noun (e.g. the demonstrative precedes 'girl' (4); section 3.6.1) (p.8). "Phrases with an initial demonstrative and a definiteness marker are pragmatically marked and express either contrastive focus or specificity: 'No, not this man, that one' or 'That man (out of the group)' (p.74f). Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,28fn36) adds that "[t]he classification of Sandawe as DemN is based on Eaton (2008). Both Steeman (2012) and van de Kimmenade (1954: 17) claim that NDem is the basic order. However, Eaton claims that the postnominal one is anaphoric, implying the prenominal one is exophoric."

⁵¹⁵ "Adjectives normally occur immediately following the head noun [...], but if there is more than one adjective modifying the same noun, one will immediately follow the noun while the others immediately precede the noun." (p.138), thus giving the order Dem A N A Num.

⁵¹⁶ Paris (1989,§2.1.4) attributes to the Abzakh dialect of Adyghe the order Dem Num N A. Arkadiev and Lander (2020,428) give an example in which numerals can also be post-nominal after an adjective when preceded by a linker.

⁵¹⁷ Blench (2018,8) gives the example in (i):

(i) he ʃlə gyu ksə
this dog black two
'these two black dogs'

⁵¹⁸ Anderson (2012) says that "Koro Aka does not have a close linguistic relationship with Hruso" (p.9), providing the following two examples:

(i)a. Koro Aka	b. Hruso Aka
ti lele ma kala	he vɔ giu dzi
DEM pig black three	DEM pig black three
'these three black pigs'	'these three black pigs'

Sino-Tibetan: CHINESE: Ancient Chinese (Jones 1970,6; Nguyen 2004,143)

Sino-Tibetan: KUKI-CHIN: Akha Lai (Peterson 2003,419), **Bangladesh Khumi** (Peterson 2019,§3.1.1), **Biante** (Haokip 2019,Chapter 5)⁵¹⁹, **Bualkhaw Chin** (Boston, ed., 2021,67-76)⁵²⁰, **Daai Chin** (So-Hartmann 2009,Chapter 5)⁵²¹, **Falam Chin** (King 2010,§2.2.2)⁵²², **Hyow** (Zakaria 2018,§4.4; Baclawski 2012,24 and Chapter 2), **Karbi** (Jeyapaul 1987,§3.2.5,§3.3.2,§4.4.1)⁵²³, **Kuki-Thaadow** (Hyman, with T. Haokip 2004,§3.4; 2010,37)⁵²⁴, **Leinong Naga** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Gwa 2010,87f)⁵²⁵, **Mizo** (Chhangte 1986,§3.2, 1989,97f; Lalitha 1996,55)⁵²⁶, **Paite** (Muana 1998,Chapter 3), **Sukte Salhte** (Singh 2018,§64 and 6.11), **Simte** (Naorem 2009,§4.2 and Chapter 5), **Tiddim Chin** (Dryer 2008,37 and 47), **Zo** (Philip Thanglienmang Tungdim, p.c.)

Sino-Tibetan: KONYAK (NORTHERN NAGA): Hakhun Tangsa (Boro 2017,Chapter 5)⁵²⁷, **Konyak** (Nagaraja 2010,§3.1)⁵²⁸, **(Ha?wa) Nocte** (Rahman 2016,Chapter 4)⁵²⁹

Sino-Tibetan: WESTERN NAGA: Rongmei (Gonmei 2010, §4.7.3 and §5.3) **Zeme** (Chanu 2017,161,163,166)

Sino-Tibetan: SOUTHERN NAGA: Anal (Devi 2015,65f of Chapter 4), **Kharam** (Singh 2014,§5.1.3-4)⁵³⁰

⁵¹⁹ Haokip (2019,239) provides the following illustrative example among others:

- (i) hi naite risam irin̄jaka
this child poor five
'these five poor children.'

⁵²⁰ Boston (ed.) (2021,62) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) tsi mi uitso lian pittsei h panih kheh
Dem. Noun Adj. Adv. Num Case
'those two very big dogs'

⁵²¹ A demonstrative (perhaps a demonstrative reinforcer) may also sandwich the nominal phrase (Dem N A Num dem).

⁵²² Eng Lian Hngak (2020,§2.3.3) attributes to Falam Chin the order (Dem) N A Num Dem.

⁵²³ Konwar (1991) also reports for Karbi the post-nominal position of adjectives (§6.8) and numerals (§6.6) and the pre-nominal position of demonstratives (§6.7.2). The same order is given in Philippova (2021,§4.2) for Amri Karbi. Konnerth (2014, Chapter 7) gives Dem Num A N as an alternative order for Karbi, as does Grüssner (1978,§7) for Arleng Alam (a.k.a. Karbi), in addition to the order Dem A N Num. Konnerth also mentions the fact that A can follow the N, although her corpus does not allow one to determine its postverbal order wrt Num. The postnominal order of A and Num is free, thus also yielding the order Dem N Num A. Narzary (2016,286) gives Dem Num A N as the order of Karbi, illustrating it with the example in (i):

- (i) lake i-nut keme a-monit
this one-Clf. good Poss-man

⁵²⁴ Hyman with T. Haokip (2004,18) provide the following illustrative example (where *!hi* is arguably a demonstrative reinforcer):

- (i) hītsyé ká lúy lien thùm hóo !hī
Dem Poss N A Num Pl Dem
'these my three big dogs'

Krishan (1980,41ff) instead attributes to Thadou the order Dem N Num A.

⁵²⁵ Gwa (2010,88) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) naŋ ɲu ɔvu zam voŋ ɲiu hai sam
this 1sg GEN house be big PL three
'these three big houses of mine'

⁵²⁶ Although demonstratives can apparently sandwich the NP (but Chhangte 1989,97 refers to the prenominal one as Demonstrative and to the postnominal one as Determiner) in the grammatical notes of the electronic pages of the Language Information Service (LIS) of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Manasagangotri, Mysore (http://www.lisindia.net/Mizo/Mizo_Struct.html) the canonical position of the demonstrative is also given as pre-nominal.

⁵²⁷ Adjectives can also precede the noun, following demonstratives; and demonstratives can also occur post-nominally, following adjectives and numerals (also doubling a pre-nominal demonstrative). The same word order possibilities appear to hold of Muklom Tangsa (see Mulder 2020,Chapter 5).

⁵²⁸ Adjectives can also precede the noun. The same orders are reported in Hoipo (2021a,§2.1; 2021b,§2.1.1) for the Chen dialect.

⁵²⁹ Numerals can also precede the N if they co-occur with a classifier (Rahman 2016,§4.4.3).

⁵³⁰ Adjectives can also precede the noun (Singh 2014,117f), yielding presumably the order Dem A N Num.

Sino-Tibetan: TIBETIC: Denjongke (Yliniemi 2019, §4.1.1)⁵³¹, **Kyirong** (Hedlin 2011, §3.3.2 and §3.3.6.2), **Ladhaki** (Koshal 1979, 108), **Lhomi** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Vesalainen 2016, 49)⁵³², **Manange** (Genetti and Hildebrandt 2004, 75)⁵³³, **Nubri** (Dhakal 2019, 44, 49), **(Hile) Sherpa** (Graves 2007, §5.1), **(Solu) Sherpa** (Kelly 2004, 222; Greninger 2009, 23), **Thakali** (Sharma 2004, §1 and 5; Regmi 2020, §7.2)⁵³⁴, **(Dongwang) Tibetan** (Bartee 2007, Chapter 8), **Tsum** (Dhakal 2017, §§5-6 and Appendix)

Sino-Tibetan: KHO-BWA: Bulu Puroik (Lieberherr 2017, 117), **Duhumbi (Chugpa)** (Bodt 2020, §6.1)⁵³⁵, **Sherdukpen** (Jacquesson 2015, §3.5.2 and §3.5.4)

Sino-Tibetan: TUJIA: Tujia (Northern) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Brassett, Brassett and Lu 2006, 106)⁵³⁶

Sino-Tibetan: BODIC: Bjokapakha (Grollmann 2020, §4.3 and Selin Grollman, p.c.), **Brokpa** (Mittaz 2020, §2.1 and Selin Grollman, p.c) **Bumthang** (Peck 2016, §4.2.2.7), **Dzongkha** (Gelles 2010, pp.10, 21, 28), **Jad** (Sharma 1990a, 42f), **Kurtöp** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Hyslop 2011, 254), **Müwe Ké** (Archer 2021, §2.2.1), **Nar-Phu** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials 25 - Noonan 2003b, 348; also see Noonan and Hildebrandt 2017, §5.1), **Nyam-Kad** (Sharma 1992, 145ff), **Uchai** (Brahma 2015, 259), **Yohlmo** (Hari 2010, §5.1; Hedlin 2011, §3.3.2 and §3.3.6.2)⁵³⁷

Sino-Tibetan: QIANGIC: Ersu (Zhang 2013, Chapter 5; 2016, Chapter 5)⁵³⁸, **Guiqiong** (Rao, Gao and Gates 2019, §3 and §4.2), **Lizu** (Chirkova 2015, §4), **Munya** (Bai 2019, §6.2), **nDrapa** (Shirai 2012, 86; 2019, §1.2, 2022, 29, and Satoko Shirai, p.c.), **Pumi** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Ding 1998; Ding 2014, 162)⁵³⁹, **Tangut** (Gong 2003, §5.1)

Sino-Tibetan: NAIC: Shixing (Chirkova 2009, §3.2 and forthcoming, §2.4)⁵⁴⁰

Sino-Tibetan: rGYALRONG: Eastern Geshiza (Honkasalo 2019, Chapter 5)⁵⁴¹, **Gyarong (Cogtse)** (Lin 1993, 471, Nagano 2003, 471), **(Wobzi) Khroskyab** (Lai 2017, §4.5.1; 2018, §2.1.1)⁵⁴², **Lavrung Wobzi** (Lai 2013, 34), **rGyalrong (Caodeng)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Sun 2003, 498), **rGyalrong**

⁵³¹ Here is an example given by Yliniemi (2019, 144):

(i) ódi k^him sá:p súm t^hamteɛ=di
that house new three all=DEMPH
'all those three new houses'

⁵³² A demonstrative can also close off the noun phrase (Dem N A Num Dem).

⁵³³ Hildebrandt (2004, 123) reports that one of her consultants gave Num A N as the canonical order of numerals and adjectives.

⁵³⁴ Numerals can also precede and demonstratives can also be found in final position (Regmi 2020, 96).

⁵³⁵ Bodt (2020, 260) gives the following example of the order Dem N A Num:

(i) ogi p^has adzop hin
that gift good one
'that good gift'

⁵³⁶ Brassett, Brassett and Lu (2006, 106) provide the following example:

(i) ai¹di¹ ha⁴lie³ lang²ga¹ re¹ long³
that dog black four clf
'those four black dogs'

⁵³⁷ According to Hari (2010, §5.1), a minority of adjectives precede the N, in which case no adjective may follow, giving Dem A N Num as an alternative order of Yohlmo. Gawne (2013, 453, 485 and 2016, §5.1) gives the order Dem N CLF Num A for Lamjung Yolmo.

⁵³⁸ Demonstratives can also follow. When they do, the overall order is N A Dem Num (Zhang 2014, §2). Zhang (2013, Chapter 5; 2016, 217) also gives N Dem A Num as an alternative order.

⁵³⁹ Daudey (2014, §5.6) gives this same order for Wadu Pumi. Ding (2017, §4.2) also report Dem N A Num as the unmarked order of Prinmi (Pumi), mentioning the fact that adjectives are also found before demonstratives, but arguably as reduced relative clauses.

⁵⁴⁰ Demonstratives can also appear postnominally (together with the pre-nominal demonstratives) but do not co-occur with a numeral.

⁵⁴¹ Honkasalo (2019, 301) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) e sme gæ-mdze æ-lə
DEM woman ADJZ-beautiful one-CLF.INDEF
'that beautiful woman'

⁵⁴² The same order is found in Siyuewu Khroskyabs (Yulha Lhawa, p.c.).

(Japhug) (Jacques 2015,§5; 2017,§2.1; 2021,§9.3)⁵⁴³, **rGyalrong Jiāomùzú** (Prins 2011, §4.1)⁵⁴⁴, **rGyalrong (Tshobdun)** (Sun and Blogros 2019,20)
Sino-Tibetan: MRU: Hkongso (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Wright 2009,34)⁵⁴⁵
Sino-Tibetan: JINGPHO-LUISH: Kadu (Asak) (Sangdong 2012, Chapters 4 and 5), **(Numhpuk) Singpho** (Morey 2010b,§2.3.4)⁵⁴⁶
Sino-Tibetan: BODO-GARO: Dimasa (Jacquesson 2008,§1.7.2 and Wood 2008,14)⁵⁴⁷, **Garo** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Burling 2003,392-393)⁵⁴⁸, **Kokborok** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Karapurkar 1976,32,91; also see Jacquesson 2008,§5.2)⁵⁴⁹, **Reang** (Singha 2017,§7.1)
Sino-Tibetan: BURMESE-LOLO: Buyuan Jino (Hayashi 2012,2 and Norihiko Hayashi, p.c.), **Burmese** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Soe 1999,39; also see Jones 1970,5; Ruhlen 2008,919; Vittrant 2019,§3.2.1)⁵⁵⁰, **Lacid** (Luk 2017,Chapter 5), **Maru (Lhaovo)** (Jones 1970,5, Nguyen 2004,143, Sawada 2013)⁵⁵¹, **Youle Jino** (Hayashi 2014 and Norihiko Hayashi, p.c.)
Sino-Tibetan: JINGPHO-LUISH: Cak (Huziwara 2019,4.1.2.1)⁵⁵²
Sino-Tibetan: TANI: Apatani (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,15 - Abraham 1985,66-67,124-125)⁵⁵³, **Mishmi** (Devi Prasada Sastry 1984,§3.2)⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁴³ Demonstratives (possibly demonstrative reinforcers) can also follow the numeral in postnominal position.

⁵⁴⁴ “Demonstratives come after numerals, adjectives, quantifiers and classifiers [in the order N A Num CLF Dem]. But if the head noun is modified by numerous other terms, the demonstrative usually appears before the noun rather than at the end. It often forms a genitive construction with the noun.” (Prins 2011,134).

⁵⁴⁵ Wright (2009,38) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) əl-mi+val aŋ+ hai kim\ əl rum\
 there-DEF-PL 1SG from house big three
 ‘those three big houses of mine’

⁵⁴⁶ The same order is found in the Pathargaon village Turung variety of Singpho (see Morey 2010a,294).

⁵⁴⁷ Evans (2022,7) reports a Dimasa example with the order Dem Num A N:

(i) ibu ma-gin gisim daono ani.
 DEM CLF-two black chicken 1sgGEN
 ‘These two black chickens are mine.’

Longmailai (2014,Chapter 3) reports among the pre-nominal Demonstratives, numerals and adjectives, illustrating the latter two more frequently in post-nominal position.

⁵⁴⁸ Joseph (2007,561) attributes to Garo the order Dem A N Num.

⁵⁴⁹ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,22) adds: “Although the formula given by Karapurkar (1976: 91) gives positions for adjectives both before and after the noun, the preceding discussion only mentions postnominal position, so I treat this as the dominant order.”

⁵⁵⁰ Jones (1970,5) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) dí lú jī θōun yaw?
 these person big three clf.
 ‘these three big persons’

Gwa (2010,29) reports that colour adjectives precede the N (Dem A_{colour} N A Num).

⁵⁵¹ Sawada (2013) says that demonstratives can also appear post-nominally following adjectives, and marginally, when present, also numerals: N A (?Num) Dem vs. *N A Dem Num (pp. 31 and 39).

⁵⁵² The author says that “[t]he structure of the noun phrase in Cak is summarised in [(i)]:

(i) DEMONSTRATIVE + NOUN + ADJECTIVAL VERB + NOMINAL SUFFIX + PLURAL MARKER /
 NUMERAL CLASSIFIER + POSTPOSITION + GENERAL PARTICLE” (p.21).

However in the example given by the author it appears that an adjective can also appear pre-nominally (making it closer to the order of Jingpho, for which see below):

(ii) má ?áphro+kvu+mí_sa + níŋ-ta=aŋ=ŋu?
 ‘these two white and good small dogs too (OBJ)’
 (lit. this white+dog+good DIM + two-CL:animal=OBJ=too)

⁵⁵³ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,15) adds the following footnote: “Although Abraham (1985: 124 and elsewhere) describes a set of words he calls determiners following the noun which exhibit a distal-proximate distinction, these words only occur on subjects, the glosses never seem to use English demonstratives, and there are examples where these occur with noun phrases glossed as indefinite, so I treat the prenominal position (p. 29) as basic.”

⁵⁵⁴ Although the position of demonstratives is not discussed in §2.1.4.3, §3.2 nor elsewhere, examples on p.85, 100, 186 show the demonstrative occupying a pre-nominal position.

Sino-Tibetan: MIJI: Sajolang (West Kameng) (Weedall 2020, Chapter 7)⁵⁵⁵

Austronesian: SOUTH SULAWESI: Makassar(ese) (Jukes 2005, §3.5; 2006, §6.3)⁵⁵⁶

Austronesian: OCEANIC: Iduna (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Hockett 1974, 90)⁵⁵⁷, **Kalo** (King, Kini and Raka 2014, §3.6.1)⁵⁵⁸, **Logea** (Dawuda 2009, ex. (36) and p.c.), **Mandara** (Hong and Hong 2003, §4.1)⁵⁵⁹, **Manihiki** (Olesen 2020, §4.3)⁵⁶⁰, **Mekeo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - Amala, Magaiva and van Deelen 2015, 22; also see Maino and Aufo, with Bullock 2015, §3.6)⁵⁶¹, **Motu** (Taylor 1970, §2.21)⁵⁶², **Nochi (Notsi)** (Erickson and Erickson 1992, §5.1), **Saliba** (Mosel 1994, §5; Margetts 1999, §2.4)⁵⁶³, **Sinaugoro** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Kolia 1975, 123; also see Ruhlen 2008, 1199)⁵⁶⁴, **Tahitian** (Ruhlen 2008, 1316), **Tawala** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Ezard 1997, 139), **Ubir** (Boreret and Aira with Carwile 2015, 20ff)

Trans-New Guinea: CHIMBU: Bo Ung (Ku Waru dialect) (Merlan and Rumsey 1991, 166, 170, 255, and 335f, Alan Rumsey, p.c.)⁵⁶⁵, **Kuman** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Trefry 1969, 38; also see Ruhlen 2008, 1361), **Umbu-Ungu** (Head 1976, §7.5.1)⁵⁶⁶

Trans-New Guinea: MADANG: Tauya (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - MacDonald 1990, 85, 105), **Koromu** (Priestley 2008, §5.2.1)

Trans-New Guinea: BINANDEREAN: Tafota-Baruga (Farr, Furoke and Farr 1996, §4.1.1)⁵⁶⁷

Trans-New Guinea: MANUBARAN: Doromu-Koki (Bradshaw 2012, §3.3; Ruhlen 2008, 1435)⁵⁶⁸

Trans-New Guinea: SOUTHEAST PAPUAN: Fuyug (Bradshaw 2007, 80ff)

Trans-New Guinea: FINISTERRE(-HUON): Domung (King, Diru, Gaup and Kwasik 2015, §3.5),

Nankina (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Spaulding and Spaulding 1994, 118, 148-149)

Trans-New Guinea: OK-AWYU: Wambon (de Vries and de Vries-Wiersma 1992, Chapter 3)

Trans-New Guinea: ELEMEN: Orokolo (Brown 1972, 247ff and 296f), **Tairuma (Toaripi)** (Brown 1972, 247ff and 296f; 1973, 8.15.2; and Ikamu and Jo 2013, §3.6.1)

⁵⁵⁵ Adjectives and numerals can also appear (less frequently) prenominal.

⁵⁵⁶ Jukes (2006, §5.8) also gives examples where the numeral precedes the noun. Mantasiah (2016, 497) gives the following template for the Lakiung dialect of Makassar: (+Dem) (Quant) N (Adj) (±Dem).

⁵⁵⁷ This is also the order given in Ruhlen (2008, 1195). According to Hockett (1974, §6.1.1) an alternative order is N A Num Dem.

⁵⁵⁸ See the example given in King, Kini and Raka (2014, 23):

(i) vo kwaeva kamu-ra ruparupa-ra ruala
those dogs big-PL black -PL two
'Those two big black dogs'

⁵⁵⁹ A number of adjectives ('tiny', 'small', 'good', 'bad') can also be found in pre-nominal position. Possibly they are to be analysed as augmentative, diminutive, endearing and pejorative morphemes, respectively.

⁵⁶⁰ In addition to the pre-nominal demonstratives, there are post-nominal 'deictics' (possibly, demonstrative reinforcers), located between adjectives and numerals.

⁵⁶¹ An alternative order is Dem N Num A.

⁵⁶² Taylor (1970, 46) illustrates the order with the following example:

(i) unu sisia bada-dia rua
those dogs big(-REL) two
'those two big dogs'

Yam (2020, 39f) gives the same order, adding that adjectival nouns precede the noun.

⁵⁶³ Both Mosel (1994) and Margetts (1999) give Dem N Num A as an order alternative to Dem N A Num. **Oetzel** (2019, 6 and 11) gives examples with post-nominal demonstratives.

⁵⁶⁴ According to Kolia (1975, 123) and Ruhlen (2008, 1199) nationality adjectives precede the N. Taubers Schmidt (1999, §3.1.2) says that quantitative adjectives precede qualitative adjectives (Dem N Num A), the numeral 'one' being exceptional in following qualitative adjectives (Dem N A Num), but Kolia (1975, 124) gives an example where numeral 'six' follows an adjective.

⁵⁶⁵ The deictic and anaphoric demonstrative *i* precedes the noun, while the demonstrative *kani*, which Rumsey (2019, §3.2) glosses 'absent but known' is final (Merlan and Rumsey 1991, 183, 246).

⁵⁶⁶ N A Num Dem is also possible (Head 1976, 67ff).

⁵⁶⁷ An alternative order is Dem N Num A (Farr, Furoke and Farr 1996, 35f).

⁵⁶⁸ Bradshaw (2012, 59) provides the following illustrative example, among others:

(i) mina rema dona gabu remanu
this woman pig black two
'these two black sows'

Trans-New Guinea: ANGAN: Angaataha (Ruhlen 2008,1397; Eko and Graham 2013,§3)⁵⁶⁹, **Wajokeso** (West 2014,§4.4; West and West 2014,§4.2.0)

Koiarian: KOIARIAN: Ömie (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Austing and Upia 1975,522-523,528; also see Austing 1967,59; Dutton 1969,156; Ruhlen 2008,1433)

Eleman: TATE: Kaki Ae (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Clifton 1997,30; also see Clifton 1995,§4.1)⁵⁷⁰

Nimboran: NIMBORAN: Nimboran (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - May 1997,161)

South Bougainville: SOUTH BOUGAINVILLE: Motuna (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Onishi 1994,222-223,231)

East New Britain: BAINING: Baining (Dunn, Reesink and Terrill 2002,35, citing Parker and Parker 1977,39)⁵⁷¹, **Kaket (Qaqet)** (Stebbins 2009,233; Hellwig 2019,§3.1.2, and Birgit Hellwig, p.c.)⁵⁷²

Yele-West New Britain: WEST NEW BRITAIN: Yéfi Dnye (Levinson 2018,321)

Lower Sepik-Ramu: RAMU: Awar (Levy 2002,Chapter 3)

Sepik: IWAM: Iwam (Conrad 1972,§2.1; Ruhlen 2008,1514)⁵⁷³,

Sepik: TAMA:Yessan-Mayo (Foreman 1974,§3.1.1.3)⁵⁷⁴

Sepik: RAM: Awtuw (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Feldman 1986: 116)⁵⁷⁵

Senu River: KWOMTARI: Kwomtari (Honsberger, Honsberger and Tupper 2008,75)⁵⁷⁶

East Bird's Head: EAST BIRD'S HEAD: Sentani (Cowan 1965, 58; Hartzler 1994,51; Mayer 2021,§3.3)

Australian: PAMA-NYUNGAN: Gogo-Yimidjir (de Zwaan 1969,65,75,131), **Gugu-Yalanji** (Hershberger 1964,86; Ruhlen 2008,1597)

Australian: GUNWINGGUAN: Wageman (Wilson 2006, passim)⁵⁷⁷

Eskimo-Aleut: ESKIMO: Tunumiisut (Mennecier 1995,258)

Haida: HAIDA: Haida (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Enrico 2003,58-62)

Yuchi: YUCHI: Yuchi (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 - Linn 2001,399,403,408; Wagner 1934, 346)

Penutian (?): MAIDUAN: Nisenan (Central Hill) (Eatough 1999,31f,57,59)⁵⁷⁸

Macro-Chibchan(?): LENCAN: Lenca (King 2017,Chapter 7)

Chibchan: KUNA: Cuna (Quesada 1999,232; 2007,79)⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁶⁹ Ruhlen (2008) says that A can either precede or follow the N. Huisman (1981,§2.2) gives for Angaataha the order N Dem A Num.

⁵⁷⁰ Clifton (1997,30) provides the following example:

(i) ɛ'a Uriri aru-'u vori-vori ü'üka
that Uriri man-PL big-PL two
'those two Uriri leaders'

⁵⁷¹ Parker and Parker (1977,39) provide the following illustrative example:

(i) lu-nget ama velam ama su-nget ama depkuas
these-pl.nh art pig art black-pl.nh art three
'these three black pigs'

⁵⁷² While this is the canonical order of Qaqet, other orders are also possible for informational or length reasons (Birgit Hellwig, p.c.).

⁵⁷³ Apparently, Dem may also follow the N, although its order with respect to Num is not clear.

⁵⁷⁴ Some adjectives can also precede the noun (p.55).

⁵⁷⁵ Dryer adds the following footnote: "Although the rule given by Feldman (1986: 116) allows numerals to either precede or follow the noun, my text counts show postnominal numerals to be more frequent."

⁵⁷⁶ When there is a possessor the order changes: (Possessor) HEAD (Demonstrative) (Qualifier) (Quantifier)
Default order in the noun phrase for animate nouns: (Demonstrative) (Qualifier) HEAD (Quantifier)

⁵⁷⁷ While Tryon (1964) gives the order N A Num without discussing the position of demonstratives, Wilson (2006) gives various examples where demonstratives precede the N (and some where it follows, without saying how it orders wrt numerals and adjectives).

⁵⁷⁸ Baković (1992,§3), after Eatough (1991), attributes to Central Hill Nisenan the order Dem A N Num.

⁵⁷⁹ Quesada (1999,232) gives the example in (i):

(i) we ome pin war-po
DEM woman old CL-two
'those two old women'

Chibchan: PAYA: Pech (Pesh) (Holt 1999,62ff; Chamoreau 2021,§1.3)⁵⁸⁰
Chibchan: CHIBCHA-MOTILON: Barí (Quesada 2004,370)⁵⁸¹
Chibchan: CHIBCHA-DUIT: Muisca (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Ostler 1994,215; also see Quesada 2007,§3.3.1.2)
Muskogean: MUSKOGEAN: Creek (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Martin 2011,372; Jack Martin (pc)), **Elaponke** (Ian Iglesias, p.c.)⁵⁸²
Choco: CHOCO: Emberá (Northern) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Mortensen 1999: 39; also see Murillo Miranda 2018, and p.c.)⁵⁸³
Siouan: SIOUAN: Crow (Graczyk 1991,§4.2; 2007,Chapter 10)
Arauan: ARAUAN: Kulina (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Dienst 2014,225)⁵⁸⁴, **Paumari**⁵⁸⁵
PANOAN: Amahuaca (Clem 2019, §2.3.7)⁵⁸⁶, **Cashinahua** (Ruhlen 2008,2025), **Yaminawa** (Neely 2019, C.7.4)⁵⁸⁷
Yuman-Cochimi: CORE YUMAN: Hualapai (Watahomigie, Powskey and Yamamoto 1979,12f; Watahomigie, Bender, Yamamoto 1982,§4.4; Croft and Deligianni 2001,7)⁵⁸⁸
MISUMALPAN: Miskito (Miskitu) (Salamanca 1988,§4.1.1, 2008,116f; Green 2003,§5 and note 8)⁵⁸⁹, **Sumu** (Yasugi 1995,399)
Cariban: TARANOAN: Tiriyo (Meira 2011,1500)⁵⁹⁰
Tacanan: TACANAN: Araona (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Emkow 2006,368)⁵⁹¹
Tucanoan: TUCANOAN: Tatuyo (Bostrom 1998,§3.4.2)⁵⁹²
Tupian: TUPI-GUARANÍ: Yuqui (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 - Villafañe 2004,79)⁵⁹³
Sáliban: PIAROA: Piaroa (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Krute 1989,146; also see Mosonyi 2000b,§8.2.1)

⁵⁸⁰ Chamoreau (2021,514) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) ..to? isparah amukta tēnah po:k=yo
 DEM.MED machete rotten heavy two-COM/INS
 ‘..with these two rotten heavy machetes’

⁵⁸¹ An alternative order appears to be Dem Num N A (Quesada 2004,370).

⁵⁸² Martin (2011,393) provides the following example:

(i) ma ifá laslat-í: toccî:n-i
 that dog black-DUR three:RES.PRF-DUR
 ‘those three black dogs’

⁵⁸³ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,19 fn15) adds: “Although Mortensen (1999) does not appear to be explicit about adjectives being closer to the noun than numerals, this is implied by the fact that the case clitics attach to adjectives rather than the noun but to the noun when there is a numeral (p. 39).”

⁵⁸⁴ An alternative order is N A Num Dem.

⁵⁸⁵ See Aikhenvald (2010,238ff) for the order Dem N, and Wikipedia Language Paumari (Syntax) for the order N A Num.

⁵⁸⁶ One can reconstruct the order Dem N A Num (the same of the order of Cashinawa, which is considered closely related - Fleck 2013: 12) but Num and A can also precede the N (the author says that some of the flexibility may be due to more marked informational structure).

⁵⁸⁷ A less frequent order is Dem N Num A (Neely 2019, 368f).

⁵⁸⁸ Croft and Deligianni give Dem N Num A as an alternative order of Hualapai.

⁵⁸⁹ Salamanca (2008,116) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) baha waitnika araska karna nani wâl ba
 these man horses strong PL two def/top
 ‘these two strong horses of the man’

⁵⁹⁰ Meira (2011,1500) however suggests that the elements entering the order Dem N A Num may be in apposition to each other.

⁵⁹¹ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,16 fn.6) reads: “Numerals in Araona greater than three precede the noun, while the words for ‘one’, ‘two’, and ‘three’ follow the noun. I treat the postnominal position as the dominant one, on the assumption that the three smallest numerals are more frequent than higher numerals.”

⁵⁹² Numerals may also occur pre-nominally, although when they do they are in complementary distribution with demonstratives.

⁵⁹³ Balodis (2016,315f) attributes to Yuki the order Dem Num N A.

Macro-Ge: FULNIÔ: Fulniô (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Costa 1999, 108); also see Meland and Meland 2009, §2.2)⁵⁹⁴

LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Tayap (or Taiap) (Kulick and Terrill 2019, 105, 357)⁵⁹⁵

LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Warao (Hawkins 1983, 119; Mosonyi, Mosonyi and Arintero 2000, 123ff)⁵⁹⁶

LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Timucua (Killingsworth 2017, §1.3)

PIDGIN: Hiri Motu (a.k.a **Police Motu**) (Ruhlen 2008, 2073)

SIGN LANGUAGE: Turkish Sign Language (Özsoy and Nuhbalaoğlu 2014)⁵⁹⁷

Dem-Num-N-A (Cb): 186 lgs, 76 genera

Afro-Asiatic: SEMITIC: (Ancient) Egyptian (Ruhlen 2008, 446), **Arabic (Gulf)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - Holes 1990, 60, 62), **Assyrian** (Rijkhoff 1998, 342; Fox 1997, §13.1), **Chaldean (Modern)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Sara 1974, 101), **Challa Neo-Aramaic** (Fassberg 2010, §4.2.4 and 4.3.3), **Faifi** (Alfaife 2018, 164), **Jibbali** (Hofstede 1998, Chapter 2; Shlonsky 2020)⁵⁹⁸, **Jordanian Arabic** (Alhailawani 2018, 79, 114)⁵⁹⁹, **Maltese** (Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310; Fabri 2001, 156; Winchester 2019, 15)⁶⁰⁰, **Mehri** (Shlonsky 2020; Watson 2012, Chapter 3 and Janet C.E. Watson, p.c.)⁶⁰¹, **Moroccan Arabic** (Asmaa El Hansali, p.c.)⁶⁰², **North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic** (Gutman 2018, 13), **Soqotri** (Makhashen, Shuib and Che Lah 2008, 15; Aloufi 2016, 39ff)⁶⁰³, **Standard Arabic** (Fassi Fehri 1999, §2.2;

⁵⁹⁴ Meland and Meland (2009, 50) also give an example where Num and A follow the noun in this order.

⁵⁹⁵ The language is spoken in Papua New Guinea. Demonstratives precede the noun (see the example on p.357), while demonstrative reinforcers ('here'/'there'/etc.) follow. The order of postnominal modifiers is N A Num (p.105).

⁵⁹⁶ Mosonyi, Mosonyi and Arintero (2000, 125) say that demonstratives generally precede, but can also follow the N.

⁵⁹⁷ An alternative order is Dem N Num A.

⁵⁹⁸ As Mehri, the language has two canonical orders, depending on the nature of the cardinal numerals. 1 and 2 follow the N in the overall order N Dem Num A. 3 and higher numerals are pre-nominal and appear in the overall order Dem Num N A. Given that the majority of numerals follow I take the latter to be the principal order. See the careful analysis of Shlonsky (2020), and the examples provided by him on p.156f:

(i) a. *śótēm̄k iḷḷón śaḡtét dufútərt enīšún.*

I.bought those three books small
'I bought those three small books.'

b. *śótēm̄k kəlém iḷḷón tróh enīšún.*

I.bought pens those two small
'I bought those two small pens.'

Hofstede (1998) also reports that demonstratives and numerals can follow, while Rood (2017, §2.3) reports that only demonstratives can follow (numerals higher than 'four' are only prenominal).

⁵⁹⁹ Alhailawani (2018: 72f) reports that demonstratives can also follow the head noun and adjectives, if any.

⁶⁰⁰ Fabri (2001, 156) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) *dawk il-ḥames kotba l-ḡodda*

DIST.DEM.PL DEF-five book.PL DEF-new.PL

'those five new books'

⁶⁰¹ The language has two canonical orders, depending on the nature of the cardinal numerals. 1 and 2 follow the N in the overall order N Dem Num A. 3 and higher numerals are pre-nominal and appear in the overall order Dem Num N A. Given that the majority of numerals follow I take the latter to be the principal order. See the careful analysis of Shlonsky (2020), and the examples provided by him on p.156:

(i) a. *a-k'əló:mət əlyó:məh θró:h 'á:fər*

the-pens DEM.PROX.P two red.P

'those two red pens'

b. *əlyó:məh rəbó:t kəyú:g lyéx*

DEM.P four men old

'those four old men'

Rood (2017, Chapter 2) gives Num N A Dem as the prevalent order of Mehri.

⁶⁰² Ordinal numerals obligatorily follow the noun and attributive adjectives (Asmaa El Hansali, p.c.). Ihsane (2003) reports the possibility for Moroccan Arabic of the orders Dem N Num A and N Num A Dem.

⁶⁰³ According to Makhashen, Shuib and Che Lah (2008) numerals and demonstratives can also follow the noun, in the order N Num A Dem. Aloufi (2016, 39ff) however states that numerals but not demonstratives can follow the noun.

2012, Chapter 6)⁶⁰⁴, (**Habab Tigre** (Elias 2005, Chapter 7, §47.1)⁶⁰⁵, **Zahrani Arabic** (Alzahrani 2015, §6.1.5.2)⁶⁰⁶

Basque: BASQUE: Western Basque (Artiagoitia 2006, fn.23; 2008, 82; 2012, 68)⁶⁰⁷

Indo-European: IRANIAN: Dari (Entezar 2010, Chapter 3)⁶⁰⁸, **Dimili** (Todd 2008, §3.1.4)⁶⁰⁹, **Farsi** (Megerdooomian 2000, §2; Croft and Deligianni 2001, 7; Mache 2012, 41ff)⁶¹⁰, **Hawrami** (Holmberg and Odden 2008, §1 and p.c.; Mahmoudveysi and Bailey 2013, §2.7), **Koroshi** (Nourzaei, Jahani, Anonby, and Ahangar 2015, 39 and 63), **Kumzari** (van der Wal Anonby 2015, 58f and §3.3), **Kurmanji Kurdish** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Strunk 2003, 1; also see Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310; Schroeder 2002, §1; Haig and Öpengin 2018, §3.3; Haig 2019, §2.3)⁶¹¹, **Laki** (Alireza Soleimani, p.c.)⁶¹², **Tajik** (Perry 2001, 710), **Zazaki** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 - Paul 2009, 128)

Indo-European: ALBANIAN: Albanian (Rijkhoff 1998, 342; 2002, 310), **Arbëresh** (Turano 2003, §6)

Indo-European: ITALIC: Latin (Giusti and Oniga 2006, §5)

Indo-European: GREEK: Griko (Adam Ledgeway, p.c.)⁶¹³, **Greco/Grecanico** (Katsoyannou 1995, Chapter 2; also see Guardiano and Stavrou 2020)⁶¹⁴

Indo-European: ROMANCE: (Albanian) Aromanian (Manzini and Savoia 2014, 89), **Bregagliotto** (Pescarini 2021, §4), **Catalan** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Hualde 1992, 116, 131), **Dalmatian** (Ruhlen 2008, 685), **French** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - personal knowledge; see the footnote concerning Italian), **Italian**⁶¹⁵, **Megleno-Romanian** (Ruhlen 2008, 683), **Mesolcinese** (Pecarini 2021, §5), **Portuguese** (Aquiles Tescari Neto, p.c.), **Romanian** (Rijkhoff 2002, 310; Ruhlen 2008, 681), **Sardinian** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Jones 1993, 45; also see Rijkhoff 1998, 343; 2002, 310), **Spanish** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Green 1988, 104); see the footnote concerning Italian), **Tuatschin Sursilvan** (Maurer-Cecchini 2021, §3.3.6 and 3.9)

Andamanese: SOUTH ANDAMANES: Jarawa (in Andamans) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Kumar 2012, 208-209)

⁶⁰⁴ Dem N A Num and N A Num Dem are also possible orders (Fassi Fehri 1999, §6.4; 2012, 168).

⁶⁰⁵ According to Dryer (2011, §1), after Raz (1983, 45), this is the order with proximal demonstratives, while Num N A Dem is the order with distal demonstratives.

⁶⁰⁶ N A Num Dem is also a possible order (p.238), though one example is given in the same page with the order N Num A Dem.

⁶⁰⁷ Artiagoitia (2006, fn.23) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) hónek hiru mutil gazteok/gazteak
these three boy young.art
'these three young boys'

⁶⁰⁸ Adjectives can also immediately precede the N when emphatic, although their prevalent (non-emphatic) order is post-nominal.

⁶⁰⁹ Todd (2008, 96) illustrates this order with the following example:

(i) e dı pirtok-ê sūr-i
those 2 book-EZ red-pl
'those two red books'

⁶¹⁰ Mache (2012, 103) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) in do jeld ketab-e kohne
this two CL.volume book-EZ old
'these two old books'

⁶¹¹ One example given in Haig and Öpengin (2018, §3.3) is

(i) ev sê kum-ên min yên reş
these three hat-PL 1SG.OBL EZ.PL black
'these three black hats of mine'

⁶¹² An example provided by Alireza Soleimani is:

(i) ē se pöyā pir-æ
this three man old-DEF
'these three old men'

⁶¹³ Griko is a Greek dialect spoken in the Puglia region of Italy.

⁶¹⁴ Greco/Grecanico is the Italiot Greek of Calabria, Italy.

⁶¹⁵ Italian, French and most other Romance varieties also have adjectives in pre-nominal position (with the order Dem Num A N), with non-restrictive, non-intersective, etc., interpretations (cf. Cinque 2010).

Austro-Asiatic: KHASIAN: Khasi (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Rabel 1961, 131; also see Jyrwa 1989, Chapters 3 and 4; Sharma 1999, 145 and Alves 2001, 3; Nagaraja 2015, 1167, 1177)⁶¹⁶, **Mnar** (Rymbai and Rawat 2018, §5.4 & §5.5; Maranatha G.T. Wahlang, p.c.), **Pnar** (Choudhary 2004, §4.1; Ring 2015a, Chapter 13; 2015b, 1201)

NORTHWEST CAUCASIAN: Abaza (Lomtadidze and Klychev 1989, 131, Arkadiev 2020, §4.1), **Abkhaz** (Rijkhoff 1998, 342; Rijkhoff 2002, 31; Öztürk and Eren 2020, 833)⁶¹⁷, **Ubykh** (Charachidze 1989, §3.1; Fenwick 2011, 80f, 91 and §3.1)

Tai-Kadai: KAM-SUI: Chadong (Li 2008, 604, 608 and 611f)⁶¹⁸

Miao-Yao: MIAO YAO (HMONG-MIEN): Baheng (Sposato 2014, §§3.3 and 3.6), **Biao Min** (Sposato 2014, §§3.3 and 3.6)⁶¹⁹, **Iu Mien (Yao)** (Jones 1970, 5f; Court 1985, Chapter III; Caron 1987, 155; Sposato 2014, §3.3 and 3.6; Nguyen 2004, §4.1.1)⁶²⁰

Austronesian: PHILIPPINE: Agusan Manobo (Schumacher and Schumacher 2008, 18f)⁶²¹, **Agutaynen** (Quakenbush, Hendrickson and Edep 2010, §3.2)⁶²², **Eastern Bontoc** (Fukuda 1997, §3.2.1)⁶²³,

Kapampangan (Forman 1971, §3.2 and Michael Forman, p.c.)⁶²⁴, **Kinamayo** (Schmitt 2022, 35)⁶²⁵

Austronesian: CELEBIC: Moronene (Andersen 1999, p.5 and passim)⁶²⁶

⁶¹⁶ Alves (2001, 8) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) *kine arjut ki kinthey ba jiron*
'these two (item) women tall'

The War Nongiri variety of Khasi shows the same Dem Num N A order (Buhphang 2013, Chapter 3).

⁶¹⁷ Nationality adjectives instead precede the N (Hewitt 1989, 56), and numerals can also follow the noun and the adjective (Hewitt 1989, 236f). Also see Chirikba (2003, §6.1) on postnominal numerals.

⁶¹⁸ An alternative order is Num N A Dem. Adjectives can also precede if followed by the structural particle *ti*⁴ (p.609).

⁶¹⁹ Solnit (1985, §3.2) says that in Biao Min Yao adjectives can either follow or precede the noun.

⁶²⁰ See the following examples (possibly from different dialects):

(i)a. *naiqteij pyei taub Juq kia'q* (Jones 1970, 5)
These four clf dog black
'these four black dogs'
b. *n⁵⁵əy-¹⁵əy py³³ee t⁵¹aw c⁵⁵uu c⁵iə?* (Caron 1987, 155)
these four CLF dog black
'these four black dogs'

The same order is reported in Mao and Chou (1972) for Yao Mjen. Arisawa (2013) reports that in Iu Mien there is also "a small number of adjective that precedes the noun" (p.2).

⁶²¹ Other possible orders are: Dem Num A N, Dem A N Num.

⁶²² See in particular ex. (65), p.13. Adjectives can also come before the N (§3.2.4).

⁶²³ The author says "If both numerals and adjectives are in a noun phrase (156e) adjectives come after the head noun. Otherwise adjectives precede the head noun" (p.50). The ex. (156e) is:

hen chipy chowa ay taka ay ammay
NM that two LINK man LINK good
'those two good men'

⁶²⁴ An example provided by Michael Forman is:

dening atlung anak a mayaga
deni -ng atlu -ng anak a ma-yaga
these LK three LK child LK M nice/friendly
"these three nice children"

Baladjay and Javillonar (no date, §2.4.1.2) however says that "Cardinal numbers may precede or follow the NP head".

⁶²⁵ Adjectives can also precede the N (p.37).

⁶²⁶ The demonstrative can also be postnominal, as in other Celebic languages (see Num N A Dem). Andersen (1999, p.7f) also gives two examples with the order Dem N Num A, where the A is apparently in a relative clause.

Austronesian: OCEANIC: Drehu (Moyses-Faurie 1983,87)⁶²⁷, **Halia** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Allen 1987,18,21,39; also see Ruhlen 2008,1218)⁶²⁸, **Hawaiian** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Elbert and Pukui 1979,41)⁶²⁹, **Madak** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Lee 2005,2), **Nêlêmwa** (Bril 2002,§7 and §9.1.3.2)⁶³⁰, **Pukapukan** (Salisbury 2002, Chapter 4), **Trukese** (Ruhlen 2008,1252)⁶³¹, **Vinitiri** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Van Der Mark 2007,110), **Zuanga** (Isabelle Bril, p.c.)⁶³²

Austronesian: SOUTH SULAWESI: Duri (Agussalim Burhanuddin, p.c.)⁶³³

Kuot: KUOT: Kuot (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Chung and Chung 1996,18; Lindstrom 2002,3; also see Chung and Chung 1993,§3.1)⁶³⁴

Australian: BUNABAN: Gooniyandi (McGregor 1984, §4.1, 1990,§4.1)⁶³⁵

Australian: GUNWINYGUAN: Dalabon (Cutfield 2011,95,319)⁶³⁶

Australian: PAMA-NYUNGAN: Badimaya (Dunn 1988,§3.1), **Biri** (Argibay Losada, Domínguez Lago and Fernández Vázquez 2000,IIIc0), **Gamilaraay** (Austin 1993,§4.1 and §5.7)⁶³⁷, **Golpa** (Kabisch-Lindenlaub 2017,§4.2), **Kuuku Ya'u** (Hill 2018, Chapter 4)⁶³⁸, **Martuthunira** (Dench 1995, Chapter 8)⁶³⁹, **Mayi** (Louagie 2017,193)⁶⁴⁰, **Nyangumarta** (Sharp 2004, Chapter 9)⁶⁴¹, **Panyjima** (Dench 1991,186,219; Dench 1998,51)⁶⁴², **Umpila** (Hill 2018,Chapter 4)

Australian: GALGADUNGIC: Yalarnga (Breen and Blake 2007,57)

⁶²⁷ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,19 - Tryon 1968: 60-61) attributes to Drehu, following Tryon, the order Num N Dem A. However, to judge from Moyses-Faurie (1983), what Tryon (1968a) dubs as Dem is in fact not an ordinary demonstrative but a demonstrative ‘reinforcer’, like the French (reduced) deictic locative –ci/-la ‘here,there’ morphemes which accompany a genuine demonstrative, or determiner, together with which they sandwich the numeral and the head noun. In Drehu (Dehu), the demonstrative reinforcers accompany determiners (*la/lai/lo*) which encode deictic distinctions (*la* is used when “[I]e déterminé est proche du locuteur, et visible.”, *lai* when “[I]e déterminé est proche de l’interlocuteur, visible.”, *lo* when “[le] déterminé [...] n’est pas présent mais [...] a été vu antérieurement.” (apparently, an anaphoric usage). See Moyses-Faurie (1983, §3.4.1.1 “Articles à valeur déictique”). Now as noted in Bernstein (1997,108f), even in French, when a demonstrative reinforcer follows the N, a postnominal adjective generally follows the reinforcer (Dem Num N dem-reinf A: *ce livre-ci, difficile* (cf. **ce livre difficile-ci*) ‘this difficult book’.

⁶²⁸ Ruhlen (2008) reports that the adjective can also precede the N.

⁶²⁹ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,20fn.17) reads: Semantic adjectives are called ‘qualifiers’ by Elbert and Pukui (1979).

⁶³⁰ Other possible orders of Nêlêmwa are N Dem Num A and Dem N Num A (as well as Dem N Dem Num Dem, with two demonstrative reinforcers) (Bril 2014,§8.2.2).

⁶³¹ The order Dem Num N A can also be gathered from Dyen (1965,12 and 21) and Benton (1968a,106f; 1968b,69 for the order Dem Num N) and Benton 1968b,69 and Sugita (1987,82 for the order N A, though Sugita says that A can also precede the N if prefixed by the stative marker *meyi*). Demonstratives can also follow (Dyen 1965,15 and Ruhlen 2008,1252).

⁶³² Zuanga has also the alternative orders possible in Nêlêmwa (Isabelle Bril, p.c.).

⁶³³ Valkama (1993,§9.3) also reports that demonstratives and numerals precede the noun while adjectives follow the noun.

⁶³⁴ Chung and Chung (1993,19) give the following illustrative example:

(i) *miro naien ma kamilip mila murum*
this three PL yam Rel good
‘these three good yams’

⁶³⁵ Even if Dem Num N A is the canonical order, demonstratives can also follow and adjectives can also precede (McGregor 1984,209). Reads: “It is clear from the formula in Guillaume (2008: 70) that the numeral precedes the noun and the adjective follows. There is one slot preceding the numeral, namely relative clause, but Guillaume (2008: 71) explains that this is usually filled by a very specific type of relative clause, one involving a demonstrative adverb followed by a copula verb. This is the only way to express an adnominal demonstrative in Caveneña.

⁶³⁶ Numerals are also found following the noun.

⁶³⁷ Adjectives can also precede the N.

⁶³⁸ Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila are considered in some sources two varieties of one language. See Hill (2018,§1.4).

⁶³⁹ Adjectives can also (immediately) precede the noun (Dench 1995,§8.2.5).

⁶⁴⁰ Adjectives can also precede the N.

⁶⁴¹ The author says that other orders are possible, although this is the preferred order.

⁶⁴² Dench (1991) also reports the possibility for adjectives to precede the noun, giving the order Dem Num A N. Also see Louagie (2017,7).

Eskimo-Aleut: YUPIK: Central Alaskan Yupik (Miyaoaka 2012, Chapters 16 and 20)
Na-Dene: ATHAPASKAN: Sarcee (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Cook 1984, 60), **Dene Suliné** (Andrea Wilhelm, p.c.)
Algic: ALGONQUIAN: Ottawa (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Kathol and Rhodes 1999, 75, 78), **Woods Cree** (Starks 1987, 224, 228)
Mayan: MAYAN: Mam (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - England 1983, 140)⁶⁴³
Oto-Manguean: PAMEAN: Chichimeco Jonaz (Lastra 1984, 35f; 2014, 53; Hernández Chincoya and Mora-Bustos 2020)⁶⁴⁴, **Pame** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Manrique 1967, 346), **Mazahua** (Mora-Bustos and Mora Muñoz 2018, §8 and §10)⁶⁴⁵
Oto-Manguean: OTOMIAN: Otomí (Santiago Mexquititlan) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Palancar 2009, 92, 119)
Mixe-Zoque: MIXE: Sayula Popoluca (Clark 1962, §2.1)
Uto-Aztecan: TAKIC: Luiseño (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Malécot 1963, 208)⁶⁴⁶, **Tongva** (Munro 2020, §1)⁶⁴⁷
Uto-Aztecan: AZTECAN: Michoacán Nahuatl (Sischo 1979, 344, 347; Ruhlen 2008, 1836), **Nahuatl (Huasteca)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Beller and Beller 1979, 233)⁶⁴⁸, **Warihío** (Felix Armendáriz 2005, 78)
Uto-Aztecan. TUBAR: Tubar (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Lionnet 1978, 41)
NUMIC: Chemehuevi (Press 1975, §2.21; 1979)⁶⁴⁹
Kiowa-Tanoan: KIOWA-TANOAN: Kiowa (Croft and Deligianni 2001, 7), **Towa** (Jemez) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Myers 1970, 6-8; also see Sprott 1992, 78 and 202; Yumitani 1998, §3.5, §3.8)⁶⁵⁰
Chumashan: SOUTHERN CHUMASHAN: Ventureño Chumash (Timothy 2012, Chapter 14)

⁶⁴³ England (1983, 145) says that adjectives normally precede the noun except when demonstratives and/or numerals also precede it (in which case adjectives are postnominal), giving the following illustrative example on p.149:

(i) *ajaj oox tx'yaan saq*
 these three dog white
 'these three white dogs.'

Also see Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 23fn22). It remains to be seen whether this has had any impact on assigning Central and Tacaná Mam the order Dem Num A N (see these varieties under this order).

⁶⁴⁴ Hernández Chincoya and Mora-Bustos (2020, 71) provide the following illustrative example:

(i) *íyó t́ın̄un ut'é kaβá+kúro-r Ø-Ø-maré-r*
 dem.dist.pl tres 3cl:general 3pl.plato-piedra-pl subj-psd-viejo-pl
 'esos tres molcajetes viejos'

⁶⁴⁵ Adjectives can also appear pre-nominally, yielding the alternative order Dem Num A N.

⁶⁴⁶ Ruhlen reports that adjectives can also precede the N.

⁶⁴⁷ Munro (2020, 1f) gives (i)a. as an example, noting that adjectives can also precede the N (cf. (i)b.):

(i)a. *paamo' paahe' wowooshi'am kwahoonom*
 those three dog.pl red.pl
 b. *paamo' paahe' kwahoonom wowooshi'am*
 those three red.pl dog.pl
 'those three red dogs'

⁶⁴⁸ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 25fn27) adds "Formula p. 251 says Dem-Num-A-N-A, but the text says that it is adjectives for 'good' and 'big' that precede the noun, while others follow, so I treat N-Adj as basic."

Beller and Beller (1979: 234) give the following illustrative example:

(i) *ne eyi nelia yehyek-ci l-kali-wa Hose*
 those three really pretty-ADJZ his-house-POSSD Joe
 'those three really pretty houses of Joe'

⁶⁴⁹ Adjectives can also immediately precede the noun (Dem Num A N), and demonstratives can also follow it; when they do, "any adjective modifying it is also followed by an identical demonstrative" (Press 1975, 186; 1979, 122):

[(159c)] *nukwi-ka-aŋ aipac aŋ paʔanti-m aŋ*
 run-pres-he boy that tall-anim that
 'that tall boy'

Which "might argue for treating postnominal demonstratives as affixes since this looks very much like 'agreement'" (Press 1975, note 32; 1979, note 34). Also see Serratos (2008, §4.3).

⁶⁵⁰ As reported by Yumitani (1998, §3.9) numerals can (apparently, less often) also occur postnominally.

Uto-Aztecan: SOUTHERN UTO-AZTECAN: (Southeastern) Tepehuan (a.k.a O'dam) (Willett 1991, §3.3)⁶⁵¹, **Western Tarahumara** (Burgess 1984, 91f, 95), **Rarómuri (Urique Tarahumara)** (Valdez Jara 2013, Chapter 3)⁶⁵²

Oto-Manguan: CHINANTECAN: Quiotepec Chinantec (Robbins 1965, §3.5)

Paezan : PAEZAN: Itonama (Krasnoukhova 2012, 174f and 188; Ruhlen 2008, 1893)⁶⁵³, **Páez** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 – Rojas 1998, 202; also see Rojas Curieux 1996, 196; Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 136; Díaz Montenegro 2019, Chapter 7)⁶⁵⁴

Urarina: URARINA: Urarina (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Olawsky 2006, 654)

Nada: NADAHUP: Hup (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Epps 2005, 284)⁶⁵⁵

Tucanoan: TUCANOAN: Kubeo (Cubeo) (Chacon 2012, 227, 330 and p.c.)⁶⁵⁶, **Máihiki** (Farmer 2015, 161),

Kotiria (Wanano) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Stenzel 2013, 196; also see Stenzel 2004, §4.6.3; and 6.7)

Chibchan: Demena (Williams 1993, 39)⁶⁵⁷

Chibchan: CHIBCHAN A: Boruca (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 – Quesada 1994, 41, Castro 2010, 213)⁶⁵⁸, **Cabécar de Ujarrás** (Aguilar García 2011, §1)⁶⁵⁹

Choco: CHOCO: Waunana (Murillo Miranda 2012, §3.2.2.1; 2015, §2.1.2)⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵¹ García Salido (2021, 61) however attributes to Southeastern Tepehuan (O'dam) the order Dem Num A N, also giving an illustrative example (with demonstrative spreading):

(i) dhi' gok dhi' gɛ-gɛr ja'tkam
DEM.PROX two DEM.PROX RED:PL-big person
'those two big gentlemen'

⁶⁵² In Rarómuri (Urique Tarahumara) adjectives are also found preceding the N (Valdez Jara 2013, 59f). Cohen (1998, Chapter 4) attributes to Tarahumara the order Num A N. Villalpando Quiñonez (2010, 107) gives the following formula for the Tarahumara of the Turuachi community, Chihuahua: [(±Det/Dem) (± Numeral/Cuantificador) (± Adjetivo) + Nombre (± Adjetivo)]

⁶⁵³ Crevels (2012, §2.5.1) assigns to Itonama the canonical order Dem N Num A, saying, however, that numerals can also precede the noun.

⁶⁵⁴ Díaz Montenegro (2019, 300) illustrates this order with the following example:

(i) [txã pahz tãph kũçx]
DEM cuatro nube negro
'Esas cuatro nubes negras' (lit. 'these four clouds black')

⁶⁵⁵ Also see Moore and Franklin (1977, 1). An alternative order is Dem N A Num (Epps 2005, 269).

⁶⁵⁶ Another common order is Dem N Num A. Cf. also Morse and Maxwell (1999a, 93; 1999b, 91), where it is said that adjectives can also precede.

⁶⁵⁷ Williams (1993, 108) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) íma mówa dumágə tšukkwéga
these two lions big
'these two big lions'

⁶⁵⁸ Dryer has the following note: "The formula in Castro (2010: 213) says Dem-Quant-N-Quant-Adj, without identifying what governs the two positions of quantifiers, but the discussion in Quesada (1994: 41) implies that numerals normally precede the noun."

⁶⁵⁹ Aguilar García (2011, 3) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) Jí mãñã-tabö yís btebelí táí.
este tres-alargado 1SG. machete grande
'these three big machetes of mine'

An alternative order is Dem N Num A.

⁶⁶⁰ This is the order given in Murillo Miranda (2012: 79ff), where it is also said that Numerals can also be found following the noun (p. 80). Murillo Miranda and Skopeteas (2015, 23) give the following phrase:

(i) tungwe jā-kurum jayap p'a kōtō
all this-PL four cow fat
'all these four fat cows'

Murillo Miranda (2015, 21) however reports the order Dem N A Num, giving the following illustrative example:

(ii) Mua t'ungwe ma-kaan jap hiōör numi hak'oo-ji-m
1sg.erg toda esta-pl piragua nueva dos perder-pdo.sg-dcl
'Yo perdí todas estas dos piraguas' [I lost all of these two new pirogues.]

Tupian: TUPI-GUARANÍ: Guaraní (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Gregores and Suarez 1967, 150; also see Rijkhoff 2008,801)⁶⁶¹, **Kaiowá (Kaiwá)** (Helena Guerra Vicente, p.c.)⁶⁶², **Mbyá** (Dooley 2006, §18), **Nheengatu (Ñengatú)** (Mosonyi, Mosonyi and Laucho 2000,460f; Taylor 2011,1508), **Tupinambá** (Cabral 1995,§4.3.2)⁶⁶³

Tupian: TUPARI: Akuntsú (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,15 - Aragon (2014,176)⁶⁶⁴

Cariban: CARIBAN: Bakairi (Faria 2022, §5.3.2), **De'kwana Carib** (Hall 1988,307)⁶⁶⁵

Chicham: JIVAROAN: Aguaruna (Mori 1994,141)⁶⁶⁶

Nadahup: NADAHUP: Dâw (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Martins 2004,544-545; also see Martins 1994,44; Krasnoukhova 2012,188)

Mascoyan: Enxet Sur (Elliott 2021,Chapter 13)

TIKUNA-YURI: Tikuna (Bertet 2020,227f,230)

KAWAPANAN: Shiwilu (Jebero) (Valenzuela 2016 and No date)⁶⁶⁷

Chonan: CHONAN: Selknam (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Najlis 1973,54,74)⁶⁶⁸

MATACO-GUAICURU: Kadiwéu (Griffiths 1976,§1.1; Sandalo 1995,60), **Pilagá** (Vidal 2001,Chapter 8; Krasnoukhova 2012,188)⁶⁶⁹, **Toba** (Vidal and Manelis Klein 2002,323f)⁶⁷⁰

Cacua-Nukak: CACUA-NUKAK: Cacua (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Bolaños 2016,211)⁶⁷¹

YANOMAMI: Yanomama (Perri Ferreira 2017,Chapter 4)

Arawakan: ARAWAKAN: Apurinã (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,15 - Polak 1894,4, Facundes 2000,458)⁶⁷², **Asháninka del Alto Perené** (Medina Gutiérrez 2011,Chapter 4), **Baure** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Danielsen 2007,169, Baptista and Wallin 1967,42)⁶⁷³, **Chaná** (Viegas Barros 2012,§3.1), **Curripaco** (Mosonyi 2000a,§7.2.2), **Hohôdene Baniwa** (Aikhenvald 2019,105)⁶⁷⁴,

⁶⁶¹ To judge from Tonhauser and Colijn (2010,§2.3.2 and §2.3.6) this is the order of Paraguayan Guaraní.

⁶⁶² Helena Guerra Vicente provided the following illustrative example:

(i) amoa mbohapy mita pora kuera
that three child beautiful plural
'those three beautiful children.'

⁶⁶³ Cabral gives Dem N Num A as an alternative order.

⁶⁶⁴ Demonstratives can also occur after the noun (Aragon 2014,190).

⁶⁶⁵ Numerals can also follow the noun.

⁶⁶⁶ Numerals appear to be able to occur (less commonly) after the noun (cf. Mori 1994,141 and Overall 2007,Chapter 5), though neither Mori nor Overall give their relative order wrt adjectives.

⁶⁶⁷ An alternative order is Dem N Num A, as reported in Valenzuela (No date): "Numerals, demonstratives and most quantifiers precede the noun. [...] A numeral marked by a classifier may also occur after the noun." See (i):

(i) asu' ker' katu'-dan a'llupi-dan-t-a'su'
this manioc two-CL.MANIOC large-CL.MANIOC-V
'these two large manioc'

⁶⁶⁸ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,28fn38) specifies that "[s]emantic adjectives occur in relative clauses attributively and these follow the noun (Najlis 1973: 74). The demonstrative and numeral precede the noun in that order (Najlis 1973: 54)

⁶⁶⁹ Vidal (2001,Chapter 8) and Vidal and Manelis Klein (2002,323) also give Dem N Num A as an alternative order of Pilagá.

⁶⁷⁰ An alternative order is also Dem N Num A. Vidal and Manelis Klein (2002,325) also say that if there is both a quality and a colour adjective, the first occurs before the noun and the second after the noun (giving the order Dem A_{quality} N A_{colour}).

⁶⁷¹ Dryer's (2018,Supplementary Materials,18,fn.11) reads: "Although the formula in Bolanos (2016: 211) says Dem-Num-Adj-N-Adj, the author mentions (p. 116) that the postnominal position for adjectives is more common."

⁶⁷² In fn.4, on p.16, Dryer adds: "Facundes (2000: 458) gives a formula showing that the demonstrative and numeral precede the noun, in that order. Polak (1894: 4) describes the language as Noun-Adjective."

⁶⁷³ This is the order also given in Ruhlen (2008,1984). Some adjectives may precede the N, yielding the order Dem Num A N (Danielsen 2012,§2.2.4.2).

⁶⁷⁴ Aikhenvald (2019,105) provides the following illustrative example (among others):

(i) lhiahi apa-pi iñapi maka-pi
DEM.PROX.nonfem one-CLF:long bone big-CLF:long
'this one long bone'

Palikur (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Green and Green 1972, 23-25)⁶⁷⁵, **Paresi-Haliti** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Brandão 2014b, 218; Ana Paula Brandão, p.c.)⁶⁷⁶, **Piapoco** (Mosonyi 2000a, §7.2.2; also see Klumpp 2019, Chapters 9 and 10)⁶⁷⁷, **Piro** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials)⁶⁷⁸ **Warekena** (Aikhenvald 1998, §15)

Peba-Yaguan: PEBA-YAGUAN: Yagua (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 - Payne and Payne 1990, 349; also see Payne 1986, §1.4)

Tacanan: TACANAN: Cavineña (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Guillaume 2008, 70f; also see Krasnoukhova 2012, 188)⁶⁷⁹, **Ese Ejja** (Vuillemermet 2012, Chapter 7), **Maropa** (Guillaume 2012, §2.2.3.7)

Macro-Jê: OFAYÉ: Akwe-Xerente (Sousa Filho 2007, §4.1.1), **Ofayé** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - De Oliveira 2006, 106), **Guató** (Palácio 1984, §3.1.1; Alves 2017, 68), **Patxohã** (Bomfim and Lima 2020, §2, §4; Anari Bomfim and Suzi Lima, p.c.)

CREOLES (PORTUGUESE BASED): Angolan Vernacular Portuguese (Inverno 2006, §2.1), **Cape Verdean Creole** (Haddican 2002; Baptista 2007, 68 and §2.3; Miranda 2013, 73 and 76), **Kristang** (Baxter 1988, Chapter 4; Haddican 2002), **Kriyol** (Kihm 1994, Chapter 4; Haddican 2002)

CREOLE (PORTUGUESE-SPANISH BASED): Papiamentu (Maurer 2013, 170)⁶⁸⁰

CREOLES (FRENCH BASED): Guyanais créole (Fauquenoy 1972, 104ff; and Evelyn Wiesinger, p.c.)⁶⁸¹, **Karipúna Creole (French)** (Tobler 1983, 62)⁶⁸², **Mauritian Creole** (Wespel 2008, 139ff; Alleesaib

⁶⁷⁵ Derbyshire (1982, §1.4), and Launey (2003, 105) mention the possibility that (certain) adjectives may also precede the N. Aikhenvald and Green (1998, passim) also give examples with adjectives preceding the noun.

⁶⁷⁶ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 26fn30) adds “The formula in Brandão (2014b: 218) shows the demonstrative and numeral preceding the noun, in that order, while she says (p. 131) that the adjective more often follows the noun.” In Brandão (2014a: 167) adjectives are instead said to precede the nominal head.

⁶⁷⁷ Mosonyi (2000a, 645) states that adjectives in Curripaco and Piapoco can also be found pre-nominally.

⁶⁷⁸ Also see Hanson (2010, §6.1). In §6.2 Hanson reports that adjectives can either immediately precede (more commonly) or follow the noun, but that when they precede some contrast is involved (perhaps suggesting that they are restrictive, i.e. originating as reduced relative clauses – cf. Cinque 2010). Ruhlen (2008, 1977) gives for Piro (Yine) the order Dem Num A N.

⁶⁷⁹ Guillaume (2008, §15.8.4) takes adnominal demonstratives in Cavineña to be locatives in reduced relative clauses (when followed by a ligature) or in apposition (when occurring without a ligature) filling the first slot of the noun phrase. But this may not be necessary (note that relative clauses occupy the last slot of the noun phrase), at least if demonstrative reinforcers (cf. substandard English *that there guy* or Swedish *den här mannen*) can also occur without their accompanying demonstrative. Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 18, fn.12) reads: “It is clear from the formula in Guillaume (2008: 70) that the numeral precedes the noun and the adjective follows. There is one slot preceding the numeral, namely relative clause, but Guillaume (2008: 71) explains that this is usually filled by a very specific type of relative clause, one involving a demonstrative adverb followed by a copula verb. This is the only way to express an adnominal demonstrative in Cavineña.”

⁶⁷⁹ Adjectives can also precede the N.

⁶⁸⁰ Maurer (2013) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) e dos kas-nan blanku di mi ku bo por wak ei
 def.art two house-pl white of mine rel 2sg can see dem
 ‘these two white houses of mine which you can see’

Kouwenberg and Murray (1994, 48) attribute to Papiamentu the order Num N A Dem.

⁶⁸¹ Certain adjective, as in French, can precede the N. Evelyn Wiesinger analyses *ya* in a sentence like *trwa bèl kaz ya* ‘those three nice houses’ as DEM/PL.

⁶⁸² Some adjectives (adjectives of age and size) precede the N.

2012, Chapters 4 and 5), **Michif** (Bakker 1997,88)⁶⁸³, **Seychelles Creole** (Haddican 2002), **Santome** (Hagemeijer 2013; Alexandre and Hegemeijer 2007)⁶⁸⁴,
CREOLES (SPANISH BASED): Cavite Chabacano (Pérez 2015,§3.2.6)⁶⁸⁵, **Palenquero** (Pérez Tejedor 2004,52f), **Ternate Chabacano** (Sippola 2011,Chapter 4), **(Chabacano) Zamboangueno** (Grant 2002,23; 2007,184f, 201)⁶⁸⁶
CREOLE (ENGLISH BASED): Tok Pisin (Haddican 2002)⁶⁸⁷
CREOLES (MALAY BASED): Baba Malay (Lee 2014,§5.1)⁶⁸⁸, **Manadonese** (Paula Manginsela, p.c.)⁶⁸⁹, **Old Baba Malay** (Thurgood 1998,Chapter 4)
PIDGIN: Gulf Pidgin Arabic (Bakir, to appear,§5)
MIXED LANGUAGE: Catalan Romani (Krinková 2015,161)
SIGN LANGUAGE: American Sign Language (ASL) (Neidle and Nash 2012,§5)⁶⁹⁰
SIGN LANGUAGE: Estonian Sign Language (Merilin Miljan and Jari Pärigma, p.c.)
SIGN LANGUAGE: Mexican Sign Language (Eatough 1992,§3.1; Aldrete 2008,§8.2; Coons 2021,§3.1; Caitlin E. Coons, p.c.)⁶⁹¹
SIGN LANGUAGE: Polish Sign Language (PJM) (Rutkowski, Czajkowska-Kisil, Łacheta and Kuder 2013; Rutkowski, Kuder, Czajkowska-Kisil and Łacheta 2015)
SIGN LANGUAGE: Russian Sign Language (Klezovich and Aksenov 2018,§6)⁶⁹²
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Purépecha (Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado 2012,64 and 121, and p.c.),
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Kakua (Bolaños Quiñonez 2016,§3.3.5 and §7.0)⁶⁹³
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Zuni (Nichols 1997,§1.3.2.4; Nichols 1999,209)

Num-N-A-Dem (Cs): 248 lgs, 50 genera

Afro-Asiatic: SEMITIC: Arabic (Egyptian) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials)⁶⁹⁴, **Classical Hebrew** (Ruhlen 2008,525), **Modern Hebrew** (Croft and Deligianni 2001,7; Shlonsky 2004,§5; Ruhlen 2008,526),

⁶⁸³ Demonstratives can also be postnominal, following adjectives (Num N A Dem). Few adjectives may also be found pre-nominally, closest to the N. Rosen (2003,40) reports that numerals can also be found before the demonstrative, and in fact Bakker and Papen (1997,323) give Num Dem A N A as the internal order of noun phrases in Michif. To judge from Bakker and Papen (1997,329) the counterexample to Greenberg’s exceptionless pre-nominal order Dem Num A may only be apparent if, as they say, Michif, like Algonquian languages, allows the preposing of certain NP elements, often numerals and quantifiers, which may even create discontinuous constituents. They in fact cite an example with a fronted, discontinuous, numeral. Strader (2014,8) gives the following as the “fixed ordering” of the Michif DP: Dem Num A N A Dem. Though more properly a “mixed language”, I classified it here as a creole, for convenience.

⁶⁸⁴ Hagemeijer (2013,52) attributes to Santome the order Num N Dem A, but Alexandre and Hagemeijer (2007,§3) translate noun phrase initial *Inen* as either ‘the’, or ‘these’ (ex. (1)a of fn6), especially when *se* (which they call “specificity marker”) follows immediately the N in front of an adjective or a numeral (which can also be postnominal).

⁶⁸⁵ Adjectives can also precede the N in the order Dem Num A N and demonstratives can also follow postnominal adjectives N A Dem. Also see Llamado (1972,69,95). The same is true of Ternate Chabacano.

⁶⁸⁶ Some adjectives also precede the N in the order Dem Num A N (Grant 2007,185), although Bobileva (2013,131) states that adjectives in Chabacano always follow the N. Gaspardo (n.d.) also states that while Dem and Num precede the N, adjectives are found both before and after.

⁶⁸⁷ Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin is however classified by Todd (1984,200) as Dem Num A N (see under this order).

⁶⁸⁸ An alternative order of (Modern) Baba Malay is Num N A Dem (Lee 2014,§5.1). Lim (1988,§4.1.2 and §4.2.1) also gives the order Dem Num A N.

⁶⁸⁹ An example provided by Paula Manginsela, p.c. is:

(i) ini tiga anak manis
these three children nice
‘these three nice children’

⁶⁹⁰ Adjectives can also precede the N in the order Dem Num A N (Neidle and Nash 2012,284).

⁶⁹¹ Eatough (1992,29) says that numerals can either precede or follow the noun, ultimately giving the orders Dem Num N A and Dem N A Num, and so says Aldrete (2008,884) specifying however that the numerals appear more frequently pre-nominally.

⁶⁹² Dem Num A N is also a possible order.

⁶⁹³ It is related to Nukak. Adjectives can also precede the noun, yielding the order Dem Num A N.

⁶⁹⁴ But the numerals for ‘one’ and ‘two’ follow the noun (Gary and Gamal-Eldin 1982,111).

Afro-Asiatic: BERBER: Siwi (Walker 2010 [1921], 31,40,43)

Niger-Congo: NORTHERN ATLANTIC: Wolof (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Njie 1982, 69-74); also see Munro 2020,§1)⁶⁹⁵

Niger-Congo: BANTOID: Baba 1 (Nashipu 2005,§5.4 and p.143), **Bafanji (Nchufie)** (Moritz 1994,§1 and p.103; Hamm with Tiemideng and Liwo 2013,§§3 and 4.3)⁶⁹⁶, **Chrambo (Bambalang)** (Wright 2009,§3.1)⁶⁹⁷

Niger-Congo: DEFOID: Àhàn (Ogunmodimu 2015,§3.5)

Basque: BASQUE: (Standard) Basque (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Saltarelli 1988,80; Laka 1996, Chapter 5; Artiagoitia 2002,82,84)⁶⁹⁸

Indo-European: CELTIC: Breton (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Press 1986,46,77,104); also see Rijkhoff 1998,342; Ruhlen 2008,709), **(Late) Cornish** (Wmffre 1998,30,41), **(Scottish) Gaelic** (Adger 2011,§5.3.4; Ruhlen 2008,708; Trinh 2011,128)⁶⁹⁹, **Irish** (Croft and Deligianni 2001,7; Ruhlen 2008,703; Kane 2015,30f)⁷⁰⁰, **Manx** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Broderick 2010,342; also see Phillips 2004,§3.2.2)⁷⁰¹, **Welsh** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Willis 2006,1812; also see Roberts 2005,92; Mair Parry p.c.)⁷⁰²

Austro-Asiatic: VIETIC: Cuoi (Nguyễn, Bù and Hoàng (Mark Alves ed.) 2022,§5.4.1)⁷⁰³, **May** (Babaev and Samarina 2021,§4.2.2)⁷⁰⁴, **Vietnamese** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Binh 1971,139; also see Emeneau 1951,85); Alves 2001,3; Nguyen 2004,§1.2; Do-Hurinvill and Dao 2019,§3.1)⁷⁰⁵

⁶⁹⁵ Munro (2020,4) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) ñetti tééré y-u xonq y-ooyu
three book C.pl-cmpz red C.pl-that
'those three red books'

Demonstratives can also appear pre-nominally if focused (Tamba, Torrence and Zimmermann 2012,§17.2.2.2).

⁶⁹⁶ Only three adjectives can precede the noun, in the order Num A N Dem (cf.§4.3).

⁶⁹⁷ Numerals can also follow the N, though their order wrt the adjective and the demonstrative is not clarified.

⁶⁹⁸ Laka (1996,§4.2) gives the following example:

- (i) beste Bilboko hiru neska alai hauek
other Bilbo-from three girl happy these
'These other happy three girls from Bilbo'

The numeral *bat* 'one' and, in Western Basque, *bi* 'two', are postnominal entering the order N A Num Dem (cf. Laka 1996,§5.1; Artiagoitia 2008,75). Also see the case of Western Basque, displaying the order Dem Num N A (Artiagoitia 2008, 2012).

⁶⁹⁹ Trinh (2011,128) and Roberts (2017,155) give the following example (from David Adger, p.c.):

- (i) na trì leabhraichean mòra seo
the.PL three books big.PL these
'these three big books'

⁷⁰⁰ Roberts (2017,155) gives the following example, from Jim McCloskey, p.c.:

- (i) an bheirt fhear mhóra seo
the two man big.PL this
'these two big men'

⁷⁰¹ An alternative order with some adjectives is Num A N Dem (Phillips 2004,§2.1.4.1.1).

⁷⁰² Mittendorf and Sadler (2005,ex.(28)) give the following illustrative example:

- (i) y tair cath ddu hynny
the.PL three.F cat.F.SG black.SG that.PL
'those three black cats'

Welsh also has a restricted number of adjectives which precede the N (Mittendorf and Sadler 2011,385).

⁷⁰³ Nguyễn, Bù and Hoàng (Mark Alves ed.) (2022,20) provide the following illustrative example:

- (i) pɔn²⁴ ke²⁴ taw³⁵ lɔp³¹ nm²⁴
four CLF knives sharp that
'those four sharp knives'

⁷⁰⁴ Babaev and Samarina (2021,124) provide the following example:

- (i) ka⁰-hit³ pa¹ ke⁴ ʔaɥ³ bɔi³ heh¹
tất cả ba cái áo mới kia
all;whole three cl.n shirt new dist
'All those three new shirts ...'

⁷⁰⁵ Emeneau (1951,84) provides the following illustrative example:

Austro-Asiatic: KATUIC: Brôu (Miller 1964,64; Ruhlen 2008,964; Nguyen 2004,143), **Katu** (Nguyen 2004,143)⁷⁰⁶, **Pacôh** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Alves 2006,43; also see Watson 1976,220; Alves 2000,136f; 2001,3; 2015,894; Ruhlen 2008,967)⁷⁰⁷

Austro-Asiatic: BAHNARIC⁷⁰⁸: Bahnar (Trang Phan, p.c.), **Jeh** (Cohen 1976,140; Alves 2001,3; Ruhlen 2008,979), **Chrau** (Thomas 1971,Chapter 8; Thomas 1976,), **Rengao** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Gregerson 1979,125,130; also see Alves 2001,3; Ruhlen 2008,978), **Sre** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Manley 1972,82; also see Clark 1989,187; Alves 2001,3; Nguyen 2004,143; Ruhlen 2008,972)⁷⁰⁹

Austro-Asiatic: ASLIAN: Bateq (Sultan 2009 and Fazal Mohamed Mohamed Sultan, p.c.), **Jahai** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Burenhult 2005,140; also see Burenhult 2002,190)⁷¹⁰, **Jan-Hut (Jah-hut)** (Diffloth 1976,89; Alves 2001,3; Ruhlen 2008,987), **Jedek** (Yager and Burenhult 2017, §3.4.4), **Kensiu** (Sultan 2011; Sultan, Jalaluddin, Hahmad and Radzi 2016, and Fazal Mohamed Mohamed Sultan, p.c.), **Mah Meri** (Kruspe and Zainal 2010,17 and 23), **Maniq** (Wnuk 2016,§3.16.1), **Semaq Beri** (Kruspe 2015,§4.3), **Semelai** (Kruspe 2004,202), **Temiar** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Benjamin 1976,155; Carey 1961; also see Alves 2001,3; Ruhlen 2008,992; Benjamin 2020,§4.1.1 and §4.2)

Miao-Yao: MIAO-YAO: Hmong Njua (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Harriehausen 1990,98,144; also see Taweesak 1984, §3.1.1)⁷¹¹, **Hmong Daw (White Hmong)** (Ratliff 1997,318;

(i) hai cái công gỗ lớn kia
two CLF(inani.) gate wood big those
'those two big wooden gates'

⁷⁰⁶ Dryer (2018,29, and Supplementary Materials,21) attributes to Katu the order Num N Dem A on the basis of Costello (1969,22,34), but this does not seem correct. See Nguyen (2004,143) and the discussion in Cinque (forthcoming).

⁷⁰⁷ Alves (2006,43) illustrates this order with the following example (also given in Alves 2000,135):

(i) ba:r lam ?a.lik ?ən ?ɔ: ki: ?n.neh
two UNIT pig RLTR good 1s this
'these two good pigs of mine'

⁷⁰⁸ Sedang, in addition to the order N A Num Dem, manifests the order Num N A Dem (Jones 1970,6; Smith 1975, Chapter 7).

⁷⁰⁹ Clark 1989,187 provides the example in (i):

(i) pɛ nəm ?asɔ jù? nɛ
three CLF dog black that
'those three back dogs'

This is also the canonical order of Ko'ho-Sre (Olsen 2014,103), where the following example is given

(i) pwan na? caw ?u:r ha:ŋ nɛ
four CLF people women to.be.beautiful that.DIS
'those four beautiful women'

although "adjective-noun is also a nonbasic order" (p.91). Also see Olsen (2015,§4.3).

⁷¹⁰ Burenhult (2002:190) provides the following illustrative example:

gin tiga? wɔŋ jɛ? t-bəw ton
2/3P three child 1s Rel-to.be.big that
'those three big children of mine'

⁷¹¹ Mortensen (2019,§3.1.1) says that a class of non-predicative adjectives can appear pre-nominally between numerals (plus Classifiers) and the noun, including 'large' and 'small'. It is not clear whether these are rather diminutive morphemes. Num Clf N A Dem is the order given to Hmong in general by Fuller (1985,§2.4.1.1), Clark (1989,187), Niederer (2011,1295), and Ratliff (1991,§1.1), even though the latter also notes that a certain number of adjectives ('good', 'little', 'former', 'old') precede the noun in the order (Num) Clf A N Dem. Fuller (1985,19), Clark (1989,187) and Harriehausen (1990,144) give as illustrative examples (i)a. and (i)b., respectively:

(i)a. Ob tug ntxhais zoonkauj ntawm
2 CLF daughter beautiful those
'those two beautiful daughters'
b. peb tug/tus dev (xim) dub ntawd
three CLF dog color black that
'those three black dogs'
c. ob phau ntawn loj nua
two CLF book big DEM

Birnschein 2019, §3.2), **Hmong Ntsuab**⁷¹² (Meister 2010, 15ff), **Hmong Soud** (McLaughlin 2013, §3.6.1)⁷¹³, **Hmu** (Sposato 2014, §§3.1 and 3.3), **Meo** (Jones 1970, 6; Caron 1987, 155), (**Wie ning**) **Miao** (Wang 1972, 126ff), Rijkhoff 1998, 356; Nguyen 2004, 143; Ruhlen 2008, 934)⁷¹⁴, **Xong** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 - Sposato 2015, 2, 319; also see Sposato 2012, 51)

Tai-Kadai: KAM-TAI: Dong (Southern) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Yang and Edmondson 2008, 527; also see Yaohong and Guoqiao 1998, §4.2), **Sanjiang Kam** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Wu 2015, 173; also see Yang 1999, Chapter 3; Edmondson 2001, 358; Yang and Edmondson 2008, §19.3.1; Wu 2018, 170)⁷¹⁵, **Lakkja** (Fan 2019, §4.5.9), **Nung (in Vietnam)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Saul and Wilson 1980, 14; also see Jones 1970, 5; Clark 1989, 187; Conklin 1981, 114)⁷¹⁶, **Tai Dam (Black Tai)** (in Vietnam) (Jones 1970, 6; Edwards 2011, §2.2.1, Nguyen 2004, 143)⁷¹⁷, **Tho** (Day 1966, Chapter 5), **White Tai (Tai Dón)** (Jones 1970, 5; Nguyen 2004, 143)⁷¹⁸, (**Northern**) **Zhuang** (Luo 1990, §1.5.2; Milliken 1998, 174; Sybesma and Sio 2008, 454; Sio and Sybesma 2008, §1; Langella and Tansiri 2009, 20)⁷¹⁹

Tai-Kadai: KAM-SUI: (Yangfeng) Mak (Ni Dabai 1988, §7), **Maonan** (Lu 2008, §4.2.2.1), **Mulam (Mulao)** (Zheng 1988, 194ff; Jun and Zheng 1993, 66)⁷²⁰, **Sui** (James N. Stanford, p.c.)

Tai-Kadai: HLAI: Hlai (Ostapirat 2008, 646) and

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Has_Hlai_grammar#Grammar⁷²¹

Tai-Kadai: KRA: Gelao (Edmondson 2008, 667ff)⁷²², **Lachi** (Kosaka 2000, §4.1; Edmondson 2008, 667ff), **Laha** (Edmondson 2008, 667ff), **Paha** (Edmondson 2008, 667ff), **Pubiao** (Edmondson 2008, 667ff), **En** (Edmondson 2008, 667ff), **Zoulei** (Li, Li and Luo 2014, §4.5.9)

'these two big books'

White (2019, 224) gives for Hmong the order Num A N RC Dem, analyzing the adjectives that follow the noun as stative verbs entering a relative clause (but see Rijkhoff 2000, §3).

⁷¹² Numeral (and classifier) can also follow the N, possibly through contact with Thai (Meister 2010, 16f).

⁷¹³ Only few adjectives can appear pre-nominally (McLaughlin 2013, §3.7).

⁷¹⁴ This is also the order of Mashan Miao (Heal 2020, Chapter 3).

⁷¹⁵ This may be the order of another Southern Kam variety, Rongjiang Kam. See Gerner (2006, 250).

⁷¹⁶ Jones (1970, 5) gives the following example:

- (i) slám ǎn tǎng slǎy nǎy
 three clf chair small these
 'these three small chairs'

⁷¹⁷ Numeral 'one' however follows the noun (Burusphat 2014, 54)

⁷¹⁸ Jones (1970, 5) provides the following example:

- (i) hà tô pa mã ni
 five clf fish black these
 'these five black fish'

⁷¹⁹ Langella and Tansiri (2009, 20) give the following illustrative example for Wuming Zhuang:

- (i) θɔːŋ²⁴ tiaw³¹ puː³³ dam²⁴ kuː³³ nin³⁵
 two CLS shirt black I DET
 'those two black shirts of mine'

⁷²⁰ Jun and Zheng (1993, 66) illustrate the order with the example in (i):

- (i) ɲaːu³ tɔ² ŋwa¹ ŋan³ lo⁴ naːi⁶
 one CLF dog yellow big this
 'this big yellow dog'

⁷²¹ Ostapirat (2008, 646) reports the orders Num CLF N, N A, N Dem and

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Has_Hlai_grammar#Grammar (in the section Adjectives) gives the following phrase saying elsewhere that adjectives can also precede the noun:

- (i) kai uu-long hauux
 chicken big that
 'that big chicken'

⁷²² For the Kra or Kadai group of languages (Lachi, Gelao, Paha, Laha, Pubiao, En) Edmondson (2008) says that numerals (and classifiers) precede the noun (p.666), modifiers follow the noun (p.667) and demonstratives are at the end of the Noun Phrase (p.669).

Austronesian: LAND DAYAK: Dayak Ngaju (Migraliette Purbaranti, p.c.), **Matéq (a.k.a. Kembayan)** (Connell 2013, §3.3)⁷²³

Austronesian: ATAYALIC: Seediq (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Tsukida 2005, 304; also see Holmer 1996, §4.4.5 and §5.4)⁷²⁴

Austronesian: BILIC: Tboli (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Porter 1977, 52)⁷²⁵

Austronesian: CELEBIC: Balantak ((van den) Berg and Busenitz 2012, Chapter 4), **Barang-Barang** (Belding, Laidig and Maingak 2001, 17, 30f and passim), **Bobongko** (Mead 2001, 79 and 85; 2013b, 31)⁷²⁶, **Mori** (Mead 2005, §3.4; Esser and Mead 2011, 146 and 300)⁷²⁷, **Muna** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - (Van Den) Berg 1989, 110, 133)⁷²⁸, **Napu** (Hanna 2001, §5.1)⁷²⁹, **Pendau** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Quick 2008, 148), **Padoe** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Karhunen 1994, 17, 45)⁷³⁰, **Tajio** (Mayani 2013, Chapter 7)⁷³¹, **Wolio** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Anceaux 1952, 37), **Wotu** (Mead 2013a, §3 and §15)

Austronesian: (GREATER) BARITO: Kadorih (Kazuya Inagaki, p.c.)⁷³², **Maanyan** (Gudai 1988, Chapters 3 and 4), **Paku** (Diedrich 2018, §4.1)

Austronesian: SOUTH SULAWESI: Bugis (Ruhlen 2008, 1093)⁷³³, **Kodeoha** (Mantasiah 2017, §2.3)⁷³⁴, **Selayar** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Basri 1999, 37, 38, 44, 86, 89)⁷³⁵,

⁷²³ Connell (2013, 68) states that numerals can also follow the noun, although he does not say how they are ordered wrt adjectives and demonstratives and under which conditions this is possible.

⁷²⁴ In Truku Seediq the alternative order Num A N Dem is available to adjectives interpreted restrictively (Saillard 2019, §3.2). See for example:

(i) dha paru bluhing gaga (Saillard 2019, 624fn27)
two big sieve dem
'those two big sieves.'

⁷²⁵ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 25fn25) says: "Although the formula Dem-Num-N-A-Dem gives two positions for demonstratives, the examples in the grammar are overwhelmingly NDem." Forsberg (1992, §3.1.3) reports that while the majority of adjectives follows the N, certain adjectives can (or must) precede the N.

⁷²⁶ Mead (2013b, 31) provides the following example:

(i) dua anjing hitam itu
two dogs black those
'those two black dogs'

⁷²⁷ Numerals can also follow the noun with the order A Num Dem (Mead 2005, 693; Esser and Mead 2011, 309).

⁷²⁸ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 25fn25) says: "Although the formula in Van Den Berg (1989: 133) allows numerals (there called measure phrases) either before or after the noun, the preferred position is before the noun (p. 110)." Alternative orders are: N A Num Dem and N Num A Dem ((Van den) Berg 1989, Chapter 5).

⁷²⁹ This order alternates with Dem Num N A [possibly giving rise to Num N A Dem by moving Num N A around Dem as in other Celebic languages]

⁷³⁰ Some consider Padoe a dialect of Upper Mori (cf. Esser and Mead 2011, Introduction).

⁷³¹ Numerals can also follow the noun (Mayani 2013, §7.1.3.1), although the author does not report their order with respect to adjectives and demonstratives.

⁷³² Kazuya Inagaki kindly provided the following representative example:

(i) limo+kungan pusa (ijo) pios atuh
five+CLF kitten (rel) good Dem
'those five nice kittens'

⁷³³ According to Ruhlen (2008, 1092f) numerals can also follow, although he does not report their order with respect to adjectives and demonstratives. Agussalim Burhanuddin, a native speaker of Bugis reports (p.c.) that the order in his dialect is Dem Num N A. Simpson (2001) gives Buginese examples instantiating Dem Num N A (p.145) as well as the orders Dem N A Num (from Nishiyama 1997) and N Num RC Dem, both on p.141. Pedrós Caballero (2014, 26) reports that "The demonstratives precede the nucleus and the rest of the elements follow it." Valls (2014, 34) states that demonstratives precede the noun and that "when there's an adjective, the order is numeral + adjective + noun.

⁷³⁴ Demonstratives can also precede the numerals (Mantasiah 2014, 7).

⁷³⁵ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 28fn37) specifies that "[n]umerals precede nouns Basri (1999: 37), while adjectives follow nouns (p. 38) and demonstratives are enclitics that attach to adjectives if there is one (p. 44, 86, 89)." According to Basri (1999, §2.3.1), N A Num Dem is also a possible order in Selayar (Selayarese).

Austronesian: NORTH BORNEO: Bonggi (Boutin 1994, §1.3.2)⁷³⁶, **Kimaragang** (Kroeger 2005 and p.c.)⁷³⁷, **Murut** (Prentice 1971, Chapter 7), **Tatana'** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Dillon 1994, 13; Dunn and Peck 1988, 207)

Austronesian: SAMA-BAJAW: Bajau (West Coast) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - Miller 2007, 312)⁷³⁸, **Yakan** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 - Brainard and Behrens 2002, 29-30; also see Hooker 1975, §1; Ruhlen 2008, 1119)⁷³⁹

Austronesian: LAMPUNG: Lampung (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Walker 1976, 17)

Austronesian: NORTHWEST SUMATRA-BARRIER ISLANDS: Alas (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 - Soravia 2007, 59; also see Soravia 2002, §3.4.1), **(Karo) Batak** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Woollams 1996, 106; also see Bangun, Sinar, Saragih and Sembiring 2014), **(Toba) Batak** (Percival 1981, 91)⁷⁴⁰, **Gayo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Eades 2005, 201)

Austronesian: MALAYO-SUMBAWAN/CHAMIC: Acehnese (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 Durie 1985, 130, 136; Asyik 1987, §3.3.4)⁷⁴¹, **Bih (Rade)** (Nguyen 2013, §5.2), **Cham (Eastern)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Thurgood 2005, 498; also see Nguyen 2004, 143; Ruhlen 2008, 1137; Brunelle and Phú 2019, §3.1.1), **Hainan Cham** (Thurgood, Thurgood and Li 2014, Chapter 7)⁷⁴², **Iban** (Omar 1969, §5.22/23; 1981, 199)⁷⁴³, **Indonesian** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Sneddon 1996, 132, 155-156); also see Legge 1971, 109ff; Ruhlen 2008, 1135; Loewen 2011, §6.4; Winarto 2016)⁷⁴⁴,

⁷³⁶ Also see the Sabahan languages Begak (Ida'an) and Yakan above, which in addition to N A Num Dem have Num N A Dem as an alternative order.

⁷³⁷ The order Dem Num N A is also a possible order.

⁷³⁸ Miller (2007, 313) also gives an example with the order N A Num Dem.

⁷³⁹ Hooker (1975, 3) also mentions that in addition to the canonical order in (i) other orders are possible (see (ii)) (all the alternative orders are attested in other languages):

(i) *ennem dende mahaap mia'an* (Num N A Dem)

six girl pretty that
'those six pretty girls'

(ii)a. *dende ennem mahaap mia'an* (N Num A Dem)

b. *dende mahaap ennem mia'an* (N A Num Dem)

c. *dende mahaap mia'an ennem* (N A Dem Num)

Brainard and Behrens (2002, 29) however give N A Num Dem as the order of Yakan, saying that numerals precede the noun only in indefinite noun phrases. This is also how Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 fn44) comments: "Both orders of numeral and noun in Yakan are possible, but the prenominal one is for indefinite noun phrases while the postnominal one is for definite noun phrases. Since noun phrases containing a demonstrative are definite, I treat the NNum order as basic for the purposes of this study. Although Brainard and Behrens (2002) do not appear to discuss the order of postnominal adjective and numeral in Yakan, there is a clitic *-in* (of complex function) that follows adjectives but precedes numerals, implying that the position for adjectives precedes that for numerals."

⁷⁴⁰ Percival (1981, 92) also gives N Num Dem as a possible order (being silent about where the adjective would be in this case). Nababan (1981, 109) attributes to Toba-Batak the order N A Dem Num giving the following illustrative example:

(i) *sÈddOk màṅan pÈrak ni si pittOr na ìbbaru í dúa*
spoon eat silver Pittor new that two
'two of Pittor's new silver table spoons'

⁷⁴¹ Durie (1985, 108) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) *duwa droe ureueng nyang-sakit nyoe*
two CLF person REL-sick this
'these two sick people'

⁷⁴² Demonstratives can also precede the noun (in more Mandarinized speech) (Thurgood, Thurgood and Li 2014, 149 and 201ff), yielding the order Dem Num N A.

⁷⁴³ Cardinal numerals can also follow the N preceding demonstratives.

⁷⁴⁴ Kadaryanto (2010, 36f) reports that in colloquial Indonesian an alternative order is Dem Num N A, and provides the two examples in (i), (i)b. being the standard order:

(i)a. *itu lima buah buku baru*

that five CLF book new

b. *lima buah buku baru itu*

five CLF book new that

'those five new books'

Jarai (Medcalf 1989, §4.1.3.2; Jensen 2011, §3.2; 2013, Chapter 3)⁷⁴⁵, **Kelantan Malay** (Wu 2023, §6.3), **Malay** (Payne 1964, §5.2; Jones 1970, 5; Ruhlen 2008, 1132; Nomoto and Soh 2019, §3.1.1)⁷⁴⁶, **Melayu Betawi** (Ikranagara 1980, Chapter 3), **Minangkabau** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - Crouch 2009, 65f; Marnita 2016, 44)⁷⁴⁷, **Mualang** (Tjia 2007, 65ff)⁷⁴⁸, **Northern Roglai** (Lee 1966, 65f; Thurgood and Li 2003, 189f; Ruhlen 2008, 1139; Thurgood, Thurgood, and Li 2014, 149)⁷⁴⁹, **Phan Rang Cham** (Thurgood 2005, §3.2), **Pontianak Malay** (Hasymi Rinaldi, p.c.), **Salako** (Adelaar 2006, §3.5)⁷⁵⁰, **Sasak** (Nur Ahmadi and Eli Asikin-Garmager in SSWL⁷⁵¹), **Sundanese** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Hardjadibrata 1985, 38-40), **Terengganu Malay** (Wu 2023, §6.3)

Austronesian: MALAYO-POLYNESIAN: Embaloh (Adelaar 1995, 383, 392), **Hawu (Sawu)** (Charles Grimes, p.c.; Walker 1980, §3; Walker 1982, §4 and §8.6)⁷⁵², **Lun Bawang (Kemaloh dialect)** (Mortensen 2021, §5.1)⁷⁵³, **Manggarai** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - Semiun 1993, 40, 42-43; also see Semiun 2017, Chapter 3), **Melanau** (Clayre 1973, §4.2)⁷⁵⁴, **Rejang Kayan** (Ruhlen 2008, 1109), **Rongga** (Arka 2008, §2)⁷⁵⁵, **Taliwang** (Rika Hayami-Allen 1995, §3.1.1.3 and §4.1), **Tonsea** (Ruhlen 2008, 1085), **Austronesian: PHILIPPINE: Bantik** (Atsuko Utsumi, p.c.), **Sama Bangingi** (Blakely 2001, 42f), **Toratán** (Ratahan) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Himmelman and Wolff 1999, 28), **Austronesian: MADURESE: Madurese** (Davies 2010, Chapter 7)⁷⁵⁶

Austronesian: OCEANIC: ‘Are’are (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15; Naitoro 2013, §4.3), **Arosi** (Capell 1971, 62f; Lynch and Horoi 2002, §2.6; Ruhlen 2008, 1266), **Barok** (Du 2010, §5.1), **Cheke Holo**

⁷⁴⁵ Jensen (2013, 36f) reports that numerals and classifiers, which ordinarily precede the noun in that order, can also follow the noun in the same order (though their order wrt adjectives and demonstratives is not given by the author).

⁷⁴⁶ Jones (1970, 5) provides the following example:

- (i) dua lai kmeja puteh ini
two clf shirt white these
'these two white shirts'

The same order is given for Colloquial Malay in Koh (1990, 177). Cumming (1988, 34f) reports that "more complex quantity expressions (e.g. numeral + classifier) may also follow [the head N]", giving an example with the order N A Num.

⁷⁴⁷ Ruhlen (2008, 1130), in addition to the order Num N A Dem, reports the possibility for the numeral to be postnominal as well.

⁷⁴⁸ Numerals can also follow in between adjectives and demonstratives, yielding N A Num Dem as an alternative order. (Tjia 2007, 65).

⁷⁴⁹ Thurgood, Thurgood and Li (2014, 149) give the following illustrative example:

- (i) dua ia:k labu? ?añā? sia:p ñũ ?añi la sa:k
two CLF PL child good 3p this in house
'these two good children of his in the new house'

⁷⁵⁰ However, Num CLF usually follows the N.

⁷⁵¹ Cf. <http://sswl.railsplayground.net/browse/languages/Sasak>

⁷⁵² N Num A Dem is apparently an alternative order (Walker 1980, 21)

⁷⁵³ One example provided by Mortensen (2021, 93) is:

- (i) dueh kayuh luk me-dita' inih
two tree REL STAT-high this
'these two tall trees'

⁷⁵⁴ Clayre (1973, 261) gives the tagmemic template in (i)a. and the illustrative example in (i)b.:

- (i)a. Qusnu+cl. +H:nc +Spec:nc +Idsdeic
b. pat usall bua' dian in
four trunk fruit durian that
'those four durian trees'

⁷⁵⁵ An alternative order is N A Num Dem. Arka (2008, 2) gives (i)a and (i)b. as possible:

- (i)a. esa zhua mbo ito ndau
CLASS two house small that
b. mbo [ito]_A [esa zhua]_{NumP} ndau
house small CLASS two that
'those two small houses'

⁷⁵⁶ Davies (2010, 200ff) says that Num can also appear post-nominally (though he does not say in which position relative to A and Dem). Also see Davies and Dresser (2005).

(Boswell 2018, §7.5.2 and §7.5.4, and p.c.; Bill Palmer, p.c.)⁷⁵⁷, **Fijian** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Dixon 1988, 112; also see Parke 1981, Chapter 1, Alderete 1998, and Munro 2020, §1)⁷⁵⁸, **Nadrau Fijian** (Kikusawa 2001, §1), **Gela** (Crowley 2002a, 528f) **Hoava** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Davis 2003, 34; also see Palmer 2017, §4.2)⁷⁵⁹, **Kiribatese** (Groves, Groves and Jacobs 1985, 38 and 62)⁷⁶⁰, **Kokota** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Palmer 2002, 505; also see Palmer 1999, Chapter 4)⁷⁶¹, **Kubokota** (Chambers 2009, §2.4), **Kwaio** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 22 - Keesing 1985, 85), **Kwaraqae** (MacDonald 2010, §6.1), **Lengo** (Unger 2008, §3.3), **Longgu**, (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - 2002, 545; also see Hill 1992, §8.1), **Marquesan** (Lynch 2002c, §2; Krupa 1999, 51), **Marshallese** (Willson 2003, §2.3; Provencher 2012, §2.1), **Mono-Alu** (Meier 2020, 94, 101), **Mussau** (Brownie and Brownie 2007, §3.8; Brownie 2019, §2.4.1)⁷⁶², **Nehan** (Todd 1978, 1193ff and 1201)⁷⁶³, **Niuean** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Seiter 1980, 27, 46; see also Massam 2006, §II)⁷⁶⁴, **Rapa Iti** (Walworth 2014, §5.1.2), **Rapanui** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Chapin 1978: 152; Kieviet 2016, 2017, §2 and §3), **Roviana** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Corston-Oliver 2002, 476; also see Ruhlen 2008, 1225), **Sa'a** (Ashley 2012, §3.2.3)⁷⁶⁵, **Satawalese** (Roddy 2007, 61 and 65), **Seimat** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Wozna and Wilson 2005, 32), **Siar** (Ross

⁷⁵⁷ One of the examples kindly provided by Freddy Boswell, p.c., is:

- (i) phei ga'ase keli gro
two female good those
'those two good ladies'

⁷⁵⁸ Alderete (1998, 27) gives the example in (i)a. and Munro (2020, 3) the example in (i)b.:

- (i)a. Era la'o [e walu a gone lalai yai]
3pl go 3sg eight D child little Dem
'These eight little children are going'
b. na tolu nai vola damudamu oyā
def three def.inst book red those
'those three red books'

Numerals can also follow the noun (Parke 1981, §1.3.2.4). Lai, Mena, and Suzuki (2019, 29) attribute to Fijian the order Dem Num (art) N A giving the following illustrative example:

- (i) O⁹go t^holu na βola kaʔakaʔawa leβu ne i Tomasi.
these three (the) book blue big of art Tomasi
'these three big blue books of Tomasi'

⁷⁵⁹ Palmer (2017, 197) contains the following illustrative example:

- (i) ria ka-rua hogi kisi ra
3PL NUM-two tooth be.small DIST.PL
'those two small teeth'

⁷⁶⁰ Num N Dem A is an alternative order (p.62).

⁷⁶¹ One example with all the modifiers present is given on p.85 of Chapter 4:

- (i) palu kaklatu ta vega are
two testicle SB white those
'those two white testicles'.

⁷⁶² To judge from Brownie and Brownie (2007, §3.8) Num can also follow N and A and precede Dem (N A Num Dem). There is also a small class of adjectives which precede the head noun, following Num (though there cannot be adjectives both preceding and following N).

⁷⁶³ However Glennon (2014, §2.4) says that while numerals have to precede the N following articles, adjectives can follow or precede the noun, also following articles when they precede the noun. "Free demonstratives precede the noun they modify", while "bound demonstrative enclitics follow the noun they modify". As the latter are glossed as "here", "over there", etc., the postnominal "demonstratives" appear to be demonstrative reinforcers. This may explain the order Num N Dem A given by Ruhlen (2008, 1217)

⁷⁶⁴ Numerals can however also follow the N between adjectives and demonstratives (N A Num Dem). Cf. Massam 2009, §2.1; Kahnemuyipour and Massam 2006, 141, where the following example is given:

- (i) e tau tagata matakutakuina took-lima na:
ABS.C PL man awesome PERS-five Dem
'these five awesome men'

Kahnemuyipour and Massam (2004, §4), in elicited phrases, also document the order N (A) Num A Dem.

⁷⁶⁵ Certain adjectives can precede the noun yielding the order Num A N Dem (p.58).

2002b, §2.6; Rowe 2005, §3.3 and §3.6; also see Frowein 2011, Chapters 4, 5 and 8)⁷⁶⁶, **Sikaiana** (Donner 1993, §3 and §7), **Sisiqa** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Ross 2002f, 460), **Sursurunga** (Hutchisson 1975, §§4.3.1 and 5.2.5)⁷⁶⁷, **Taiof** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Ross 2002g, 429-430), **Teop**⁷⁶⁸, **Tigak** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Beaumont 1979, 58, 60, 64; also see Ruhlen 2008, 1210), **Tokelauan** (Office of Tokelau Affairs 1986, xiv-xv and §3; Hooper 1993, 36, 43; 1996, §2.4)⁷⁶⁹, **Toqabaqita** (Lichtenberk 2008, Chapter 6), **Tungak** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - also see Fast (L.) 1990, 34; also see Fast (K.) 2015, §3.5.2), **Tuvaluan** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials)⁷⁷⁰, **Ughele** (Frostad 2013, Chapter 8), **Ulithian** (Sohn and Bender 1973, §4.8; Lynch 2002a, §2), **Wala** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Lovegren, Mitchell and Nakagawa 2015, 109; also see Lovegren, Mitchell and Nakagawa 2012, Chapter 5), **Woleaian** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Sohn 1975, 168, 170)⁷⁷¹

Timor-Alor-Pantar: MAKASAE-FATALUKU-OIRATA: Fataluku (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Langford 2007, 49)

Kwerba: KWERBA: Isirawa (Oguri 1976, 87)⁷⁷²

Australian: PAMA-NYUNGAN: Watjarri (Douglas 1981, 241)

Pomoan: WESTERN POMOAN: Northern Pomo (O'Connor 1992, 10)

Mayan: Q'ANJOBALAN: Jakalteq (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Day 1973, 66, 99; also see Church and Church 1961; Grinevald Craig 1977, Chapter 1, §1.2.2 and Chapter 4, §1.4 and 1.5; Ruhlen 2008, 1768)⁷⁷³, **Tojolabal** (Curiel Ramírez Del Prado 2017, §5.4)

Uto-Aztecan: NUMIC: Ute (Croft and Deligianni 2001, 7)

Oto-Manguean: AMUZGO: Amuzgo (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 - Stewart and Stewart 2000, 410, 412; also see Hart 1957, §3; Yasugi 1995, 366; Buck 2000, §3.3 and §3.5; 2018, Chapter 11; Ruhlen 2008, 1837)

Oto-Manguean: MIXTECAN: Acatlán Mixtec (Méndez-Hord 2017, §2.3), **Alacatlalzala Mixtec** (Zylstra 1991, 73; 2012, Chapter 11), **Apoala Mixtec** (Ramírez Lajara 2017, §2.4), **Atlatluha Mixtec** (Alexander 1980, §12.6), **Chalcatongo Mixtec** (Macaulay 1996, §6.2.3), **Coatzoquitengo Mixtec** (de Leon Pasquel

⁷⁶⁶ Erdman (1971, 70) gives an example showing an adjective preceding the N.

⁷⁶⁷ Adjectives may also immediately precede the head N.

⁷⁶⁸ Dryer (2018, 821 and Supplementary Materials, 29) attributes to Teop the order Num N Dem A, citing Mosel and Spriggs (1992: 42) and Mosel and Thiesen (2007: 97). However, to judge from Carter (1952) and Mosel (with Thiesen) (2007) (also see Mosel 2014), the order Num N Dem A appears not to be the only order of these elements, as it alternates with Num N A Dem. Carter (1952, 237) states that “The common demonstrative adjective is *vai*, which is used for singular or plural, near or distant objects with equal impartiality. When it is used with another adjective it can immediately follow the noun or the other adjective). See (1)a-b:

- (i)a. Dema a vasu a kakavo vai
bring the stone the white that
‘Bring that white stone’
b. Mosi o naono vai o kasikasire.
Cut the wood this the yellow.
‘Cut this yellow wood’

Although, as shown by (i)b, and (ii) below, adjectives can (also) be ordered after the N and the demonstrative (Num N Dem A), Mosel (with Thiesen) states that “[n]umerals and adjectivals usually do not directly modify the head noun, but function as the head of numeral and adjectival phrases that modify the NP [...]. These appositional modifying phrases show agreement with respect to the noun class, specificity and number with the noun phrase they modify.” (§7.18). As all the examples in Mosel (with Thiesen) (2007), show, the adjective is always preceded by what they call “prenuclear satellites” of the N (article, plural marker, diminutive marker, etc.) (see (ii)); which might suggest that they belong to an independent noun phrase with an elided head, in apposition to the first.

- (ii) tea gono [bona maa kiu vai] [a maa be-beera] (= ex. (8) of § 7.13)
COMPL get ART PL work DEM ART PL RED-big
‘(None of them missed out) in getting these top jobs’

⁷⁶⁹ A small class of adjectives precedes the N.

⁷⁷⁰ Tuvaluan appears to have N A Dem Num as an alternative order (cf. Besnier 2000, §1.2.5 and 2.1.6).

⁷⁷¹ For the k dialect of Ulithian, although citing Sohn (1975), Ruhlen (2008, 1255) gives the order N A Dem Num.

⁷⁷² Isirawa also has N Num A Dem as an alternative order (Oguri 1976, 87).

⁷⁷³ A minority of adjectives may however precede (Grinevald Craig 1977, 10).

1988, §4.4.2.1), **Coatzospan Mixtec** (Small 1990,353), **Concepción Pápaolo Cuicatec** (Bradley 1991,440ff), **Trique (Copala)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Hollenbach 1992,279f)⁷⁷⁴, **Diuxi-Tilantongo Mixtec** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Kuiper and Oram 1991,269,276), **Eastern Jamiltepec Mixtec** (Pensinger and Lyman 1975,§1; Ruhlen 2008,1849), **Jicaltepec Mixtec** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Bradley 1970,50,60; also see Ruhlen 2008,1845), **Magdalena Peñasco Mixtec** (Hollenbach 2013, Chapter 8), **Me'phaa** (Marlett 2011, la frase nominal §2), **Mixtec de San Juan Colorado** (Campbell, Peterson and Cruz 1986, Tercera Parte), **Northern Tlaxiaco Mixtec** (Gittlen 2016,§3.2), **Ocoatepec Mixtec** (Alexander 1988,220)⁷⁷⁵, **San Sebastián del Monte Mixtec** (Mantenuto 2020,§3.5)⁷⁷⁶, **Silacayoapan Mixtec** (Shields 1988,§3.1.4), **Southeastern Nochixtlán Mixtec** (McKendry 2001,85), **Tacuate de Santa María Zacatepec** (Towne 2011,§8.1), **Tezoatlán Mixtec** (Ferguson de Williams 2007,167), **Xochapa Mixtec** (Cline 2018,§2.2), **Yosondúa Mixtec** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Farris 1992,73,83-84)

Oto-Manguan: POPOLOCAN: Chocho (Yasugi 1995,364f), **Mazatec (Chiquihuitlán)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Jamieson 1974,1)

Oto-Manguan: CHINANTECAN: Chinantec de San Juan Quiotepec (Castillo Martínez 2012,Chapter 1), **(Comaltepec) Chinantec** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 – Anderson 1989,55; also see Anderson 2018, Chapt.4), **(Lealao) Chinantec** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Rupp 1989,61,73)⁷⁷⁷, **(Ozumacín) Chinantec** (Rupp 2009, §3.2), **(San Felipe Usila) Chinantec** (Skinner 1971,§6.7; Skinner and Skinner 2000,478), **(Sochiapan) Chinantec** (Foris 1980,47), **Tlatepuzco [Palantla] Chinantec** (Merrifield and Anderson 2007,680f), **(Tepetotutla) Chinantec** (Westley 1991,53)

Oto-Manguan: ZAPOTECAN: Chatino (Sierra Occidental) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,18 - Pride 1965,29), **Comaltepec Zapotec (Choapan, Oaxaca)** (Boulden 2010,§4.6), **(Isthmus) Zapotec** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 – Pickett, Black and Cerqueda 1998,40), **(Juárez) Zapotec** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 - Foreman 2006,203; also see Bartholomew 1983,§2.3.2 and §8.2), **Lachixío Zapotec** (Persons, Black and Persons 2009,§2.4), **Macuiltianguis Zapotec** (Foreman 2006,§3.3), **Mitla Zapotec** (Stubblefield and Stubblefield 1991,208f), **Quiegolani Zapotec** (Black 1994,311), **San Dionisio Ocoatepec Zapotec** (George Aaron Broadwell, SSWL Archive)⁷⁷⁸, **San Baltazar Chichicápam Zapotec** (Benton and Benton 2016, Apéndice II.,§2.3 and §3.1), **San Cristóbal Lachirioag Zapotec** (Munro 2020,§1)⁷⁷⁹, **San Juan Mixtepec Zapotec** (Nelson 2004,§1.4.2), **San Pedro Mixtepec Zapotec** (Ramos 2015,§2.4), **Santa Ana del Valle Zapotec** (George Aaron Broadwell 1997,p.7 and §6), **Santiago Laxopa Zapotec** (Duff, Sichel and Toosarvandani 2022,44f), **Tataltepec Chatino** (Pride 1976,3), **Teotepec Chatino**

⁷⁷⁴ Hollenbach (1992,280) report the following example:

- (i) wahnuxl nix nee zahl yoh
 three PL knife good that
 'those three good knives'

This is also the order given by George Aaron Broadwell in the Syntactic Structures of the World's Languages data base (<http://sswl.railsplayground.net/browse/languages/Triqui,%20Copala>). This order is also attributed to the Triqui de Chicahuaxtla in Hernández Mendoza (2016).

⁷⁷⁵ Alexander (1988,220) gives the following example:

- (i) uu ndá ndīkā náhnú ñúkwán
 two PL banana big.PL that
 'those two big bananas'

⁷⁷⁶ Mantenuto (2020,99) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) ivi libro kua'á ná'no yo'o
 two book red big.PL this
 'these two big red books'

⁷⁷⁷ Rupp (1989,63) gives the following illustrative example:

- a:^Mi la:^L tiē^Li ki,á:^H-ʔi^M-ni^{LM}i
 three mule white of-1SGREL-that
 'those three white mule of mine'

⁷⁷⁸ <http://sswl.railsplayground.net/browse/languages/San%20Dionisio%20Ocoatepec%20Zapotec>

⁷⁷⁹ Munro (2020,3) gives the following illustrative example:

- (i) yonn gyish zhna na'
 irr.three book red that
 'those three red books'

(McIntosh 2011,§3.3; 2015,§6.3.4)⁷⁸⁰, **Teotitlán del Valle Zapotec** (Gutiérrez 2021,84,278), **Tlacolula Valley Zapotec** (Munro 2020,§1)⁷⁸¹, **Yatzachi el bajo Zapotec** (Butler 1980,Chapter 19) **Yatepec Chatino** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials ; also see Ruhlen 2008,1862), **Zacatepec Chatino** (Villard 2009,72f,78), **Zoogocho Zapotec** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 - Sonnenschein 2004,154; also see Sonnenschein 2005,111f)

PANOAN: Kashibo-Kakataibo (Zariquiey Biondi 2011,§9.2)

Arawakan: PIAPOCO-ACHAGUA: Achagua (Wilson and Levinsohn 1992,§4.1)⁷⁸²

Arawakan: CARIBBEAN ARAWAKAN: Goajiro (Guajiro/Wayuu) (Ehrman 1972,41; also see Mosonyi, Mosonyi, González Uriana and Paz Ipuana. 2000,360f, and Sabogal 2018,§3.2)⁷⁸³

Tupian: ARIKEM: Karitiâna (Landin 1960,3; Everett 2006,334f)⁷⁸⁴

CREOLE (ARABIC BASED): Juba Arabic (Manfredi and Petrollino 2013,57f; Manfredi 2017,§3.16)

CREOLE (PORTUGUESE BASED): Angolar (Maurer 1995,§2.1; Lorenzino 1998,§5.1; Haddican 2002)⁷⁸⁵

CREOLES (FRENCH BASED): Guadeloupean Creole (Déprez 2007), **Haitian Creole** (Phillips 1982,23,55; Glaude 2013,Chapter 3)⁷⁸⁶, **Louisiana Creole** (Haddican 2002; cf. also Klinger 1992,§3.1),

Martinique Creole (Déprez 2006,32ff)⁷⁸⁷, **Reunion Creole** (Cellier (1985,57ff), **St.Lucian Creole**

(Carrington 1984,§§6 and 7; Haddican 2002)⁷⁸⁸, **Tayo** (Haddican 2002)

LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Yaruro (Guerreiro de Pirela 2015,§6.2.1)

N-A-Dem-Num (CI):⁷⁸⁹ **104 lgs, 35 genera**

Niger-Congo: EASTERN MANDE: San-Maka (Perekhval'skaya 2017,55)

Niger-Congo: WESTERN MANDE: Maninka (Western) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Delafosse 1929,266; also see Ruhlen 2008,50), **Lighi** (Persson and Persson 1980,§3.1.1), **Soninke** (Ruhlen 2008,45)

Niger-Congo: NORTHERN MANDE: Mali (Ruhlen 2008,45),

Niger-Congo: DOGON: Jamsay (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,21 - Heath (2008,15)⁷⁹⁰

Niger-Congo: GUR: Farefari (Gurene) (Nsoh and Azure 2009,§2; Samuel A. Atintono, p.c.), **Kasem** (Hewer 1976,§5.1 and §5.4.1), **Nafara** (Baron 2016,Chapter 5; Baron 2019,§1), **Sisaala** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Moran 2006,113; also see Frempong 2015,§3.1.9.1)

⁷⁸⁰ A demonstrative can also be found sandwiching the adjective (McIntosh 2011,90).

⁷⁸¹ Munro (2020,4) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) chòonn li'èbr xnia-ih
three book red-that
'those three red books'

⁷⁸² An alternative order is Dem Num N A.

⁷⁸³ The demonstrative can also be pronominal (in which case the numeral can also be post-nominal) (cf. Sabogal (2018,82), where the following partial order is also reported:

(i) Nala tepichi piama-shii
DEM.2.PL kid two-PL
'these two kids'

⁷⁸⁴ Landin (1960,3) attributes to Karitiâna the order N A Dem, without saying where numerals are located. Everett (2006,335) gives examples with the order Num N (and also Dem N, without saying though how Dem and Num are ordered pre-nominally).

⁷⁸⁵ Lorenzino (1998,140) also gives the order N Dem A as possible.

⁷⁸⁶ This order is confirmed by the partial orders reported by Erika Wolf and Michel DeGraff in the SSWL archive (<http://sswl.railsplayground.net/browse/languages/Haitian%20>), though certain adjectives can also immediately precede the N.

⁷⁸⁷ Some adjectives are also found pre-nominally after numerals.

⁷⁸⁸ Some adjectives precede the N.

⁷⁸⁹ Hocank (Siouan – Helmbrecht 2004/2006,§2.3) has N A Dem Num alternating with N A Num Dem.

⁷⁹⁰ Heath (2011i) mentions the existence, which the grammar failed to observe, of the order N Num A Dem as an alternative order of Jamsay noun phrases. Also see Heath (n.d.,3).

Niger-Congo: KWA: Akebu (Makeeva and Shluinsky 2020,346)⁷⁹¹, **Ega** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials, 19 - Bolé-Richard 1983b,380)

Niger-Congo: PLATEAU: Mada (Terraling <https://terraling.com/groups/7/lings/962?page=2>)

Niger-Congo: KRU: Bété (Zogbo 2011b,56)⁷⁹², **Dida Lakota (diéko)** (Terraling)⁷⁹³, **Godié** (Marchese 1989,133; Zogbo 2011a,47; Sande 2015,§4.1), **Dadjriwalé** (Godé 2008,121)

Niger-Congo: NUPOID: Nupe (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Smith 1967,19-20)

Niger-Congo: BANTOID:⁷⁹⁴ **Aghem** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,15 - Hyman 1979,27; also see Ruhlen 2008,258; Hyman 2010,104f)⁷⁹⁵, **Babungo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials,16 – Schaub 1985,77), **Bamunka** (Ingle 2013,§4)⁷⁹⁶, **Bangwà** (Nguendjio 1989,§6.9; 2014,§6.3 and 6.9)⁷⁹⁷, **Ewondo** (Essonó 1993,Chapter 14, and Christophe Onambélé, p.c.), **Kenyang** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Ramirez 1998,28)⁷⁹⁸, **Kom** (Kimbi 2005, §1.7.4), **Kung** (Kießling 2019,§4)⁷⁹⁹, **Lutsotso** (Osore 2012,Chapter IV), **Mfumte** (McLean 2014,§2.2)⁸⁰⁰, **Mmen** (Möller 2012,§5.8)⁸⁰¹, **Mpongwée** (Gautier 1912,33), **Mundabli** (Lovegren and Voll 2017,§3.2)⁸⁰², **Mundani** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Parker 1989,168), **Mwani** (Floor 2000,§3), **Safwa** (Rugemalira 2007,§3.2.3.3)⁸⁰³, **Teke** (Yvon Pierre Ndongo Ybara, p.c.)⁸⁰⁴, **Tiv** (Ishima 2012)

⁷⁹¹ Makeeva and Shluinsky (2020,346) illustrate the order with the following example:

(i) [à-kòláátíá-mòèè[ì-pə wé à-tā [nē-ī]]
PƏ-banana-ripe-PƏ DEM PƏ-three ɪŋ̄.JNT.PFV-eat
'these three ripe bananas that he has eaten'

⁷⁹² Vahoua (2016,255f) attributes to Bété the order N A Num Dem, providing the example in (i):

(i) kájā kádi tā: nī
pilons grands trois-ci
'these three big pillars'

⁷⁹³ <http://test.terraling.com/groups/7/lings/1001?page=2>. The adjective can also precede the N.

⁷⁹⁴ Ambe (1989,§3.4.0) attributes this order to Bafut (while Tamanji assigns the orders N A Num Dem and N Num A Dem).

⁷⁹⁵ See the example given in Hyman (2010,104):

(i) fú kì-bá⁺ ñá kì-dú⁺ ú kín kì-mò?
rat red big this one
'this one big red rat'

⁷⁹⁶ Ingle (2013,30) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) mútə fefe həʋə həʋɛ ibuu
farm.C10 new C10-their C10-these two
'these their two new farms'

⁷⁹⁷ Nguendjio (1989,§6.9) gives A N Dem Num as an alternative order. Nguendjio (2014,§6.3 and §6.9) gives adjectives like 'big', 'bad', 'cold' as only post-nominal, 'small', 'short', 'rotten' as only pre-nominal and the rest both post- and pre-nominal.

⁷⁹⁸ Green and Tabe Oben (2014,§4.1) however give the order A N as the only order.

⁷⁹⁹ Kießling (2019,152) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) Bə̀ s-üŋ sə̀ xáʔlə̀ sé sə̀ t̩ə̀
10.goats 10.POSS.1sg 10 big.PL 10.Dem 10 five
'these five big goats of mine'

⁸⁰⁰ "In some cases the numeral precedes the noun which it modifies" (McLean 2014,p.12), giving the order Num N A Dem.

⁸⁰¹ See the example given in Möller (2012: 28):

(i) líjə̀ té-té t-ím t-ínə̀ té-kyà
bamboo small-C13 C13-my C13-DEM C13-NUM
'these my four strong bamboos'

⁸⁰² Lovegren and Voll (2017,25) also give the following illustrative example:

(i) ŋwàtí` bī bī-fyij b-én bī-t̩
cl7/8.book cl8.3sg.poss cl8-new cl8-dem.prox cl8-three
'these three new books of hers'

Voll (2017,§7.3), however, gives N Dem A Num as the most common order of Mundabli noun phrases.

⁸⁰³ An alternative order is N Num A Dem and the demonstrative can also occur in pre-nominal position (yielding Dem N A Num or Dem N Num A).

⁸⁰⁴ Yvon Pierre Ndongo Ybara, p.c. kindly provided the following example:

Nilo-Saharan: KOMAN: Tapo (Gelaneh 2017, §7.3)⁸⁰⁵
Nilo-Saharan: BERTA: Berta (Triulzi, Dafallah and Bender 1976, 526f, Ruhlen 2008, 442)
Nilo-Saharan: SAHARAN: Beria (Jakobi and Crass 2004, §8.2.4)⁸⁰⁶
Nilo-Saharan: NILOTIC: Anuak (Ruhlen 2008, 410)
Afro-Asiatic: BIU-MANDARA: Uldeme (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Colombel 2005, 29),
Gemzek (Gravina 2005, §3, and Richard Gravina, p.c.), **Mada** (Théodore Bebey
<http://sswl.railsplayground.net/browse/languages/Mada>)⁸⁰⁷, **Mbuko** (Richard Gravina, p.c.), **Merey** (Richard
Gravina, p.c.), **Muyang** (<https://terraling.com/groups/7/lings/966?page=2>)
Afro-Asiatic: WEST CHADIC: Angas (Burquest 1973, Chapter 4)
Austro-Asiatic: PALAUNGIC: Parauk (Wa) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Seng Mai
2012, 61)
Sino-Tibetan: BODIC: Tibetan (Amdo) (Ebihara 2010, 57)⁸⁰⁸, **Tibetan (Modern Literary)** (Dryer
2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Goldstein 1991, 51-52), **Tibetan (Standard Spoken)** (Dryer
2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - DeLancey 2003, 273)⁸⁰⁹
Sino-Tibetan: QIANGIC: Qiang (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - LaPolla (with Huang)
(2003, 39)⁸¹⁰
Sino-Tibetan: NAIC: Namuyi Khatho (Li 2017, §3.4.4 and §11.3.7), **Naxi** (Lam 2013, §4.3.1; Michaud, He
and Zhong forthcoming, §2.4.2),
Sino-Tibetan: LOLO-BURMESE: Akha (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 - Hansson 2003, 241)⁸¹¹,
Bisu (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Person 2000, 39; Day 2009, 57)⁸¹², **Hani** (Dryer
2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Li 1990, 155)⁸¹³, **Khatso** (Donley 2015, §3.5.1; 2019, §7.1), **Lisu** (Dryer
2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Bradley 2003, 227-228; also see Roop 1970, §3.1, and Hope 1974, Chapter
IV), **Lalo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Björverud 1998, 117; Drewry 2016, §2.2.3), **Lolo**
(Yao'An) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Merrifield 2010, 85, 89)⁸¹⁴, **Nuosu** (Dryer

(i) bààná bantsyε bà batseri
children small these three
'these three small children'

⁸⁰⁵ To judge from Gelaneh (2017, 135) colour adjectives can come between Dem and Num.

⁸⁰⁶ Fadoul Khidir (2005, 36, 76) attributes to Beria the order Num N A Dem.

⁸⁰⁷ Also see Terraling (<http://test.terraling.com/groups/7/lings/962?page=2>).

⁸⁰⁸ Ebihara (2010, 57) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) eaji tɛ^hoŋ+tɛ^hoŋ ti səm
child small Dem three
'those three small children'

⁸⁰⁹ Also see Denwood 1999, §7.7), where however an example is given with the order N A Num Dem (p.99). Chen and Jiang (2017, §1.3) say that in Lhasa Tibetan "[w]hen demonstratives combine with numeral constructions in Lhasa Tibetan, they can appear in the position either preceding or following the numeral" (p.5).

⁸¹⁰ Wuxi (2016, §7.1; 2017, Chapter 7) gives the same order for the Longxi Qiang variety, noting that demonstratives can also precede the N. This is different from the order of the Puxi variety of Qiang (for which see under A N Dem Num).

⁸¹¹ Hansson (2003, 241) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) tshóhà jòmý xhó nji γà
person good those two CLF
'those two good persons'

Ruhlen (2008, 928) gives for Akha the order Dem A Num N. Akha Lai appears instead to have Dem N A Num as the canonical order. See Peterson (2003, 419).

⁸¹² This is the order attributed by Day (2009, 57) to Doi Chom Phu Bisu. However, Xu (2001, 75ff) attributes to Bisu the order Dem N A Num. Nishida (1973, 68f, 77) gives for Ban Lua Bisu examples with the partial orders N A, Dem N, Num N.

⁸¹³ Judging from examples in the appendices of Gainer (2008) adjectives (in Dolnia Hani) can also precede the N giving A N Dem Num as an alternative order.

⁸¹⁴ But see Jones (1970, 5) and Nguyen (2004, 143), where Lolo is given with the order Dem N A Num (CLF).

2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Gerner 2013, 64; also see Ding 2018, §4)⁸¹⁵, **Pei-shan Lolo** (Fu 1997, 109f, 198), **Yongning Na** (Lidz 2010, §9.1-2)
Sino-Tibetan: NUNGISH: Anong (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 - Sun and Liu 2009, 115)⁸¹⁶
Sino-Tibetan: NAGA: Sema (Sreedhar 1980, 163)⁸¹⁷
Sino-Tibetan: KAREN: Kayan (Manson 2010, §7.1)⁸¹⁸
Austronesian: SOUTH HALMAHERA - WEST NEW GUINEA: Dusner (Gasser 2014, §4.3.2; also see Dalrymple and Mofu 2012 for partial orders), **Wamesa** (Gasser 2014, §4.3.2 and §5.7.1-2), **Warembori** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Donohue 1999b, 20), **Wooi** (Emily Gasser, p.c.)⁸¹⁹
Austronesian: OCEANIC: Anejom (Lynch 1982b, 123 and §3.2.3; Lynch 2000, 50 and §3.4; Lynch 2002, §2.6), **Araki** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - François 2002: 102)⁸²⁰, **Bierebo** (Budd 2009, Chapter 3), **East Uvean (Wallisian)** (Livingston 2016, Chapters 4 and 7)⁸²¹, **Kaulong** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 - Ross 2002e, 395; also see Throop 1992, §3.2.1.6)⁸²², **Lakurumau** (Mazzitelli 2020 and p.c.)⁸²³, **Lote** (Pearson and van den Berg 2008, 49)⁸²⁴, **Lusi (Kaliai-Kove)** (Dryer

⁸¹⁵ For Nuosu Yi Liu (2006, 56 and §3.4.2) and Liu and Gu (2011, 321) give the order N A Dem Num (cf. also Jiang and Hu 2010, for the order N Dem Num). The order given in Gerner (2013, §5.1 and §5.2.3) is instead: A_{appositive} N A_{restrictive} Num Dem.

⁸¹⁶ Sun and Liu (2009, 115) provide the following illustrative example:

(i) ŋ³¹ a³¹k^hɑŋ³¹ gɑ³¹mu³¹ se⁵⁵ nɑ⁵⁵ ɑ³¹ŋi⁵⁵ t^hɑm⁵⁵
 he grandfather clothes new that two clf
 ‘those two new articles of clothing of his grandfather’s’

⁸¹⁷ Sreedhar (1980, 146ff) reports that colour adjectives only occur pre-nominally, which thus gives A N Dem Num as an alternative order of the language (p.158). Post-nominally numerals usually follow adjectives (and demonstratives), but it is possible for them to also precede adjectives (p.161).

⁸¹⁸ N A Dem Num is also the order attributed to Kayan Lahta by Ywar (2013, Chapter 4), where the following example is provided:

(i) ɲɑːl ʃɑːʔl piːl doːl s^huːl baːl
 1s chicken small that six clf
 ‘those six small chickens of mine’

and to Western Kayah Li by Sigmundson (2021, §2.2.1), where the following example is given:

(ii) hiːl ljeːl raːleːlaːl hɔːl nuːəːl njeːl meːl (p.21)
 house old very PRT3 that two CLF.buildings.
 ‘those two very old houses.’

⁸¹⁹ N A Num Dem is also a possible alternative order (Emily Gasser, p.c.). N A Num Dem is actually the order attributed to Wooi by Sawaki (2016, §4.2).

⁸²⁰ N A Num Dem is a possible alternative order (cf. François 2002, 86, 91, 102).

⁸²¹ Livingston (2016, 34) provides the following example:

(i) Ne'e omai la fa'ahiga la-lahi 'aia 'e lua mai Toga ki Uvea nei
 PST come so lineage NSG~big DEM3 NPST two from Tonga to Uvea DEM1
 ‘So these two large lineages came from Tonga to Uvea here.’

⁸²² Ross (2002e, §2.6) gives examples with the order N Dem A Deictic (= apparently Dem_{reinforcer}). This order is reported to be followed by quantifiers. Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 21 fn19) adds: “The formula given by Ross (2002[e], 395) might suggest that the order is N-Dem-A Num. However, the item that Ross treats as “Dem” can also mean ‘the’ and a contrast between ‘this’ and ‘that’ is coded by a deictic word that occurs after the adjective and before the numeral.”

⁸²³ Lidia Mazzitelli provided (p.c.) the following orders, which suggest the overall order N A Dem Num:

(i)a. a flu wazak akamaam
 ART house white this
 ‘this white house’
 b. a moz akamaam a ralarun
 ART thing this ART three
 ‘these three things’

⁸²⁴ N A Dem Num is the order attributed by the authors to the Lote noun phrase in §3.8, although in §3.4 they say that “Numerals and quantifiers function similarly in that they both follow the head noun and precede the demonstrative.”, suggesting the order N A Num Dem.

2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Counts 1969,125,135,138)⁸²⁵, **Maisin** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,; also see Ross 1984,§3.1.1)⁸²⁶, **Mamusi** (Wade 2022,§3.2.3), **Maskelynes** (Healey 2013,§4.2), **Mavea** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Guerin 2011,142; also see Guérin 2008,§6.3), **Naman** (Crowley 2006b,81,129), **Natqgu** (Boerger 2022,)⁸²⁷ **Neve‘ei** (Musgrave 2007, Chapter 4), **Port Sandwich** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Crowley 2002d,653)⁸²⁸, **Roro** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Kim and Kim 1998,41), **Sakao** (Touati 2014,Chapter 6,§1)⁸²⁹, **Takia** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Ross 2002h,227), **Tama(m)bo** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Jauncey 2011,177)⁸³⁰, **Tangoa** (Batcock 2006,35f), **Waima** (Kim and Kim 1998,§5.1.1)⁸³¹, **Woleaian** (Ruhlen 2008,1255)⁸³²

West Papuan: NORTH HALMAHERA: West Makian (Voorhoeve 1982,§2.2.10 and 2.3.2.1),

Torricelli: ARAPESH: Muhiang (Alungum, Conrad and Lukas. 1978,§3.1.1)

Trans-New Guinea: MADANG: Kobon (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Davies 1981,65)⁸³³

Trans-New Guinea: FINISTERRE-HUON: Awara (Quigley 2002,§3.7; Quigley 2011,§14.7)

Trans-New Guinea: GOILALAN: Amam (Aki and Pennington 2013,§3.6.1)

Koiaran: KOIARIAN: Koiari (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Dutton 1996,60; also see Dutton 2003,§3.1.1)

Chibchan: TALAMANCAN: (Panama) Naso (Bermúdez 2018,§3.5.1)⁸³⁴

Australian: WESTERN DALY: Maranungku (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Tryon 1970,16; also see Ruhlen 2008,1567), **Ngan'gityemerri** (Reid 1997,167f),

CREOLE (ARABIC BASED): Nubi of Kibera (Heine 1982,§2.3.3)⁸³⁵

⁸²⁵ Thurston (1980,49;1982,§2.6) attribute to Anêm and Lusi the order N Dem A Num, which is also the order of the related Kove language (see below). Thurston (1982,25) gives the illustrative example in (i):

(i) *yaea ne parɔŋa tolu*
pig d big three
 ‘these three big pigs’

⁸²⁶ Frampton (2014,§4.2) attributes to Maisin the order N A Num Dem. cf. Also Ross (1984,§3.1.1),

⁸²⁷ This order appears possible if one combines the following two phrases, among others:

(i)a. *tewa kxetu kc* (Boerger 2022,44)
rain SUBRbig DEM2.DIST
 ‘that big rain’
 b. *mztea lc-ng li* (Boerger 2022,12)
‘village DEM1.DIST-PL two
 ‘those two villages’

⁸²⁸ Pearce (2011,195f) suggests, on the basis of elicited material from two informants, that the order might be N A Num Dem, but further evidence is needed.

⁸²⁹ While Touati (2013, §2 and §2.5.2) reported N A Num Dem as the order of Sakao, Touati (2014), as noted, gives N A Dem Num as the canonical order; an order confirmed by Jacques Guy (p.c.), who provided the example in (i):

(i) *ohos vriv mam ru*
horse big this two
 ‘these two big horses’

Meyerhoff (2017,§2) too gives for Nkep (a.k.a. known as Sakao) the order N A Dem Num.

⁸³⁰ Actually Jauncey (2002,§2.6) gives N A Num Dem as the basic order of Tama(m)bo.

⁸³¹ Beata and Kim (2013,§3.6.1) give for Waima the alternative orders N Num A Dem, N Dem Num A and N A Num Dem (§3.6.1).

⁸³² Croft and Deligianni (2001, table 5) also (tentatively) assign this order to Woleian.

⁸³³ Dawson and Dawson (1974,§2.2) attribute to Kobon the order N A Num Dem.

⁸³⁴ Bermúdez (2018,104) gives (i)a as the NP template, with the illustrative example in (i)b.:

(i)a. [PRO NOUN Adj DEM TOP...(VP)...CL NUM]_{NP}
 b. *bop kwozir-ga wolëso wle ĩ-no-r doglo mya*
 2.POSS child-PL beautiful DEM.NONVIS see-PFV-1SG.A CL:HUMAN.PL three
 ‘I saw those three beautiful children of yours’

⁸³⁵ This is the order given in Heine (1982) as the canonical order. Owens (1980,100), cited in Heine (1982,30fn.1) gives for Nubi the order N Num A Dem (see his example in (i)), a subset of which (N Num Dem) is also documented in Wellens (2003,71; 2005,96). Haddican (2002) and Rijkhoff (2004,177;2008,802) give instead for Nubi the order N A Num Dem, which is also the order given by Owens (1997,153) for Kenyan Nubi, possibly a distinct variety (see under Kenyan Nubi).

N-Num-A-Dem (Ct): 72 lgs, 35 genera⁸³⁶

Semitic: ARABIC: Kordofanian Baggara Arabic (Manfredi 2010; 2014,33 and Stefano Manfredi, p.c.)

Afro-Asiatic: CHADIC: Barain (Barayin) (Lovstrand 2012,73,158; 2018,§9.2)⁸³⁷, **Goemai** (Hellwig 2003,§2.2.2.1, and Birgit Hellwig, p.c.)

Mande: SOUTHEASTERN MANDE: Dan (Ruhlen 2008,57)

Nilo-Saharan: MABAN: Maba (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Trenga 1947,71,80)

Nilo-Saharan: NILOTIC: Labwor (Heine and König 2010,Chapter 5)⁸³⁸, **Lango** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Noonan 1992,154)⁸³⁹, **Luo** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Omondi 1982,71,123, 245; also see Heine 1981a,184; Tucker 1994,262,272f)⁸⁴⁰

Nilo-Saharan: SURMIC: Baale (Gerrit and Dimmendaal 2020,635)

Atlantic-Congo: BAÏNOUNK: Gubëher (Friederike Lüpke, p.c.), **Gujaher** (Friederike Lüpke, p.c.)

Niger-Congo: PLATEAU: Migili (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Stofberg 1978,232)

Songhay: NORTHERN SONGHAY: Kwarandzyey (Korandje) (Souag 2010,162,286; Souag 2011)⁸⁴¹

Niger-Congo: KWA: Lelemi (Buem) (Allan 1973,171)

Niger-Congo: UKAAN/AIKA: Ikaan (Salffner 2009,§2.5.3)⁸⁴²

-
- (i) 'kujura 'taki ti'nin ku'bar 'nade
rooms your two big-PL those
'those two big rooms of yours'

⁸³⁶ This order is attested as an alternative to N A Num Dem and A N Num Dem in **Bafut** (), and to N A Num Dem in **Mundang** (Elders 2000,229f).

⁸³⁷ N A Num is also a possible order (Lovstrand 2012,74).

⁸³⁸ Heine and König (2010,49) give the following illustrative example:

- (i) rómi àdèk nà bécò nì
sheep.PL three rel good PROX
'these three good sheep'

⁸³⁹ Noonan (1981,§1.7.1,1992,§8.7.1) give N Num A Dem as the canonical order of **Lango** providing examples like (i) Noonan (1992,§8.7.1) also reports examples with the order N A Num Dem. See (ii).

- (i) gwóggí à lóc`ə àdè'kk à d`əŋ`ə àmê 'dákó òn`enòni (Noonan 1981,56)
dogs att-part man att+part-three att-part big rel+part woman 3s-see-perf-this
'these three big dogs of the man that the woman saw'

- (ii) gwóggí à d`əŋ`ə a-ry`ə-nì (Noonan 1992,156)
dogs att-part big att-part-two-this
'these two big dogs'

⁸⁴⁰ Okuku and Orwenjo (2014) give for **Dholuo** the orders N A Dem, N Num A, which also appear to give the overall order N Num A Dem. An apparently possible alternative order is N A Num Dem (Gregersen 1962,§5.5.4). Okoth Okombo (1997,28f) gives N Num A Dem as the canonical order, also illustrating it with the example in (i), and N A Num Dem as an alternative order.

- (i) nyithindo moko ariyo matindo mohero tugo ka
children some two rel.little playing those
'those two little children who like playing'

Pascal Waryoba kindly provided in personal communication the following example for **Tanzanian Luo**, which has the same N Num A Dem order:

- (i) gari achil maber ni
car one nice this
'this one nice car'

⁸⁴¹ "[it] obligatorily place[s] the numeral between the noun and the adjective (for the numbers 1-10): ex. aḍṛa inza bya-yu (mountain three big-this-pl.) 'these three large mountains'" (Souag 2011).

⁸⁴² An alternative order is N A Num Dem.

(Pacchiarotti and Bostoen 2021,25)⁸⁵², **Nuasúe** (Bébiné 2019,§7.3.2.9.3)⁸⁵³, **Nyanga** (Mateene 1969,187)⁸⁵⁴, **Oluwanga (Eji)** (<https://terraling.com/groups/7/lings/998?page=3>), **Shimwela (Mwera)** (John (Taji) 2010, J(ohn) Taji and Mreta (2017), and Julius John (Taji), p.c.)⁸⁵⁵, **Shingazidja** (Patin 2007,2, 30, and Annex; Patin and O’Connor 2012,3; Patin and Manus 2019,902; Patin, Mohamed-Soyir and Kisseberth 2019,§3.5)⁸⁵⁶, **Tiv** (Jockers 1991,88)⁸⁵⁷

Afro-Asiatic: EASTERN CUSHITIC: Oromo (Waata) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Heine 1981b,35), **Gabra** (Heine 1981a,181f)

Afro-Asiatic: SOUTH CUSHITIC: Dahalo (Tosco 1991,83, and Mauro Tosco p.c.)

Khoisan: SOUTHERN KHOISAN: #Hõã (Collins and Gruber 2014,§15)⁸⁵⁸

Sino-Tibetan: KUKI-CHIN: Hakha Chin (Wamsley 2019,13)⁸⁵⁹, **Jejara** (Barkman 2014,§4.3.1)⁸⁶⁰,

Austronesian: CELEBIC: Busoa (van den Berg 2020, Chapter 5)

Austronesian: NORTHWEST SUMATRA-BARRIER ISLANDS: Mandailing (Saiful Anwar Matondang, p.c.)⁸⁶¹

Austronesian: SOUTH ALMAHERA – WEST NEW GUINEA: Roon (Emily Gasser, p.c.)⁸⁶², **Butlih Salawati** (Laura Arnold, p.c.)⁸⁶³

⁸⁵² On p.25 they provide the following example:

(i) àŋke’ár àsâr àtítêy àní wásùì ileám
à-ŋkéàr à-sâr à-títêy à-ní wá-Ø-sùì^{HL} i-lèám
cl2-woman 2-three 2-tall 2-that s2-gen.prs-wash.tr cl8-cloth
'Those three tall women wash clothes.'

⁸⁵³ Bébiné (2019,324) gives the following illustrative example, among others:

(i) pì-kóná pí-a.wó pí-tátó pì-pì-kéti èpinê
CL8-fille 8-S2OBL 8-trois 8-CL8-petite 8.DEM3
“Tes trois petites filles-là” [those three small girls of yours”]

⁸⁵⁴ Mateene (1969,187) reports N Dem A Num as an alternative order.

⁸⁵⁵ Demonstratives can also double pre-nominally. The post-nominal demonstrative, and adjectives can also precede the numeral.

⁸⁵⁶ Patin (2007,fn23) reports that, in a forthcoming lexicon of Shingazidja, Cassimjee and Kisseberth (to appear) give an example with the order Dem N A Num. But Patin, Mohamed-Soyir and Kisseberth (2019,602) report N A Dem Num as the canonical order of Ngazidja.

⁸⁵⁷ Adjectives can also be found immediately following the N (thus giving N A Num Dem and N A Num A Dem as alternative orders for Tiv). Ruhlen (2008, 240) reports AN as a possible, though less common, order.

⁸⁵⁸ Numerals can also follow the adjective (‘one’ obligatorily) to the left of demonstratives, yielding the alternative order N A Num Dem (§15.2).

⁸⁵⁹ Some demonstratives (*hi*, though not *ma*) can actually sandwich the noun phrase. The rightmost demonstrative could actually be analysed as a demonstrative reinforcer; a conclusion supported by the glosses in many of the examples in Danaher (2019), where *ma..hi* seems to correspond to French *ce..ci/la*. See (i):

(i) ma vok hi
DEM pig DEICTIC
'this pig'

Provenance adjectives precede the noun (Wamsley 2019,13).

⁸⁶⁰ Adjectives can also precede the Noun giving the overall order A N Num A Dem.

⁸⁶¹ Daganak na tolu na denggan indu
Children three nice these
'These three nice children'

Saiful Anwar Matondang tells me that a less frequent alternative order is Dem Num N A (*indu tolu daganak na denggan*).

⁸⁶² Although this is the default order, N A Num Dem is also found as an alternative order (Emily Gasser, p.c.).

⁸⁶³ Laura Arnold provided the illustrative example in (i), saying though that it was checked with a single informant (so that it should be further checked):

(i) hanlu si hanlehejat nuw luw peley ya
3DU REL 3PL.build house two big DEM
'It was the two of them who built those two big houses.'

Austronesian: OCEANIC: Buma (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,17 - Tryon 2002,576), **Erromangan (Sye)** (Crowley 1998a,§6.1.25)⁸⁶⁴, **Kele** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Ross 2002c,132)⁸⁶⁵, **Lele** (Boettger 2015,§4.7 and *passim*)⁸⁶⁶, **Lou** (Stutzman 1994,23 and §4.1), **Sa(a)** (Elliott 1976,§2.1.6.1), **Sobei** (Sterner 1976,§2.1; Sterner and Ross 2002,§2.6)
Timor-Alor-Pantar: MAKASAE-FATALUKU-OIRATA: Makasae (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Huber 2008,45)⁸⁶⁷, **Makalero** (Huber 2011,279)
Trans-New Guinea: WEST BOMBERAI: Kalamang (Karas) (Visser 2016,§4.1.1; 2020,§5.3; 2022,§6.3)⁸⁶⁸
South Bird's Head: SOUTH BIRD'S HEAD: Inanwatan (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - de Vries 2004,64)
Yele-West New Britain: WEST NEW BRITAIN: Ata (Dunn, Reesink and Terrill 2002,36)⁸⁶⁹
CENTRAL SOLOMONS: Lavukaleve (Terrill 1999,69f and 81)⁸⁷⁰,
SULKA: Sulka (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Tharp 1996,115)⁸⁷¹
Sepik: SEPIK HILL: Sanio-Hiowe (Lewis and Lewis 1972,26,34)⁸⁷²
Skou: EASTERN SKOU: Vanimo (Ross 1980,§2.1)⁸⁷³
Siouan: WESTERN SIOUAN: Biloxi (Einaudi 1974,150f)

⁸⁶⁴ Crowley gives N Num A Dem as the preferred order, saying that N A Num Dem, N Dem Num A and (the problematic) N Num Dem A are also possible alternative orders. Lynch and Capell (1983,§3.7) give N Dem A Num as the most common order when all modifiers follow the noun: “Numerals and possessives generally follow demonstratives and adjectives in the noun phrase, with possessives usually at the end of the phrase:

(106) yau-m-etr-i nimo imo virog duru
 ISG :B-MP-build-TR house this small two
 ‘I built these two small houses’” (p.48)

But they also say that demonstratives can also be found after adjectives (presumably in the order N A Num Dem).

⁸⁶⁵ Dunn, Reesink and Terrill (2002,10) also state that the same order is found in the Reefs-Santa Cruz languages.

⁸⁶⁶ An order alternative to N Num A Dem is apparently Dem N Num A (“Demonstratives attach to the boundaries of noun phrases.” p.244).

⁸⁶⁷ This is the order given in Huber (2008,45), who says that very often adjectives are rendered as relative clauses, though she herself gives an example with the order N A Num Dem (p.36). The order N A Num Dem as a possible order of Makasae appears to be confirmed by examples in Correia (2011,182f). Celestino Ximenes, in the page for Makasae Ba’agia [Baguia] of the Language Documentation Training Center of the Linguistic Society of Hawaii (http://www.ling.hawaii.edu/ldtc/languages/makasae_baguia/syntax.html) gives for noun phrases the partial order N A Num. Alvaro Ribeiro (http://www.ling.hawaii.edu/ldtc/languages/makasae_fatum/syntax.html) gives examples with the same partial order for Makasae Fatumaka.

⁸⁶⁸ N A Num Dem is also a possible order (Visser 2022,17). Visser (2016,79) reports a sentence in which the adjective directly follows the noun and the numeral follows the adjective:

(i) An kewe tumun-at kon-i paruo
 1sg house small-acc one-num.acc make
 ‘I worked on my small house.’

⁸⁶⁹ They provide the following illustrative example:

(i) memee mulu vile kea kitu’a ane
 pig male one white small that
 ‘that one small white male pig’

⁸⁷⁰ N A Num Dem is also possible. This is actually the order given in Ruhlen (2008,1539) (cf. also Dunn, Reesink and Terrill 2002,36).

⁸⁷¹ Dunn, Reesink and Terrill (2002,36) attribute to Sulka the order N A Num Dem. Perhaps both orders are possible as in Lavukaleve (Terrill 1999), with which it “shows similarities” (p.77).

⁸⁷² Lewis and Lewis (1972) explicitly report that modifiers follow the noun, that demonstratives are the last constituent of the nominal phrase and give an example in which numerals precede adjectives.

⁸⁷³ An alternative order with non human nouns is N A Num Dem (Ross 1980,§2.1.2 and 2.1.3).

Chibchan: CHIBCHAN A: Buglere (Quesada 2012, §4.1.1.1)⁸⁷⁴, **(Costa Rica) Teribe** (Quesada 1991, §2000, §4.1.2.2; 2007, 79)⁸⁷⁵

Zamucoan: ZAMUCO-AYOREO: Ayoreo (Bertinetto 2009, §2.6.4)

CREOLES (MALAY BASED): Banda Malay (Pauw 2008, 155-183f), **Larantuka Malay** (Pauw 2008, 155 and 184)

Dem-N-Num-A (Cc): 51 lgs, 29 genera⁸⁷⁶

Niger-Congo: BANTOID: Bakueri (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 – Kagaya 1992, 25-26)⁸⁷⁷, **Bembe** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Iorio 2011, 64; also see Iorio 2015, §2.2.14)⁸⁷⁸, **Digo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Nicolle (2013, 29, 81)⁸⁷⁹, **Fwe** (Gunnink 2018, Chapter 7 and Hilde Gunnink p.c.)⁸⁸⁰, **Ha** (Harjula 2004, 71 and 131)⁸⁸¹, **Ikyausi** (Spier 2020, 106, 115)⁸⁸², **Kihangaza** (Neckemiah 2010, §5.1.2), **Kimbugwe** (Kruijdsijk 2022, 61)⁸⁸³, **Kinyarwanda** (Kimenyi 1980, 7f), **Kirundi**

⁸⁷⁴ Quesada (2012, 126) gives the following illustrative example:

niumbada bido-bu jlene je
vestido CLF-ropa-dos azul DEM
[‘those two azure dresses’]

⁸⁷⁵ Alternative, less frequent, orders are N A Num Dem, and with pre-nominal demonstratives: Dem N Num A and Dem N A Num.

⁸⁷⁶ Croft and Deligianni (2001, 7) give Dem N Num A as an alternative order of Hualapai. Diallo (2000, 197) and Du Plessis and Visser (1992, Chapter 14) give this order as an equally natural alternative in (Fuuta Jalloo) Pular and Xhosa, respectively, of the order Dem N A Num. Vidal and Manelis Klein (2002, 323f) give Dem N Num A as an alternative order for Dem Num N A for Pilagá and Toba (Mataco-Guaicuru).

⁸⁷⁷ Kagaya (1992, 26) gives illustrative examples like the one in (i):

(i) ni nyaka iyao jami jinda
these cattle three my which is black
‘these three black cattle of mine’

⁸⁷⁸ Iorio (2011, 64) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) bi-nu bya-ne bi-tabu bi-bele bya-mmilu wa mikyembo
8-these 8-my 8-book 8-two 8-black Assoc Mikyembo
‘these two black books of mine about Mikyembo.’

Iorio (2015, §2.2.14) gives the order Dem N A Num as a possible alternative order.

⁸⁷⁹ This is the preferred order given in Nicolle (2013, §3.2 and §3.3). N Dem Num A is also a possible alternative order (Steve Nicolle, p.c.). Also see Terraling (<http://test.terraling.com/groups/7/lings/799?page=2>) for the order N Dem Num in addition to Dem N Num.

⁸⁸⁰ Hilde Gunnink p.c. provided the two partial orders in (i), which when combined give the overall order Dem N Num A:

(i)a. abo bakwame bobire
DEM men two
‘Those two men’
b. mabbwa obire manene
dogs two big
‘two big dogs’

⁸⁸¹ An alternative order is Dem N A Num.

⁸⁸² The demonstrative can, less commonly, occur also post-nominally (Spier 2020, 106).

⁸⁸³ One example provided by Kruijdsijk (2022, 61) is:

(i) éé meté etáno medidí
AP4-4.DEM.PROX NP4-tree AP4-five AP4-small
‘these five small trees’

Iris Kruijdsijk, p.c., tells me that another possible order is Dem N A Num (see (ii), from her fieldnotes):

(ii) vará vantó vaajá vatátó
AP2-DEM.DIST NP2-person AP2-good AP2-three
‘those three nice people’

(Juvenal Ndaryiragije, p.c.)⁸⁸⁴, **Langi** (Dunham 2001, Chapter II; 2005, §3.3.3.1)⁸⁸⁵, **Rutooro** (Clemens and Bickmore 2017, §3.4)⁸⁸⁶, **Saghala** (Patin 2009 and Cédric Patin, p.c.)⁸⁸⁷, **Sambaa** (Buell, Riedel and van der Wal 2011, 691), **Xhosa** (Du Plessis and Visser 1992, Chapter 14; Visser 2010, 303ff)⁸⁸⁸
Niger-Congo: NORTHERN ATLANTIC: Wẹỵ (Wamey) (Jenkins and Jenkins 2000, §3.2)⁸⁸⁹
Nilo-Saharan: NILOTIC: Arusa (Levergood 1987, §3.2.2)⁸⁹⁰, **Camus** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Heine 1980, 109; also see Heine 1981a, 183), **Kisongo Maasai** (Koopman 2003, §3.2; 2005, 281)⁸⁹¹, **Maa (Maasai)** (Shirtz and Payne 2013, §2, Payne 2020, 330)⁸⁹², **Mukogodo Maasai** (Heine and Brenzinger 1988, 105), **Sampur** (Heine 1981a, 182f)
Nilo-Saharan: NUBIAN: Karko (Jakobi and Dimmendaal 2019, §3)⁸⁹³
Nilo-Saharan: SURMIC: Suri (Bryant 2011, §3.5)⁸⁹⁴
Nilo-Saharan: FUR: Fur (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Beaton 1968, 58, 76)⁸⁹⁵
Afro-Asiatic: OMOTIC: Koorete (Binyam Sisay 2008, §3.4.1.1; 2010, §3.4.1.1)⁸⁹⁶
Afro-Asiatic: EASTERN CUSHITIC: Bayso (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 17 - Hayward 1979, 118; also see Ruhlen 2008, 513)⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁸⁴ Juvenal Ndaryiragije kindly provided the following example:

- (i) abo bakobwa babiri beza
those girls two beautiful
‘Those two beautiful girls’

⁸⁸⁵ An alternative order is Dem N A Num.

⁸⁸⁶ An alternative order is N Num A Dem. And the two orders can even combine to give:

- (i) (bí-nu) e-bi-tabu bi-sátu bi-shááka (bí-nu)
C8-this aug-C8-book C8-three C8-new C8-this
‘these three new books’

⁸⁸⁷ Cédric Patin kindly provided the following example present in his data

- (i) izí n-ǰóvu m-bili zampángé, ni-zi-yúl-aya
Dem10 10-elephant 10-two 10.white 1sg.tam-om10-buy-tam
‘These two white elephants, I bought them.’

Patin also tells me (p.c.) that both Dem N A and N Dem A were judged possible by his informants, which makes it possible that the order N Dem Num A is an alternative order.

⁸⁸⁸ Marianna Visser reports (p.c.) that although the canonical order is Dem N Num A the order Dem N A Num is also quite acceptable (also see Du Plessis and Visser 1992, Chapter 14).

⁸⁸⁹ An alternative order is Dem N A Num.

⁸⁹⁰ Adjectives can also be found pre-nominally (giving Dem A N Num as an alternative order). Arusa is considered a dialect of Maasai.

⁸⁹¹ Koopman (2005, 281) provides the following illustrative example:

- (i) kù-n-dâ mesa-i àré sidân
PL-F-that table-PL.F:ACC PL.F.two:ACC nice:PL:ACC
‘those two nice tables’

⁸⁹² See (i), from Payne (2020, 330):

- (i) kuló payaní oáre tasát’í
these.MPL men two.M ancient.PL
‘these two old men’

⁸⁹³ Jakobi and Dimmendaal (2019) provide this illustrative example (their example (69)):

- (i) gǎí tēē ǰǰ ǰōŋ=óg èàe
these cow three old.PL=ACC sell/buy.PLR.IMP
‘sell/buy these three old cows’

⁸⁹⁴ See for example

- ngàbèrráònú kú wùsh ràràtè (Bryant 2011, 18)
those spears that.are four long
‘those four long spears’

An alternative order is Dem N A Num.

⁸⁹⁵ Zeller (2020, 70) attributes to Fur the order N Dem Num A.

⁸⁹⁶ While the more frequent order of adjectives and numerals in post-nominal position is Num A, Binyam Sisay says that they can also occur pre-nominally. Also see Binyam Sisay (2007, 24, 40).

⁸⁹⁷ Hayward (1979, 118) illustrates the order with the following example:

- (i) híni idaa-jaa seed-o o-jinji emet-en

Afro-Asiatic: BIU-MANDARA: Podoko (Jarvis 1989,67)
Sino-Tibetan: BURMIC: Lahu (Croft and Deligianni 2001,7)⁸⁹⁸, **Zauzou** (Li 2020,Chapter 6)⁸⁹⁹
Austronesian: MALAYO-SUMBAWAN: Kupang Malay (Paauw 2008,155 and 184), **Manado Malay** (Paauw 2008,155 and 179)⁹⁰⁰
Austronesian: OCEANIC: Arifama-Miniafia (Wakefield 1975,§4.2.1)⁹⁰¹, **Molima** (Engkvist and Engkvist 1997,§4.3.1.1)⁹⁰²
Trans-New Guinea: MADANG: Girawa (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Gasaway, Lillie and Sims 1992,47)
Trans-New Guinea: MEK: Una (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Louwse 1988,92)⁹⁰³
Trans-New Guinea: CENTRAL EAST NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS: Chuave (Thurman and Thurman 1970,§3.2.1)⁹⁰⁴
Australian: PAMA-NYUNGAN: Yidiny (Croft and Deligianni 2001,7; Ruhlen 2008,1598)
Na-Dene: ATHAPASKAN: Slave (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Rice 1989,998)
Arawakan: NORTHERN ARAWAKAN: Tariana (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Aikhenvald 2003,475,477, 479)⁹⁰⁵
ARAUAN: Deni (Carvalho 2017,§6.1; 2018,272)
Uto-Aztecan: TAKIC: Cupeño (Ruhlen 2008,1817)
Wappo-Yukian: WAPPO: Wappo (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,30 - Thompson, Park, Li 2006,8)⁹⁰⁶

this.PL.SBJ sheep-PAUC three-SBJ PAUC-big come-PRF.3PL
 ‘these three big sheep came.’

Dryer adds the following note: “Adjectives more often precede the noun in Bayso, but more often follow if there is another modifier (Hayward 1979: 118).”

⁸⁹⁸ Jones (1970,5) attributes to Lahu the order N A Q Clf, Nguyen (2004,143) the order Dem N A Num Clf. Ulapai (2009,12) attributes to Lahu Si the order N A Num Dem. Ruhlen (2008,929) gives as one of the orders of (Black) Lahu Dem Num N A (reporting that A can also precede the N).

⁸⁹⁹ Demonstratives can also follow the noun yielding the alternative order N Dem Num CLF A.

⁹⁰⁰ The demonstrative can also appear postnominally after the adjective and the numeral (N Num A Dem) (Paauw 2008,179f).

⁹⁰¹ Wakefield (1975,17) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) iti?i oro-orot tounu gagami-h
 these (pl)- men three big-pl
 ‘these three big Utukwaf men’

⁹⁰² Engkvist and Engkvist (1997,30) provide the following example:

(i) omo'e 'i'ai foa kwaukwausi-di.
 those opossum four black-3PL.PS
 ‘those four black opossums.’

And say that the demonstrative can also follow, giving the following template (p.29):

±Dem +Noun ±Dem ±Num. ±AdjNn ±RelCl.

which suggests that the two orders differ only in the movement of the noun below or above the demonstrative.

⁹⁰³ Louwse (1988,92) gives Dem A N Num also as a possible order, providing the example in (i):

(i) a kurun maha wiyniyji
 these red birds three
 ‘these three red birds’

⁹⁰⁴ Thurman (1986,§2.1), however, attributes to Chuave the order N A Num Dem.

⁹⁰⁵ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,29fn.39) adds: “The demonstrative always precedes the noun, and although adjectives and numeral can either precede or follow the noun, only one modifier of the noun can precede the noun, so in noun phrases containing a demonstrative, numeral and adjective, the numeral and adjective will both follow the noun (Aikhenvald 2003: 479). When there are both a numeral and adjective following the noun, the numeral comes first (p. 477).”. To judge from Aikhenvald (2000, 204; 2007,494; 2011,1485) the order Dem Num N A is also possible. (See (i):

(i) ha-dapana pa-dapana na-tape-dapana na-ya-dapana hana-dapana heku na-ni-ni-dapana-mahka
 DEM.INAN-CL:HOUSE one-CL:HOUSE 3PL-medicine-CL:HOUSE 3PL-POSS-CL:HOUSE big-CL:HOUSE wood
 3PL-make-TOPIC_ADVANCING_VOICE-CL:HOUSE-RECENT.PST.NON_VISUAL

‘This one big hospital of theirs has been made of wood’

In Aikhenvald (1994,422) it is said that “Numerals always precede the head noun.”

⁹⁰⁶ A possible alternative order is Dem A N Num.

HOKAN: Chimariko (Jany 2009,§9.6)⁹⁰⁷
Chibchan: CHIBCHAN: Kogui (Ortiz Ricaurte 2000,§3.4)
ZAMUCOAN: Chamacoco (Ciucci 2019,§7.2, and Luca Ciucci, p.c.)
Pano-Tacanan: PANOAN: Yaminahua (Faust and Loos 2002,95f)⁹⁰⁸
Tucanoan: CENTRAL TUCANOAN: Retuarã (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Strom 1992,53)⁹⁰⁹,
Nuclear-Macro-Je: NORTHERN JE: Panará (Dourado 2001,§3.2.2)⁹¹⁰
SIGN LANGUAGE: Hong Kong Sign Language (Sze 2000,10)⁹¹¹
LANGUAGE ISOLATE (Papua New Guinea): Karkar-Yuri (Rigden 1985,15; 1986 ,5 and passim)

Dem-A-N-Num (Cn):⁹¹² **50 lgs, 27 genera**

Afro-Asiatic: WEST CHADIC: Hausa (Jaggar 2001,Chapter 9; Ruhlen 2008,477)⁹¹³

Afro-Asiatic: WESTERN CUSHITIC: Kemantney (Leyew 2003,§5.5)⁹¹⁴

Afro-Asiatic: OMOTIC: Hoozo (Kassa 2014,§3.7)⁹¹⁵

Niger-Congo: BANTOID: Bakoko (Bessala forthcoming, chapter 3), **Fe’efe’e** (Gabriel Djomeni, p.c.)⁹¹⁶

Niger-Congo: UBANGI: Zande (Lagae 1921,126; Rijkhoff 1998,356,358; 2002,332fn19; 2004,177; 2008,802)⁹¹⁷

⁹⁰⁷ To judge from the examples given in (Jany 2009§9.6) (“Noun Phrases”). Apparently demonstratives could also follow the N and numerals precede it (Jany 2009,55ff).

⁹⁰⁸ A possible alternative order is Dem N A Num.

⁹⁰⁹ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,27fn35) reports that “[m]odifiers in general precede the noun in Retuarã, but only one modifier can precede the noun; in noun phrases containing a demonstrative, numeral and adjective, the demonstrative precedes the noun while the numeral and adjective follow, in that order (Strom 1992: 53).”. Eraso (2015,§7.2.1) gives for Tanimuka (a central subgroup of Retuarã) the order Dem Num N A.

⁹¹⁰ An alternative order is Dem Num N A.

⁹¹¹ This is the order preferred by the older generation. Alternative orders of numeral and adjective are Num N A and Num A N (the latter preferred by the younger generation).

⁹¹² This order is also found, as an alternative order in Teribe (Chibchan) (Quesada 2000,127) and Syrian Arabic (Croft and Deligianni 2001,7), which also have the orders Dem N Num A and Dem Num A N, respectively.

⁹¹³ A less usual alternative order is Dem N Num A (Smirnova 1982,38; Jaggar 2001,346). Enclitic demonstratives (possibly demonstrative reinforcers, to judge from Jaggar’s glosses) immediately follow the N and precede numerals (Jaggar 2001,310), and adjectives, yielding the order N Dem Num A (Newman 2000: 383 and Zimmermann 2008,

⁹¹⁴ An alternative order is Dem Num A N.

⁹¹⁵ Kassa (2014,21) gives the following example:

(i) zaʔa titsi t’oobi yaami betsi
 those long PL spears four
 ‘those four long spears’

⁹¹⁶ Gabriel Djomeni provided the following illustrative example:

Bii mbe’’ mbê’ tāā li
 DEM nice house three ADV REINF (adverbial reinforcer)
 ‘Those three nice houses.’

⁹¹⁷ Rijkhoff (2008,802) gives the following example (attributed to Christopher Leone Daffalla, p.c.):

(i) gi rarai a-mangu biata-re
 DEM heavy PL-box three-DEF/here
 ‘these three heavy boxes’

Pasch (2014a,§2; 2014b,§2; 2020,523) attributes to Zande the order A N Num Dem. A possible reason for this is the fact that, to judge from Rijkhoff (2002,332fn19), the demonstrative consists of two elements, a prenominal one (with proximal and distal distinctions) and a final invariant locative adverb (a “reinforcer”). The prenominal element thus appears to be the genuine demonstrative.

Khoisan: EAST KALAHARI: Kua(si) (Collins and Chebanne 2023, §18.1)⁹¹⁸, **Tjwao** (Phiri and Andrason 2022, 13, 17, 18; also see Phiri 2021, Chapter 5c)⁹¹⁹

Indo-European: INDIC: Oriya (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 26 - Neukom and Patnaiki 2003, 125)⁹²⁰, **Sinhala** (Masica 1991, 372; Gair and Paolillo 1997, 29f; Gair 2003, §6.2)

JAPONIC: Yuwan (Amami Ryukyuan) (Niinaga 2010 and Yuto Niinaga, p.c.)

Sino-Tibetan: BODIC: Balti (Sharma 2004, 189f), **Bodo** (Joseph 2007, 561), **Tshangla** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Andvik 1999, 124; 2003, 441; 2010, 78)⁹²¹, **Tamang (Eastern)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 29 - Mazaudon 2003, 297)⁹²², **Gurung** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Glover 1974, 96-97; also see Ruhlen 2008, 871), **Purki** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Rangan 1979, 122; Sharma (Devi) 2004, 72)⁹²³, **Rabha** (Joseph 2007, 561)⁹²⁴

Sino-Tibetan: MAHAKIRANTI: Magar Kaike (Regmi 2013, 53), **Newari (Kathmandu)** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Malla 1985, 70f, 85; also see Kölver 1978, 285)⁹²⁵

Sino-Tibetan: KUKI-CHIN: Chiru (Salam 2007, Chapt. 5)⁹²⁶, **Hmar** (Mukherji, Subbarao and Walia 2003, 103), **Liangmai** (Widinibou 2011, 247)

⁹¹⁸ Collins and Chebanne (2023, 102) provide the following statement and examples:

“When there is a demonstrative, numeral and adjective, the demonstrative (and no inversion), the demonstrative comes first:

- (i) a. ŋlɪiʔá g!úrí gúbè lám nàʔà cé kwà kɪnī
that big cow two 3PO 1SS PROG want
b. ŋlɪiʔá lám gúbè g!úrí nàʔà cé kwà kɪnī
that two cow big 3PO 1SS PROG want
‘I want those two big cows.’”

⁹¹⁹ When appearing alone, each nominal modifier precedes the noun, but when more occur together some follow the noun (Phiri and Andrason 2022, 17). See, for example:

- (i) a. ii lūã ŋoana-re (Phiri and Andrason 2022, 18)
DEM.prox child three-pl
‘these three children’
b. wuu ngee-ta nŋgoe (Phiri and Andrason 2022, 19)
DEM pass-ref month
‘Last month (lit. that past month)’

⁹²⁰ Dryer adds the following note: “Although the numeral more often precedes the noun in Oriya, it more commonly follows if the noun phrase is definite (Neukom and Patnaiki 2003, 117). Since noun phrases with a demonstrative are definite, I treat the language as Dem-A-N-Num.”. The same order is given in Ray (2003, §4.1), while Misra (1984, Chapter 3), and Sahoo (1996, 71, 83) attribute to Oriya the order Dem Num A N, the second also Dem A N Num Clf as an alternative order.

⁹²¹ To judge from Andvik (2003, 441), the order Dem N A Num is also possible.

⁹²² Mazaudon (2003, §5.1; 2011, 1059) and Owen-Smith (2014, §3.2.2) give this order as the order of Tamang in general (Owen-Smith 2014, 74 says that two adjectives, ‘small’ and ‘big’ ordinarily occur post-nominally). Lee (2011, §5.2) attributes to Eastern Tamang (see (i) below) the order Dem Num A N, which is also the order documented in Perumalsamy (2011), and which Poudel (2007, §4.2.3) attributes to Dhankute Tamang (see under the order Dem Num A N).

- (i) cu gor som lha:nan grhen wala dim-gade
this CLF three very big red house-PL
‘these three very big red houses’

For Western Tamang Regmi and Regmi (2018, 91) give the order N A Num Dem (see under this order).

⁹²³ Adjectives can also immediately follow the noun before the numeral (yielding the order Dem N A Num) (Sharma 2004, 71f)

⁹²⁴ However, Thakuria (2004, 64f) reports the following orders Dem N A and Num A.

⁹²⁵ Kölver (1978, 285) gives the following illustrative example:

- thua ji-gu bāmlā-gu cirham-gu kipā ni-pā
this my-NOM beautiful-NOM small-NOM picture two-CLF
‘these two nice small pictures of mine’

Hale (1985, 303) gives Dem Num A N as an alternative order.

⁹²⁶ Salam (2007, 65 and 114ff) gives the following partial examples from which the overall order Dem A N Num-det can be drawn:

- (i) a. ət^ha naitepa k^het-hi

Sino-Tibetan: BAI: Caijia (Lü 2014 and Shanshan Lü, p.c.)

Sino-Tibetan: JINGPHO-LUISH: Jingpo (Cheung 2003, Chapter 3; 2007, §5.2.3)⁹²⁷

Sino-Tibetan: NUNGISH: Dulong (LaPolla 2003, 676; 2017, 136)⁹²⁸, **Rāwang** (Jones 1970, 5)⁹²⁹

Salishan: STRAITS SALISH: Klallam (Montler 2007, 423)

Algonquian: ARAPAHOAN: Arapaho (Cowell and Moss 2008, §14.7 and p.312)

Teberan-Pawaiian: TEBERAN-PAWAIAN: Pawaiian (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Trefry 1969, 38); also see Ruhlen 2008, 1459)⁹³⁰, **Dadibi** (MacDonald 1973, 126 and Ruhlen 2008, 1460), **Wiru** (Hendy and Daniels 2021, 76)

Sepik: NDU: Ambulas (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 15 - Wilson (1980: 85, 91); also see Ruhlen 2008, 1522), **Hanga Hundi** (Wendel 1993, §4.5.1)⁹³¹, **Iatmul** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Staalsen 1965, 18-19; also see Jendraschek 2012, 139), **Manambu** (Aikhenvald 2008, §20.1.1)⁹³², **Yalaku** (Aikhenvald 2015, §2.4)⁹³³

Trans-New Guinea: ENGAN: Kewa (Franklin 2010, 2 [and note 3]; also see Franklin 1971, §5.1; and on South Kewa Ruhlen 2008, 1372)⁹³⁴, **Pole** (Rule 1977, 69)

good boy one-det

‘a good boy’

b. mək^ho aseŋ kotai-k^ho

that red shirt-det

‘that red shirt’

c. məhi lairik ət^hum

this book three

‘these three books’

⁹²⁷ A N Dem Num is an alternative order. The order N A, also possible, is claimed to be an instance of compounding (Cheung 2006, §3.1). Kurabe (2012, §4.2) gives however the following as the overall order of the Jingp(h)o nominal phrase, saying that demonstratives can simultaneously precede and follow the head noun: REL-DEM-GEN-NOUN-ADJ-DEM-PL-[CLF-NUM]-NOMINAL PARTICLE. The discrepancy could be due to two distinct dialects. Kurabe’s is the Myitkyina-Bhamo dialect of Jingp(h)o., “the most standard dialect of Jingpho in Burma.” (p.121).

Zu (2011, 58) says that although they can appear both pre- and post-nominally, adjectives usually occur post-nominally (unless they are followed by the morpheme *ai*).

⁹²⁸ LaPolla (2017, 136) gives an example with the order Dem A N Num Clf (see (i)) reporting that “adjectives can precede or follow the noun head” and that Num Clf can appear either before or after the head (p.135), but does not give the overall order of these alternative orders.

(i) kə tɛi zɛʃ ɛ ɛsum pɛŋ

that big book three CL

‘those 3 big books’

⁹²⁹ Straub (2016, §3.2) gives Dem Rel N A Num Clf as the order of the Rvmøɭ (Dvru) dialect of Rawang, from northern Myanmar. Nguyen (2004, 143) also gives Dem N A Num Clf as the order of Rawang.

⁹³⁰ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 27fn32) reports that “[a]lthough the formula in Trefry (1969: 38) provides the possibility of adjectives either preceding or following the noun, the discussion on p. 38 implies that the prenominal position is the dominant one.”

⁹³¹ Num can also occur pre-nominally, in which case Dem does not occur.

⁹³² An alternative order is Dem Num A N. “Numbers ‘two’ to ‘ten’ can be employed as prehead or posthead modifiers; their position in a noun phrase depends on whether the noun referent is newly introduced or already established, and whether it is focused on. Just as with quantifiers (§10.5), a newly introduced referent is followed by the numeral. In contrast, number ‘one’ always follows the noun.” (Aikhenvald 2008, 234).

⁹³³ Aikhenvald (2015, 247) says that numerals and demonstratives can appear both after or before the N (when following in the order N Num Dem), while adjectives only precede. Dem Num A N is also a possible order.

⁹³⁴ In the Kewapi dialect of Kewa, age adjectives follow the noun before numerals. Yaraepa (2006, 154) gives this as the canonical order of Kewapi noun phrases: Determiner/Dem+ Quality+ Size + Colour+ Head noun+ Age+ Numeral/Quantifier.

Trans-New Guinea: KAINANTU-GOROKA: Yagaría (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31- Renck 1975, 167)⁹³⁵, **Fore** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Scott 1978, 89)⁹³⁶, **Binumarien** (Bee 1966, §4.2), **Kamano** (Payne and Drew 1970, §7)⁹³⁷
Austronesian: PHILIPPINE: Cotabato Manobo (Kerr 1988, §4)⁹³⁸
Australian: PAMA-NYUNGAN: Bilinara (Nordlinger 1990, §4.6)⁹³⁹,
PANOAN: Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2002, 28f)⁹⁴⁰
CREOLE (ASSAMESE-BASED): Nagamese (Bhattacharjya 2007, 249)⁹⁴¹
PIDGIN (HINDI-BASED): Haflong Hindi (Monali Longmailai, p.c.)⁹⁴²
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Nivkh (Mattissen 2003, Chapter 8; cf. also Gruzdeva 1998, 25)
LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Laguna Keres (Lachler 2006, Chapters 5 and 6)⁹⁴³

N-Dem-Num-A (Cd):⁹⁴⁴ **84 lgs, 25 genera**

Atlantic-Congo: ADAMAWA-UBANGI: Jenjo (Dzə) (Benson 2020, 502)⁹⁴⁵

Atlantic-Congo: BAÏNOUNK: Guñaamolo (Bodian 2017, §6.1.6)⁹⁴⁶, **Sua** (Wilson 2007, 149)

Niger-Congo: HEIBAN: Moro (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - Black and Black 1971, 26; Jenks 2014, 248; also see Ruhlen 2008, 38; and Jenks 2013)⁹⁴⁷

⁹³⁵ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 fn43) adds: “The formula in Renck (1975: 167) allows adjectives in postnominal position, but p. 180 implies that the prenominal position is the dominant one.” Renck (1975, 181) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) ma' i ougegesa yo-tipi lole-'e' bogo-'e'
 this big house-your pl two- COM one- COM
 ‘these three big houses of yours’

⁹³⁶ Ruhlen (2008, 1359) attributes to Fore the order Dem Num A N. As remarked in Donohue (2005, §3.3) “Scott (1978: 93) explicitly states that both Noun-Numeral and Numeral-Noun orders are possible (indeed, even Numeral-Noun-Numeral is found, with the (necessarily same) numeral occurring twice on both sides of the noun). Numerals are the only modifiers within the NP that may follow the noun. The post-nominal position is the marked position; Scott continues, noting that when the postnominal position is used ‘a speaker gives it [the numeral-MD] more prominence than when it occurs preceding the head’. Fore should thus be taken to have the canonical order Dem Num A N.

⁹³⁷ Numerals can also precede the N (Dem Num A N).

⁹³⁸ Johnston (1967, §1.1) attributes to Cotabato Manobo the order Dem Num A N.

⁹³⁹ On p. 51 Nordlinger gives the nominal template as (DEM) (NP_{gen}) (NOM_m) (NOM_m) (NOM_h) NUM, where NOM_h indicates the nominal head and NOM_m (nominal modifier) corresponds to English adjectives (p. 48).

⁹⁴⁰ Adjectives can also appear postnominally, and when more than one adjective is present the preferred order is with one preceding and one following the N (Valenzuela 2003, 241).

⁹⁴¹ Baishya (2003, 216) gives for Nagamese the order Dem Num A N, saying that numerals can also occur after the noun (p. 215f).

⁹⁴² Dr. Monali Longmailai of Assam University provided the example in (i), saying that it is the preferred order with respect to the equally possible Dem Num A N:

(i) ei accha bacha tin-jon-thu/lukun
 this nice child three-CLF.HUM-DEF/PL
 ‘these three nice children’

⁹⁴³ Numerals can also occur pre-nominally, after demonstratives (though their position with respect to adjectives is not made explicit).

⁹⁴⁴ Rugemalira (2007, §4) gives this as the typical sequence of modifiers in the Bantu noun phrase, saying that the relative order of Num and A is however variable, and that demonstratives may also be found pre-nominally. Trifkovič (1969, 96f) gives examples of this order in Mancagne, which is however given as N A Num Dem by Gaved (2007, §3.3) (see under N A Num Dem).

⁹⁴⁵ One of the examples given by Benson (2020, 502), where the second demonstrative is possibly a demonstrative reinforcer is:

(i) e-bá lè júŋ kə̀bì nī
 pl-goat dem two black dem
 ‘those two black goats’

⁹⁴⁶ The order N A Num Dem is also possible.

⁹⁴⁷ Black and Black (1971, 26) give the following illustrative example:

Niger-Congo: TALODI: Asheron (Alamin 2012b, §3.4.1)⁹⁴⁸

Niger-Congo: JUKUNOID: Mbembe (Richter Kemmermann 2015, Chapter 3)⁹⁴⁹

Niger-Congo: CROSS-RIVER: Mbembe (Barnwell 1969, 232)

Niger-Congo: BANTOID: Chimakonde (Makanjila 2019, §5.2.4 and p.320)⁹⁵⁰, **Chimiini** (Mumin and Dimmendaal 2019, §3.2)⁹⁵¹, **Cuwabo** (Guérois 2015, Chapters 4 and 5, and p.c.)⁹⁵², **Ekegusii** (Mose 2012, Chapter 4; also see Ongarora 2008, Chapter 2; Basweti 2005, §4.5, and and Basweti, Shroeder, Hamu and Omwenga 2014, §3.4), **Gítigania** (Ntarangwi, Muriungi and Muriungi 2015, §3.3.4; Muriungi and Ntarangwi 2015, §5)⁹⁵³, **Gitonga** (Mata 2015, §2)⁹⁵⁴, **Gyeli** (Borchardt 2011, §2.4; Grimm Borchardt 2015, Chapter 3; and Nadine Grimm Borchardt, p.c.)⁹⁵⁵, **Haya** (Kristina Riedel, p.c.)⁹⁵⁶, **Igembe** (Ntarangwi Mburung'a, p.c.)⁹⁵⁷, **Ikalanga** (Letsholo 2006, 292f and p.c.), **Ikihehe** (Jacob Mpalanzi, p.c.), **Kagulu**

(i) majanda ildi ipəjin lamənu lojra
men these three big black
'these three big black men'

⁹⁴⁸ The order of adjectives following Dem and Num and preceding N is: A_{size} A_{age} A_{color}.

⁹⁴⁹ An alternative order is N Dem A Num (Doris Richter Kemmermann, p.c.). The (Central) Jukunoid Mbembe language, which is spoken in the border area of North-West Cameroon and North-East Nigeria, happens to have the same name as the Cross-River language Mbembe described in Barnwell (1969), which is spoken in South-Eastern Nigeria. Though distantly related, they are distinct languages (Doris Richter Kemmermann, p.c.).

⁹⁵⁰ Jaffu (2010, 71) gives the order Dem N Num A as the unmarked order, in addition to the orders N Dem Num A, N Dem A Num and Dem N A Num, while Makanjila (2019, 211) says that the order Dem N Num A is only possible if the demonstrative is focused. Rolle and Hyman (2019, §3.1), after Liphola (2001, 402f), report that numerals precede adjectives in Coastal Shimakonde. Van de Velde (2019, 924) gives the order N A Num Dem for Zanzibar Makonde:

(i) φ(ví-lóngó ví-kúméné vy-á náswé ví-vílí aviilá)
NPr8-pot APr8-big PPr8-CON white APr8-two 8.DEM
'these two big white pots'

⁹⁵¹ Mumin and Dimmendaal (2019, 25) give the following illustrative example:

(i) n-umba i-z-i m-bi:ii m-pija zi-na-k-uz-oowa
10-house PROX-10-PROX EP10-two 1NP10-new SP10-PROG-INF-sell-PASS
'These two new houses are for sale.'

⁹⁵² I report here one of the relevant examples from Guérois (2015, 154):

(4.19) mí-rí ésó miraarú dhínddímúwa dhittuuluwé yáak' ééjile {elic.}
mí-rí ésó mi-raarú dhí-nddímúwa dhi-ttuul-uw-é é-aká éjile
4-tree 4.dem.ii 4-three 4-old 4-uproot-pass-pfv.cj 9-year.PL 9.dem.iii

⁹⁵³ Ntarangwi, Muriungi and Muriungi (2015, 61) give the following illustrative example:

(i) antū ba ara ba tano ba noru
person2 DemM2 those NumM2 five AdjM2 fat
'those five fat people'

⁹⁵⁴ A demonstrative and a numeral can also occur before the noun, in that order (§2.7), and demonstratives can also occur phrase finally, after adjectives (p.90). For the order N Dem Num also see Jimaima (2008, Chapter 4).

⁹⁵⁵ Elicited sentences give Dem N Num A as the only other clear alternative order (Nadine Grimm Borchardt, p.c.).

⁹⁵⁶ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - on the basis of Byarushengo (1977: 13) attributes to Haya the order N Num Dem A, Byarushengo says that "With more than one modifier the order tends to be the following: N + possessive + numeral + demonstrative + adjective:

[(16)] enjú zange ibily' êz' ézilúngi
house my two these good
'these two good houses of mine'

But as can be seen from the demonstrative and the adjective, it seems as if we have relative clauses. Thus more research is needed in this area to determine the word order properties of the noun phrase." (p.13). Another language of the South Rutara group, Nyambo, according to Glottolog, also shows the order N Dem Num A.

⁹⁵⁷ Igembe is a dialect of Kimeru, a Bantoid language of Kenya. As seen from the following two examples, kindly provided by Ntarangwi Mburung'a, N Dem A Num is also a possible alternative order:

(i)a. twana tūū tūthatū tūtūeya
children these three nice
b. twana tūū tūtūeya tūthatū
children these nice three
'these three nice children'

(Petzell 2008,76f; Lusekelo 2009a, 309), **Kemezung** (Smoes 2010,§2.3), **Kibhwanji** (Simile 2022,76)⁹⁵⁸, **Kĩitharaka** (Muriungi 2008,16; Kanampiu and Muriungi 2019,§4; Adger et al. 2021)⁹⁵⁹, **Kikamba** (Kioko 2005,41; Mbuvi 2005,§3.2.1)⁹⁶⁰, **Kikongo** (Yvon Pierre Ndongo Ybara, p.c.)⁹⁶¹, **Kikuyu** (Greenberg 1963,87; Mugane 1997,39; Mugane 1998,239; Iribemwangi and Kihara 2011,50, citing Barlow 1960; Englebretson 2015,§2.2; Kihara 2023)⁹⁶², **Kiuru** (Mtallo 2015,114), **Kiyaka** (Koopman and Sportiche 2013,49), **Kivunjo** (Kyara 2010, §4.2)⁹⁶³, **Lingala** (Meeuwis 2010,56; 2013, 28)⁹⁶⁴, **Lubukusu** (Ndalila

The order in (i)b (N Dem A Num) is also attributed by Larry Hyman to the Tania dialect of Kimeru in a paper given at the Workshop on Definiteness in the Niger-Congo Noun Phrase on May 1 at the University of California, Berkeley, and illustrated by the following nested structure:

[[[[[ma-úkú yáá]_{PhP} yáákwã]_{PhP} yáameẽro]_{PhP} yátháto]_{PhP} yóonthε°]_{PhP}
 cl6-book these my new three all
 ‘all these three new books of mine’

⁹⁵⁸ Simile (2022,76f) offers the following illustrative example:

(i) i-fi-maghe fy-ango fyoni fil-a fi-bhli fi-nono
 AUG-cl8-knives cl8-Poss cl8-Quant cl8-Dem cl8-two cl8-good
 ‘all those two beautiful knives of mine’

⁹⁵⁹ See Adger et al. (2021) for one of the examples with this order that they discuss (and for additional orders):

(i) ngakamata mathandúkû mama mataano manene (slide 21)
 1S.FUT-carry 6-box 6.PROX 6.five 6.big
 ‘I will carry these five big boxes’

⁹⁶⁰ One example given in Mbuvi (2005,68) is:

(i) e-itu a-ya ma-kwa a-tatu a-seo
 C2-girls 2AGR-those 2AGR-mine 2aGR-three 2AGR-good
 ‘Those three good girls of mine’

For the partial orders N Dem Num and N Dem A also see Kaviti (2004,196).

⁹⁶¹ Yvon Pierre Ndongo Ybara, p.c. kindly provided the following example:

(i) baala bà batatu bafyoti
 children these three small
 ‘these three small children’

⁹⁶² Mugane (2008) and Iribemwangi and Kihara (2011,50) also note that while N Dem Num A is the neutral order, demonstratives can also appear pre-nominally if focused. Li (2015,§2.2) instead attributes to Gĩkũyũ (Kikuyu) the order N Dem A Num. Rijkhoff (2008,803) reports that Seiler (1978,322) takes the normal order of the language to be N A Num Dem. Englebretson (2015,35) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) ma-hũa maya ma-akwa ma-othe ma-tano ma-nene
 NC6- flower PROX.DEM6 AC6-1SG.POS AC6-all AC6-five AC6-big
 ‘all five of these big flowers of mine’

⁹⁶³ One of the examples given in (Kyara 2010,§4.2) is:

(i) Wana walya wako wawi wecha
 children those mine two good
 ‘those two good children of mine’

⁹⁶⁴ Haddican (2002) attributes to Lingala the order N A Dem Num, and Van de Velde (2005,§3) both N A Dem Num and N A Num Dem. Both Haddican and Meeuwis classify it as a Creole. Yvon Pierre Ndongo Ybara, p.c., attributes to Lingala the order N Num A Dem, providing the following example:

(i) bana baato bakyè bayé
 children three small these
 ‘these three small children’

2015,357)⁹⁶⁵, **Lunyole** (Wicks 2006,§3.3.1)⁹⁶⁶, **Mashami** (Rugemalira 2007,141)⁹⁶⁷, **Nata** (Joash Johannes Gambarage, p.c.)⁹⁶⁸, **Nchane** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Boutwell 2010,9; also see Boutwell 2014,Chapter 2⁹⁶⁹; 2020,§6.6), **Ndengeleko** (Ström 2013,§6.2)⁹⁷⁰, **Nomaande** (Wilkendorf 2001,11), **Noni** (Hyman 1981,31, Lux and Lux 1996,§4.0), **Nyakyusa** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,26 - Lusekelo 2009,322; also see Rugemalira 2007,§3.2.3.2;)⁹⁷¹, **Northern Sotho** (Faaß 2010,Chapter 3 and Flanagan 2013,20), **Nyambo** (Rugemalira 2005,83; 2007,§3.2.3.4)⁹⁷², **Nyiha** (Bukuku 2013,86), **Olukhayo** (Wabwire 2013,54), **Samatengo** (Ndomba 2006,§6.3; and Rodrick Gregory Ndomba, p.c.), **Setswana** (Batibo 2000,9)⁹⁷³, **Shona** (Fivaz 1970,167)⁹⁷⁴, **Sukuma** (Batibo 2001,687f; Rugemalira 2007,§3.2.3.5)⁹⁷⁵, **Swahili** (Olinick 1967,73; Njogu 2001,698; Carstens 2008,150; Lusekelo 2009b,58; and Ndomba 2017,§6.3)⁹⁷⁶,

⁹⁶⁵ Ndalila (2015,357) gives the following template for the Lubukusu NP: [(Dist Det)] + N + [(Poss) (Dem)(Num) (Quant) (A)] + [(Int) (Rel)]; but see Mutonyi (2000,299) who gives the partial order N A Dem, and Wakise (2018,§2), who gives the order N Num A Dem, illustrating it with the example in (i):

(i) ba¹-ba-ana ba-taru ba-nge baa-bofu be lii-ria baa-kon-a ba-no
2-2²-person 2-three 2-mine 2.2-big of 5.5-respect 2.rel-sleep-fv 2-dem
'these three big respectful children of mine who are sleeping'

⁹⁶⁶ Wicks (2006,39) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) e-bbutusi ji-jo e-biri e-mali em-bala
C10-boots C10-DEM C10-two C10-black C10-big
'those two big black boots'

⁹⁶⁷ N Dem A Num is also possible (Rugemalira 2007,140).

⁹⁶⁸ One example provided by Dr. Gambarage is in (i). He reports (p.c.) that the order N Dem A Num is also possible as an alternative order. On Nata determiner phrases also see Gambarage (2019).

(i) a=bha-na bha-nɔ bha-tato a=bha-chomu
D=C2-children C2-these C2-three D=C2-nice/good
'these three nice children'

⁹⁶⁹ The *Ethnologue* (Fennig, Lewis, and Simons 2013) lists Mungong as a dialect of Nc(h)ane.

⁹⁷⁰ Ström (2013,159) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) ipilili aba a- biri a- kolo a- kolo b- aangũ
8.scorpions 2.these 2Cd-two 2NCP- big 2NCP- big 2Cd-1sPOSS
'These two big spiders are mine.'

⁹⁷¹ This is indeed the preferred order of demonstratives numerals and adjectives (Lusekelo 2009,§6.1), although numerals can also precede demonstratives (N Num Dem) (Lusekelo 2009,319). Persohn (2017,§2.3) reports for Nyakyusa the order N A Num Dem, providing the illustrative example in (i):

a-ba-ana a-ba-lomyana a-ba-tupe b-angũ ba-bili ba-la
aug-2-child aug-2-boy aug-2-fat 2-poss.1sg 2-two 2-dist
'these two fat sons of mine'

⁹⁷² Dem can also be pre-nominal and A Num is also possible along Num and A.

⁹⁷³ Creissel (2018,§2.2.1,p.13) gives an example with the order N A Dem.

⁹⁷⁴ Bellusci (1991,21f) reports the judgment of a speaker of the KoreKore dialect of Shona who feels that with numerals and adjectives following the noun the demonstrative, which can also follow the noun, is preferably placed before it. Ruhlen (2008,371) reports the order N Num Dem A, but (Mpofu 2009,§7.2.1.1) and Caha and Pantcheva (2018,§2.1) give the partial order N A Dem. Carstens (2010,1) gives N A Num Dem as the preferred order of Shona though saying that other postnominal orders are possible.

⁹⁷⁵ Rugemalira also gives N Dem A Num as an alternative order, and says that the demonstrative can also occur phrase finally.

⁹⁷⁶ Olinick (1967,73) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) vitabu hivi vyote vitatu vizuri
books these all three good
'all these three good books'

While Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,29) gives N Dem A Num as the canonical order of Swahili, citing Ashton (1947,52) and Rugemalira (2007,142,144) there appears to be great variation in the literature in the orders attributed to Swahili. For example, as noted, Olinick (1967,73) and Njogu (2001,698) and Ndomba (2017,§6.3) give N Dem Num A as the canonical order (all of the examples containing nouns, adjectives and demonstratives in Reynolds 1989 have the order N Dem A). Opalka (1982,68-70), Baka (1998,45f), Seiler (2000,152), and Rijkhoff (2002,62) instead give the order N A Num Dem as the canonical order. Ferrari, Kalunga and Mulumbwa (2014,§1.2.10) give Dem N Num A as the canonical order of the Swahili of Lubumbashi. Rugemalira (2007) (also see Carstens 2008,155) reports that possible orders in Swahili are: Dem N A Num, Dem N Num A, N Dem Num A and N Dem A Num. It is possible that these

Tetela (Omatete 1985, §2.3.1.2)⁹⁷⁷, **Thimbukushu** (Diphoso Gadaffi Maitiyo, p.c.)⁹⁷⁸, **Xitsonga** (Lee and Babane 2011, cited in Jenks to appear)⁹⁷⁹, **Yasa** (Bouh Ma Sitna 2004,66)⁹⁸⁰, **Zulu** (Jochen Zeller, p.c.)⁹⁸¹
Nilo-Saharan: KULIAK: Ik (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,20 - Serzisko 1989,391; Heine 1983,86; also see Schrock 2017,§10.1), **So** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,28 - Serzisko 1989,391)
Nilo-Saharan: SURMIC: Yanyula (Anteneh 2014,§6.1)⁹⁸², **Murle** (Arensen 1982,Chapter 7)⁹⁸³
Nilo-Saharan: EASTERN SUDANIC: Gaahmg (Stirtz 2012,§14.9.1)⁹⁸⁴

works reflect different varieties of Swahili or that they fail to distinguish the canonical from more special orders. According to Assibi Apatewon Amidu of all the orders attributed to Swahili “the most reliable is the one by Maw (1969: 75-85): N A Dem Num. It formalises the findings of traditional grammarians, especially Ashton (1947: 54-63). She calls the order a fixed or neutral word order. Deviation from her fixed order is called the non-neutral word order, hence non-canonical. Assibi Apatewon Amidu gives the following example as the one with neutral order

(i) wa-toto wa-zuri wale watatu
 Cl. 2-child Cl. 2-nice Cl 2-that Cl.2-three
 ‘those three nice children’

saying that “variation from this order is a non-canonical pattern, e.g. Dem N Num A, e.g. *wale watoto watatu wazuri* focuses on definiteness and their being ‘nice’, while *wale watoto wazuri watatu* focuses on definiteness and their being ‘three’. Ruhlen 2008,320 also gives N A Dem Num as the canonical order of Swahili. Also see Polomé (1967,194f,note 120) and Krifka (1985). It should be noted, in any event, that all of the orders reported in the literature are instances of one or the other of the 14 orders of Dem Num A N claimed to be possible/attested in the languages of the world in Cinque (2005).

⁹⁷⁷ Omatete (1985,§2.3.1) also mentions the possibility of the following (partial) orders: N A Dem and N Num Dem.

⁹⁷⁸ Diphoso Gadaffi Maitiyo provided the following example:

(i) hanuke waya hahatu hohawa
 children those three beautiful
 ‘those three beautiful children’

⁹⁷⁹ But Lee and Riedel (2022,114) give for Mankong

the order N Num A Dem, illustrating it with the example in (i):

(i) swi-tófu swi-mbirhí swi-nkúlú lé-swi
 8-stove 8-two 8-big this-8
 ‘these two big stoves’

⁹⁸⁰ One example given on p.66 is:

(i) wàdó mē- wá-nàjí w-àsá:
 femmes dem-num adj.
 ‘ces quatre belles femmes’ (‘these four beautiful women’)

⁹⁸¹ The demonstrative can also precede the noun (cf. the examples in Clark 2002,13). According to Jochen Zeller (p.c.), when the demonstrative follows the noun there is no choice. Only the order N Dem Num A is possible:

(i)a. abafana laba ababili abahle
 boys these two pretty
 b. *? abafana laba abahle ababili

If the demonstrative precedes two orders are possible: Dem N Num A and Dem N A Num (with no significant acceptability difference):

(i)a. laba bafana abahle ababili
 these boys pretty two
 b. laba bafana ababili abahle
 these boys two pretty
 ‘these two pretty boys’

⁹⁸² Anteneh (2014,198) gives the following representative example:

(i) dʒóop sigoj dʒiit-ik dʒéedúwatu-ŋɔŋk kodʒutú-ŋɔŋk.. (p.198)
 people those three-GEN long-DEF black-DEF
 “those three tall black men”

Joswig (2011a,§3.5) instead gives the order N Dem A Num, although Joswig (2019,329) gives the order head noun – demonstrative/possessive – relational noun – quantifier – relative clause, saying that if used as modifiers to an NP, all stative verbs/adjectives, just like other verbs, appear in a relative clause construction (p.277). Also see Unseth (1989).

⁹⁸³ An alternative order is N Dem A Num.

⁹⁸⁴ Stirtz (2011: 303) gives the following illustrative example:

b. tó-gg nì ásamán ðùigg=ə ónəgg=ə
 cow-PL these five black=DEF 1sPp=COP

Nilo-Saharan: NILOTIC: Anywa (Lusted 1976,510), **Kipsigis** (Kouneli 2019, and p.c.)⁹⁸⁵, **Lopit** (Moodie 2019,§4.8)⁹⁸⁶, **Naandi** (Jeptoo 2014,§4.2; 2015,§3)

Nilo-Saharan: KADUGLI-KRONGO: Deiga (Reh 1994,§4.3.4)⁹⁸⁷

Nilo-Saharan: SAHARAN: Tubu (Zeller 2020,70)

Songhay: SONGHAY (Northern): Tadaksahak (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,29 - Christiansen-Bolli 2010,143), **Tagdal** (Benítez-Torres 2021,§4.1)⁹⁸⁸

Afro-Asiatic: WEST CHADIC: Ngamo (Grubic 2015,§3.4.2)⁹⁸⁹

Afro-Asiatic: LOWLAND EAST CUSHITIC: Arbore (Hayward 1984,212), **Boni** (Zeller 2020,70), **Elmolo** (Heine 1980,183), **Gawwada** (Zeller 2020,70; Prisecaru 2015,§3.6)⁹⁹⁰, **Rendille** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Heine 1976,196; also see Heine 1980,226; Heine 1981a,181), **Somali** (Zeller 2020,§3)⁹⁹¹

Afro-Asiatic: WEST CUSHITIC: Ongota (Savà and Tosco 2000,§3.7.1 and §4.1)⁹⁹²

Afro-Asiatic: SOUTH CUSHITIC: Gorwaa (Harvey 2018,§2.5.3)⁹⁹³, **Iraqw** (Mous 1992,§6.1; 1993,§6.1; 2007,§5)⁹⁹⁴

‘These five black cows are mine.’

⁹⁸⁵ Kouneli (2019: 136) provides the following illustrative example (with demonstrative spreading):

(i) làag-óo-chù sómòk chù kárâarán
girl-PL-PROX three PROX beautiful
‘these three beautiful girls’

⁹⁸⁶ One example given by the author on p.100 is:

(i) á-wák náj xísóŋ xóná ùnik l-ò-bwór
1SG-want 1SG.NOM cows.ABS this.F.PL three SBO-3-be.white
‘I want these three white cows.’

⁹⁸⁷ Reh (1994,236) provides the following example:

(i) g-áyán-d'ε àmà giní nú árjáj bílibílo'ŋ ní.
DEF-IMV:want-1S animals those two IMV:are.big.PL DET
‘I like those two big animals.’

⁹⁸⁸ The demonstrative can also follow the numeral and adjective or just the numeral, giving rise to the alternative orders N Num A Dem and N Num Dem A (p.111).

⁹⁸⁹ An example like (i) “illustrates the spontaneous relative word order of the noun, demonstrative, numeral, and adjective” (p.68), although N Num Dem and also N A Dem are also possible:

(i) takarda maye=i bolo=i nekshi=i
book dem.prox.pl=i two=i large.pl=i
‘Those two large books.’

⁹⁹⁰ Prisecaru (2015: 17) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) orhami-sa kora salah sikapoma
spears those four long
‘those four long spears’

⁹⁹¹ Goldberg (2015,22) reports that “[i]n Somali the order of elements in a noun phrase [is] as follows: (Cardinal Number) – Noun – (Ordinal Number) – Adjective. When used in a noun phrase with other words such as number and adjective, the demonstrative appears as a separate word in the phrase, instead of as an ending on the noun” giving (i) as an example:

(i) Afarta waran ee dhaadheen waa kuwan
four spear long these
‘these four long spears’

Zeller (2020,70) instead attributes to Somali the order N Dem Num A.

⁹⁹² In addition to the orders N Dem Num (illustrated in §3.7.2) the authors give in §4.1 the orders N Num A, but also N A Num (possibly giving the overall alternative order N Dem A Num, as in Konso (Eastern Cushitic)).

⁹⁹³ One of the examples given in Harvey (2018,§2.5.3), where this order is reported as strict, is:

(i) moro'ó-sí tám afahhamít
things.LMO-DEM2 three important.M.PL
‘These three important things’

⁹⁹⁴ One example given in Mous (2007,13) is (i):

(i) hiikwa-'ée' kudá koo'an ló'wa hhoo' i amá
cattle-1.SG.POSS DEM4.PRO.P five very nice BE where
‘Where are those five nice cows of mine?’

Austronesian: OCEANIC⁹⁹⁵: Kiriwina (Kilivila) (Lawton 1980, §2.1.2; 1993, 150; 2012, §3.7)⁹⁹⁶, **Namakir** (Sperlich 1991, 189)⁹⁹⁷, **Paamese** (Crowley 1979, §4.1.2.5; 1982, §4.1.2.5 and 6.1.3.2)
Torricelli: KOMBIO-ARAPESH: Abu Arapesh (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 - Nekitel 1985, 95); also see Nekitel 1986, §2; Lynch 1998, 171; Dobrin 1999, 245)⁹⁹⁸
Sepik: RAMU-LOWER SEPIK: Kanda (Foley 2022b, 531)⁹⁹⁹
West Papuan: NORTH HALMAHERAN: Pagu (Wimbish 1991, 25)¹⁰⁰⁰
Australian: PAMA-NYUNGAN: Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011, 347)¹⁰⁰¹
Australian: LARAGIYAN: Laragia (Capell 1984, §4.6)¹⁰⁰²
MIXED LANGUAGE (Amdo Tibetan and Mandarin): Wutun (Sandman 2016, §3.1)¹⁰⁰³

Alphonse (2022, 11) reports that “[n]umerals can interchange position with adjectives in the orders N>ADJ>NUM>/N>NUM>ADJ>.

⁹⁹⁵ This is also a possible order (alternative to N Dem A Num) for the Oceanic language Koluwawa.

⁹⁹⁶ Dryer (2018, 821, and Supplementary Materials, 22) attributes to Kilivila (Kiriwina) the order Num N Dem A, on the basis of Senft (1986: 105), but Lawton (2012: §3.7) reports N Dem Num A as the basic order of the NP saying, in Lawton (1993), that this order is “significant only for the basic NP; otherwise the order of NP constituents is free, being subject only to the constituent which is semantically prominent being placed first.” (p. 150)

⁹⁹⁷ Sperlich (1991, 189) gives the following example:

(i) na-bokah iŋa laru aŋino ?(ara) ahoh
 ART-pig this eight my (REL) good
 ‘these eight beautiful pigs of mine’

⁹⁹⁸ Nekitel (1985, 95) provides the example in (i)a. and Lynch (1998, 171) that in (i)b.:

(i)a. aleman ana atena ubahineri
 man this one big
 ‘this big man’
 b. ba-kuh a-kuha bia-kuh afu-kuhi
 stick-CLASS this-CLASS two-CLASS good-CLASS
 ‘these two good sticks’

⁹⁹⁹ Foley (2022b, 531) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) parungli kle ami-na-ŋklea kl-erəm kupa-ŋklea
 betelnut.III.PL these.III.PL 1SG-POSS-III.PL III.PL-three big-III.PL
 ‘these three big betelnuts of mine’

¹⁰⁰⁰ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 26) attributes to Pagu the order N Dem A Num, based on Wimbish (1991, 25), where the following formula is given:

Article (Dcmonstr.
 or Poss. + NOUN +/- (Lig + Noun) +/- or Pers. + /- (RelCl) + /- (Numeral)
 Pronoun ma constr. Pronoun)

However the examples given by Wimbish following the formula contain genuine relative clauses, not adjectives, while two examples given elsewhere (p. 21), and glossed with adjectives, have the adjectives after the numeral (giving the order N Dem Num A). See, for example, (i):

(i) ..ma mamaling moi i-lamok...
 ...ART rock one 3nh-big
 ‘...a big rock...’

Even relative clauses can be found after the numeral (p. 26).

Peranginangin (2018, 167) gives however an example with the order N Num Dem, which points perhaps to the existence of an alternative order N A Num Dem.

¹⁰⁰¹ Tsunoda (2011, 347) gives the example in (i), saying however that the order is not strict. Demonstratives, numerals and adjectives can also precede the noun (in partial orders like Dem A N, Dem Num N and even A Dem N):

Ngalnga yinda bindaynga-lgo yino gornggal-Ø ngona-Ø n yon.gol-Ø jarribara-Ø
 PROH 2SG.ERG let.go-PURP 2SG.GEN husband-ACC that-ACC one-ACC good-ACC
 ‘Don’t let that one good husband of yours go.’

¹⁰⁰² To judge from Capell (1984, §4.6) this is the most frequent order. “If more than one adjunct accompanies the noun, the demonstrative precedes the descriptives” (p. 68). If there are two adjectives/descriptives following the noun quantity and numeral precedes quality (§4.6.1). On p. 69 he also gives an example of a numeral preceding the noun (p. 69).

¹⁰⁰³ Sandman (2016, §3.1) gives the following template (Dem) (Num) N (Dem) (Num) (Adj), saying that adjectives always follow, numerals ordinarily follow (except when numerals are used in combination with Chinese-based units of time) and demonstratives either precede or follow, which gives Dem N Num A and Dem Num N A as alternative orders.

Num-A-N-Dem (Cr): 55 lgs, 21 genera

Niger-Congo: CROSS-RIVER: Abua (Gardner 1976, Abu 2, D.2), **Eleme** (Bond 2002, §§3.2 and 3.52), **Gokana** (Isaac 2016, §3.1 for Num ClF A N, and Joshua, Ejele and Isaac 2018, 107 for N Dem), **Kana** (Ikoro 1996, Chapter 3), **Ogbronuagum** (Kari 2000, §3.2 and p.c.)

Nilo-Saharan: KOMUZ: Northern Gumuz (Ahland 2012, §5.1.3)¹⁰⁰⁴

Afro-asiatic: WEST CHADIC: Nyam (Andreas 2012, Chapters 3 and 4)

Indo-European: INDIC: Bishnupriya (Masica 1991, 371)

Austronesian: BUNUN: Takituduh Bunun (Lin 2009), **Takivatan Bunun** (De Busser 2009, Chapters 4 and 9 and p.406)¹⁰⁰⁵

Austronesian: TSOUIC: Tsou (Rijkhoff 2002, 139)

Austronesian: EAST FORMOSAN: Kavalan (Hsin 1996, 331f, 337)¹⁰⁰⁶

Austronesian: PHILIPPINE: (Cotabato) Bilaan (Ruhlen 2008, 1082), **Kankanaey** (Allen 2011, §3.2.1.1 and §3.2.2.2.1)¹⁰⁰⁷

Austronesian: OCEANIC: Iaa (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20 - Lynch 2002e, 781), **Pulu Annian** (Oda 1977, Chapter 4), **Puluwatese** (Lynch 2002b, 809), **Ramoaina** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Fritzell and Fritzell 1992, 21, 39f)¹⁰⁰⁸, **Tinrin** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials; also see Osumi 1995, Chapter 6), **Xârâcùù** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 31 - Lynch 2002d, 269)

South-Central Papuan: MOREHEAD-UPPER MARO (YAM): Kanum (Donohue 2007, 382)¹⁰⁰⁹

Penutian: TSIMSHIANIC: Tsimshian (Coast) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 30 - Dunn 1979, 56-7; also see Dunn 1995, Part II, 56f), **Gitksan** (Clarissa Forbes, p.c.)

ALGONQUIAN: Fox (Ruhlen 2008, 1669)

Mayan: MAYAN: Acalan (Becquey 2014, 344ff), **Acatec** (Peñalosa 1987, §3.1)¹⁰¹⁰, **Aguacatec** (Yasugi 1995, 389), **Cholti'** (Becquey 2014, 344ff), **Ch'orti'** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 18 - Perez

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ahland (2012, 138) provides the following example:

(i) [[mbáándá] [dagoná gááfa] [láná]]_{NP} d-úu-ts ná=cáánjaya
two beautiful women MED AFF-3PL.INTR-go LOC=road
'Those two beautiful women walked down the road.'

¹⁰⁰⁵ De Busser (2009, §4.1) states that while A N is the prevalent modern usage, the original N A order is still used with some high-frequency adjectives. Lin (2009) gives for Takituduh Bunun the alternative order Num N A Dem, as well as the problematic order A Num N Dem. It remains to be seen whether the latter order is an unmarked or a marked order involving focus. For Isbukun Bunun Wu (2014, 220) gives the order Dem Num A N (providing the example in (i)) while Lee (2009), in addition to examples displaying the order Dem Num (A) N gives an example with the order Num Dem N, saying that "the precedence of a phrase is based on the degree of focus of such phrase" (p.10).

(i) Na-maun-ik mas saicin tu dusa tu madavus tu bunbun.
FUT-eat-1SG.NOM OBL 3SG.ACC TU two TU AV.sweet TU banana
'I am going to eat these two sweet bananas.'

¹⁰⁰⁶ Li (2006, 146) gives for Kavalan the following possible orders NUM+N+DEM, N+DEM+NUM, or DEM+NUM+N.

¹⁰⁰⁷ To judge from DuBois (1976, §20) another Philippine language with this order may be Sarangani Manobo.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 27fn34) reports that "[t]he formula given by [Fritzell] and Fritzell (1992: 39) includes slots for adjectives both before and after the noun, but only a few adjectives follow the noun (p. 21)."

¹⁰⁰⁹ Donohue (2007, 382) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) nsao-ne ywaw ntaop krar-w py-engkw
sg.obl-dat two big dog-erg that-erg
'those two big dogs of mine-erg'

On the Ngkolmpu variety of Kanum see Carroll (2016, §4.2), and one of the examples given there (as well as Carroll (2020, §2.1):

(ii) yuow ntop krar pi
three big dog DIST.ABS
'those three big dogs'

¹⁰¹⁰ Peñalosa (1987, 287) provides the following illustrative example:

(i) wan jo=wan watx' w-une ti'
pl five=num cl good E1-son this
'these five good sons of mine'

Martinez 1994,118); also see Becquey 2014,344ff), **Itzaj Maya** (Hofling 2000,196f), **Ixil** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Townsend 1986,3; also see Townsend 1987,4; Ayres 1991,Chapter 4; Poma et al. 1996§3.3.1)¹⁰¹¹, **Jakaltek** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Day 1973,66,99)¹⁰¹², **Poqom** (Pérez 2016,§2.9), **Q'anjob'al** (Mateo Toledo 2008,106; 2017,§5)¹⁰¹³, **Q'eqchi** (Tzoc 2003,§3.4.1), **(Maya-)Quiché** (of the Popul Vuh text) (Dürr 1987,§6.2.1), **Uspanteko** (Can Pixabaj 2007,Chapter 3), **Tojol-ab'al** (Gómez Cruz 2010,§2.5.2), **Tzotzil** (de Leon Pasquel 1988 ,62)¹⁰¹⁴, **Yokot'an Cholan** (Osorio May 2016,§2.8.1)

Mayan: Q'ANJOB'ALAN-CHUJEAN: Chuj (Hopkins 1967,150,152; Maxwell 1987,492f; Royer 2021,§1.2)¹⁰¹⁵

Xinkan: XINCAN: Chiquimulilla, Jumaytepeque, Yupiltepeque (Rogers 2010,§2.2,§5.1.4)¹⁰¹⁶, **Xinca (Guazacapán)** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,31 - Rogers 2010,196,219; also see Sachse 2010,Chapter 8)¹⁰¹⁷

Arawakan: CARIBBEAN ARAWAKAN: Garifuna (Munro 2020,§2.1.2)¹⁰¹⁸

CREOLE (DUTCH BASED): Berbice Dutch (Kouwenberg 1995,235; Rijkhoff 2002,328; Haddican 2002),

¹⁰¹¹ Chajul Ixil displays this order (Adell 2019,392,397). But see Townsend (1986,§I) on Cotzal Ixil, where the following order is given: only > Demonstrative adjective > NumeralPhrase > AdjectivePhrase > Noun > LocativePhrase ('there'), where the last deictic appears to be a demonstrative reinforcer, like *ci* 'here' of French *ce livre-ci* 'this book here'. It is possible that the final "demonstrative" in the other Mayan languages is also a demonstrative reinforcer (possibly of a non deictic article).

¹⁰¹² Church and Church (1961), Day (1973,66), Grinevald Craig (1977, Chapter 1,§1.2.2 and Chapter 4,§1.4 and 1.5), and Ruhlen (2008,1768), however assign to Jacaltec the order Num N A Dem (though acknowledging that a minority of adjectives may precede the noun. See under Num N A Dem. Creissels (2006,106) also attributes to Popti' (Jakaltek) the order Num N A Dem, providing the following example:

(i) hune' no' txitam baq'ich tu'
 one animal pig fat this
 'this fat pig'

¹⁰¹³ Mateo Toledo (2017: 544) gives the example in (i):

(i) heb' naq ka-wan yalixh winaq tu la
 PL CLF two-CLF:human small man DEM EVID:mirative
 'those two small men'

Munro (2020,§1) gives (ii) as an illustrative example:

(ii) kab' miman tx'i' ti'
 two big dog this
 'these two big dogs'

¹⁰¹⁴ To judge from Weichel (2006,§4.3) Western Pokomchi' appears to have the same order (Num/A N Dem), though adjectives can also follow the N.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ruhlen (2008,1766) attributes to Chuj the order Num N A Dem.

¹⁰¹⁶ Rogers (2010) states in §2.2 that adjectives precede the N though in §5.1.4 he gives the template Num A N A Dem, saying that when adjectives follow there can be no adjective preceding the N (and viceversa). This seems to imply that in addition to Num A N Dem, Xinkan languages have Num N A Dem as an alternative order. This holds of the four Xinkan languages, which Roger says are not mutually intelligible (p.3).

¹⁰¹⁷ Dryer (2018,Supplementary Materials,31 fn42) adds: "The formula given by Rogers (2010: 219) shows two positions for adjectives, one before the noun and one after the noun, but he reports (p. 196) that the prenominal position is more common."

¹⁰¹⁸ Munro (2020,5) gives (i)a. as an illustrative example of the order Num A N Dem, and one illustrative of the alternative order Num N A Dem (cf. (i)b.), saying that "Garifuna adjectives, in general, can go before or after a noun (although there are a few morphological categories of adjectives that can only precede the noun):

(i)a. ûrûwa funá-tu gárada túra
 three be.red-T3f book[f] that.f
 b. ûrûwa gárada funá-tu túra
 three book[f] be.red-T3f that.f
 'those three red books'

Also see Haurholm-Larsen (2016,§3.5).

CREOLES (ENGLISH BASED): Bislama (Tryon 1987, §6.1 and 16.3; Haddican 2002; Crowley 2004, §4.3; Meyerhoff 2013, §5; Obiamalu 2016, §3)¹⁰¹⁹, **Ndyuka** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Huttar and Huttar 1994, 203, 215, 220), **Saramaccan** (Rountree 1992, §2.3.1; Lefebvre 2012, §6), **Sranan** (Haddican 2002; Rijkhoff 2004, 177)¹⁰²⁰

SIGN LANGUAGE: German Sign Language (Deutschen Gebärdensprache) (Erlenkamp 2000, §4.7)

LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Taushiro (Ortiz 1975, §II)¹⁰²¹

LANGUAGE ISOLATE: Umbeyajts (Huave) (Salminen 2016, Chapter 4)¹⁰²²

N-Dem-A-Num (Cp): 33 lgs, 17 genera

Niger-Congo: KATLA-TIMA: Tima (Alamin 2012a, §3.2.6)¹⁰²³

Niger-Congo: CANGIN: Noon (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Soukka 2000, 133)¹⁰²⁴, **Diola-Fogny** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Sapir 1965, 87; also see Sapir 1976, 145)

Niger-Congo: SOUTHERN ATLANTIC: Baga Sitemu (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 16 – Ganong 1998, 28)

Niger-Congo: ADAMAWA: Lua (Niellim) (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 23 - Vanderkooi 2000, 24)

Niger-Congo: BANTOID: Chasu (Ndimangwa 2020, 80)¹⁰²⁵, **Ikoma** (Aunio et al. 2019, 516), **Kabwa** (Aunio et al. 2019, 516), **Luyia** (Ruhlen 2008, 333f)¹⁰²⁶, **Nkore-Kiga** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 25 - Taylor 1985, 55)¹⁰²⁷, **Nyole** (Ruhlen 2008, 336), **Nyoro** (Ruhlen 2008, 331), **Oshiwambo** (Chris Collins, p.c., 2.Oct.2022) **Runyankore** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 27 - Morris and Kirwan 1972, 167)¹⁰²⁸, **Tiene** (Ellington 1977, §4.1), **Zanaki** (Aunio et al. 2019, 516)

¹⁰¹⁹ Alex François (p.c.) kindly provided the following example from Bislama:

- (i) (ol) faev smol haos ia
(PL) five small house DEM
'those five small houses'

¹⁰²⁰ According to Bobyleva (2013, 130f) in early Sranan the demonstrative occupied the left edge of the noun phrase.

¹⁰²¹ It is not clear whether the Demonstrative is a separate word or a suffix attached to the N (p.5). Numerals can also follow the head noun (p.11).

¹⁰²² Salminen (2016, §4.1) attributes to Umbeyajts the order Dem1 Num A N Dem2/3, saying that "the deictic specification lies in the final demonstrative element (Dem2 or Dem3) whereas Dem1 has no deictic function." (p.110).

¹⁰²³ Alamin (2012a, 59) gives N Dem A Num as the order of Tima, illustrating it with the example in (i)a. while Alamin (2013, 255) gives N Dem Num A as its order, illustrated with the example in (i)b:

- (i)a. ø-ih'óló'k-nà ik'óló'ŋ-í i-hiik
NCpl-bird-Dem AGR.pl-big-Foc pl-two
'those two big birds'
b. i-rtù-yaa i-hwai í-mál-í
NCPL-house-Dem AGR-three AGR-good-AGR
'those three nice houses'

¹⁰²⁴ Soukka (2000, 129) illustrates this order with the following example:

- (i) enoh-cii cii ci-yaanaaw-cii ci-daankah-cii
cow-DEF Dem ATTR-white-DEF ATTR-ten-DEF
'these ten white cows'

But see Baier (2015, §2), who gives N Num A Dem as the canonical order in Noon.

¹⁰²⁵ Anaphoric demonstratives used anaphorically occur preposed and adjectives and numerals can switch (giving rise to Dem N A Num, N Dem Num A).

¹⁰²⁶ Ruhlen (2008, 334) gives N Dem Num A as an alternative order in Luyia.

¹⁰²⁷ Taylor (1985, 55) gives for Nkore-Kiga the following sequence of constituents: N Poss Dem (appositive) Adj Num (verbal) Adj RC, where appositive adjective and verbal adjective possibly correspond, respectively, to Cinque's (2010) direct modification adjectives (which are non-restrictive, non-intersective, ecc.) and adjectives in reduced relative clauses (which are restrictive, intersective, etc.). If the adjectives that follow Num are reduced relative clauses, in fact adjacent to full relative clauses, one may then take N Dem A Num as the canonical order, although Taylor (1985, 75) also gives N Dem Num A as possible (also see the discussion in Abels and Neeleman's 2012, 61f). Lu (1998, 162fn59, 165) in fact takes this order (N Dem Num A) as the canonical order of Nkore-Kiga. Under the alternate name of Runyankore(-Rukiga), Asiiimwe (2011a) attributes to it the order N Num A Dem. Also see Asiiimwe (2011b).

¹⁰²⁸ Also see the preceding footnote.

Niger-Congo: PLATEAU: Fyem (Nettle 1998,23), **Màda** (Samuel 2018,§4.0)
Niger-Congo: KORDOFANIAN: Julut (Nüsslein 2020,114f), **Masakin Tuwal** (Crocker 1982,3)
Nilo-Saharan: DAJU: Laggori (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - Alamin 2006,23)
Nilo-Saharan: NILOTIC: Ateso (Barasa 2017a,112; 2017b,80), **(Asimjeeg) Datooga** (Griscom 2019,§3.1.3 and §3.1.6)
Nilo-Saharan: SURMIC: Majang (Joswig 2011,§3.5)¹⁰²⁹
Nilo-Saharan: KADUGLI-KRONGO: Miri (Mohamed 2013,§3.5)
Afro-Asiatic: EASTERN CUSHITIC: Konso (Bliese and Gignarta 1986,§4; cf. also Getahun 1999 and Orkaydo 2013, §9.1.1)¹⁰³⁰
Sino-Tibetan: KUKI-CHIN: Kom (Chongom 2007,224,227)¹⁰³¹
Austronesian: SOUTH HALMAHERA - WEST NEW GUINEA: Mor (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,24 - Laycock 1978,299; also see Ruhlen 2008,1160)
Austronesian: OCEANIC: Koluwawa (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,22 - ; Guderian and Guderian 2002,58,61)¹⁰³², **Kove** (Sato 2013,5.3.2.2.2)¹⁰³³
Anêm: ANÊM: Anêm (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,15 – Thurston 1982,25; also see 1980,49;)¹⁰³⁴
Australian: PAMA-NYUNGAN: Pitjantja(tja)ra (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,27 - Bowe 1990,31,35; also see Ruhlen 2008,1635)¹⁰³⁵
Australian: DALY: Ngankikurungkurr (Hoddinott and Kofod 1988,§3.1.1.5.3), **Pungu-Pungu** (Tryon 1974,199 and No date)¹⁰³⁶

¹⁰²⁹ Joswig (2011a,13) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) beyaka sigi jeeđuatuŋɔŋk aŋank
 spears those long four
 ‘those four long spears’

¹⁰³⁰ Some (fewer) classes of adjectives can precede the noun in Konso (see Bliese and Gignarta 1986,§2), giving the order A N Dem Num.

¹⁰³¹ Chongom (2007,234f) also gives cases of (triplicated) pre-nominal adjectives, possibly yielding A N-Dem Num as an alternative order of Kom.

¹⁰³² An alternative order is N Dem Num A (§3.1.3).

¹⁰³³ The order of adjectives and demonstratives is flexible (both N A Dem and N Dem A are possible), unless there is also a numeral (‘one’, as demonstratives, which are singular, are incompatible with numerals above ‘one’), in which case the order is N Dem A Num. Sato (2013,157) gives (i) as the canonical order with one adjective, also saying that “if there is more than one adjective, it is preferred that the demonstrative and the numeral stand closer to each other, with the adjectives following” (giving the order N Num Dem A A; it is not to be excluded that A A may actually be (reduced) relative clauses, as these also follow the demonstrative if one is present - Sato 2013,§11.1.7)

(i) ghaya diene paka ere
 pig DEM big one
 ‘this one big pig’

If Num and Dem are next to each other the order is N Num Dem (Sato 2013,158). Counts (1969,§3.5.8) for the related variety of Kaliai-Kove gives examples with the orders N A Dem Num (See Lusi above).

¹⁰³⁴ Thurston (1982,25) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) aba lê omba bik
 pig dem big three
 ‘these three big pigs’

Dunn, Reesink and Terrill (2002,36) attribute to Anêm the order N A Num Dem (and N Num A Dem).

¹⁰³⁵ To judge from Goddard (1985), the closely related Yankunytjatjara dialect of Western Desert Language may have the same order (“stative adjectives can be divided into two subclasses – descriptive and quantifying, which follow a head noun in that order”, §4.1.2; “Demonstratives most often (i) follow the first noun of an NP, preceding any apposed nouns or adjectives”, §4.3.2, although they can also precede the noun, typically when used anaphorically). Bowe (1990,140) gives N A Dem Num as an alternative order of Pitjan(tja)tjara.

¹⁰³⁶ In Tryon (1974) it is stated that “When a numeral occurs in conjunction with another modifier, it occurs phrase finally” (p.199). In (no date,§1.6) Tryon says that “When a noun subject or object is modified by an adjective, demonstrative, possessive adjective or numeral, they occur in the following order [with a presumable typo for the rightmost Noun for Numeral] + Noun ± (Dem/Poss) ± Adj. ± Noun” (p.18).

A-N-Num-Dem (Cw): 33 lgs, 13 genera¹⁰³⁷

Atlantic-Congo: GRASSFIELDS: Awing (Fominyam 2021, Chapter 2)¹⁰³⁸

Atlantic-Congo: UBANGI: Gbeya (Samarin 1966, §411-412), **Sango** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 28 - Samarin 1967, 62; also see Pasch 1997, §3.5.3 and §3.7; Thornell 1997, §4.2.2)¹⁰³⁹, **Mayogo** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 24 - Sawka 2001, 64), **Ngbandi** (Pasch 1997, §3.7), **Ngbaka** (Henrix, van den Eynde and Meeuwis 2007, Chapter II.2 and II.3.4.4; also see Thomas 1963, Chapter 4)¹⁰⁴⁰,

Niger-Congo: CROSS-RIVER: Efik (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Mensah 2011, 97, 101), **Ibibio** (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 20; Kaufman 1968, 189; also see Essien 1990, 138 and 143; Newkirk 2014, 287)¹⁰⁴¹, **Uda** (Ruffing 2013, §6)¹⁰⁴²

Niger-Congo: IGBOID: Izi (Meier, Meier and Bendor-Samuel 1975, §12.3; Ruhlen 2008, 196)¹⁰⁴³

Niger-Congo: BANTOID: Bàndò (Kouankem 2003, §2.3)¹⁰⁴⁴, **Eton** (Van de Velde 2006, Chapter 6; 2008, Chapter 6), **Kwakum** (Hare 2018, §3.2.1.3)¹⁰⁴⁵, **Makaa** (Heath and Heath 1998, §4.3 and Ibrahīm Njoya, p.c.)¹⁰⁴⁶, **Mpumpuŋ** (Ngangoum 2002, §4.3.2 and Chapter 5)¹⁰⁴⁷, **Ngembà** (Fossi 2015, and Achille Fossi, p.c.)¹⁰⁴⁸, **Ngiemboon** (Ndiola Tsuata 2008, §1.2.1.2), **Pólri** (Wéga Simeu 2016, 72 and 100), **Tuki** (Bilola 2013, Chapters 9 and 10)¹⁰⁴⁹

¹⁰³⁷ As observed in the preceding note this order is also attested as an alternative order in the Chadic language Gude. Rijkhoff (1998, 356, 358) gives A N Num Dem as the basic order of Gude. It is also an alternative order (with nominal adjectives) in Bafut, alongside the orders N A Num Dem and N Num A Dem, and in Manipuri (Meithei), according to Sharma (1999, 145).

¹⁰³⁸ While the canonical order appears to be A N Num Dem (see (i)), the numeral ‘one’ precedes (the pre-nominal adjective and) the noun (p.59f). Adjectives can follow the noun only if preceded by an associative marker (p.62)

(i) mə-shishi mə-ŋgeb m-én m-bé m-iə’

6-black 6-chicken 6-AM 6-two 6-that

‘Those two black chickens’

an alternative order appears to be A N Dem Num (see (ii), p.61):

(ii) pə-shíshí mə-ŋgeb p-íə p-én teelə’

2-black 6-chicken 6-those 6-AM three

‘Those three black chickens’

When Dem, Num, and A all follow the noun the only orders possible are N A Dem Num and N Dem A Num (p.62f).

¹⁰³⁹ Samarin (1967) considers Sango a Ngbandi-based creole. Thornell (1997, 70) says that “[the] order within the NP follows that of the Ubangi languages (Boyd 1989).”

¹⁰⁴⁰ An example provided by Sara Pacchiarotti (from Jean-Pierre Donzo Bunza p.c.) is:

(i) ɔ tũ gǔ nɔ nálé mɔní
PL black snake PL four DEM

‘those four black snakes’

An alternative order is A N Dem Num.

¹⁰⁴¹ Newkirk (2014, 287) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) (mmè) m̀kpóón éwà ibà ámi

PL big.PL dog two this

‘these two big dogs’

¹⁰⁴² Also see Terraling (<http://test.terraling.com/groups/7/lings/881>).

¹⁰⁴³ Adjectives can also be found postnominally, preceding Num and Dem (N A Num Dem), and Num can be found prenominally, before an adjective (Num A N Dem).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Some adjectives also follow the N, though their order wrt to Num and Dem is not given.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Adjectives can also follow the noun (Njantcho Kouangang 2018, §5.8). If an adjective follows the noun it precedes the numeral (Hare 2018, 54). Numerals can also precede the noun, in which case they may precede or follow the adjective (Njantcho Kouangang 2018, 174).

¹⁰⁴⁶ The adjective may also follow the N, and a demonstrative can appear pre-nominally if emphatic.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Pure and nominal adjectives precede the noun while verbal adjectives can both precede and follow the N (§4.3.2).

¹⁰⁴⁸ Here is a sentence, kindly provided by Achille Fossi (p.c. 17/04/2015):

mə mbəŋ ndɛ m-ɔ mintet ngə
PL nice house PL-2PROX three DEM

‘Those three nice houses’

¹⁰⁴⁹ As shown in Bilola (2013, Chapter 10) adjectives in Tuki can be both pre-nominal (adjectives of quality, size, shape, height, age) and postnominal (nationality and colour). As the classes of pre-nominal adjectives are more numerous than

Niger-Congo: PLATEAU: Tyap (Follingstad 1991, §3.1)¹⁰⁵⁰
Nilo-Saharan: KOMUZ: Southern Gumuz (Ahland 2012, §5.1.3)¹⁰⁵¹
Afro-Asiatic: BIU-MANDARA: Gude (Hoskison 1983, Chapter 2; Rijkhoff 1998, 356; 2002, 332fn18)¹⁰⁵²
Sino-Tibetan: TANI: Galo (Dryer 2018, Supplementary Materials, 19 - Post 2007, 291)¹⁰⁵³, **Milang** (Modi 2017, §6.3), **Mising** (Doley and Post 2012, §2.1)¹⁰⁵⁴
Sino-Tibetan: KUKI-CHIN: Lamkang (Thounaojam and Chelliah 2007, §4.1)
Austronesian: OCEANIC: Abma (Schneider 2006, Chapter 5; 2010, Chapter 6)¹⁰⁵⁵, **Merei** (Chung 2005, §3.8), **Paluai** (Schokkin 2014, §5.4 and 5.8)¹⁰⁵⁶ **Sunwadia** (Henri 2011, 180), **Vaeakau-Taumako** (Naess and Hovdhaugen 2011, 61, 78 and §3.8 and Chapter 7)¹⁰⁵⁷
Trans-New Guinea: OKSAPMIN: Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009, Chapter 7)¹⁰⁵⁸
Senagi: SENAGI: Menggwa Dla (de Sousa 2006, Chapter 4)¹⁰⁵⁹

A-N-Dem-Num (Ck): 21 lgs, 9 genera

those of post-nominal adjectives, we take the order A N Num Dem as the basic order. When postnominal, adjectives can either precede or follow numerals (Bilola 2013, Chapter 9), giving the orders N A Num Dem and N Num A Dem.¹⁰⁵⁰ While adjectives "most commonly occur pre-nominally" (Follingstad 1991, 64), they can also occur post-nominally, especially if restrictive (giving the order N A Num Dem).

¹⁰⁵¹ Ahland (2012, 139) provides the following example:

- (i) [[dagoná gááfa] [mbááand] [álá]]_{NP} -í^l-dǎ-gá ná=ííc-ndoa
 beautiful women two PROX AFF-3PL.INTR-go-NFUT LOC=EYE-road
 'These two beautiful women walked down the road.'

¹⁰⁵² Rijkhoff (1998, 356) and Zeller (2011, 6) report for Gude the order A N Num Dem, Rijkhoff signaling (after Hoskison 1983, 51) that "the pattern N-dem num is also attested" (fn.38).

Hoskison (1983, 51) reports that "[n]ormally a modifying cardinal number follows the head noun and its other modifiers. However, the cardinal number may precede the demonstrative suffix (see section 2.2.3.1) in which case the suffix attaches to the number." Compare (i)a. and (i)b. (adjectives precede the noun – Hoskison 1983, 53).

- (i)a. fəzə-tʂə mak
 years-that three
 b. fəzə makə-tʂa
 years three-that
 'those three years'

In Dryer's (2009/2011) sample another Biu-Mandara language (Malgwa) is reported with the order N A Num Dem.

¹⁰⁵³ Post (2007, §6.1.2.2.4) reports that demonstratives can occur preceding and/or following the noun. Dryer (2018, Supplementary Materials, 19fn16) adds: "The formula in Post (2007: 291) does not explicitly mention adjectives, but semantic adjectives modifying nouns are formally relative clauses (p. 295), which the formula does represent as preceding the noun." Post (2007, §6.1.2.2.4) reports that demonstratives can occur preceding and/or following the noun.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See the example in (i):

- (i) bii-kə bottə-nə okum-ikii dor-kon də-m (Doley and Post 2012: 4)
 3.SG-GEN big-NZR:SUB house-dog CLF:ANIM-one Dem
 'that one big house-do of his'

Doley and Post (2012, §2.1) give Dem A N Num (Dem) as an alternative order. Sun (1994, 206) reports that adjectives in Mising can either precede or follow the noun (with no apparent difference in meaning).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Certain adjectives follow the noun before the demonstrative.

¹⁰⁵⁶ "The demonstrative is always the final element in the NP, following all other modifiers." (p.200). Although most adjectives follow the noun in the postmodifier slot, and some precede the noun, when a numeral occupies the postmodifier slot an adjective seemingly cannot also be found there (p.194).

¹⁰⁵⁷ N A Num Dem appears to be an alternative order.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Adjectives can also follow the N (with a non-restrictive interpretation). Those preceding the N have a restrictive interpretation (the opposite of the Romance situation) (cf. p.191ff).

¹⁰⁵⁹ While most of the adjectives precede the noun (in the order A N Num Dem, but apparently also in the order Dem Num A N, as demonstratives and numerals can also precede the noun), size adjectives follow the noun, before numerals and demonstratives (yielding the order N A Num Dem). Cf. de Sousa (2006, §4.3).

Niger-Congo: UBANGI: Baka (in Cameroon) (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 - Kilian-Hatz 1995,22, Brisson and Boursier 1979,ix)¹⁰⁶⁰, **Linda** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,23 - Cloarec-Heiss 1986,75,217), **Gbaya** (Roulon 1975,Chap.II,2 and 3; Roulon-Doko 1997,82)¹⁰⁶¹, **Mɔ̀nɔ̀** (Kamanda-Kola 2003,§3.4), **Munzombo** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,25 - Boyi 1983,256), **Viri** (Mur'ba Wáũ 2020, §4.2 and §5.4)

Niger-Congo: BANTOID: Babanki (Akumbu and Chibaka 2012,§5.2; Akumbu and Kiessling 2022,16; Pius Akumbu, p.c.)¹⁰⁶², **Kako** (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,21 - Ernst 1992,121), **Kol** (Hensurubon 2007, Chapter 3), **Mengambo** (Ndedje 2003,§§3.1.4 and 3.1.5)¹⁰⁶³, **Ngêmbà** (Cyrille Talla Sandeu, p.c.)¹⁰⁶⁴, **Ngomba'** (Nicky Mazoua, p.c.)¹⁰⁶⁵, **Nweh** (Nkemnji 1995, Chapters 2 and 4)¹⁰⁶⁶, **Yémba** (Elsie Mawamba: <http://sswl.railsplayground.net/browse/languages/Y%C3%A9mba%20>)¹⁰⁶⁷

Nilo-Saharan: NILOTIC: Belanda Bor (Asan et al. 2015,91f)

Nilo-Saharan: SURMIC: Me'enit (Garoma and Yadate 2015,40,47 and Eba Teresa Garoma, p.c.)¹⁰⁶⁸

Afro-Asiatic: BIU-MANDARA: Zulgo (Haller 1989,2.2)

Afro-Asiatic: CHADIC: Pa'anci (Skinner 1979,62f,108)

Sino-Tibetan: BAI: Bai (Dryer 2018,Supplementary Materials,16 -Wiersma 2003: 669)¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶⁰ Djoupee (2017, §1.2.1.7) gives the order Dem_{prox/dist} A N Num Dem_{anaphoric}. Also see Djoupee (2002,68,77 and passim).

¹⁰⁶¹ Noss (1969,63) reports that the enclitic demonstratives *-e* 'here,this' and *-i* 'there,that' follow the last element of a nominal group (presumably giving A N Num Dem as an alternative order). He also says that Num can also precede the head noun.

¹⁰⁶² Pius Akumbu, p.c., kindly provided the following example:

mpfísá áló? jí sàtá?
 mpfi-só à-ló? jí-só sà-tá?
 big-c10 c6-house those-c10 c10-three
 'those three large houses'

¹⁰⁶³ Adjectives can also follow the N, though their relative order with respect to demonstratives and numerals is not indicated.

¹⁰⁶⁴ According to Cyrille Talla Sandeu, an MA student of linguistics at the University of Yaoundé I and native speaker of Ngêmbà, the unmarked orders are A N Dem Num or A N Num Dem (Num can follow or precede Dem without any semantic change). See (i)a.-b.:

(i)a. ...Mə-mbɔŋ pəndʒwí pa məppà b. ...mə- mbɔŋ pəndʒwí məppà pa
 Pl nice girls DEM two Pl nice girls two DEM
 These two nice girls These two nice girls

In a more marked alternative adjectives can also be after the noun but then they must be reduplicated as shown in (ii):

(ii)a. pəŋkhú mbɔŋ-mbɔŋ pa ntó'ó b. pəŋkhú mbɔŋmbɔŋ ntó'ó pa
 children nice-nice DEM six children nice-nice six DEM
 These six nice children These six nice children

¹⁰⁶⁵ Although A N Dem Num is the more frequent order, N Dem Num A is also possible.

¹⁰⁶⁶ This order (which alternates with A N Num Dem) is possible with "pure" adjectives. Derived adjectives follow, though Nkemnji does not say how they are ordered wrt to Num and Dem.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Also see Terraling (<http://test.terraling.com/groups/7/lings/963>).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ebe Teresa Garoma kindly provided in personal communication the following illustrative example:

(i) fɛ'ej wuno gija sizi
 good boys these three
 'these three good boys'

Adjectives can also follow the N.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Dryer (2008,25) cites a source reporting that adjectives can also be postnominal, giving an example with an adjective following the noun and a numeral plus classifier: N Num (Clf) A. Given that the (postnominal) order of demonstratives and numerals is N Dem Num, this would appear to give N Dem Num A as an alternative (possibly, less frequent) order. The same order (A N Dem Num) is given by Yeung (2018,§3.4.1) as the canonical order of Lemei (Northern Bai). A N Dem Num CLF is also the order given by Christie (2022,§6.8) for Southern Bai, where the following illustrative example is also given (p.183):

(i) se³¹ tsaó²¹ tsv³⁵ na⁵⁵ sa⁵⁵ pe²¹
 small teacup DIST three CLF
 'those three small teacups'

Sino-Tibetan: QIANGIC: Puxi Qiang (Huang 2004,216)¹⁰⁷⁰
PIDGIN: Yimas-Arafundi Pidgin (Foley 2013,108)

¹⁰⁷⁰ Huang (2004,220) gives the following illustrative example:

(i) ŋa te-po-si ts^humpa p^hu t^he χsi-la
1sg:TP DIR-buy-CSM:1 blue clothing that three-CL
'those three pieces of blue clothing that I bought'