

Adjective ordering preferences are robustly attested in English and many unrelated languages (Dixon, 1982; Sproat and Shih, 1991; Scontras et al., 2017). In nominals with multi-adjective strings (e.g., *big blue box*), chances are the order of the adjectives is non-arbitrary. However, ordering preferences are claimed to neutralize in cases where multi-adjective strings are formed via conjunction (e.g., *blue and big box*; Ford and Olson, 1975; Byrne, 1979). We provide empirical evidence in support of this claim, but with an important caveat: conjunction neutralizes adjective ordering preferences *in languages where multi-adjective strings obligatorily feature conjunction*.

Starting with Spanish, one might think that post-nominal adjectives were to blame for the absence of stable ordering preferences, but stable preferences have been documented in languages with post-nominal adjectives that do not require conjunction in multi-adjective strings (e.g., Indonesian; Martin, 1969). Rather, it would seem that conjunction does indeed neutralize ordering preferences. This effect makes sense if the pressure for ordering preferences comes from a desire to compose less subjective adjectives earlier with the modified noun (cf. Scontras et al., 2017); with conjunction (Fig. 2a), the adjectives make their semantic contribution together after they are conjoined, so pressures mediating the order in which adjectives compose cannot apply. But in English we find no measureable effect of conjunction. One way to understand this result is that in languages where multi-adjective strings optionally feature conjunction, the regularity introduced in conjunction-less strings can bleed over to strings with conjunction. English speakers seem to internalize the statistical ordering regularity from non-conjoined adjective strings and use that knowledge to inform preferences for conjoined strings.

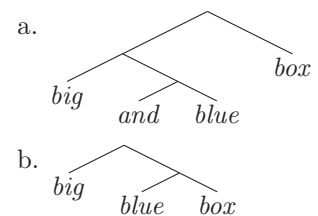


Fig. 2: Compositional structure for adjective strings formed with (a) and without (b) conjunction. Only in (b) do the adjectives incrementally compose with the resulting nominal; in (a), the adjectives first get conjoined, then jointly modify the noun.

Fig. 1: Ordering preferences grouped by adjective semantic class. Higher values indicate that a class’s adjectives are preferred farther from the modified noun; lower values indicate that a class’s adjectives are preferred closer. The dashed line indicates chance level, or the absence of stable preferences. Error bars represent bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals drawn from 10,000 samples of the data. Stable preferences are observed in English, both with (green bars) and without (red bars) conjunction, but not in Spanish (blue bars).

- Byrne, B. (1979). Rules of prenominal adjective order and the interpretation of “incompatible” adjective pairs. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 18(1), 73–78.
- Dixon, R. (1982). *Where have all the adjectives gone? And other essays in semantics and syntax*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Ford, W. and D. Olson (1975). The elaboration of the noun phrase in children’s description of objects. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology* 19(3), 371–382.
- Martin, J. E. (1969). Some competence-process relationships in noun phrases with prenominal and postnominal adjectives. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 8, 471–480.
- Scontras, G., J. Degen, and N. D. Goodman (2017). Subjectivity predicts adjective ordering preferences. *Open Mind: Discoveries in Cognitive Science* 1(1), 53–65.
- Sproat, R. and C. Shih (1991). The cross-linguistic distribution of adjective ordering restrictions. In C. Georgopoulos and R. Ishihara (Eds.), *Interdisciplinary approaches to language: Essays in honor of S.-Y. Kuroda*, pp. 565–593. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.