

A case for systematic sound symbolism in pragmatics: Universals in wh-words

List of languages used

This is a list of languages used in the main analyses. It shows:

- the name of the language
- the Glottolog and ISO identifier
- the language family and area
- the source of the word list
- the position of interrogative phrases in the language
- the source for the interrogative position data (WALS refers to Dryer (2013))
- the reference for the interrogative position data if not in WALS

Coding interrogative position

34 languages were coded by two coders (one of the authors, AS and a naive coder, JP) according to the typology in Dryer (2013). They agreed on 28 out of 34 languages (82%). A third coder (one of the authors, SR) blindly coded 6 random languages and agreed on all with both of the other coders (and cited the same grammars and page numbers as evidence). The third coder then coded languages that the first two coders disagreed on (without knowing the coding decisions), and made an executive decision. 5 of the 6 decisions sided with AS.

| Name | Glottolog id | Iso id | Language family | Area | Source | Interrogative Position | IP Source | IP reference |
|-------------------|--------------|--------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|-----------|---|
| Aramaic (Ancient) | olda1245 | oar | Afro-Asiatic | Greater Mesopotamia | IDS | | | |
| Polci | polc1243 | plj | Afro-Asiatic | African Savannah | IDS | | | |
| Hausa | haus1257 | hau | Afro-Asiatic | African Savannah | IDS | Mixed | WALS | |
| Gawwada | gaww1239 | gwd | Afro-Asiatic | Greater Abyssinia | WOLD | | | |
| Iraqw | iraq1241 | irk | Afro-Asiatic | S Africa | WOLD | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Tarifiyt Berber | tari1263 | rif | Afro-Asiatic | N Africa | WOLD | Initial | WALS | |
| Mapudungun | mapu1245 | arn | Araucanian | Andean | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Mashco Piro | mash1270 | cuj | Arawakan | NE South America | IDS | | | |
| Wapishana | wapi1253 | wap | Arawakan | NE South America | IDS | | | |
| Waur | waur1244 | wau | Arawakan | NE South America | IDS | | | |
| Trinitario | trin1274 | trn | Arawakan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Rose, 2014, 91) |
| Yavitero | yavi1244 | yvt | Arawakan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Mosonyi et al., 2000, 638)(Mosonyi, 1987, 79...) |
| Wayuu | wayu1243 | guc | Arawakan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Ignaciano | igna1246 | ign | Arawakan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Swahili | swah1253 | swh | Atlantic-Congo | S Africa | WOLD | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Khasi | khas1269 | kha | Austroasiatic | Indic | Spraakbanken | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Ceq Wong | chew1245 | cwg | Austroasiatic | Oceania | WOLD | | | |
| Vietnamese | viet1252 | vie | Austroasiatic | Southeast Asia | WOLD | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Tuamotuan | tuam1242 | pmt | Austronesian | Oceania | IDS | | | |
| Rapa Nui | rapa1244 | rap | Austronesian | Oceania | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Feu, 1996, 19)(Weber, 2007, 73) |
| Rotuman | rotu1241 | rtm | Austronesian | Oceania | IDS | Non-Initial | S&R | (Vamarasi, 2002, 19) |
| Hawaiian | hawa1245 | haw | Austronesian | Oceania | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Maori | maor1246 | mri | Austronesian | Oceania | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Takia | taki1248 | tbc | Austronesian | N Coast New Guinea | WOLD | | | |
| Indonesian | indo1316 | ind | Austronesian | Southeast Asia | WOLD | Mixed | WALS | |
| Malagasy | plat1254 | plt | Austronesian | Southeast Asia | WOLD | Initial | WALS | |
| Aymara, Central | sout2996 | ayc | Aymara | Andean | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Colorado | colo1256 | cof | Barbacoan | Andean | IDS | | | |
| Chachi | chac1249 | cbi | Barbacoan | Andean | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Basque | basq1248 | eus | Basque | Europe | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Waiwai | waiw1244 | waw | Cariban | NE South America | IDS | | | |
| Eepa | enap1235 | pbh | Cariban | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Payne and Payne, 2013, 380) |
| Maquiritari | maqu1238 | mch | Cariban | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Macushi | macu1259 | mbc | Cariban | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Kali'na | gali1262 | car | Cariban | NE South America | WOLD | | | |
| Cayubaba | cayu1262 | cyb | Cayubaba | NE South America | IDS | | | |
| Bar | bari1297 | mot | Chibchan | NE South America | IDS | | | |
| Muisca | chib1270 | chb | Chibchan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Ostler, 1994, 22) |
| Ember, Northern | nort2972 | emp | Chocoan | Andean | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Mortensen, 1999, 13) |
| Epena | epen1239 | sja | Chocoan | Andean | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Ona | onaa1245 | ona | Chonan | SE South America | IDS | | | |
| Tehuelche | tehu1242 | teh | Chonan | SE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Fernndez Garay, 1998, 425) |
| Cofn | cofa1242 | con | Cofn | Andean | IDS | | | |
| Telugu | telu1262 | tel | Dravidian | Indic | Spraakbanken | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Tamil | tami1289 | tam | Dravidian | Indic | Spraakbanken | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Mocov | moco1246 | moc | Guaicuruan | SE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Pilag | pila1245 | plg | Guaicuruan | SE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Toba | toba1269 | tob | Guaicuruan | SE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Haida, Northern | nort2938 | hdn | Haida | Alaska-Oregon | IDS | Mixed | WALS | |
| White Hmong | hmon1333 | mww | Hmong-Mien | Southeast Asia | WOLD | | | |
| Limonese Creole | limo1249 | qlm | Indo-European | Mesoamerica | IDS | | | |
| Romani, Vlax | roma1329 | | Indo-European | Inner Asia | IDS | | | |
| Tokharian A | tokh1242 | xto | Indo-European | Europe | IDS | | | |

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|--------------------|----------|-----|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------|------|--|--|
| Tokharian B | tokh1243 | txb | Indo-European | Europe | IDS | | | | |
| Albanian, Tosk | gheg1238 | aln | Indo-European | Europe | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Newmark et al., 1982, 275-278)(Kallulli, 2011, 204) | |
| Negerhollands | nege1244 | dcr | Indo-European | Mesoamerica | IDS | Initial | S&R | (van Sluijs, 2013, 271) | |
| Serbo-Croatian | croa1245 | hrv | Indo-European | Europe | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Brown and Alt, 2004, 58) | |
| Yiddish, Eastern | east2295 | ydd | Indo-European | Europe | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Zucker, 1994, 38) | |
| Armenian | nucl1235 | hye | Indo-European | Greater Mesopotamia | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | | |
| Breton | bret1244 | bre | Indo-European | Europe | IDS | Initial | WALS | | |
| Bulgarian | bulg1262 | bul | Indo-European | Europe | IDS | Initial | WALS | | |
| Farsi, Western | west2369 | pes | Indo-European | Greater Mesopotamia | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | | |
| Russian | russ1263 | rus | Indo-European | Inner Asia | IDS | Initial | WALS | | |
| Spanish | stan1288 | spa | Indo-European | Europe | IDS | Initial | WALS | | |
| Kotgarhi | maha1287 | bfz | Indo-European | Indic | Spraakbanken | | | | |
| Bengali | beng1280 | ben | Indo-European | Indic | Spraakbanken | Non-Initial | S&R | (Hudson, 1965, 63...) | |
| Marathi | mara1378 | mar | Indo-European | Indic | Spraakbanken | Non-Initial | WALS | | |
| Panjabi | panj1256 | pan | Indo-European | Indic | Spraakbanken | Non-Initial | WALS | | |
| Lower Sorbian | lowe1385 | dsb | Indo-European | Europe | WOLD | | | | |
| Selice Romani | west2376 | rmc | Indo-European | Europe | WOLD | | | | |
| Dutch | dutc1256 | nld | Indo-European | Europe | WOLD | Initial | S&R | Broekhuis (2016) | |
| Old High German | oldh1241 | goh | Indo-European | Europe | WOLD | Initial | S&R | (Axel, 2007, 54) | |
| Saramaccan | sara1340 | srn | Indo-European | NE South America | WOLD | Initial | S&R | (BYRNE JR, 1985, 30) | |
| Seychelles Creole | sese1246 | crs | Indo-European | S Africa | WOLD | Initial | S&R | (Corne, 1977, 187) | |
| English | stan1293 | eng | Indo-European | Europe | WOLD | Initial | WALS | | |
| Romanian | roma1327 | ron | Indo-European | Europe | WOLD | Initial | WALS | | |
| Itonama | iton1250 | ito | Itonama | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Crevels, 2012, 251,255) | |
| Japenese | nucl1643 | jpn | Japonic | N Coast Asia | WOLD | Non-Initial | WALS | | |
| Aguaruna | agua1253 | agr | Jivaroan | Andean | IDS | | | | |
| Karok | karo1304 | kyh | Karok | California | IDS | | | | |
| Qawasqar | qawa1238 | alc | Kawesqar | SE South America | IDS | | | | |
| Lengua | leng1262 | leg | Lengua-Mascoy | SE South America | IDS | | | | |
| Sanapan | nucl1655 | spn | Lengua-Mascoy | SE South America | IDS | | | | |
| Chorote, Iyojwaĵa | iyow1239 | crq | Matacoan | SE South America | IDS | | | | |
| Maca | maca1260 | mca | Matacoan | SE South America | IDS | | | | |
| Nivacl | niva1238 | cag | Matacoan | SE South America | IDS | | | | |
| Wich Lhamts Gisnay | wich1264 | mzh | Matacoan | SE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | | |
| Q'eqchi' | kek1242 | kek | Mayan | Mesoamerica | WOLD | Initial | S&R | (Stewart, 1980, 84,96) | |
| Zinacantn Tzotzil | tzot1259 | tzz | Mayan | Mesoamerica | WOLD | Initial | S&R | (Cowan, 2014, 6..) | |
| Tsiman | mose1249 | cas | Mosetn-Chiman | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | | |
| Movima | movi1243 | mzp | Movima | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | | |
| Hup | hup1244 | jup | Nadahup | NE South America | WOLD | Initial | WALS | | |
| Bezhta | bez1248 | kap | Nakh-Daghestanian | Greater Mesopotamia | WOLD | | | | |
| Archi | arch1244 | aqc | Nakh-Daghestanian | Greater Mesopotamia | WOLD | Non-Initial | WALS | | |
| Nepali | nepa1252 | nep | Nepali | Indic | Spraakbanken | Non-Initial | WALS | | |
| Kaingng | kain1272 | kgp | Nuclear-Macro-Je | SE South America | IDS | Mixed | S&R | (da Silva, 2011, 163-171)(Wiesemann, 1972, 156) | |
| Chatino, Zacatepec | zaca1242 | ctz | Otomanguean | Mesoamerica | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Villard, 2009, 92) | |
| Otomi | mezq1235 | ote | Otomanguean | Mesoamerica | WOLD | Initial | WALS | | |
| Pez | paez1247 | pbb | Pez | NE South America | IDS | | | | |
| Gurindji | guri1247 | gue | Pama-Nyungan | N Australia | WOLD | | | | |
| Katukna, Panoan | pano1254 | knt | Panoan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (de Aguiar, 1988, 38)(de Aguiar, 1994, 231) | |
| Yaminahua | yami1256 | yaa | Panoan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Faust and Loos, 2002, 32..) | |
| Chcobo | chac1251 | cao | Panoan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | | |
| Shipibo-Conibo | ship1254 | shp | Panoan | NE South America | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | | |
| Yagua | yagu1244 | yad | Peba-Yagua | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | | |
| Puelche | puel1244 | pue | Puelche | SE South America | IDS | | | | |
| Puinave | puin1248 | pui | Puinave | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Higuita, 2008, 209) | |
| Pum | pume1238 | yae | Pum | NE South America | IDS | | | | |

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|--------------------------|----------|-----|--------------|------------------|--------------|-------------|------|---|
| Imbabura Quechua | imba1240 | qvi | Quechuan | Andean | WOLD | Initial | WALS | |
| Kanuri | cent2050 | knc | Saharan | African Savannah | WOLD | Initial | WALS | |
| Seri | seri1257 | sei | Seri | Mesoamerica | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Nung-Fengshan | nung1282 | nun | Sino-Tibetan | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Tibetan | tibe1272 | bod | Sino-Tibetan | Inner Asia | Spraakbanken | | | |
| Manange | mana1288 | nmn | Sino-Tibetan | Indic | WOLD | | | |
| Mandarin Chinese | mand1415 | cmn | Sino-Tibetan | Southeast Asia | WOLD | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Araona | arao1248 | aro | Tacanan | NE South America | IDS | | | |
| Cavinea | cavi1250 | cav | Tacanan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Guillaume, 2008b, 102)(Guillaume, 2008a, 599) |
| Ese Ejja | ese1248 | ese | Tacanan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Tacana | taca1256 | tna | Tacanan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Ecun Buyang | lang1316 | yln | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Lakkia | lakk1238 | lbc | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Li of Baoding | nucl1241 | | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Mulam | mula1253 | mlm | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Qau Kelao | gela1265 | gqu | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Shan | shan1277 | shn | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Southern Kam | kami1255 | | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Southern Tai of Songkhla | sout2746 | | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Sui | suii1243 | swi | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Zhuang-Longzhou | minz1236 | zgm | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | | | |
| Chadong | chad1240 | cdy | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | Mixed | S&R | (Li, 2008, 604) |
| Maonan | maon1241 | mmn | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | Non-Initial | S&R | (Lu, 2008, 178) |
| Tai Lue | luuu1242 | khh | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | Non-Initial | S&R | (Hartmann, 1984, 48) |
| Central-Thai | thai1261 | tha | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Dehong | khun1259 | kkh | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Khamuang of Chiang Mai | nort2740 | nod | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Nung-Lazhai | nung1283 | nut | Tai-Kadai | Southeast Asia | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Truma | trum1247 | tpy | Trumai | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Tsimshian | nucl1649 | tsi | Tsimshian | Alaska-Oregon | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Siona | sion1247 | snn | Tucanoan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Wheeler, 2000, 192) |
| Tuyuca | tuyul244 | tue | Tucanoan | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Barnes and Malone, 2000, 443) |
| Oroqen | oroq1238 | orh | Tungusic | N Coast Asia | WOLD | | | |
| Ach | ache1246 | guq | Tupian | SE South America | IDS | | | |
| Guaran, Eastern Bolivian | east2555 | gui | Tupian | SE South America | IDS | | | |
| Sirion | siri1273 | srq | Tupian | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Dahl, 2014, 125) |
| Guaran, Paraguayan | para1311 | gug | Tupian | SE South America | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Wayampi | waya1270 | oym | Tupian | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Sakha | yaku1245 | sah | Turkic | Inner Asia | WOLD | Non-Initial | S&R | (Petrova, 2011, 169) |
| Erzya | erzy1239 | myv | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | | | |
| Komi-Zyrian | komi1268 | kpv | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | | | |
| Mari, Eastern | east2328 | mhr | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | | | |
| Nenets | nene1249 | yrk | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | | | |
| Udmurt | udmu1245 | udm | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | | | |
| Saami, North | nort2671 | sme | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Wilbur, 2014, 244) |
| Estonian | esto1258 | est | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Finnish | finn1318 | fin | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Khanty | khan1273 | kca | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Mansi | mans1258 | mns | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Selkup | selk1253 | sel | Uralic | Inner Asia | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Hungarian | hung1274 | hun | Uralic | Europe | IDS | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Kildin Saami | kild1236 | sjd | Uralic | Inner Asia | WOLD | | | |
| Chipaya | chip1262 | cap | Uru-Chipaya | Andean | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Cerrn-Palomino, 2009, 65)(Cerrn-Palomino, 2006, 243) |
| Nahuatl, Highland Puebla | high1278 | azz | Uto-Aztecan | Mesoamerica | IDS | | | |
| Yaqui | yaqu1251 | yaq | Uto-Aztecan | Mesoamerica | WOLD | Non-Initial | WALS | |

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|---------|----------|-----|-----------|------------------|------|-------------|------|--|
| Nootka | noot1238 | noo | Wakashan | Alaska-Oregon | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Waorani | waor1240 | auc | Waorani | NE South America | IDS | | | |
| Ymana | yama1264 | yag | Ymana | SE South America | IDS | Non-Initial | S&R | (Adam, 1885, 49) |
| Yanommi | yano1262 | wca | Yanomam | NE South America | IDS | Initial | S&R | (Emiri, 1981, 73...)(Lizot, 1996, 119..) |
| Ninam | nina1238 | shb | Yanomam | NE South America | IDS | Initial | WALS | |
| Ket | kett1243 | ket | Yeniseian | Inner Asia | WOLD | Non-Initial | WALS | |
| Yuwana | yuwa1244 | yau | Yuwana | NE South America | IDS | | | |
| Ayoreo | ayor1240 | ayo | Zamucoan | SE South America | IDS | Non-Initial | S&R | (Bertinetto, 2014a, 393-395) |
| Zuni | zuni1245 | zun | Zuni | Basin and Plains | IDS | Initial | WALS | (Bertinetto, 2014b, 12-Nov) |

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