

# 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	Glottocode	WALS code	Family	Area	Source	Interrogative	IP Source	Reference
Polci	polc1243		Afro-Asiatic	African Savannah	IDS			
Gawwada	gaww1239	dug	Afro-Asiatic	Greater Abyssinia	WOLD			
Hausa	haus1257	hau	Afro-Asiatic	African Savannah	WOLD	Mixed	WALS	
Tarifyt Berber	tari1263	brf	Afro-Asiatic	N Africa	WOLD	Initial	WALS	
Iraqw	iraq1241	irq	Afro-Asiatic	S Africa	WOLD	Non-Initial	WALS	
Mapudungun	mapu1245	map	Araucanian	Andean	WOLD	Non-Initial	WALS	
Mashco Piro	mash1270		Arawakan	NE South America	IDS			
Wapishana	wapi1253	wps	Arawakan	NE South America	IDS			
Waur	waur1244	wur	Arawakan	NE South America	IDS			
Trinitario	trin1274		Arawakan	NE South America	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Rose, 2014, 91)
Yavitero	yavi1244		Arawakan	NE South America	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Mosonyi et al., 2000, 638)(Mosonyi, 1987, 79...)
Goajiro	wayu1243	goa	Arawakan	NE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Ignaciano	igna1246	ign	Arawakan	NE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Swahili	swah1253	swa	Atlantic-Congo	S Africa	WOLD	Non-Initial	WALS	
Ahlao Th	aheu1239		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Bulang-2	blan1242		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Cuoi	cuoi1242		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Iduh	oduu1239		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Keme	manm1238		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Kha Poong	khap1242		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Malieng	mali1278		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Mang Ch	mang1378		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Mlabri	mlab1235	mlm	Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Nyakur	nyah1250	nkt	Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Paliu	boly1239		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Phong	phon1246		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Prai	pray1239		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Pusing	bitt1240		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Rumai	ruma1248		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Samre	samr1245		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Wa	nucl1290		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
Xu	huuu1240		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS			
CHNG	west2394	ksn	Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Chong	chon1284	ksn	Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Kasong	suoy1242	ksn	Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Pear	pear1247	ksn	Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Surin Khmer	suri1265	khm	Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Khasi	khas1269	khs	Austroasiatic	Indic	Sprakbanken	Non-Initial	WALS	
Ceq Wong	chew1245		Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	WOLD			
Vietnamese	viet1252	vie	Austroasiatic	Southeast Asia	WOLD	Non-Initial	WALS	
Tuamotuan	tuam1242	tua	Austronesian	Oceania	IDS			
Rapa Nui	rapa1244	rap	Austronesian	Oceania	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Feu, 1996, 19)(Weber, 2007, 73)
Hawaiian	hawa1245	haw	Austronesian	Oceania	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Maori	maor1246	mao	Austronesian	Oceania	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Rotuman	rotu1241	rot	Austronesian	Oceania	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Takia	taki1248	tak	Austronesian	N Coast New Guinea	WOLD			
Indonesian	indo1316	ind	Austronesian	Southeast Asia	WOLD	Mixed	WALS	
Malagasy	plat1254	mal	Austronesian	Southeast Asia	WOLD	Initial	WALS	
Aymara	cent2142	aym	Aymara	Andean	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Colorado	colo1256	tsf	Barbacoan	Andean	IDS			
Cayapa	chac1249	cay	Barbacoan	Andean	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Basque	basq1248	bqb	Basque	Europe	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Wai Wai	waiw1244	wai	Cariban	NE South America	IDS			
Panare	enap1235	pnr	Cariban	NE South America	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Payne and Payne, 2013, 380)
De'kwana	maqu1238	cde	Cariban	NE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Macushi	macu1259	mac	Cariban	NE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Kali'na	gali1262	car	Cariban	NE South America	WOLD			
Cayuvava	cayu1262	cyv	Cayubaba	NE South America	IDS			
Bar	bari1297	mti	Chibchan	NE South America	IDS			
Muisca	chib1270	msc	Chibchan	NE South America	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Ostler, 1994, 22)
Embera	nort2972	emb	Chocoan	Andean	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Mortensen, 1999, 13)
Epena	epen1239	epe	Chocoan	Andean	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Selknam	onaa1245	sel	Chonan	SE South America	IDS			

Tehuelche	tehu1242	teh	Chonan	SE South America	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Fernndez Garay, 1998, 425)
Cofn	cofa1242	cof	Cofn	Andean	IDS			
Tamil	tami1289	tml	Dravidian	Indic	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Telugu	telu1262	tel	Dravidian	Indic	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Mocov	moco1246	mcv	Guaicuruan	SE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Pilag	pila1245	pga	Guaicuruan	SE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Toba	toba1269	tob	Guaicuruan	SE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Northern Haida	nort2938	hno	Haida	Alaska-Oregon	IDS			
White Hmong	hmon1333	hmd	Hmong-Mien	Southeast Asia	WOLD			
Romani	vlax1238	rka	Indo-European	Europe	IDS			
Judeo-Tat	jude1256		Indo-European	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Mahasu Pahari	maha1287		Indo-European	Indic	IDS			
Tocharian B	tokh1243		Indo-European	Indic	IDS			
Tocharian A	tokh1242		Indo-European	Inner Asia	IDS			
Albanian	tosk1239	alb	Indo-European	Europe	IDS	Initial	S&R	
Yiddish	east2295	ydb	Indo-European	Europe	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Zucker, 1994, 38)
Serbo-Croatian	sout1528	scr	Indo-European	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS	Initial	S&R	
Bengali	beng1280	ben	Indo-European	Indic	IDS	Non-Initial	S&R	(Hudson, 1965, 63...)
Breton	bret1244	bre	Indo-European	Europe	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Bulgarian	bulg1262	bul	Indo-European	Europe	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Spanish	stan1288	spa	Indo-European	Europe	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Armenian	east2283	arm	Indo-European	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Persian	west2369	prs	Indo-European	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Hindi	hind1269	hin	Indo-European	Indic	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Marathi	mara1378	mhi	Indo-European	Indic	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Nepali	east1436	nep	Indo-European	Indic	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Punjabi	west2386	pan	Indo-European	Indic	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS	
Russian	rus1263	rus	Indo-European	Inner Asia	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Lower Sorbian	lowe1385	srl	Indo-European	Europe	WOLD			
Romanian	roma1327	mol	Indo-European	Europe	WOLD			
Selice Romani	west2376		Indo-European	Europe	WOLD			
Dutch	dutc1256	dbr	Indo-European	Europe	WOLD	Initial	S&R	()
Old High German	oldh1241		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)
English	stan1293	eng	Indo-European	Europe	WOLD	Initial	WALS	
Itonama	iton1250	ito	Itonama	NE South America	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Crevels, 2012, 251,255)
Japanese	nucl1643	jpn	Japonic	N Coast Asia	WOLD	Non-Initial	WALS	
Aguaruna	agua1253	agr	Jivaroan	Andean	IDS			
Karok	karo1304	krk	Karok	California	IDS			
Qawasqar	qawa1238	qaw	Kawasqar	SE South America	IDS			
Kunza	kunz1244	atm	Kunza	Andean	IDS			
Lengua	leng1262	lng	Lengua-Mascoy	SE South America	IDS			
Sanapan	sana1281		Lengua-Mascoy	SE South America	IDS			
Chorote	iyoj1235	crt	Matacoan	SE South America	IDS			
Maca	maca1260	mca	Matacoan	SE South America	IDS			
Nivacl	niva1238	chu	Matacoan	SE South America	IDS			
Wich	wich1264	wch	Matacoan	SE South America	WOLD	Initial	WALS	
Q'eqchi'	kekc1242	kek	Mayan	Mesoamerica	WOLD	Initial	S&R	(Stewart, 1980, 84,96)
Zinacantan Tzotzil	tzot1264	tzz	Mayan	Mesoamerica	WOLD	Initial	S&R	
Mosetn	mose1249	mos	Mosetn-Chiman	NE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Movima	movi1243	mov	Movima	NE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS	
Hup	hup1244	hpd	Nadahup	NE South America	WOLD	Initial	WALS	
Aghul	aghu1253	agl	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Akhvakh	akhv1239	axv	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Andi	andi1255	anx	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Bagvalal	bagv1239	bgv	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Botlikh	botl1242		Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Budukh	budu1248	bdk	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Chamalal	cham1309	chm	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Dargwa	darg1241	drg	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Godoberi	ghod1238	god	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Hinuq	hinu1240	hnk	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Hunzib	hunz1247	hzb	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Ingush	ingul1240	ing	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			
Karata	kara1474	krt	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS			

Khwarshi	inxo1238	khv	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Kryz	kryt1240	krz	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Lak	lakk1252	lak	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Rutul	rutu1240	rut	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Tabasaran	sout2752	tbs	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Tindi	tind1238	tnd	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Tsakhur	tsak1249	tsa	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Tsez	dido1241	tsz	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Udi	udii1243	udi	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Avar	avar1256	ava	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Chechen	chec1245	chc	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Khinalug	khin1240	khi	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Lezgian	lezg1247	lez	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Tsova-Tush	bats1242	ttu	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Bezhta	bezh1248	bez	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	WOLD				
Archi	arch1244	arc	Nakh-Daghestanian	Greater Mesopotamia	WOLD		Non-Initial	WALS	
Uncunwee	ghul1238	nbh	Nubian	African Savannah	IDS				
Kaingng	kain1272	kng	Nuclear-Macro-Je	SE South America	IDS		Mixed	S&R	(da Silva, 2011, 163-171)(Wiesemann, 1972, 156)
Chatino	zaca1242	cya	Otomanguean	Mesoamerica	IDS		Initial	WALS	
Otomi	mezq1235	otm	Otomanguean	Mesoamerica	WOLD		Initial	WALS	
Pez	paez1247	pae	Pez	NE South America	IDS				
Gurindji	guri1247	gji	Pama-Nyungan	N Australia	WOLD				
Catuquina	pano1254		Panoan	NE South America	IDS		Initial	S&R	(de Aguiar, 1988, 38)(de Aguiar, 1994, 231)
Yaminahua	yami1256	yam	Panoan	NE South America	IDS		Initial	S&R	(Faust and Loos, 2002, 32..)
Chcobo	chac1251	cbo	Panoan	NE South America	IDS		Initial	WALS	
Shipibo-Conibo	ship1254	shk	Panoan	NE South America	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Yagua	yagu1244	yag	Peba-Yagua	NE South America	IDS		Initial	WALS	
Gnna Kne	puel1244	gku	Puelche	SE South America	IDS				
Puinave	puin1248	pui	Puinave	NE South America	IDS		Initial	S&R	(Higuaita, 2008, 209)
Yaruro	pume1238	yrp	Pum	NE South America	IDS				
Imbabura Quechua	imba1240	qim	Quechuan	Andean	WOLD		Initial	WALS	
Kanuri	cent2050	knr	Saharan	African Savannah	WOLD		Initial	WALS	
Seri	seri1257	ser	Seri	Mesoamerica	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Tibetan	tibe1272	jad	Sino-Tibetan	Inner Asia	IDS				
Manange	mana1288	nmn	Sino-Tibetan	Indic	WOLD				
Mandarin Chinese	mand1415	kug	Sino-Tibetan	Southeast Asia	WOLD				
Araona	arao1248	ana	Tacanan	NE South America	IDS				
Cavineia	cavi1250	cav	Tacanan	NE South America	IDS		Initial	S&R	(Guillaume, 2008b, 102)(Guillaume, 2008a, 599)
Ese Ejja	esee1248	ese	Tacanan	NE South America	IDS		Initial	WALS	
Tacana	taca1256	tac	Tacanan	NE South America	IDS		Initial	WALS	
Dehong	tain1252		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Ecun Buyang	lang1316		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Hlai	hlai1239	lic	Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Khamuang	nort2740		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Lakkia	lakk1238	lkk	Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Langja Buyang	emab1235		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Nung-Lazhai	guib1244		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Qau Kelao	qaua1234		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Sanchong Kelao	gree1278		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Shan	shan1277	sha	Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Southern Tai	sout2746		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Sui	suii1243	sui	Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Thai	sout2745		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Zhuang-Longzhou	zuo1238		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS				
Maonan	maon1241		Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS		Non-Initial	S&R	(Lu, 2008, 178)
Tai L	luuu1242	lu	Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS		Non-Initial	S&R	(Hartmann, 1984, 48)
Nung-Ninbei	nung1283	nun	Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Tai Khn	khun1259	khn	Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Thai	thai1261	tha	Tai-Kadai	Southeast Asia	WOLD		Non-Initial	WALS	
Trumai	trum1247	tru	Trumai	NE South America	IDS		Initial	WALS	
Tsimshian	nucl1649	tsi	Tsimshian	Alaska-Oregon	IDS		Non-Initial	WALS	
Siona	sion1247	sin	Tucanoan	Andean	IDS		Initial	S&R	(Wheeler, 2000, 192)
Tuyuca	tuyu1244	tuy	Tucanoan	NE South America	IDS		Initial	S&R	(Barnes and Malone, 2000, 443)
Oroqen	oroq1238		Tungusic	Inner Asia	WOLD				
Ach	ache1246	ach	Tupian	SE South America	IDS				

Chiriguano	east2555	crg	Tupian	SE South America	IDS				
Sirion	siri1273	srn	Tupian	NE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS		
Wayampi	waya1270	way	Tupian	NE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS		
Guaran	para1311	gua	Tupian	SE South America	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS		
Kumyk	kumy1244	kuq	Turkic	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS				
Nogai	noga1249	nog	Turkic	Inner Asia	IDS				
Azerbaijani	nort2697	aze	Turkic	Greater Mesopotamia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS		
Sakha	yaku1245	ykt	Turkic	Inner Asia	WOLD	Non-Initial	S&R	(Petrova, 2011, 169)	
Erzya Mordvin	erzy1239	moe	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS				
Komi	komi1268	kzy	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS				
Mari	east2328	mme	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS				
Nenets	nene1249	nen	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS				
Udmurt	udmu1245	udm	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS				
Northern Saami	nort2671	sno	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Wilbur, 2014, 244)	
Hungarian	hung1274	hun	Uralic	Europe	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS		
Estonian	esto1258	est	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS	Initial	WALS		
Finnish	finn1318	fin	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS	Initial	WALS		
Khanty	khan1273	kty	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS		
Mansi	mans1258	mns	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS		
Selkup	selk1253	skp	Uralic	Inner Asia	IDS	Non-Initial	WALS		
Kildin Saami	kild1236	ski	Uralic	Inner Asia	WOLD				
Chipaya	chip1262	cpy	Uru-Chipaya	Andean	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Cerrn-Palomino, 2009, 65)(Cerrn-Palomino, 2006, 243)	
Nahuatl	high1278	nsz	Uto-Aztecan	Mesoamerica	IDS				
Yaqui	yaqu1251	yaq	Uto-Aztecan	Mesoamerica	WOLD	Non-Initial	WALS		
Nuu-chah-nulth	nuuc1236	nuu	Wakashan	Alaska-Oregon	IDS				
Worani	waor1240	wao	Worani	NE South America	IDS				
Yagn	yama1264	yah	Ymana	SE South America	IDS	Non-Initial	S&R	(Adam, 1885, 49)	
Yanommi	yano1262	ynm	Yanomam	NE South America	IDS	Initial	S&R	(Emiri, 1981, 73...)(Lizot, 1996, 119..)	
Ninam	nina1238	shi	Yanomam	NE South America	IDS	Initial	WALS		
Ket	kett1243	ket	Yeniseian	Inner Asia	WOLD	Non-Initial	WALS		
Yuwana	yuwa1244		Yuwana	NE South America	IDS				
Ayoreo	ayor1240	ayr	Zamucoan	SE South America	IDS	Non-Initial	S&R	(Bertinetto, 2014a, 393-395)(Bertinetto, 2014b, 12-Nov)	
Zuni	zuni1245	zun	Zuni	Basin and Plains	IDS	Initial	WALS		

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