



Faculteit Letteren & Wijsbegeerte
Departement Taalkunde

A TYPOLOGY OF NON-SELECTIVE INTERROGATIVE PRONOMINALS

(Een typologie van niet-selectieve interrogatieve pronomina)

Proefschrift voorgelegd tot het behalen van de graad
van doctor in de taal- en letterkunde aan de
Universiteit Antwerpen te verdedigen door

Dmitry IDIATOV

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my deep gratitude to all the people who made time to share with me their knowledge of the languages they study and/or are native speakers of. They are too numerous to be mentioned in person here but most of them are cited at various occasions in the text. I beg pardon in advance from those whose names might be missing because of my forgetfulness. The names of the people who responded to my questionnaire are summarized in Appendix A. I am also indebted to all the linguists who provided their highly valuable comments on the sections of this thesis dealing with the languages and linguistic groups they specialize in. They are named at the beginning of the respective sections.

This thesis had not been possible without the help of my supervisor Johan van der Auwera who, to begin with, believed that a Russian Africanist can also do typology in Belgium and gave me the opportunity to conduct my research in excellent working conditions at the University of Antwerp. He was also always there for me, as regards both scientific and practical issues. Furthermore, I very much appreciated the research freedom that I enjoyed all these years in my work under his supervision.

I also wish to gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Research Council of the University of Antwerp which has been provided to me within the GOA (Geconcerteerde Onderzoeksactie) “Mood and Modality” project.

I am truly thankful to Valentin Vydrine who introduced me into the world of linguistics and linguists, has been guiding me for many years, and opened many possibilities. He also initiated me into the joys of field work and demonstrated the (often easily overlooked) exciting sides of lexicography. I also wish to thank Thomas Bearth for making many things possible and introducing me to the Toura.

The person I am most grateful and indebted in all respects is de Makke (Mark Van de Velde). Among many other things, my gratitude goes to him for proofreading the whole text, improving my English, managing to understand what I mean even when my wording was very far from the ideals of lucidity, discussing various problematic issues, patiently waiting for the moment when the text will be ready and I will finally paint the staircase, and for making the life fun in general.

Last but not least, I wish to thank the family, friends and colleagues for making the last four and something years a pleasant time beyond the thesis.

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Contents.....	iii
Abbreviations and conventions.....	xi
I. Introduction.....	1
1. Overview.....	1
2. The object of study.....	3
2.1. Pronominal.....	3
2.2. Interrogative.....	5
2.3. Selection vs. non-selection.....	7
2.4. Persons vs. things.....	11
2.5. Identity vs. classification and proper names vs. common nouns.....	16
2.6. Summary.....	17
3. Research questions.....	19
4. What qualifies as a lack of differentiation between ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ (and what does not).....	20
4.1. Simple cases.....	20
4.2. Complications.....	21
4.2.1. Syntactic function: predicate vs. non-predicate and case.....	22
4.2.2. Gender and number.....	24
4.2.3. Non-prototypical combinations of values (with respect to the choice of a non-selective interrogative pronominal).....	25
4.2.3.1. A non-prototypical combination of values vs. lack of differentiation	25
4.2.3.2. Non-human animates: a border case.....	28
4.2.3.3. Neither a lack of differentiation nor a non-prototypical combination of values.....	30
4.2.3.3.1. “No conjecture”-contexts.....	30
4.2.3.3.2. Groups of people.....	31
4.2.3.3.3. Deceptive appearances.....	32
4.2.3.3.4. Special discourse forms.....	35
5. Earlier work.....	36
6. The sample.....	38
7. Gathering the data: published sources and the questionnaire.....	40

II. Non-prototypical combinations of values	43
1. Introduction.....	43
2. ‘What?’-dominance in KIND-questions.....	51
2.1. Contexts.....	51
2.1.1. Biological affiliation: sex.....	51
2.1.2. Social affiliation.....	53
2.1.3. Functional affiliation.....	53
2.1.4. Personal affiliation.....	54
2.2. Constructions.....	56
2.3. ‘What?’-dominance in KIND-questions: summary.....	59
3. ‘Who?’-dominance in NAME-questions.....	61
3.1. Preliminaries.....	61
3.2. Constructions.....	63
3.3. Contexts.....	67
3.3.1. Proper names of persons.....	67
3.3.2. Proper names of domestic animals.....	74
3.3.3. Proper names of places (toponyms).....	75
3.3.4. Temporal proper names.....	81
3.3.5. Names of “folk genera” (species).....	83
3.3.6. Proper names of inanimate things.....	88
3.3.7. Pure autonyms.....	90
3.4. ‘Who?’-dominance in NAME-questions: summary.....	91
4. ‘Who?’-dominance in ANIMATE-questions.....	95
4.1. ANIMATE-questions: three strategies.....	95
4.1.1. ‘What?’	95
4.1.2. A special interrogative.....	95
4.1.3. ‘Who?’	100
4.2. Animacy: cut-off points.....	110
4.2.1. Cut-off points: in general.....	110
4.2.2. Cut-off points: in questions.....	111
5. Non-prototypical combinations of values: concluding remarks.....	117
III. Lack of differentiation	127
1. Introduction.....	127
2. Africa and the Middle East.....	129
2.1. Niger-Congo languages.....	129
2.1.1. Bantu languages.....	129
2.1.1.1. Introduction.....	129

2.1.1.2. Mongo (Bantu C70).....	131
2.1.1.2.1. The interrogatives <i>ná</i> and <i>é</i> : nominal uses.....	132
2.1.1.2.2. The interrogatives <i>ná</i> and <i>é</i> : other uses.....	138
2.1.1.2.3. Possible origins of the lack of differentiation between ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ in Mongo (and some other languages of zone C).....	139
2.1.2. Atlantic languages: Bijogo.....	141
2.2. “Khoisan” languages.....	143
2.2.1. Genetic classification of “Khoisan” languages.....	143
2.2.2. Eastern !Xóǝ (“Khoisan”, Tuu, Taa).....	145
2.2.3. †Hõã (“Khoisan”, isolate or Ju).....	149
2.3. Afro-Asiatic languages.....	150
2.3.1. Introduction.....	150
2.3.2. Berber languages.....	155
2.3.2.1. Some Berber languages with ‘who?, what?’ interrogatives.....	155
2.3.2.2. Berber interrogative pronominals as constructions: simplicity of structure & multitude of forms.....	159
2.3.2.2.1. Preliminaries.....	159
2.3.2.2.2. The interrogatives <i>ma</i> , <i>may</i> , <i>mad</i> , and the like.....	161
2.3.2.2.3. The interrogatives <i>mi</i> and <i>wi</i>	164
2.3.2.2.4. The interrogatives <i>man</i> , <i>mani</i> , <i>an</i> , and the like.....	169
2.3.2.2.5. The interrogatives <i>matta</i> , <i>matak</i> , <i>ta’k(k)</i> , and the like.....	172
2.3.2.3. Berber languages: summary.....	178
2.3.3. Egyptian.....	180
2.3.3.1. Introduction.....	180
2.3.3.2. Old and Middle Egyptian.....	182
2.3.3.2.1. The interrogative <i>m()</i>	186
2.3.3.2.2. The interrogatives <i>pw</i> , <i>ptr</i> , <i>pty</i> , and the like.....	191
2.3.3.2.3. The interrogative <i>šst/ šsy</i>	194
2.3.3.2.4. The interrogative <i>zy</i> and the like.....	197
2.3.3.3. Late Egyptian.....	199
2.3.3.3.1. The interrogatives <i>nym</i> and <i>m</i>	200
2.3.3.3.2. The interrogative	200
2.3.3.3.3. The interrogative <i>t()</i>	202
2.3.3.4. Demotic Egyptian.....	203
2.3.3.5. Coptic Egyptian.....	204
2.3.3.5.1. The interrogative <i>ou</i>	206
2.3.3.5.2. The interrogative <i>nim</i>	207
2.3.3.5.3. The interrogative <i>aš</i>	208
2.3.4. Semitic languages.....	210
2.3.4.1. Semitic interrogative pronominals: an overview.....	211
2.3.4.1.1. Forms, meanings, history.....	211

2.3.4.1.2. Deictic “reinforcement”	218
2.3.4.1.3. When ‘who?’ is <i>not</i> ‘what?’ and ‘what?’ is <i>not</i> ‘who?’	219
2.3.4.1.3.1. NAME-questions.....	220
2.3.4.1.3.2. KIND-questions.....	221
2.3.4.1.3.3. The ‘what’s up?’-construction.....	223
2.3.4.1.3.4. “Things denoting persons”	224
2.3.4.2. Semitic languages with ‘who?, what?’ interrogatives.....	228
2.3.4.2.1. Modern Arabic varieties.....	228
2.3.4.2.2. Soqotri.....	230
2.3.4.2.3. The “Canaano-Akkadian” mixed language.....	235
2.3.5. Cushitic languages.....	236
2.3.5.1. Cushitic interrogative pronominals: an overview.....	237
2.3.5.2. Saho: an East Cushitic language with a ‘who?, what?’ interrogative.....	239
3. Eurasia.....	243
3.1. Indo-European.....	243
3.1.1. Introduction.....	243
3.1.2. East Baltic languages.....	244
3.1.3. French.....	247
3.1.3.1. Modern French <i>quel?</i>	247
3.1.3.2. Middle and Classical French, non-standard French varieties and French-based creoles: the interrogative <i>qui?</i>	249
3.1.4. Old English.....	255
3.1.5. Ancient Greek.....	258
3.1.6. Latin.....	261
3.2. North Caucasian languages.....	263
3.2.1. East Caucasian.....	263
3.2.2. West Caucasian.....	271
3.2.2.1. Tapanta Abaza.....	271
3.2.2.2. (Standard) Abkhaz.....	277
3.3. Dravidian languages.....	278
3.3.1. Dravidian gender systems.....	279
3.3.2. Dravidian interrogative pronominal systems.....	281
3.3.3. Dravidian languages with ‘who?, what?’ interrogatives.....	286
3.3.4. On the Proto-Dravidian interrogative pronominal system.....	291
3.4. Kusunda.....	293
3.5. Tungusic languages: Evenki.....	298
3.5.1. The interrogative <i>a i:</i>	299
3.5.2. The interrogatives <i>e:-</i> and <i>e:-kun</i>	303
4. Southeast Asia and Oceania.....	309
4.1. Austro-Asiatic languages.....	309

4.1.1. Introduction.....	309
4.1.2. Khasian languages.....	313
4.1.2.1. Khasi gender systems.....	313
4.1.2.2. Khasi interrogative pronominal systems.....	317
4.1.2.2.1. Standard Khasi.....	318
4.1.2.2.1.1. The interrogatives <i>no</i> and <i>ey</i>	318
4.1.2.2.1.1.1. Nagaraja (1985) vs. Rabel (1961)	319
4.1.2.2.1.1.2. Gender-number markers and the distinction human vs. non-human.....	320
4.1.2.2.1.1.3. “Prepositions” and the distinction human vs. non-human.....	323
4.1.2.2.1.1.4. The interrogatives <i>no</i> and <i>ey</i> and the distinction human vs. non-human: summary.....	327
4.1.2.2.1.2. The interrogative <i>ayu</i>	327
4.1.2.2.2. Major non-standard Khasi varieties: War, Pnar and Lyngngam....	330
4.1.2.2.2.1. War.....	330
4.1.2.2.2.2. Pnar.....	332
4.1.2.2.2.3. Lyngngam.....	333
4.1.2.3. On the etymology of the interrogatives <i>no</i> and <i>ey</i>	335
4.1.3. Palaungic languages.....	336
4.1.4. Bahnaric languages.....	340
4.1.4.1. Sapuan and Cheng.....	342
4.1.4.2. Stieng.....	346
4.1.5. Aslian languages.....	348
4.1.6. Munda languages.....	351
4.2. Austronesian languages.....	357
4.2.1. Introduction.....	357
4.2.2. Northern Luzon languages.....	360
4.2.2.1. South-Central Cordilleran languages.....	361
4.2.2.1.1. The ‘name’-based interrogatives.....	363
4.2.2.1.2. The * <i>si</i> -initial interrogatives.....	365
4.2.2.1.3. Central Cordilleran languages.....	372
4.2.2.1.3.1. Kalinga languages.....	372
4.2.2.1.3.1.1. Upper Tanudan Kalinga.....	372
4.2.2.1.3.1.2. Lower Tanudan Kalinga.....	372
4.2.2.1.3.1.3. Limos Kalinga.....	373
4.2.2.1.3.1.4. Guinaang Kalinga.....	374
4.2.2.1.3.2. Nuclear Cordilleran languages.....	375
4.2.2.1.3.2.1. Lagawe and Bayninan Ifugao.....	375
4.2.2.1.3.2.2. Northern Kankanay.....	376
4.2.2.1.3.2.3. Balangao.....	377
4.2.2.1.4. Southern Cordilleran languages.....	378

4.2.2.2. Northern Cordilleran languages.....	380
4.2.3. Lampungic languages.....	383
4.2.4. Choiseul languages.....	389
4.2.5. South Huon Gulf languages.....	390
4.2.6. Tsouic languages.....	393
4.2.6.1. Kanakanabu.....	395
4.2.6.1.1. The interrogatives <i>namanaini</i> and <i>nein</i>	396
4.2.6.1.2. The interrogative <i>nian</i>	399
4.2.6.2. Saaroa.....	400
5. New Guinea: Kiwaian languages.....	403
6. Australia.....	406
6.1. Introduction.....	406
6.2. Australian languages with ‘who?, what?’ interrogatives: distribution....	409
6.3. Australian interrogative pronominals: some common functional and formal patterns.....	415
6.3.1. The interrogative/indefinite relation.....	415
6.3.2. The link between ‘where?’, ‘which [N]?, which one?’, ‘who?’ and ‘what?’	418
6.3.3. Gender marking on interrogatives.....	424
6.3.4. Shortening and augmentation.....	427
6.4. A closer look at the Australian languages with ‘who?, what?’ interrogatives.....	432
6.4.1. Pama-Nyungan languages.....	432
6.4.1.1. The interrogatives <i>ngana</i> > <i>ngana-nha</i> > <i>nhaa</i> and the like.....	432
6.4.1.1.1. Kaurna and Parnkalla.....	433
6.4.1.1.2. Wirangu.....	436
6.4.1.1.3. Mirning, Ngadjunmaya and Karlamay.....	439
6.4.1.1.4. Pintupi.....	440
6.4.1.1.5. Warumungu.....	443
6.4.1.1.6. Yulparija, Walmajarri and Warlmanpa.....	446
6.4.1.1.7. Mangala.....	447
6.4.1.2. Some possible leftovers.....	448
6.4.2. Non-Pama-Nyungan languages.....	449
6.4.2.1. Form of the gender-number markers: Anindilyakwa.....	450
6.4.2.2. Gender-number semantics.....	450
6.4.2.2.1. Burarra and Worrorra.....	451
6.4.2.2.2. Wambaya.....	452
6.4.2.3. Jingulu.....	453
6.4.2.4. Nyulnyulan languages.....	456
6.4.2.5. Tangkic languages.....	461
6.4.2.6. Garrwan languages.....	466

6.4.2.7. Rembarrnga.....	471
6.5. Concluding remarks.....	473
6.5.1. On Dixon's (2002) generalizations.....	474
6.5.2. The lack of differentiation between 'who?' and 'what?': Pama-Nyungan vs. non-Pama-Nyungan.....	475
7. North America.....	479
7.1. Introduction.....	479
7.2. Nishnaabemwin (Ojibwa).....	480
7.3. Timucua.....	485
7.4. Timbisha.....	487
7.5. Mayan languages.....	492
7.5.1. Tz'utujil.....	492
7.5.2. Kaqchikel.....	496
7.5.3. Mam.....	499
7.5.4. Uspanteka.....	502
7.5.5. Tzotzil.....	503
7.5.6. Mayan languages: concluding remarks.....	504
7.6. Garifuna and Island Carib.....	511
8. South America.....	515
8.1. Introduction.....	515
8.2. Arawak(an) languages.....	517
8.2.1. Complex constructions and their truncation.....	523
8.2.2. 'Where?', 'which one?', 'who?', and 'what?'.....	529
8.2.3. Gender.....	529
8.3. Chibchan languages: Arhuaco/Ika.....	534
8.4. Makú languages: Dâw.....	535
8.5. Urarina.....	536
8.6. Arauan languages: Paumarí.....	537
8.7. Chapacura-Wanham languages: Itene/More.....	539
8.8. Tacanan languages.....	543
8.9. Tupí languages.....	545
8.10. Macro-Jê languages.....	548
8.10.1. Xerente.....	549
8.10.2. Krenák.....	552
8.10.3. Maxakalí.....	554
8.10.4. Fulniô/Yatê.....	556
8.11. Guaicuruan languages.....	556
8.12. Matacoan languages.....	559
9. Lack of differentiation: concluding remarks.....	562
9.1. Main results.....	562

9.2. Lack of differentiation between ‘who?’ and ‘what?’: how widespread it is and why.....	563
9.3. Lack of differentiation between ‘who?’ and ‘what?’: areal and genetic distribution.....	566
9.4. Lack of differentiation between ‘who?’ and ‘what?’: the many ways to get there.....	574
Appendix A: The questionnaire respondents.....	577
Appendix B.1: The questionnaire: the “regular” version.....	584
Appendix B.2: The questionnaire: the “light” version.....	587
Appendix C: The sample.....	588
Appendix D: The reduced sample.....	602
Appendix E: Dravidian interrogative pronominals.....	609
References.....	616
Nederlandse samenvatting.....	651

Abbreviations and conventions

I use the glossing conventions set forth in the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html>), with a few additions and modifications. Examples, tables, figures, maps and footnotes are numbered continuously only in Chapter I, *Introduction*. In Chapter II, *Non-prototypical combinations of values*, and Chapter III, *Lack of differentiation*, the numbering is separate for each first-level section, such as Section II.1, Section II.2, Section II.3, etc. The Roman number refers to the chapter and the following Arabic number refers to the section within this chapter. References to examples, tables, figures, maps and footnotes within the same chapter (for Chapter I) or the same first-level section (for Chapters II and III) consist of Arabic numbers only, e.g. *see example (23)* or *see Map 2*. A reference to an example in another chapter or (not for Chapter I) in another first-level section within the same chapter begins with the number of the section (including the chapter number). For instance, *see example (II.3.1.3.1:23)* refers to example (23) in Section II.3.1.3.1. Similarly, *see Map III.6.2:2* refers to Map 2 in Section III.6.2.

...	underlying/morphonological/basic form	AG	agreement pattern (when the name of an agreement pattern is not a number, it is enclosed in <...>, e.g. AG< O stands for <i>agreement pattern O</i>)
... _{A/D/E}	“person inflection classes” A, D, E (in Urarina)		
A	agent-like argument of a canonical transitive verb	ALL	allative
ABL	ablative	AN	animate
ABS	absolute	AOR	aorist
ACC	accusative	APPL	applicative
ACT	active	APOSS	alienable possession
ADJ	adjective	ART	article
ADJZ	adjectivizer	AS	“annexed state” (in Berber languages)
ADV	adverb(ial)		
AFF	affix: (i) affixes left unglossed in the sources, (ii) affixes glossed in the sources but left without any explanation of the meaning of the gloss, (iii) affixes, the exact meaning of which is irrelevant for the discussion	ASS	associative
		AUG	(in Bantu) augment, (elsewhere) augmented
		AUX	auxiliary
		BEN	benefactive
AFOC	“agent focus” (in Austronesian languages)	BFOC	“benefactive focus” (in Austronesian languages)
		CAUS	causative
		CLF	classifier
		CMPR	comparative

COM	comitative	IPRF	imperfect
COMP	complementizer	IPW	interrogative pro-word
COMPL	completive	IRR	irrealis
CON	connective	LFOC	“locative focus” (in Austronesian languages)
COP	copula	LIG	“ligature” (in Austronesian languages)
CS	“construct state” (in Semitic languages)	LOC	locative
DAT	dative	M	masculine
DEF	definite	MIN	minimal
DEM	demonstrative	MPO	“multipurpose oblique” (in “Khoisan” languages)
DEP	dependent (in Egyptian, “dependent pronouns”)	N	neuter
DIM	diminutive	NAFOC	“non-agent focus” (in Austronesian languages)
DU	dual	NARR	narrative
DUB	dubitative	NEG	negation
DUR	durative	NEU	“neutral case” (in Mayrinax Atayal)
EMPH	emphatic	NMLZ	nominalizer
EP	epenthetic	NOM	nominative
ERG	ergative	NON<...>	non-<...>
EXCL	exclusive	NS	“nominal specifier” (in Austronesian languages)
F	feminine	OBJ	object (usually, the patient-like argument of a canonical transitive verb)
FOC	focus	OBL	oblique
FS	“free state” (in Berber languages)	OBV	obviative
FUT	future	OPT	optative
G	gender	P	predication
GEN	genitive	PASS	passive
HAB	habitual	PFOC	“patient focus” (in Austronesian languages)
HON	honorific	PFV	perfective
HUM	human	PL	plural
IMP	imperative	PLH	placeholder, filler (e.g., ‘whatchamacallit’, ‘whatsi(t)sname’, ‘so-and-so’, etc.)
INAN	inanimate	POSS	possessive
INCL	inclusive		
INCOMPL	incompletive		
IND	indicative		
INDEP	independent (in Egyptian, “independent pronouns”)		
INDF	indefinite		
INF	infinitive		
INS	instrumental		
IPFV	imperfective		

PRED	predicate	S	single argument of a canonical intransitive verb
PRF	perfect		
PRF ₂	“the second perfect” (in Coptic)	s1	“Set I” interrogative pronominal (in Dravidian languages, cf. Section III.3.3.2)
PRN	pronoun		
PROG	progressive	s2	“Set II” interrogative pronominal (in Dravidian languages, cf. Section III.3.3.2)
PROP	proper name		
PROX	proximate		
PRS	present	SBJ	subject
PQ	polar question	SBJV	subjunctive
PST	past	SG	singular
PTCL	particle	SMLF	semelfactive
PTCP	participle	SUB	subordinate/subordinator
Q	(constituent or polar) question marker	SUF	“suffixed pronouns” (in Egyptian)
REAL	realis	TOP	topic
RED	reduplication	VEG	vegetable
REF	referential	VEN	ventive (“centripetal”)
REFL	reflexive	<i>vi</i>	intransitive verb
REL	relative	VOC	vocative
RES	resultative	<i>vt</i>	transitive verb
RN	“relational noun” (in Mayan languages)		

KIND-questions, NAME-questions, ANIMATE-questions: cf. Section II.1