

# Appendix 2

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## 1 Paradigm gaps - data

**Table 1:** Paradigm gaps - data.

	non-specific	specific unknown	specific known	pattern
Kannada	-aadaruu	-oo	–	AB
Quechua	-pis/-pas	-chi/-cha	–	AB
Mandarin Chinese	wh-pronoun	–	–	A
Irish	–	–	–	–
Swahili	–	–	–	–
Filipino	–	–	–	–
unattested				ABA

### 1.1 *Kannada*

According to the available data, Kannada can be argued to be a language without specific known indefinites. Bhat (1981) and Haspelmath (1997: 305-306) indicate that in Kannada, pronominal forms are not used in the specific known function.<sup>1</sup> If the referent is known to the speaker, a regular noun with the word *ondu* 'one' may be used.<sup>2</sup>

(1) Kannada

- a. Raamuvige *ondu* pustaka beekaagide.  
Ramu-to one book want-having-is  
Ramu wants a (specific known) book.
- b. Raamuvige *vaavud-oo* ondu pustaka beekaagide.  
Ramu-to which-INDEF one book want-having-is  
Ramu wants a (specific unknown) book.

<sup>1</sup>Unfortunately, I did not have access to native speakers of Kannada, which is why I could not completely confirm the unavailability of indefinite pronouns in the specific known function.

<sup>2</sup>Kannada does not have articles; however, *ondu* seems to be used in a way similar to an indefinite article.

- c. *Yaar-oo* bandaru (\*yaaru uuhi).  
 who-INDEF came who guess  
*Someone* came (\*guess who).

Also, note that the non-specific and specific unknown functions are expressed by different indefinite morphemes (*-aadaruu* is the non-specific marker, and *-oo* is the specific unknown marker):

- (2) Kannada
- a. Raamuvige *een-oo* sigalilla.  
 Ramu-to what-INDEF got-not  
 Ramu did not get *something* (specific unknown).
- b. *Ellig-aadaruu* hoogu.  
 where-INDEF go  
 Go *somewhere* (non-specific).

## 1.2 Quechua

Quechua also appears to belong to the category of languages without specific known indefinite pronouns. Sources on the Quechua language mention only two indefinite markers, the non-specific *-pis/-pas* and the specific unknown *-chi/-cha* (the forms vary depending on the dialect) (Anchorena 1874, Cusihuáman 2001, Faller 2020a: 2, Haspelmath 1997: 310-311, Parker 1976, Shimelman 2017, Weber 1989).<sup>3</sup> No source mentions indefinites used in the specific known function, it is however possible that it is expressed by bare nouns with the word *huk* 'one' (Espinoza 1997: 16, Faller 2020b: 23).<sup>4</sup> The currently available data may not give us a full picture of the indefinite pronoun paradigm in Quechua<sup>5</sup>

- (3) Quechua specific indefinites
- a. *Ima-ta-chi* wambra yurapa waqta-n-chaw riqa-rqa-n.  
 what-ACC-VAL boy tree behind-3SG-LOC see-PAST-3SG  
 The boy saw *something* (specific unknown) behind the tree.
- b. *Pi-wan-chi* qanyan awtobus-chaw parla-rqu-u.  
 who-COMIT-VAL yesterday bus-LOC talk-PAST-1SG  
 I talked to *someone* (specific unknown) on the bus yesterday.
- c. *Pi-cha* haqay-ta hamu-sha-n!  
 who-CONJ over.there-ACC come-PROG-3  
*Someone* unknown is coming over there./I don't know who is coming over there.

<sup>3</sup>Haspelmath (1997: 310-311) describes the specific unknown function in Quechua as expressed by bare wh-pronouns. This is however not what we see in the provided examples where the wh-stems are clearly marked with the *-chi* suffix. No other source on the Quechua language mentions the use of wh-words as indefinite pronouns.

<sup>4</sup>I would like to thank Martina Faller for her help and suggestions regarding this matter.

<sup>5</sup>In Faller (2020a: 1), the *-cha* suffix is characterized as conjectural. The *-chi* suffix show in the examples in Haspelmath (1997: 310-311) is glossed as VAL (validational). Weber (1989: 420) mentions that *-chi* is a conjectural morpheme that belongs to a broader category of validational morphemes.

- (4) Quechua non-specific indefinites
- a. *Ima-ta-pis* rika-rnin-qa willa-ma-y.  
what-ACC-INDEF see-2SG-TOP tell-1SG-IMPV  
If you see *anything* (something non-specific), tell me.
  - b. Mana musya-pti-iki-qa *pi-ta-pis* tapuku-y.  
not know-CONV-2SG-TOP who-ACC-INDEF ask-IMPV  
If you don't know, ask *somebody* (non-specific).
  - c. Dueño-n ni-n nisita-n=si *pi-lla-ta=pas* kay-pi tiya-y-ta.  
owner-3 say-3 need-3=REP who-LIM-ACC=ADD this-LOC sit-INF-ACC  
The owner says that he needs *someone* (non-specific) to live here.

- (5) Quechua *huk* 'one'
- "May-manta=n ka-nki-chis?" ni-spa tapu-wa-n huk runa.  
where-abl=bpg be-2-pl say-nmlz.ss ask-1o-3 one man  
"Where are you from?" a man asked me.

### 1.3 Finnish, Greek and Basque

According to the data in Haspelmath (1997), Finnish, Greek and Filipino lack specific known indefinite pronouns. However, I was not able to fully confirm Haspelmath's descriptions of these languages. I discuss them briefly below. First, consider the data from Finnish (the non-specific and specific unknown markers are syncretic):

- (6) Finnish
- a. \**Joku* soitt-i. Arvaa kuka (se oli)?  
someone call-PAST(3SG) guess:IMPV who it was  
*Someone* (specific known) called. Guess who it was.
  - b. *Joku* soitt-i, mutta en saa-nut nime-stä selvää.  
someone call-PAST(3SG) but NEG:1SG get-PAST.PTCP name-ELAT clear:PRTV  
*Someone* (specific unknown) called, but I didn't understand the name.
  - c. Hän haluaa mennä naimisiin *jonkun* kanssa, jolla on tumma tukka.  
she wants go marriage someone with who-on is dark hair  
She wants to marry *someone* (non-specific) with black hair.

According to Haspelmath (1997: 293), to introduce a referent that is known to the speaker but not to the listener, speakers of Finnish use *eräs* 'a certain' + noun (Haspelmath 1997: 293, Korpela 2015). Another source that mentions a similar description is White (2006). According to this source, indefinite pronouns (e.g. *joku* - 'someone' and *jokin* - 'something') are used when the referent is unknown to both the speaker and the listener, and forms such as *eräs* 'certain' and *yksi* 'one' are used with nouns when only the listener knows the identity of the referred entity:

- (7) Finnish *eräs* 'certain'
- Eräs* ystäväni kerto-i sen.  
certain friend tell-PAST(3SG) it  
A *certain* friend told him.

I was not able to confirm the claims presented in Haspelmath (1997) and White (2006). Two independent native sources stated that pronominal forms are acceptable in the specific known function. According to these sources, example (90-a) is grammatical.

Greek is another language in which, according to Haspelmath (1997: 266), indefinite pronouns (the *ká-* series) should not appear in the specific known function:<sup>6</sup>

(8) Greek

- a. \**Ká-pjos* telefónise. Mándepse pjos!  
 INDEF-who phoned guess:IMPV who  
*Someone* (specific known) called. Guess who!
- b. *Ká-pjos* telefónise. Dhen kséro pjos.  
 INDEF-who phoned not know.1p.sg who  
*Someone* called (specific unknown). I don't know who.
- c. Fére *ká-ti/ti-pota* na fáme!  
 bring:IMPV INDEF-what/what-INDEF SBJV eat.2p.pl  
 Bring *something* (non-specific) to eat!

As in the case of Finnish, two questioned native speakers did not confirm this description and agreed that the use of (*ká-* indefinites in the specific known function were considered grammatical.

The third language without a specific known pronoun series mentioned in Haspelmath (1997) is Basque. According to Haspelmath's data, to introduce a specific known referent in Basque, the word *bat* 'one' is used (Haspelmath 1997: 315):

- (9) Basque *bat* 'one'  
 Kanpoa-n zengoze-n-en-ean *baten batek* dei egin zizun. Esan nor.  
 away-LOC be-2SG-REL-LOC one:GEN one:ERG call make he:you:has say who  
*Someone* called while you were away. Guess who it was.

Pronouns with the suffix *-bait* are used in other functions:

(10) Basque

- a. *Nor-bait-i* utzi nion argazki-makina eta ez naiz oroi-tzen  
 who-INDEF-DAT lend I:it:to.him photo-machine and NEG I:it remember-HAB  
 nor-i.  
 who-DAT  
 I lent the camera to *someone* (specific unknown) and I do not remember to whom.

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<sup>6</sup>The affective polarity series (e.g. *tipota* - 'something', *kanenas* - 'someone') can appear in the non-specific function in clauses that do not make a statement (Holton et al. 2004: 97-98).

- b. *Nora-bait* joa-te-ko gogoa dut, baina ez dakit nora.  
 where-INDEF go-HAB-REL thought I:have:it but NEG I:know:it where  
 I have an urge to go *somewhere* (non-specific) but I do not know where.

Here again, other sources do not confirm the description presented in Haspelmath (1997: 316). Grammars of Basque such as Patrick and Ibarondo (2001) and de Rijk (2008) do not mention the ungrammaticality of *-bait* indefinites in the specific known function. Additionally, the following example with the pronoun *norbait* 'someone' given in de Rijk (2008: 692) suggests that *-bait* indefinites may be used in the specific known function:

- (11) Basque  
 Hiretzat ere aukeratuta neukan *norbait*.  
 For you too I had chosen *someone*.

The collected data do not allow us to reach a clear conclusion regarding the availability of indefinite pronouns (and indefinite markers) in the specific known function in Finnish, Greek and Basque. It is possible that there may be some variation in the use of indefinite forms among speakers in these languages, and possibly only some speakers do not accept indefinite pronouns in the specific known function. This could potentially explain the discrepancies in the data. Of course, if specific known indefinite pronouns are actually available in Finnish, Greek and Basque, then these languages should fall under the full syncretism category (AAA).

## 1.4 Mandarin Chinese

Mandarin Chinese has no indefinite pronouns apart from non-specific indefinites syncretic with bare *wh*-pronouns. In contexts where the referent is specific, generic nouns may be used (Haspelmath 1997: 307-308, Li 1992, Lin 1998). There does not seem to be a particular group of nouns that are used in place of the missing specific indefinite pronouns, which shows that such nouns are not treated as indefinites. Generic nouns in specific contexts will also often appear together with the existential verb *yǒu* 'there is':<sup>7</sup>

- (12) Mandarin Chinese
- a. Chī, diǎn *shénme* zài zǒu ba!  
 eat a.bit what then go PT  
 Please eat a little *something* (non-specific) before you leave.
- b. Wǒ xiǎng hē diǎn *shénme*.  
 I want drink a.bit what  
 I want to drink *something* (non-specific).

<sup>7</sup>The modifier *mǒu* 'certain'/'some'/'such-and-such' may also be used to express indefiniteness (e.g. *mǒu rén* - 'someone', 'a certain person').

- c. Yǒu *rén* dǎ diànhuà le. Wo bù zhīdao shì shéi.  
 exist man hit phone PERF I not know is who  
*Someone* (specific unknown) called. I don't know who.
- d. Yǒu *rén* dǎ diànhuà le. Cāi yī cāi shì shéi.  
 exist man hit phone PERF guess one guess is who  
*Someone* (specific known) called. Guess who.

## 1.5 Languages without indefinite pronouns

Languages also worth mentioning are Swahili, Irish and Filipino. These languages do not have any indefinite pronouns of the discussed types. In Swahili, generic nouns or nouns with the modifier *fulani* 'some' appear in contexts where specific or non-specific indefinite pronouns would be used. These nouns do not appear to be grammaticalized as indefinites (Haspelmath 1997: 302):

(13) Swahili

- a. *Mtu* a-li-ni-gusa.  
 man 3SG-PAST-me-touch  
*Somebody* (specific unknown/known) has touched me.
- b. Yesu a-li-mw-ambia... kwamba a-wa-pe maskini *kitu*.  
 Jesus 3SG-PAST-him-tell that 3SG-them-give:SBJV poor thing  
 Jesus told him to give *something* (non-specific) to the poor.

Similarly, in Irish, no pronominal forms are formed and nouns, or nouns with the modifier *éigin* 'some', are used (Haspelmath 1997: 279):

(14) Irish

- a. Tá *rud* agam le rá leat.  
 is thing on:me for telling to:you  
 I have *something* (specific known) to tell you.
- b. Dúirt *duine éigin* liom é.  
 told person certain to:me he  
*Somebody* (specific unknown) told me.
- c. Abair *rud éigin*.  
 say:IMPV thing certain  
 Say *something* (non-specific).

Filipino is another language without indefinite pronouns. Instead, speakers usually employ either generic nouns, generic nouns with the word *isang* 'one'/'indefinite article', or existential constructions with *may/mayroon* 'there is':<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>The plural marker *mga* also seems to be used to indicate indefiniteness (e.g. *mga paraan* - some

(15) Filipino

- a. Dalhan mo ako ng makakain!  
bring.IMPV you me of edible  
Bring me *something* to eat!
- b. Meron tumawag pero di ko alam kung sino.  
there.is called but NEG I know if who  
*Someone* called, but I don't know who.
- c. Meron akong ibibigay para sa iyo. Hulaan mo kung ano.  
have(there.is) I give.FUT for yours guess.IMPV you if what  
I have *something* to give you. Guess what.

## 2 Multiple paradigms

This section is devoted to languages in which some of the indefinite functions can be expressed by more than one indefinite series. Such languages are German, Czech, Slovak, Russian, Polish and Greek.

First, consider the data from German where *et-was* 'something' and *je-mand* 'someone' appear in the non-specific, specific unknown and specific known functions, while the *irgend-* series can be used only in the non-specific and specific unknown contexts.<sup>9</sup> The *irgend-* series can be formed from either indefinite pronouns (*je-mand/et-was*) or wh-stems.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, in colloquial speech, wh-words such as *was* 'what', *wer* 'who' and *wo* 'where' can also be used as indefinites instead of the regular *jemand/etwas* forms (data from native speakers, cf. Haspelmath 1997: 245):<sup>11</sup>

**Table 2:** German.

	series 1	series 2	series 3	series 4
non-specific	etwas	irgend-etwas	irgend-was	was
specific unknown	etwas	irgend-etwas	irgend-was	was
specific known	etwas	–	–	was

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ways, *mga hayop* - 'some animals').

<sup>9</sup>*Et-was* and *je-mand* are the only items in their series. *Etwas* is derived from the wh-word *was* (what), while *jemand* has the word *mand* (man) as its base. As for other categories such as TIME or PLACE, only wh-based forms are available, for example *irgend-wo* 'somewhere' and *irgend-wann* 'sometime'.

<sup>10</sup>Wh-based *irgend-* indefinites are considered less formal than those formed from *etwas* and *jemand*.

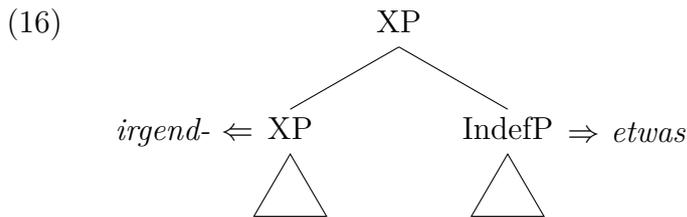
<sup>11</sup>In a similar way, Dutch also allows wh-indefinites in colloquial speech. Since I have little data on Dutch wh-indefinites, I do not discuss this language separately. For some examples, see Hengeveld et al. (2020).

**Table 3:** German.

	series 1	series 2	series 3	series 4
non-specific	jemand	irgend-jemand	irgend-wer	wer
specific unknown	jemand	irgend-jemand	irgend-wer	wer
specific known	jemand	–	–	wer

The fact that the *jemand/etwas* series already spell out the whole indefinite hierarchy indicates that the derivation of the *irgend-* series, which is clearly morphologically more complex, involves some additional syntactic structure. This idea is also supported by the semantics of these indefinite pronouns. The *irgend-* series may be considered emphatic, since it appears to stress the ignorance or indifference of the speaker. Moreover, when stressed, *irgend-* indefinite pronouns can express the free choice function (cf. Haspelmath 244-246), which falls outside the functional scope of the proposed indefinite hierarchy.

Taking these facts into account, we can argue that *irgend-* is formed as a prefix on top of the indefinite hierarchy. It is likely that features spelled out as *irgend-* are not added to the whole basic indefinite hierarchy, since *irgend-* indefinites cannot be specific known:



As for the *wh*-indefinites, it seems reasonable to argue that the lexicon may contain two (or more) lexical entries competing for insertion into the same syntactic structure. The standard exponents *jemand/etwas* will therefore compete with the colloquial *wh*-indefinites. It will be up to the speaker which exponents should be inserted. *Wh*-based *irgend-* forms can also be seen as competition for the forms derived from *jemand/etwas*. However, pronouns such as *irgend-wo* 'somewhere' and *irgend-wann* 'sometime' are used in both formal and informal contexts, which suggests that the matter may be more complex.

In Czech, there is the general *ně-* series, which appears in all three indefinite functions and the *-si* series, which is used in the specific unknown function (data from native speakers). Lukeš and Kauerová (2012: 34) consider *-si* to be an archaic version of *ně-*:

- (17) Czech
- a. *ně-co* something - non-specific
  - b. *ně-co/co-si* something - specific unknown
  - c. *ně-co* something - specific known

In Slovak there are at least three series that cover the three indefinite functions (Richtarcikova 2013); the general *nie-* series and two series that may appear in the non-specific and specific unknown functions, namely *-si* and *vol'a-*. The *-si* series is preferred in the specific unknown function, while *vol'a-* is more likely to appear in the non-specific function.<sup>12</sup>

(18) Slovak

- |    |                                |                              |
|----|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. | <i>nie-čo/vol'ačo/(čo-si)</i>  | something - non-specific     |
| b. | <i>nie-čo/čo-si/(vol'a-čo)</i> | something - specific unknown |
| c. | <i>nie-čo</i>                  | something - specific known   |

It is likely that there is some slight variation in meaning between the different indefinite series in Czech and Slovak. Perhaps the markers *-si* and *vol'a-* in Slovak, and *-si* in Czech have more complex semantics than the general series (*ně-* and *nie-*). This would again mean the presence of more complex syntactic structures. However, to establish any particular conclusion regarding these two languages, a more nuanced study will have to be conducted.

As for Russian, apart from the three standard indefinite series (*-nibud*, *-to*, *koe-*), there are also a marginal *ne-* series, which seems to be used in the specific unknown function, and the *-libo* series, which may appear in the non-specific function:

(19) Russian

- |    |                           |                              |
|----|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. | <i>što-nibud/što-libo</i> | something - non-specific     |
| b. | <i>što-to/ne-što</i>      | something - specific unknown |
| c. | <i>koe-što</i>            | something - specific known   |

The *-libo* series is treated as a formal variant of *-nibud*. Eremina (2012: 72) and a native speaker I consulted do not see any differences between the two series. This case appears to be similar to the *jemand/wer* variation in German. Regarding the *ne-* series, it also may be considered formal or non-standard. This series is also incomplete and always used in the nominative. Forms other than *ne-kto* 'someone', *ne-što* 'something' and *nekoj* 'some/a certain' are either negative or have lost indefinite meaning.<sup>13</sup> Consider some examples:

(20) Russian

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| a. | <i>ne-gde/ne-kuda</i> (INDEF-when) - nowhere |
| b. | <i>ne-kogda</i> (INDEF-when) - once/formerly |
| c. | <i>ne-kogo</i> (INDEF-who.ACC) - nobody.ACC  |
| d. | <i>ne-komu</i> (INDEF-who.DAT) - nobody.DAT  |

The *ne-* series seems to be similar to the Polish *nie-* series (*nie* - 'not'):

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<sup>12</sup>It appears that there is also an indefinite series marked with *daj-*, which may be similar to the *nie-* series. However, I do not have any specific data about it.

<sup>13</sup>The standard negative series is marked with *ni-*.

(21) Polish

- a. nie-który (INDEF-which) - some/a certain (some but not all)
- b. nie-gdzie (INDEF-where) - survived only in fixed phrases such as *gdzieś* (in certain places)
- c. nie-kiedy (INDEF-when) - sometimes
- d. nie-jaki (INDEF-what.kind.of) - a certain/of some kind

Both the Russian *ne-* and Polish *nie-* series are non-standard, and therefore, we may expect them to differ from the standard series with regards to their internal structure.<sup>14</sup>

Lastly, in Greek, the *tipota/kanenas* 'something/someone' series can be used instead of the general *ka-* series in the non-specific function (Haspelmath 1997: 266 and Holton et al.):

(22) Greek

- |    |               |                              |
|----|---------------|------------------------------|
| a. | ka-ti/ti-pota | something - non-specific     |
| b. | ka-ti         | something - specific unknown |
| c. | ka-ti         | something - specific known   |

The availability of the *tipota/kanenas* series in the non-specific function can be explained by the fact that it is sensitive to particular grammatical conditions such as question, conditional, subjunctive and imperative clauses (Giannakidou 2010: 34-41, Holton et al. 2004: 96-98). For this reason, this series may appear in contexts that can be described as non-specific. As affective polarity items, indefinites in the *tipota/kanenas* series can be expected to have a different syntactic make-up than the *ka-* series.

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<sup>14</sup>These series appear to be remnants of fully functional indefinite series used in the past.

# Abbreviations

ACC - accusative  
ADD - additive  
COMIT - comitative  
CONJ - conjectural  
CONV - converb  
DAT - dative  
DIR - direction  
ELAT - elative  
ERG - ergative  
FUT - future  
HAB - habitual  
HORT - hortative  
IMPERF - imperfect  
IMPV - imperative  
INDEF - indefinite  
INF - infinitive  
INSTR - instrumental  
LIM - limitative  
LOC - locative  
Neg - negation  
NOM - nominative  
PAST - past  
PERF - perfect  
PL - plural  
POL - polite  
PRES - present  
PROG - progressive  
PRTV - partitive  
PT - particle  
PTCP - participle  
REL - relative  
REP - reported  
Q - question  
SBJV - subjunctive  
TOP - topic  
VAL - validative

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