

Appendix: Languages Studied

Below I list languages which display the various suppletive patterns for clusivity that I have identified. The data is taken from Norval Smith's database of pronominal forms (<http://languagelink.let.uu.nl/fpps/>). When running a query for languages that show a clusivity distinction, the database returns 262 languages. The number is different here for the following reasons. (i) Some languages are incorrectly classified as having a clusivity distinction. (ii) Some languages I left aside due to insufficient information. (iii) Some languages showed more than a single variant for a single pronoun. In such cases, they fall in two separate suppletive patterns (e.g. Hadza).

As noted in the text, I am only reporting here on 1SG-1EXCL-1INCL triples, and did not take into account any additional number distinctions. Since absolute numbers are not relevant, as opposed to the distinction between attested and unattested, I have made a number of educated guesses about patterns without making a careful study of each language. The crucial observation here is that ABA patterns are virtually unattested, bar perhaps the case of Mangaryi (see section 5 in the paper).

AAA Patterns

Language	SINGULAR	EXCLUSIVE	INCLUSIVE	Notes
Afro-Asiatic				
Kulere	yîn	yinî	yigyân	
Austronesian				
Alta, northern	siyín	si?amí	siitám	
Ayiwo	ju	jujo	jude	
Ibaloi	si?kaķ	si?kami	si?kitajo	
Kallahan, Kayapa	hi?gak	hi?gami	hi?gatayu	
Kambera	nyungga	nyuma	nyuta	
Nias	ndrao, ya'o	ndraga, ya'aga	ita, ya'ita	Also ABB
Pangasinan	siák	sikamí	sikatayó	
Pom	iya?a	ima?a	ida?a	
Sambal, Botolan	hikó	hikái	hitámo	
Tsou	a'o	a'ami	a'ati	
Tukang Besi, North	iaku	ikami	ikita	
Chapacura-Wanham				
Pakaásnovos	wata'	warut	wari'	
Dravidian				
Kannada	ām/nān	ām	nām/nāvu	

Tamil	naan	naanga(l)	naama	Based on Schiffman (1999)
Isolates				
Hadza	onóko	óbe?(e)	onébe?(e)	feminine
Urarina	kanu	kanakaana	kana	
Karvtelian				
Svan	mišgu/mišgwi	nišgwe:j	gušgwe:j	
Mayan				
Tzeltal, Bachajón	ho'on	ho'oticotí, jtuquelcotic, ho'oncotic, jtuquelcotic	ho'otic, jtuqueltic	Also ABB
Mongolic				
Daur	bi:	ba:	bed	
Mongolian, Halh	bi	ba	bida	
Niger-Congo				
Ngile	oŋi	oiŋε	ɔŋɔrɔ	
Oto-Manguean				
Mazatec, Chiquihuitlán	gaa	gajyi	gajygaa	
Otomi, Ixtenco	nu gagá, ngekʌgá	nuga gamé, ngekʌgamé	núgawí, ngekʌwí	
Popoloca, San Marcos	ha3?ə3	ha3?ə3nə1	ha3nə1	
Tlalcoyalco				
Pama-Nyungan				
Flinders Island	ŋayu	ŋalada	ŋalapal	
Gurinji	ŋayu	ŋantipa	ŋaliwa	
Jarnango	ŋarra	ŋanapu	ŋalima	
Jaru	ŋatju	ŋanampa	ŋalipa	
Karadjeri	ŋadju	ŋanja	ŋandjoro	
Kayardild	ngada	ŋgalda	ŋakulda	
Kuku-Yalanji	ŋayu	ŋanjdin	ŋana	
Mangala	ŋao	ŋanina	ŋandjoro	
Nyamal	ŋatja	ŋanartu	ŋanjtjula	
Nyawaygi	ŋayba	ŋanaliju	ŋana	
Panytyima	ŋatha	ŋaliyakuru	ŋalikuru	
Umpila	ŋayu	ŋana	ŋampula	
Wajarri	ŋatha	ŋantju	ŋanhū	
Walmatjarri	ŋaju/ŋaji	ŋanimpa/ŋanampa	ŋalimpa	

Wikngenchera	ngaya	nganhca	ngampa	
Quechuan				
Quechua, Ayacucho	ñuqa	ñuqayku	ñuqančik	
Quechua, North Junín	nuqa	nuqakuna	nuqañči	
Sino-Tibetan				
Balti	ŋa	ŋaya	ŋadaŋ	
Camling	kanga/kā	kaika	kai(ni)	
Limbu	an̪ga	anige	ani	
Nachering	ka(ŋa)	ka	koi	
Purik	ňa	ňaca	ňatan	
Trans-New-Guinea				
Sentani	dɛjɛ, da	mejɛ, me	ejɛ, e	Also ABC
West-Papuan				
Hatam	dani	nieni	mieni	
Tidore	fajaru / fajato / ngori / ngoto	jo(u)ngom / farangom	jo(u)ngone / farangon	Also ABB
Tobelo	nohi	ňomi	ňone	
Yawa-Saweru				
Yawa	rei/nei	reia/reamo	reiambi/wamo	Also ABB,ABC and AAB

ABB Patterns

Language	SINGULAR	EXCLUSIVE	INCLUSIVE	Notes
Afro-Asiatic				
Hdi	íí	áŋní	ámú	
Kera	ten	?áré	?áŋ	
Austronesian				
Dehu	ini	eēhun(i)	eēshe	
Fijian	āū	kēimami	(e)da, keda	Also ABC
Kilivila	yegu	yakamesi	yakidasi	
Kwamera	iou	kimaha	kiitaha	
Rotuman	ŋou(a)	?ɒmis(a)	?is(a)	
Tangga	iau	kemem/kem	kiar/kerer	

Ura	yau	gim	gis	
Chibchan				
Bribri	džáé	să	sáé	
Isolates				
Ainu	kuani	cioka	aoka	‘an’ is the base in the singular, ‘ok’ is the base in the plural according to Smith (2011).
Hadza	ono	úbi?(i)	uníbi?(i)	masculine
Mayan				
Tzeltal, Bachajón	ho'on	ho'oticotic, jtuquelcotic, ho'oncotic, jtuquelcotic	ho'otic, jtuqueltic	Also AAA
Nakh-Daghestanian				
Andi	din	išil	it̪il	masculine
Andi	den	išil	it̪il	feminine
Niger-Congo				
Abua	mé	yóór	yírá	
Heiban	nyi	anaŋa	alŋa	
Ifugao, Batad	ha??in	da?mi	ditu?u	
Ilocano	siák	dakamí	datayó	
Isnag	?iya?	dakami	da?tada	
Kalagan	?aku	kami	kitadun	
Odual	aamì	èzòòr	èzìrá	
Nilo-Saharan				
Daju, Dar Sila	anarj(ga)	koska	kona	
Nyulnyulan				
Bardi	ŋai	arod	ardel	
Nyigina	ŋayu	yarrga	yarrdu	
Nyulnyul	ŋai	yarad	yader	
Warrwa	ngayu	yaarra/yarrin	yadirr/yarru	
Yawuru	ŋaio	yareer	yadere	
Penutian				
Ohlone, Southern	kan	makse	makke	
Tai-Kadai				

Sui	ju	ndiu	nda:u	
Trans-New-Guinea				
Karas	an	pir	pramiŋan	
West Papuan				
Moraid	tit	papetebo	tebok	
Tidore	fajaru/fajato/ngori/ngoto	jo(u)ngom/farangom	jo(u)ngone/farangon	Also AAA
Yawa-Saweru				
Yawa	rei/nei	reia/reamo	reiami/wamo	Also AAA,ABC and AAB

ABC Patterns

Language	SINGULAR	EXCLUSIVE	INCLUSIVE	Notes
Afro-Asiatic				
Daasanach	yáa, ye, yú	ké/kí, jí, jíni	jaají, múuni	
Rendille	ani	nah	mo	
Somali	a'nigu, ?ani	an'naku	in'naku, ?in'naga	
Austro-Asiatic				
Santali	ip	ale	abo(n)	
Austronesian				
Efate, South	kineu/neu	komam	akit	
Fijian	āū	kéimami	(e)da, keda	
Hanunoo	kuh	mih	tam	
Hawaiian	owau, au	makou	kakou	
Kodi	jajoe	jåma	jitoe	
Lampung	nyaq	sikam	xam	
Leti	au	ami	ita	
Mae	xono	kønen	niki nd + sup[r]	
Mafea	nau	kañam	it	
Makian, East	yak	am	tit	
Manobo, Agusan	siaken	kanamida	kitanew	
Maori	au/ahau	mātou	tātou	
Mapia	naŋ	kamím	kit	
Maranao	ako	kami	tano	

Moken (Dung)	cwe	kamøy	?eta:?	
Moken (Surin)	cøy	kamøy	?eta:?	
Moklen (Central)	cøy	kamøy	?eta:?	
Moklen (Northern)	ci:	kamøy	?eta:?	
Ouma	au	ai	ita	
Pileni	iau/au	mhātou	thātou	
Rapa Nui	au	matou	tatou	
Samoan	a'u	'matou	'itatou	
Tagalog	akó	kamí	tayo	
Tboli	dou/do	kum	tekuy	
Tetun	ha'u	ami	ita	
Tiri	nro	kevi	hari	
Toroko	yaku, kenan	yami, menani	'ita, tenan	Also AAB
Tuvaluan	au	maatou	taatou	
Cariban				
Trió	wii	ainja	kümēinjamo	
Wayana	iiu, yu	emna	kunmēlamkom	
Dravidian				
Telugu	ēnu/nēnu/nānu	ēmu/nēmu/mēmu	manamu	
Toda	ōn	em	om	
East Papuan				
Savosavo	añi	ave	mai	
Gunwingguan				
Ngandi	ŋaya	njerr	ŋorrkorr	
Indo-European				
Gujarati	hū	əme	apən/apṇe	
Marathi	mī	āmhī	āpaṇ	
Macro-Ge				
Borôro	imi	čegi	pagi	
Maningrida				
Djeebbana	ngáyabba	njírrabba	ngúrrabba	
Nakh-Daghestanian				
Bats	so	t'xo	vai	
Niger-Congo				
Limbum	më	wìr	sìi	

Makaa	mè	sè	shé	
Fulfulde, Maasina	mi, kam, miin	min, min, minin	?en, ?en, ?enen	Also AAB
Loma	ge, nà	gi, ga	ade, ada	Also AAB
Nilo-Saharan				
Katcha-Kadugli-Miri	a'a	uŋo	aja	
Logorik	agö	asko	konok	
Old Nubian	ai	er	u	
Shatt	agö(naq)	was	kok	
Pama-Nyungan				
Uradhi (Mbiywom)	ayoj	nan	mbul	
Penutian				
Miwok, Central Sierra	kan	maš	?otíčik	
Miwok, Northern Sierra	káni?	mási?	?íči?	
Miwok, Southern Sierra	káni?	máhi?	?otíčiko	
Sino-Tibetan				
Naga Ao	nì	ila/ikhèla	ìsa/isèŋla	
Trans-New-Guinea				
Tabla	nafea	kiria	kigokomaka	
Sentani	dje, da	meje, me	eje, e	Also AAA
Tupian				
Cocama-Cocamilla	ta	penu	ini	masculine
Cocama-Cocamilla	etse	penu	ini	feminine
Guaraní, Eastern Bolivian	che	ore	yande	
Sirionó	sé	úre	ñáde	
 Witotoan				
Bora	oó	muú?a	meé	
Wororan				
Kwini	ngaya	nyarra/nyarru	nangarra	
Wunambal	ŋaya	nja:rra	naŋa:rra	
Yaguan				
Yagua	ray	núúy	ruuy	
Yawa-Saweru				
Yawa	rei/nei	reia/reamo	reiami/wamo	Also AAA, ABB and AAB
Zaparoan				

Iquito	kúú/kíí	kanáá	páá	
--------	---------	-------	-----	--

AAB Patterns

Language	SINGULAR	EXCLUSIVE	INCLUSIVE	Notes
Afro-Asiatic				
Kamwe	y + sup[i]řá	yě	m + sup[y]ř	
Algic				
Malecite-Passamaquoddy	nìl	nilùn	kilùn	
Menominee	nenah	nena?	kena?	
Potawatomi	nin	ninan	kinan	
Austronesian				
Belait	kaw/ko(h), sakay'	kamay, sakamay	kitah, nyakitah	
Bookan	aku	akay	itakaw	
Kimaragang	okuh	okoi	tokou	
Nias	ndrao, ya'o	ndraga, ya'aga	ita, ya'ita	Also AAA
Toroko	yaku, kenan	yami, menani	'ita, tenan	Also ABC
Bunaban				
Bunaba	ngayini	ngiyirriyani	yaarriyani	
Chibchan				
Teribe	ta	tawa	shi	
Dravidian				
Kolami, Northwestern	ān	ām	nēnd̄	
Kolami, Southeastern (Naiki)	ān	ām	nēnd̄	
KumARBHAG Paharia	ēn	ēm	nām	
Kurux	ēn	ēm	nām	
Malayalam	jnaan	jnaŋŋal	nammal/naam	
Sauria Paharia	ēn	ēm	nām	
East-Papuan				
Terei	ne	nere	le	
Gunwingguan				
Gagadu	ngaanj	ngaada	manaada	masculine
Gagadu	ngaanj	ngaamba/ngeemba	maneemba	feminine

Huavean

Huave, San Mateo del Mar

Isolates

Nivkh (Amur) ni
Nivkh (North-Sakhalin) ñi
Movima inla
Gooniyandi nganyi

Mongolic

Dongxiang bi

Niger-Congo

Fulfulde, Adamawa miin	minon	'en'en	
Fulfulde, Maasina mi, kam, miin	min, min, minin	?en, ?en, ?en'en	Also ABC
Koalib nyi	nyinja	ari	
Loma ge, nà	gi, ga	ade, ada	Also ABC

Oto-Manguean

Zapotec, Lachiguiri naa	nu	be	
Sino-Tibetan			
Chinese, Hakka ijai	ijai teu	æn teu	
Chinese, Mandarin wō	wōmen	zán(men)	
Chinese, Min Nan gua	guan	lan	

¹The exclusive and inclusive forms are listed in the reverse order in Smith (2011). I have been unable to check the original listed source given Todaeva (1961), yet this clearly seems a mistake. Wu (1994) gives a number of sentences with *bidžien*, all of which consistent with an exclusive reading. However, the sentences given with *mataj* are only compatible with an inclusive reading, such as the following:

- mataj guala niə tci ciaji-jə, tsi durap wai-n-u u wo?
we two one chess play-INF you like have-NPT-ITP NEG AUX
'Would you like to play a game of chess with me?'
- bi tci ciaji-sə gau ciaji uliə mədzie-nə mataj guala niə baŋdzi-ndu-jə
I chess play-CON good play NEG know-NPT we two one wrestle-REC-IMF
'I am not good at playing the chess; let's wrestle.'

Furthermore, Wu (1994) also gives the possessive suffixes for the language, and *mataj* is the base for the inclusive and not the exclusive:

	SG	PL
1	-mini/-miji	
1EXCL		-bidžeinni/-bidžeiji
1INCL		matajnī/-mani

Dumi	aŋ	aŋki	iŋki	
Karbi	nê/nen	nê(li)tum	t̪um/il̪	
Tungusic				
Manchu	bi	be	muse	
Udihe	bi	bu	minti	
Uto-Aztecian				
Ute-Southern (Chemehuevi)	Paiute nii(ni)	nimi	tawi	
Yanomam				
Sanumá	sa	samakö	makö,	Based on Cysouw (2002)
Yawa-Saweru				
Yawa	rei/nei	reia/reamo	reiami/wamo	Also AAA, ABB and ABC

¬ABA Patterns

Language	SINGULAR	EXCLUSIVE	INCLUSIVE	Notes
Afro-Asiatic				
Marghi, Central	yé	ya	mər	ABC/AAB
Mina	sə	na	nók	ABB/ABC
Musey	an	ami	ai	AAA/ABC/AAB
Austro-Asiatic				
Semelai	?əŋ, ye	ye?en	he?en	ABC/AAB
Austronesian				
Makasar	(i)nakke	(i)kambe	(i)katte	AAA/ABB
Aceh	kee	kamoe	geutanyoe	ABC/AAB, there is also a singular and plural polite form <i>lōn</i> , which is neutralised for number
Balangao	ha?án	dí?ní	ditá:w	ABB/ABC
Batak Karo	aku	kami	kita	ABB/ABC
Biak	(a)ya	(i)nko	ko	ABB/ABC
Buol	aku	kami	kito	ABB/ABC
Cham, Eastern	kaw/halun/təhla?	kami	ita	ABC/AAB

Gayo	aku	kami	kite	ABB/ABC
Javanese	aku/kula	kowé/penjenengan	kita	AAA/ABB/ABC
Jehai	jε?	japēh/pēh	he?	ABC/AAB
Malagasy, Plateau	izàho/àho	izahày	isika	ABC/AAB
Maskelynes	kinau	kinamito	ki ⁿ dato	AAA/AAB
Mori Bawah	(o)ngkue	(o)mami	(o)tae	AAA/ABC
Nambas, Big	kana	kam'em'	nakəd	ABB/ABC
Ngaju	aku	ikäi	ita	ABC/AAB
Paluan	aku	akay	itaka	AAA/AAB
Ratahan	yaq	(i)kami	(i)kite	ABB/ABC
Saliba	yau	kai	kita	ABB/ABC
Sama, Southern	qaku	kami	kitabi	ABB/ABC
Warembori	iwi	ami	ki	AAA/ABC
Dravidian				
Tulu	yānī/ēnī	yānkulī	nama	ABC/AAB
East Papuan				
Lavukaleve	ngai	e	me	ABB/ABC
Trans-New-Guinea				
Mairasi	omo	etmaya	eme	AAA/ABB/ABC
Kuman	na	no	nono	AAA/ABB
Kunimaipa	ne	rei(parō)	rari(parō)	ABB/ABC
Iwaidjan Proper				
Iwaidja	ŋabi	ŋari	injarwuri	AAA/ABB
Niger-Congo				
Ngemba	mə	bəyə	bəyənə	AAA or ABB
Nilo-Saharan				
Soo	θa, aya (ayá)	ine (yiníá)	iθe, iθe (yisíá)	ABB/ABC
Midob	öi	aadi	ajŋa	ABB/ABC
Shilluk	yán	wón	wá	ABB/ABC
Pama-Nyungan				
Uradhi	ayu(βa)	ana(βa)	ampula	AAA/ABC
Tai-Kadai				
Chadong	je	lje	la:u	ABB/ABC/AAB
Uto-Aztecán				
Comanche	nu	nənu	tanu	AAA/AAB

Yiwaidjan				
Margu	ɳada	ɳaɖab	ɳaraŋan	AAA/AAB

ABA Patterns?

Language	SINGULAR	EXCLUSIVE	INCLUSIVE	Notes
Austronesian				
Mangarayi	ɳaya	ɳirla	ɳarla	

References

- Cysouw, Michael. 2002. ‘we’ rules: The impact of an inclusive/exclusive opposition on the paradigmatic structure of person marking. In Horst J. Simon & Heike Wiese (eds.), *Pronouns: Grammar and representation*. 41–62. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Schiffman, H. 1999. *A reference grammar of spoken tamil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Norval. 2011. Free personal pronoun system database. Online at <http://languagelink.let.uu.nl/fpps/>.
- Todaeva, B. X. 1961. *Dunsjanskij jazyk*. Moscow.
- Wu, Chaolu. 1994. *Introduction, grammar and sample sentences for dongxiang* (Sino-Platonic Papers). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.