

First-person n and second-person m in Native America: a fresh look

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Appendix A: Tables 1-8

Table 1. Reconstructed proto-languages of American language families

FAMILY	REFERENCE(S)	NOTES
Algic	Proulx (1984, 1985, 1991, 1992, 1994, 2004)	
Arawakan	Matteson (1972), Payne (1991)	
Arawan	Dixon (2004)	
Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit	Leer (2010), Nikolaev (2014)	
Aymaran	Emlen (2017)	Cf. Hardman (1978) for the reconstruction of various personal designators of Proto-Aymaran.
Barbacoan	Curnow & Liddicoat (1998)	
Boran	Seifart & Echeverri (2015)	
Bororoan	Camargos (2013)	
Caddoan	Taylor 1963	
Cariban	Girard (1971a)	Meira (2002) is specifically dedicated to the reconstruction of the Proto-Cariban personal pronouns. Gildea (1998) presents the reconstruction of the Proto-Cariban personal markers used with nouns and verbs.
Chapakuran	Angenot-de Lima (1997)	
Chibchan	Wheeler (1972), Constenla Umaña (1981), Holt (1986)	
Chimakuan	Powell (1974)	
Chocoan	Constenla Umaña & Margery Peña (1991)	
Chumashan	Klar (1977)	
Guahiboan	Christian & Matteson (1972)	
Guaicuruan	Viegas Barros (2013a)	
Huavean	Suárez (1975)	
Huitotoan	Aschmann (1993)	

Iroquoian	Julian (2010)	
Jicaquean	Campbell & Orogge (1980)	
Kakua-Nukak	Epps & Bolaños (2017)	
Kalapuyan	Shipley (1970)	
Kamakanan	Martins (2007)	
Keresan	Miller & Davis (1963)	
Kiowa-Tanoan	Hale (1967), Sutton (2014)	
Lencan	Arguedas Cortés (1988)	
Maiduan	Ultan (1964)	Cf. Shipley & Smith (1982) for the reconstruction of the Proto-Maiduan personal pronouns.
Matacoan	Najlis (1984)	Viegas Barros (2013b) presents the reconstruction of various Proto-Matacoan personal markers.
Mayan	Jackson (1972), Kaufman (2015)	
Misumalpan	Constenla Umaña (1987)	
Mixe-Zoquean	Wichmann (1995)	
Muskogean	Booker (2005), Martin & Munro (2005)	
Nadahup	Epps & Bolaños (2017)	
Nambiquaran	Price (1978)	
Otomanguean	Rensch (1976)	
Palaihnihan	Olmsted (1964)	
Panoan	Shell (1985), Oliveira (2014)	
Peba-Yaguan	Peña (2009)	
Pomoan	McLendon (1973)	McLendon (1976) is specifically dedicated to the Proto-Pomoan personal pronouns and possessive prefixes.
Qawasqaran	Viegas Barros (1991)	
Quechuan	Parker (1969a, 1968b, 1969c, 1969d, 1971), Emlen (2017)	
Sahaptian	Aoki (1962), Rigsby (1965)	
Salishan	Kuijpers (2002)	For the personal pronouns of Proto-Salishan, see Newman (1977). For the subject markers, see Davis (2000).
Siouan-Catawba	Rankin et al. (2015)	
Tacanan	Girard (1971b)	
Totonacan	Brown, Beck, Kondrak, Watters & Wichmann (2011)	

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Tsimshianic	Dunn (1979)	Tarpen (1997) supplies the reconstruction of the clitic transitive personal subject markers and of the personal suffixes of Proto-Tsimshianic.
Tucanoan	Waltz & Wheeler (1972) Chacon (2014)	
Tupian	Rodrigues (2005, 2007)	
Utian	Callaghan (2014)	
Uto-Aztecan	Miller (1967), Langacker (1977)	
Wakashan	Fortescue (2007)	
Wintuan	Shepherd (2005)	
Yokutsan	Golla (1964), Whistler & Golla (1986)	Gamble (1988) is specifically devoted to the reconstruction of the Proto-Yokutsan personal pronouns.
Yukian	Schlichter (1985)	
Zaparoan	Carvalho (2013)	

Table 2. Language families of the Americas

FAMILY	GLOTTOCODE	GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION	NO. OF LANGUAGES	NOTES
1) Aikanā	aika1237	Brazil (Rondônia)	1	
2) Algic	algi1248	Canada, USA, Mexico (Coahuila, Sonora, Durango)	45	
3) †Alsean	—	USA (Oregon)	2	Alsea (Glottocode <i>alse1251</i>) and Yaquina (Glottocode <i>yaqu1250</i>) are sometimes taken to be different languages (see, for example, Goddard 1996: 6), but it is difficult to be sure given the poor state of attestation of Yaquina.
4) †Andaquí	anda1286	Colombia	1	
5) Andoque-Urekena	—	Colombia, Peru	2	Andoque (Glottocode <i>ando1256</i>) has a documented extinct relative (Urekena, Urequena, Uerequena, Arequena; no Glottocode) that was spoken along the upper Putumayo (Içá) River (Jolkesky 2012, 2016: 284-285).

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6) †Arara of Rio Branco Mato Grosso Arára)	mato1253	Brazil (Mato Grosso)	1
7) Arawakan	araw1281	Caribbean, Belize, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina	77
8) Arawan	araw1282	Brazil, Peru	6
9) †Atacameño (Kunza)	kunz1244	Chile, Bolivia, Argentina	1
10) †Atakapan	—	USA (Texas, Louisiana)	3
11) Athabaskan- Eyak-Tlingit (Nadene)	atha1245	Canada, USA, Mexico	45
12) Aymaran (Jaqi, Aru)	ayma1253	Peru, Bolivia	3
13) †A?iwa (Abishira)	abis1238	Peru	1
14) Barbacoan	barb1265	Colombia, Ecuador	6
15) †Beothuk	beot1247	Canada (Newfoundland)	1
16) †Betoi Jirara	beto1236	Venezuela	1
17) Boran	bora1262	Peru, Colombia	2
18) Bororoan	boro1281	Brazil (Mato Grosso)	3
19) Caddoan	cadd1255	USA (Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas)	5
20) Cahuapanan	cahu1265	Peru	3
21) Camsá (Sibundoy)	cams1241	Colombia	1

There are three Atakapan languages: Akokisa (no Glottocode), Eastern Atakapa (no Glottocode), and Western Atakapa (no Glottocode). This fact is not well-recognized, as Kimball (1994: 31) notes.

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22) Candoshi-Chirino	—	Peru	2	Candoshi (Glottocode cand1248) has a poorly attested extinct relative (Chirino; no Glottocode) that was once spoken in parts of the Chinchipe River Valley and in a large region to its east, in northern Peru (Rivet 1934: 246, Torero 2002: 280-281).
23) †Canichana	cani1243	Bolivia	1	
24) Cariban	cari1283	Trinidad, Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana	42	
25) Cayubaba (Cayuvava)	cayu1262	Bolivia	1	
26) †Cayuse	cayu1241	USA (Oregon)	1	
27) Chapakuran	chap1271	Brazil, Bolivia, Peru	12	
28) †Charruan	char1238	Uruguay, Argentina	3	
29) Chibchan	chib1249	Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela	27	
30) Chimakuan	chim1311	USA (Washington)	2	
31) †Chimariko	chim1301	USA (California)	1	
32) Chinookan	chin1490	USA (Washington, Oregon)	4	
33) Chiquitano-Sansimoniano	—	Bolivia	2	Chiquitano (Glottocode chiq1248) has a poorly documented lost sister language that was spoken by a group once living at the foot of the Serranía de San Simón, in northern Bolivia, which is known as Sansimoniano (Glottocode sans1265) (see Sneath 1935: 293).
34) †Chitimacha	chit1248	USA (Louisiana)	1	
35) Chocoan	choc1280	Colombia, Panama	9	
36) Chonan	chon1288	Chile, Argentina	4	
37) †Chono	chon1248	Chile	1	

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38) †Chumashan	chum1262	USA (California)	6	
39) †Coahuilteco	coah1252	USA (Texas), Mexico (Coahuila, Nuevo León)	1	
40) Cochimí- Yuman	coch1271	USA (California, Nevada, Arizona), Mexico (Baja California Norte)	11	
41) Cofán	cofa1242	Colombia, Ecuador	1	
42) †Comecrudan	—	Mexico (Tamaulipas, Nuevo León)	3	This family includes the following languages: Comecrudo (Glottocode come1251), Garza (no Glottocode), and Mamulique (no Glottocode) (see Goddard 1979).
43) †Coosan	coos1248	USA (Oregon)	2	
44) †Cotoname	coto1248	USA (Texas), Mexico (Tamaulipas)	1	
45) †Cuitlatec	cuit1235	Mexico (Guerrero)	1	
46) Eskimo-Aleut	eski1264	USA, Canada, Greenland, Russia	12	In Russia, this family is found in two regions of Kamchatka Krai and the Chukchi Peninsula: Central Siberian Yupik, Naukanski Siberian Yupik, the recently extinct Sir (Sirenikski), and Aleut.
47) †Esmeraldeño (Atacame)	atac1235	Ecuador	1	
48) †Esselen	esse1238	USA (California)	1	
49) Fulniô (Yaathe)	fuln1247	Brazil (Pernambuco)	1	
50) †Guachí	guac1239	Brazil (Mato Grosso do Sul)	1	
51) Guahiboan	guah1252	Colombia, Venezuela	5	
52) Guaicuruan	guai1249	Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay	5	
53) †Guamo	guam1236	Venezuela	1	
54) Guató	guat1253	Brazil (Mato Grosso do Sul)	1	
55) Haida	haid1248	USA (Alaska), Canada (British Columbia)	1	Haida has a major dialectal division between Northern and Southern dialects. <i>Glottolog 3.0</i> regards the two dialects as two independent languages.

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56) Harakmbut	hara1260	Peru	2	
57) †Hibito-Cholón	hibi1242	Peru	2	
58) Hodi (Jodi)	yuwa1244	Venezuela	1	Hodi shares some morphological elements and several lexemes with the languages of the Sáliban family (see below), which were regarded as evidence of a genealogical relationship (cf. <i>Glottolog 3.0</i> 's "Jodi-Saliban" family (Glottocode jodi1234)). With the progress of research, it has become obvious that these elements are borrowings (Zamponi <i>forthcoming</i> ,b).
59) †Huarpean	huar1251	Argentina	2	
60) Huavean	huav1256	Mexico (Oaxaca)	4	
61) Huitotoan	huit1251	Peru, Colombia	7	
62) Irantxe (Mÿky)	iran1263	Brazil (Mato Grosso)	1	
63) Iroquoian	iroq1247	Canada, USA	11	
64) Itonama	iton1250	Bolivia	1	
65) Jicaquean (Tolan)	jica1254	Honduras	2	
66) †Jirajaran	—	Venezuela	3	This family is composed of the following languages: Ayomán (no Glottocode), Gayón (no Glottocode), and Jirajara (Glottocode jira1235) (Constenla Umaña 1991: 56).
67) Jivaroan (Chicham)	jiva1245	Ecuador, Peru	4	
68) Kakua-Nukak	kaku1242	Colombia, Brazil	2	
69) †Kalapuyan	kala1402	USA (Oregon)	3	
70) †Kamakanan	kama1371	Brazil (Bahia, Espírito Santo)	4	
71) Kanoê (Apixaná)	kano1245	Brazil (Rondônia)	1	
72) †Karankawa	kara1289	USA (Texas)	1	
73) †Karirian	kari1254	Brazil (Piauí, Bahia)	2	
74) Karok (Karuk)	karo1304	USA (California)	1	
75) Katukinan	katu1274	Brazil (Amazonas)	2	
76) Keresan	kere1287	USA (New Mexico)	2	
77) Kiowa-Tanoan	kiow1265	USA (New Mexico)	8	

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78) Klamath-Modoc	klam1254	USA (Oregon, California)	1	
79) Kutenai	kute1249	Canada (British Columbia), USA (Montana)	1	
80) Kwaza (Koaia)	kwaz1243	Brazil (Rondônia)	1	
81) Leco (Leko)	leco1242	Bolivia	1	
82) †Lencan	lenc1239	El Salvador, Honduras	2	
83) †Lule	lule1238	Argentina	1	
84) Maiduan	maid1262	USA (California)	4	
85) †Máku	maku1246	Brazil	1	
86) Mapuche (Mapudungun)	mapu1245	Chile, Argentina	1	Huilliche (Glottocode huil1244) is the most divergent of the varieties of Mapuche and is sometimes classified as a separate language, as in <i>Glottolog 3.0</i> .
87) Mascocyan (Lengua-Mascoy)	leng1261	Paraguay	5	
88) Matacoan	mata1289	Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina	7	
89) †Matanawí	mata1275	Brazil (Amazonas)	1	
90) Mayan	maya1287	Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, Honduras	33	
91) Misumalpan	misu1242	El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua	5	
92) Mixe-Zoquean	mixe1284	Mexico (Veracruz, Tabasco, Oaxaca, Chiapas)	19	
93) †Mochica (Yunga)	moch1259	Peru	1	
94) †Molala	mola1238	USA (Oregon)	1	
95) Mosestén-Chimane	mosi1249	Bolivia	1	
96) Movima	movi1243	Bolivia	1	
97) †Muniche	muni1258	Peru	1	
98) †Mure	mure1235	Bolivia	1	
99) Muskogean	musk1252	USA (Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida)	7	
100) Nadahup	nada1235	Colombia, Brazil	4	
101) Nambiquaran	namb1299	Brazil (Mato Grosso)	6	
102) †Natchez	natc1249	USA (Louisiana, Mississippi)	1	

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103) Nuclear Macro-Je	nucl1710	Brazil	30	
104) †Omurano	omur1241	Peru	1	
105) †Otomacoan	—	Venezuela	2	Otomaco (Glottocode otom1276) forms a small family with Taparita, a language once spoken along the Cojedes and Portuguesa Rivers (no Glottocode) (Rosenblat 1964, Zamponi <i>forthcoming</i> , a: sec. 5.1).
106) Otomanguean	otom1299	Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica	180	
107) Páez	paez1247	Colombia	1	
108) Palaihnihan	pala1350	USA (California)	2	
109) Panoan	pano1256	Peru, Bolivia, Brazil	38	Some authors attempted to link the Panoan languages with the Tacanan languages under a single Pano-Tacana family (Glottocode pano1259). However, establishing the genealogical affiliation between the two families requires more work and a better knowledge of the various Tacanan languages (Guillaume 2008: 7, Valenzuela & Guillaume 2017: 28).
110) †Payaguá	paya1236	Paraguay	1	
111) Peba-Yaguan	peba1241	Peru	3	
112) Pirahã (Mura-Pirahã)	pira1253	Brazil (Amazonas)	1	
113) Pomoan	pomo1273	USA (California)	7	
114) †Puelche (Gününa Küne)	puel1244	Argentina	1	

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115) Puinave	puin1248	Colombia, Venezuela	1	
116) †Puquina	puqu1242	Bolivia	1	
117) †Puri- Coroado	puri1261	Brazil (Minas Gerais, São Paulo)	1	Puri (Glottocode puri1262) and Coroado (Glottocode coro1249) are dialects of a single language (Ramirez, Vegini & França 2015: 238-242, Zamponi forthcoming,a: sec. 2.12).
118) Qawasqaran (Alacalufan)	kawe1237	Chile	3	
119) Quechuan	quech1387	Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina	45	
120) Sahaptian	saha1239	USA (Oregon, Idaho, Washington)	5	
121) Sáliban	sali1297	Colombia, Venezuela	3	See the comment on Hodi (Jodi).
122) †Salinan	sali1253	USA (California)	1	
123) Salishan	sali1255	Canada (British Columbia), USA (Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana)	25	
124) †Sapé (Kaliana)	sape1238	Venezuela	1	
125) Seri	seri1257	Mexico (Sonora)	1	
126) †Shastan	shas1238	USA (Oregon, California)	3	
127) Siouan- Catawba	siou1252	Canada, USA	18	
128) †Siuslaw	sius1254	USA (Oregon)	1	
129) Tacanan	taca1255	Peru, Brazil, Bolivia	7	See the comment on Panoan.
130) †Takelma	take1257	USA (Oregon)	1	
131) †Tallán (Colán- Catacaos)	tall1235	Peru	2	Colán and Catacaos might be dialects of the same language (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 398).
132) Tarascan (P'urhépecha)	pure1242	Mexico (Michoacán)	1	Most sources consider Tarascan (Purepecha) (pure1242) plus Western Highland Purepecha (west2631 in <i>Glottolog</i> 3.0) to be a single language.
133) Taruma	taru1236	Brazil, Guyana	1	

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134) Taushiro	taus1253	Peru	1	
135) Tequistlatecan	tequ1244	Mexico (Oaxaca)	3	
136) Tikuna-Yuri	ticu1244	Peru, Colombia, Brazil	3	Seifart & Echeverri (2014) present evidence suggesting that the Carabayo people, who live in voluntary isolation in the Colombian Amazon region, speak a language (Glottocode cara1245) related to Tikuna (Glottocode ticu1245) and Yuri (Glottocode juri1235).
137) †Timotean	—	Venezuela	2	Timote-Cuica (Glottocode timo1237) forms a small family with the geographically close Mucuchí-Maripú (no Glottocode) (Campbell 2012: 106).
138) †Timucuan	—	USA (Alabama, Georgia, Florida)	2	Timucua (Glottocode timu1245) forms a small family with the Tawasa language of Alabama (no Glottocode) (Swanton 1929).
139) (†)Tiniguan	—	Colombia	2	Tinigua (Glottocode tini1245) forms a small family with the Pamigua language (no Glottocode) once spoken in the Llanos de San Martín (Castellví 1940: 95).
140) †Tonkawa	tonk1249	USA (Texas)	1	
141) Totonacan	toto1251	Mexico (Veracruz, Hidalgo, Puebla)	12	
142) Trumai	trum1247	Brazil (Mato Grosso)	1	
143) Tsimshianic	tsim1258	Canada (British Columbia)	3	
144) Tucanoan	tuca1253	Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Brazil	26	
145) †Tunica	tuni1252	USA (Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi)	1	

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146) Tupian	tupi1275	Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, French Guiana, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina	71	
147) Urarina (Simacu)	urar1246	Peru	1	
148) Uru- Chipaya	uruc1242	Peru, Bolivia	2	
149) †Urutani (Uruak)	arut1244	Venezuela, Brazil (Roraima)	1	
150) Utian (Miwok- Costanoan)	miwo1274	USA (California)	11	
151) Uto-Aztecan	utoa1244	USA, Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica	69	
152) †Vilela	vile1241	Argentina	1	
153) †Waikuri	guai1237	Mexico (Baja California)	1	
154) Wakashan	waka1280	Canada (British Columbia)	6	
155) Waorani (Sabela, Auca)	waor1240	Ecuador	1	
156) Warao	wara1303	Venezuela, Guyana	1	
157) Washo	wash1253	USA (California, Nevada)	1	
158) (†)Wintuan	wint1258	USA (California)	2	
159) †Xincan	xinc1237	Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador	5	
160) †Xukuruan	—	Brazil (Pernambuco)	2	Xukurú (Glottocode xuku1239) forms a small family with the nearby Paratío (no Glottocode) (Loukotka 1968: 88-89, Zamponi <i>forthcoming</i> , a: sec. 5.2).
161) (†)Yámana (Yaghan)	yama1264	Chile	1	
162) †Yana	yana1271	USA (California)	1	
163) Yanomami	yano1260	Brazil, Venezuela	5	
164) Yaruro (Pumé)	pume1238	Venezuela	1	
165) Yokutsan	yoku1255	USA (California)	4	
166) Yuchi	yuch1247	USA (Alabama)	1	

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167) †Yukian (Yuki- Wappo)	yuki1241	USA (California)	2
168) Yurakaré	yura1255	Bolivia	1
169) †Yurumangúí	yuru1243	Colombia	1
170) Zamucoan	zamu1243	Bolivia, Paraguay	3
171) Zaparoan	zapa1251	Ecuador, Peru	6
172) Zuni	zuni1245	USA (Arizona, New Mexico)	1

Table 3. Urheimaten of some American language families

FAMILY	URHEIMAT	REFERENCE(S)
Algic	Perhaps in the Great Lakes region (Canada and/or USA)	Foster (1996: 97)
Arawakan	Between the Rio Negro and the Orinoco River or Upper Amazon	Aikhenvald (1999: 75)
Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit	Probably in the interior Alaska, western Canada, and Washington state	Foster (1996: 77)
Caddoan	Lower Red River area	Foster (1996: 104-105)
Cariban	Somewhere in the Venezuelan Guiana or, in any case, north of the Amazon	Villalón (1991: 87), Meira & Franchetto (2005: 177-178)
Chibchan	Southeast Costa Rica and western Panama	Constenla Umaña (1991: 43)
Cochimí-Yuman	Northern Baja California	Foster (1996: 86)
Eskimo-Aleut	Southwestern Alaska	Foster (1996: 71)
Iroquoian	Probably in the Saint Lawrence Lowlands	Foster (1996: 107)
Kiowa-Tanoan	Adjacent to the Rocky Mountains, probably in southern Colorado	Shaul (2014: 105)
Otomanguean	Perhaps in the Tehuacán Valley in central Mexico	Campbell (1997: 159)
Quechuan	Coast or coast and central highlands of Peru	Campbell (1997: 189)
Siouan-Catawba	Southeast of North America, perhaps near the Ohio River Valley (USA)	Foster (1996: 102), Kasak (2016: 32)
Tupian	Somewhere between the Guaporé and Aripuanã rivers, in the Madeira River basin (Brazil, Rondônia)	Rodrigues & Cabral (2012: 499).
Uto-Aztecan	Southeastern California, Arizona, and the northwest part of Sonora (Mexico)	Foster (1996: 91)

Table 4. Extinct unclassified languages of the Americas

LANGUAGE	GLOTTOCODE	GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION	AVAILABLE DATA	REFERENCE(S)
1) Adai	adai1235	USA (Texas, Louisiana)	23 words	Taylor (1963: 114)
2) Aranama	aran1265	USA (Texas)	2 words	Swanton (1940: 124)
3) Baenan	baen1237	Brazil (Bahia)	9 words	Loukotka (1963: 54)
4) Bagua (Patagón de Bagua)	bagu1249	Peru	3 words	Adelaar with Muysken (2004: 405)
5) Bidai	bida1238	USA (Texas)	8 words	Gatschet (1891: 103)
6) Boreal Pehuelche	—	Argentina	1 word	Viegas Barros (2005: 77)
7) Cabixi	—	Brazil (Mato Grosso)	1 short word list	Zamponi (<i>forthcoming</i> , a: sec.3.2)
8) Calenche	fayj1234	Chile	10 words	Bausani (1975: 115)
9) Calusa	calu1239	USA (Florida)	some words	Granberry (2011)
10) Cararí	—	Brazil (Amazonas)	1 short word list	Zamponi (<i>forthcoming</i> , a: sec.3.3)
11) Catuquinarú	catu1242	Brazil (Acre)	short word list	Church (1898: 64)
12) Chholo	chho1235	Bolivia	some words and, perhaps, one short text	Schumacher, Böcker & Condori Mollo (2009)
13) Ciguayo	—	Dominican Republic	1 word	Granberry & Vescelius (2004: 27)
14) Colima	coli1235	Colombia	42 words	Durbin & Seijas (1973)
15) Comechingón	—	Argentina	4 words	Canals-Frau (1944: 35-36, 38-40)
16) Concho	conc1237	Mexico (Chihuahua)	3 words	Miller (1983: 332), Troike (1988: 236)
17) Copallén	copa1238	Peru	4 words	Adelaar with Muysken (2004: 406)
18) Cueva	cuev1238	Panama	51 words	Romoli (1987: 55-89)

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19)	Culli (Culle)	cull1235	Peru	2 short word lists	Rivet (1949: 3-5)
20)	Cusabo	cusa1237	USA (South Carolina)	8 words	Swanton (1922: 23)
21)	Diaguita (Kakán)	calc1235	Argentina, Chile	few words	Nardi (1979)
22)	Enoo	—	Chile	few words	Williams (2015)
23)	Envuelto	envu1234	Colombia	9 words	Ortiz (1965: 367)
24)	Gamela of Viana	game1240	Brazil (Maranhão)	19 words	Nimendajú (1937: 64)
25)	Guachipas	guac1240	Argentina	3 words	Viegas Barros (2009)
26)	Idabaez	idab1234	Colombia	1 word	Rowe (1950: 36)
27)	Jumano-Suma	juma1248	USA (Texas)	4 words	Miller (1983: 332), Troike (1988: 236)
28)	Kaimbé	kaim1235	Brazil (Bahia)	7 words	Meader (1978: 35)
29)	Kambiwá	kamb1239	Brazil (Pernambuco)	3 short word lists	Zamponi (<i>forthcoming</i> , a: sec.3.8)
30)	Macorís (Macorix)	—	Dominican Republic	1 word	Granberry & Vescelius (2004: 31)
31)	Malibú	mali1242	Colombia	14 words	Rivet (1947)
32)	Maratino	mara1266	Mexico (Tamaulipas)	1 short word list	Swanton (1940: 122-123)
33)	Muzo	muzo1235	Colombia	5 words	Durbin & Seijas (1973)
34)	Nansemond	—	USA (Virginia)	6 words	Smith (1997: 39)
35)	Naolan	naol1234	Mexico (Tamaulipas)	1 short word list	Weitlander (1948)
36)	Natú	natu1248	Brazil (Alagoas)	18 words	Pompeu Sobrinho (1958: 13)
37)	Otí	otii1244	Brazil (São Paulo)	3 short word lists	Zamponi (<i>forthcoming</i> , a: sec.3.11)
38)	Palta	—	Ecuador	4 words	Adelaar with Muysken (2004: 396), Overall (2007: 6)
39)	Pamunkey	pamu1240	USA (Virginia)	2 short word lists	Dalrympe (1858)

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40) Panche	panc1242	Colombia	8 words	Durbin & Seijas (1973)
41) Pankararú	pank1250	Brazil (Pernambuco)	3 short word lists	Zamponi (<i>forthcoming</i> ,a: sec.3.12)
42) Patagón of Perico	pata1255	Peru	4 words	Adelaar with Muysken (2004: 405)
43) Pericú	peri1250	Mexico (Baja California)	10 words	León-Portilla (1976)
44) Pijao	pija1235	Colombia	35 words	Durbin & Seijas (1973)
45) Puruhá (Puruguay)	puru1267	Ecuador	2 words	Paz y Miño (1942)
46) Quepo	quep1238	Costa Rica	1 word	Lehmann (1920: 238)
47) Querandí	quer1237	Argentina	2 sentences	Viegas Barros (1994)
48) Quignam (or Pescadora)	quig1235	Peru	14 numerals	Quilter <i>et al.</i> (2010)
49) Quijo	—	Ecuador	3 words	Ordóñez de Ceballos (1691: 285, 287)
50) Quimbaya	—	Colombia	10 words	Bastian (1878: 243, n. 1)
51) Quinigua	quin1252	Mexico (Nuevo León)	about 50 words (excluding about 40 dubious forms)	Gursky (1964)
52) Rabona	—	Ecuador	21 words (mainly names of fruit and roots)	Torero (2002: 281), Adelaar with Muysken (2004: 397)
53) Ramanos	rama1271	Bolivia	8 words	Ribera (1989: 169)
54) Sácata	saca1239	Peru	3 words	Adelaar with Muysken (2004: 405)
55) Sanavirón	—	Argentina	4/5 words	Serrano (1944: 382)
56) Sechura	sech1236	Peru	2 short word lists	Rivet (1949: 6-9)

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57) Solano	sanf1266	USA (Texas), Mexico (Coahuila)	21 words	Swanton (1940: 54)
58) Tabancal	taba1269	Ecuador, Peru	5 words	Adelaar with Muysken (2004: 406)
59) Tairona	—	Colombia	1 word	Ordóñez de Ceballos (1691: 70)
60) Tanpachoa	tanp1235	USA (Texas)	1 word	Troike (1988: 240)
61) Tarairiú	tara1303	Brazil (Rio Grande do Norte)	some words	Zamponi (<i>forthcoming</i> ,a: sec.3.14)
62) Tembey	temb1278	Paraguay	2 words	Ambrosetti (1896: 332)
63) Tuxá	tuxa1239	Brazil (Bahia)	3 short word lists	Zamponi (<i>forthcoming</i> ,a: sec.3.16)
64) Unainuman	—	Brazil (?) (Içá River basin)	1 short word list	Zamponi (<i>forthcoming</i> ,a: sec.3.17)
65) Xocó	xoco1235	Brazil (Paraíba)	5 words	Pompeu Sobrinho (1958: 13-14)
66) Yamesí	—	Colombia	1 word	Rivet (1943: 36)

Table 5. Language families of Eurasia

FAMILY	GLOTTOCODE	GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION	NO. OF LANGUAGES	NOTES
1) Abkhazo- Adygean (Northwest Caucasian, West Caucasian)	abkh1242	Russia (Caucasus), Turkey	5	
2) Ainu	ainu1252	Japan (Hokkaido), Russia (Sakhalin, Kuril Islands)	1	Hokkaidō Ainu (Glottocode ainu1240), Sakhalin Ainu (Glottocode sakh1245), and Kuril Ainu (Glottocode kuri1271) are alternately considered as a group of closely related languages or as divergent dialects of a single language isolate.

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3) Austroasiatic	aust1305	South and Southeast Asia	158
4) Austronesian	aust1307	Maritime Southeast Asia, China, Taiwan, Pacific islands, Madagascar	1274
5) Basque	basq1248	Spain, France	1
6) Burushaski	buru1296	Pakistan (northern Gilgit-Baltistan)	1
7) Chukotko-Kamchatkan	chuk1271	Russian Far East	5
8) Dravidian	drav1251	Pakistan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka	81
9) †Elamite	elam1244	Iran, Iraq	1
10) †Etruscan	etru1243	Italy	1
11) Great Andamanese	grea1241	India (Andaman Islands)	10
12) †Hattic	hatt1246	Turkey (central Anatolia)	1
13) Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao)	hmon1336	China, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand	39
14) Hruso	hrus1242	India (Arunachal Pradesh)	1
15) †Hurro-Urartian	hurr1239	Turkey (Taurus mountain area)	2
16) Indo-European	indo1319	Europe and Asia; today: worldwide	584
17) Japonic	japo1237	Japan	15
18) Kartvelian	kart1248	Georgia, Russia, Turkey	6
19) †Kenaboi	kena1236	Malaysia (Malacca)	1

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20) Korean (Koreanic)	kore1284	China, North Korea, South Korea	1	The dialect of Jeju Island (Glottocode jeju1234) is divergent enough to be sometimes classified as a separate language, as in <i>Glottolog</i> 3.0.
21) Kusunda	kusu1250	Nepal (Gandaki zone)	1	
22) Mongolic	mong1329	Mongolia, China, Russia, Afghanistan	17	
23) Nakh- Daghestanian (Northeast Caucasian, East Caucasian)	nakh1245	Russia, Georgia, Azerbaijan	30	
24) Nihali	niha1238	India (Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra)	1	
25) Nivkh (Gilyak)	gily1242	Russia (Sakhalin Island and Amur River)	1	
26) Ongan (Jarawa-Onge)	jara1245	India (Andaman Islands)	2	
27) Shompen (Shom Peng)	shom1245	India (Great Nicobar Island)	1	
28) Sino-Tibetan	sino1245	East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia	486	
29) †Sumerian	sume1241	Iraq	1	
30) Tai-Kadai (Kadai)	taik1256	China, India, Burma/ Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia	93	
31) Tungusic	tung1282	Russia (Eastern Siberia), China	13	

32) Turkic	turk1311	From Eastern Europe to Western China and Siberia	43
33) Uralic	ural1272	Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russian, Hungary, Romania	48
34) Yeniseian (Yeniseic)	yeni1252	Russia (Yenisei River region of central Siberia)	6
35) Yukaghiric	yuka1259	Russian Far East	4

Table 6. Urheimaten of some Eurasian language families

FAMILY	URHEMAT	REFERENCE
Austroasiatic	Area of the middle Mekong	Sidwell & Blench (2011)
Austronesian	Island of Taiwan	Gray, Drummond & Greenhill (2009)
Dravidian	Central and peninsular India	McIntosh (2008: 353)
Hmong-Mien	Region between the Yangtze and Mekong rivers	Blench (2004)
Indo-European	Pontic-Caspian steppe	Anthony & Ringe (2015)
Mongolic	Mongolia	Janhunen (2003: 1-3)
Sino-Tibetan	Upper reaches of the Yangtze, Brahmaputra, Salween, and Mekong	van Driem (1993)
Tai-Kadai	South China's Guizhou-Guangxi area	Luo (2008: 9)
Tungusic	Manchuria or, more, probably, Lake Baikal region ^a	Vovin (2013: 200)
Turkic	West and central Siberia and region south of it	Róna-Tas (1998: 68)
Uralic	Close to the Volga River	Häkkinen (2009)

Note. ^a In Maps 8 and 9, the Tungusic Urheimat is placed in the Lake Baikal region.

Table 7. Reconstructed proto-languages of Eurasian language families

FAMILY	REFERENCE	NOTES
Abkhazo-Adygean	Chirikba (1996)	
Austroasiatic	Shorto (2006)	With the demotion of Munda languages from a primary branch of the Austroasiatic family, Proto-Mon-Khmer became synonymous with Proto-Austroasiatic.

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Austronesian	Wolff (2010)	
Chukotko-Kamchatkan	Fortescue (2005)	
Hmong-Mien	Ratliff (2010)	
Indo-European	Mallory & Adams (2006)	
Kartvelian	Klimov (1998)	
Ongan	Blevins (2007)	
Sino-Tibetan	Matisoff (2003)	The prevailing current position of Sino-Tibetanists is that no decisive evidence has been put forward to suggest that all Tibeto-Burman languages share a common innovation or indeed that Sinitic languages share a common innovation to set them apart from all the rest of the family.
Tai-Kadai	Peiros (1998: 53-75)	
Turkic	Décsy (1998)	
Uralic	Sammallahti (1988)	
Yeniseian	Starostin (1982)	
Yukaghiric	Nikolaeva (2006)	

Table 8. Comparative works on some Eurasian language families

PROTO-LANGUAGE	REFERENCE(S)	NOTES
Dravidian	Burrow & Emeneau (1984), Subrahmanyam (1983)	
Japonic	Frellesvig & Whitman (2008)	For the Proto-Japonic personal pronouns, see Vovin (2010: 62-66).
Mongolic	Janhunen (2003)	This work includes, on page 18, the reconstruction of the Proto-Mongolic personal pronouns.
Nakh-Daghestanian	Nichols (2003), Nikolayev & Starostin (1994)	Nikolayev and Starostin assume that Nakh-Dagestanian and Abkhazo-Adygean form a family and offer reconstructions for that putative family, assembling putative cognate sets so as to maximize matches and similarities between Nakh-Daghestanian and Abkhazo-Adygean. For the first-person singular and second-person singular personal pronouns of Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian, see Nichols (2012).
Tungusic	Cincius (1949, 1975-1977)	Much of the comparative work on Mongolic and Tungusic in the past has been a side-product of general Altaic studies.

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Appendix B: Linguistic data

A dagger (†) signals extinct multi-member families or language isolates. The following abbreviations are used: acc., accusative; al., alienable; C, consonant; DU, du, dual; gen., genitive; imp., imperative; inal., inalienable; M, masculine; NA, North America; nom., nominative; O, object; obj., objective; PL, pl., plural; poss., possessive; S, subject; SA, South America; SG, sg., singular; subj., subjective; V, vowel.

1. n-forms for '1(SG)'

Algic (NA). For Proto-Algonquian, the first-person pronominal prefix *ne- was reconstructed (Goddard 1975: 251). Its equivalents in Yurok and Wiyot are, respectively, *?ne-* and *du(?)-* ~ *d-* and internal evidence indicates that the Wiyot *d-* '1' is from Proto-Algic *n- (*ibid.*). Proulx (1985: 86) reconstructs for Proto-Algic a first-person actor suffix *-Vn based on Proto-Algonquian *-a:n '1SG' and Wiyot -V ~ -Ø ~ -á 'id.'. The first-person singular personal pronoun reconstructed for Proto-Algonquian is *ni·lawá (Hewson 1993: 141) (cf. *ki·lawá 'thou'). Yurok has *nek* 'I' (Robins 1958: 21), while Wiyot has *yil* ~ *yi* 'id.' (Teeter 1964:97).

Andoque-Urekena (SA). Andoque has a first-person singular possessive prefix *nó-* ~ *ó-* (Landaburu 1979: 152). Its Urekena equivalent is <no- ~ nö-> (Jolkesky 2016: 285).

†*Arara of Rio Branco* (SA, isolate). For this language, a first-person singular possessive/subject prefix *nu-* was recorded (D'Angelis 2010: 1).

Arawakan (NA and SA). The first-person singular possessor and subject agreement prefix reconstructed for Proto-Arawakan is *nu- (Payne 1991: 376).¹ In many Arawakan languages there is also a pronominal suffix or enclitic, usually with the same phonological content as the pronominal prefix (in any case containing the nasal *n*), used to mark a second-person singular object or, in some cases, a second-person singular stative subject (*ibid.*; Aikhenvald 1999: 88).² The Proto-Arawakan first-person singular personal pronoun (tentatively) reconstructed by Matteson (1972: 179) is *nō-wa.

Aymaran (SA). Hardman (1978: 152) gives for Proto-Aymaran the personal pronoun **na-ya* ‘I’ and the first-person singular possessive marker **-Na*.³

†*Cayuse* (NA, isolate). The first-person singular personal pronoun of Cayuse is *íniy* and its plural counterpart *námək* (Rigsby 1966: 372). The language also has a verbal subject marker *nís-* ‘1SG’ (*ibid.*, 371).

†*Chimariko* (NA, isolate). The three first-person personal pronouns available in this language all begin with the nasal *n*: *noʔot* (sg.), *noʔotowa* (du.), *načʔitot* (pl.) (Jany 2009: 52).

Chinookan (NA). All Chinookan languages have a prefix *n-* used to mark a first-person singular subject or (direct or indirect) object (see Boas 1911: 580, Hymes 1955: 133, 212, 214, 215) and, except Lower Chinook (see Boas 1911: 580), a first-person singular possessor. The first-person singular personal pronoun of Chinookan languages also contains this prefix: Lower Chinook *naika* (Boas 1911: 626), Kathlamet *naʔyax* (emph.) (Boas 1911: 626).⁴

†*Chumashan* (NA). The first-person singular personal pronoun in the languages of the Chumashan family is or includes the sequence *no*: Barbareño and Ineseño *noʔ* (Applegate 1972: 168, Beeler 1976: 255), Cruzeño <no-oh> (Powell 1877: 564), Purisimeño <no> (Heizer 1952: 69), Ventureño *no* (Mamet 2008: 58).⁵

†*Coahuilteco* (NA, isolate). The first-person singular personal pronoun of Coahuilteco, built on the verbal stem *-ami-* ‘have’, is *nami-* (Troike 1996: 660). The language also has a prefix *n-* ~ *na-* ‘1SG’, used as possessive marker (*ibid.*, 659) and for the subject of intransitive verbs in the present tense in main-clause statements (*ibid.*, 655) and in subordinate constructions (where it can also mark a third person object; *ibid.*, 656), and these two transitive subject-object prefixes: *nak-* ‘1SGS>2O, 1SGS>3PLO’, used in main clause statements in the present or in the past and in subordinate clauses (cf. *mak-* ‘2SG>3OPL, 3S>2O’), and *niw-* ‘1SGS(>3O)’, used in future-conditional (irrealis) statements (cf. *may-* ~ *mi-* ‘2SGS(>3O)’) (*ibid.*, 655, 656).

Cochimí-Yuman (NA). Cochimí has a prefix *n-* used to mark a first-person subject with intransitive (or stative) verbs (Mixco 1978: 75). Langdon (1995: 177) reconstructs for Proto-Yuman the following

forms: *ʔn^ya: ‘I’ (independent pronoun) and *n^y- ‘1S>2O, 3S>1O’ (prefix on verbs). (n^y represents an alveopalatal nasal.)

Cofán (SA, isolate). The first-person singular pronoun is *ɲa* (Borman 1976: 28).

†*Esselen* (NA, isolate). Shaul (1995: 209) gives for Esselen the following first-person singular markers: *eni* (subj.), *ni-*, *-ni* (subject markers), *ni-* (possessor marker), and *niča* (independent possessor marker).

Guahiboan (SA). Christian & Matteson (1972: 156) reconstruct for Proto-Guahiboan the first-person singular pronoun *xá-ni ‘I’ including a base *xá- (cf. *xá-mi ‘thou’). All Guahiboan languages also have first-person affixes containing the consonant *n*. In Cuiba, for example, we find: *-ni* ‘1’ (subject marker used with nouns and adjectives) and *ne-* ‘1’ (object marker and also subject marker with some verbs) (cf. also *-hn* ‘1sg, 1+3’, a subject marker used with most verbs) (Mosonyi & Mosonyi 2000: 239, 242, 246, 248).

†*Huarpean* (SA). In Allentiac, the verbal suffix *-nen* marks a second (singular/plural) person subject (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 546). Its equivalent in Millcayac is *-na* (Tornello, Roig, Díaz & Luis Aguirre 2011: 290).

Huavean (NA). Suárez (1975: 42) reconstructs for Proto-Huavean a verbal first-person singular marker *nV that could occur as a prefix or a suffix.

Jicaquean (NA). Campbell & Otrogge (1980: 216) propose for Proto-Jicaquean the first-person singular pronoun *nap ‘I’. The final segment of this protoform is also found in *hip ‘you’ (sg.), *hup ‘he’, and *kup ‘we’.

†*Karankawa* (NA, isolate). Various first-person singular forms (‘I, me, my, mine’) were recorded for this language, all of which include an initial *n*: <na-, náji, ná’aji, ná-i, ná-î, n’, napé, napél> (Grant 1994: 23). <náji, ná’aji, ná-i, ná-î> is a personal pronoun. <n’> seems to be a verbal subject marker (cf. <n’ tschá áwa> ‘I see you’; Gatschet 1891: 78).

Karok (NA, isolate). The following morphemes occur in Karok: *ná*· ‘I’ (independent pronoun), *nani-* ~ *nini-* ‘1sg’ (possessive prefix), and *ni-* ~ *ná-* ‘1sgS>3O’ (used with verbs in the indicative) (Bright 1957: 56, 60, 368).

Keresan (NA). Miller & Davis (1963: 322) reconstruct for Proto-Keresan the first-person (singular/plural) personal pronoun *hínu including a base *hí* also found in *híʂU ‘you’ (*ibid.*).

Kiowa-Tanoan (NA). Sutton (2014: 620) reconstructs for Proto-Kiowa-Tanoan a first-person singular personal pronoun *nq̄ (cf. *nV̄ ‘I’ in Hale 1967: 116-118).

Klamath-Modoc (NA, isolate). In this language, the first-person singular personal pronoun has a subjective form *ni* and an objective form *ni-s* (Barker 1964: 239). There is also an ‘I’ (declarative), with an emphatic and intensive meaning, whose forms are *no·* (subj.) and *no·-s* (obj.) (*ibid.*).

†*Lencan* (NA). In the two languages that compose this small family, verbs mark a first-person singular subject by means of a suffix containing the nasal *n*: Honduran Lenca <-onn ~ -una>, Salvadorian Lenca (Chilanga) <-on ~ -u> (Lehmann 1920: 705).

Maiduan (NA). Shipley & Smith (1982: 68) reconstruct for Proto-Maiduan two first-person singular pronominal forms: *ni (subj.) and *nik (obj.). Besides, a Proto-Maiduan first-person singular possessive *nik’i (or probably *nikk’i (< *nik + k’i), at least at an earlier stage) is conceivable (*ibid.*, 67).

Mapuche (SA, isolate). The verbal suffix *-n* (after V) ~ *-in* (after C) of this language is a portmanteau morph that indicates first-person singular subject and indicative mood (Smeets 2007: 151). The first-person pronouns of the language are: *ɨnʃé* (sg.), *ɨnʃiu* (du.), and *ɨnʃiɨn* (pl.) (personal pronouns) (*ibid.*, 97); *ɨni* (sg.) (also ‘3’), *yu* (du.), and *yiɨn* (pl.) (possessive pronouns) (*ibid.*, 103).

Mayan (NA). Kaufman (2015) reconstructs from Proto-Mayan these first-person singular forms: *haʔ-in, personal pronoun (p. 813);⁶ *nu- (before C) ~ *w- (before ?V), possessive marker on nouns and subject agreement marker on transitive verbs (p. 67); *-iin, subject person agreement marker on intransitive verbs (*ibid.*).

Mixe-Zoquean (NA). Wichmann (1995: 302) reconstructs for Proto-Mixe-Zoquean the possessive pronoun *n-he? ‘mine’ including a first-person singular prefix *n-.

†*Molala* (NA, isolate). This language has an enclitic first-person singular possessive pronoun =*in* (Pharris 2006: 214) that forms the stem of the first-person singular personal pronoun in non-nominative cases (*ibid.*, 231; cf. *in-umpi* ‘to me’ (allative)). A prefix *n-* is used to express a first-person singular object of a verb (*ibid.*, 188).

†*Muniche* (SA, isolate). This language has a first-person singular personal pronoun *aʔpáʔnu* ‘I’ including a base *aʔpáʔ* occurring in all personal pronouns (Michael 2009: 9). In addition, it has the first-person singular subject enclitic =*nu* ~ =*ne* ~ =*na* (Gibson 1996: 61, Michael 2009: 15), an enclitic =*nu* used to mark a first-person singular object (Gibson 1996: 62, Michael 2009: 20), and a homophonous suffix *-nu* used to mark a first-person singular possessor (Gibson 1996: 69).

†*Natchez* (NA, isolate). In this language we find a first-person singular possessive marker *-niš* (Kimball 2005: 426) and a first-person direct object suffix *-n* ~ *-ni* (*ibid.*, 413).

†*Omurano* (SA, isolate). This language has a first-person singular personal pronoun *jurú* (O’Hagan 2015: 14).

†*Otomacoan* (SA). For Otomaco, a first-person singular personal pronoun <no>, a first-person singular possessive pronoun <nakea>, and a first-person singular subject prefix <no-> or <non-> (perhaps /nō-/ (<nope> ‘I am’, <nonyovoque> ‘I eat’) were recorded (Rosenblat 1964: 289, 303). As regards the other language that constitute the small Otomacoan family, Taparita, a first-person singular subject prefix <na-> or <n-> occurs in <naca> ‘I am’, while the verb form <nonyopoña> ‘I eat’ appears inflected with a prefix <non-> (perhaps also /nō-/ (*ibid.*)).

†*Puelche* (SA, isolate). A prefix *ni-* and a suffix *-in* ~ *-an* mark a first-person singular subject on verbs (Casamiquela 1983: 69).

†*Puquina* (SA, isolate). This language has a first-person (singular/plural) personal pronoun *ni* (Torero 2002: 417) and a first-person (singular/plural) nominal possessive prefix *nu-* (*ibid.*, 419).⁷

Quechuan (SA). Torero’s (1964: 453) reconstruction of the Proto-Quechuan first-person singular personal pronoun is *ñuqa.⁸

Sahaptian. Aoki (1962: 179) proposes for Proto-Sahaptian the independent pronoun *ʔi·n ‘I’ including a base *ʔi· that also occurs in *ʔi·m ‘you’. Rigsby (1965: 178, 1966: 373) has *ʔi·n ‘I’ (and *ʔi·m ‘thou’).

Salishan (NA). Davis (2000: 513) reconstructs for Proto-Salishan the following first-person singular markers: *n= (possessive proclitic), *=kan (indicative enclitic), *=wan (conjunctive enclitic), and *-an (subject suffix). Note that the indicative enclitics and the conjunctive proclitic proposed by Davis for Proto-Salishan appear constructed from the subject suffix forms by the addition of an initial consonant (*k-* in the indicative series and *w-* in the conjunctive series). The nasal *n* also occurs in the independent first-person singular subject pronoun reconstructed for Proto-Salishan: *ʔəncá (Newman 1977: 304).

†*Siuslaw* (NA, isolate). This language has these first-person subject personal pronouns: *na'han*, *nà* ‘1SG’; *nans* ‘1+2DU’; *nant* ‘1+2PL’; *na^uxún* ‘1+3DU’; *na'nxan* ‘1+3PL’. The corresponding object personal pronouns are *nàtc* ‘1SG’, *na'tc^{ns}* ‘1+2DU’, *na'tc^{nl}* ‘1+2PL’, *na'tca^uxún* ‘1+3DU’, and *na'tc^{nxan}* ‘1+3PL’ (Frachtenberg 1922: 576). The first-person verbal subject markers are the following: *-n*, *-in*, *-xan* ‘1SG’; *-ns*, *-yans* ‘1DU’; *-nt*, *-yant* ‘1PL’ (*ibid.*, 470).

†*Takelma* (NA, isolate). Transitive verbs in the future and in the assertive are marked for a first-person singular subject, respectively, by the suffixes *-àn* ~ *-n* and *-àʔn* ~ *-ʔn* (Kendall 1977: 131).

Tarascan (NA, isolate). This language has a pronominal enclitic =*ni* used to express a first-person agent (Monzón 1997: 70).

Tsimshianic (NA). Tarpent (1997: 76) reconstructs for Proto-Tsimshianic a clitic transitive personal subject marker *nə ‘1SG’.

†*Tunica* (NA, isolate). This language has the following first-person singular endings: *-ni* (semelfactive), *-ka'ni* (habitual), and *-ʔan* (conditional) (Haas 1941: 47-48). Note that all endings of the habitual set are built up of an element *-ka-*, *-k-*, or *-hk-* and that *-ʔan* consists of a special conditional affix *-ʔa-* plus the semelfactive ending *-ni*, which is always apocoped to *-n* in this case.

Tupian (SA). Rodrigues & Cabral (2012: 548-549) reconstruct for Proto-Tupian the personal pronominal marker *on ‘1’.

Urarina (SA, isolate). This language has a first-person singular subject marker *-anu* (Olawsky 2006: 489) which appears etymologically contained in the personal pronoun *kanu* ‘I’ (cf. *kana* ‘we’ (incl.)) (*ibid.*, 213).

Uto-Aztecan (NA). The first-person singular personal pronoun is **(i)ni* in Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Langacker 1977: 124). The first-person singular possessive marker **(i)ni-* is also reconstructable in Proto-Uto-Aztecan (*ibid.*, 66).

Wakashan. Fortescue (2007: 79) reconstructs for Proto-Wakashan a pronominal root **nu:-* ‘I’ or ‘we’.

Warao (SA, isolate). This language has a first-person singular subjective personal pronoun *ine* and a corresponding homophonous verbal subject suffix *-ine* (Romero-Figueroa 1997: 64).

(†)*Wintuan* (NA). The following first-person singular pronouns are reconstructable for Proto-Wintuan (Shepherd 2005: 39): **ni* (subj.), **ni-s* (obj.), **ne-r* (gen.), **ne-t* (inal. possessive), **ne-t-o* (al. possessive).

†*Xincan* (NA). The first-person singular affixes (used with verbs and nouns) reconstructed for Proto-Xincan are **-n?* and **in-* (Rogers 2016: 211-212). The independent first-person singular pronoun suggested for Proto-Xincan is **nin?* (*ibid.*, 210).

Yokutsan (NA). The following forms of the first-person singular personal pronoun were reconstructed for Proto-Yokutsan by Gamble (1988: 63, 65, 67): **na?* (nom.), **nan* (acc.), **nam/*nim* (gen.).

The attribution of an *n* form for ‘1(SG)’ to the proto-languages of eight families is, for various reasons, uncertain.

†*Alsean* (NA). Alsea has a first-person singular subject clitic *=n* (Buckley 1987: 10). An identical morpheme was recorded for the closely related Yaquina (see, for example, Dorsey 1884: 228). Kinkade (1978) found that while Alsea has no discernible genealogical relationship with Salishan, it has undergone a remarkable convergence with Salish in the pronouns. Therefore, we cannot exclude that Alsea (or Yaquina) *=n* is a Salishan loan (cf., above, the Proto-Salishan first-person singular possessive proclitic **=n*).

Candoshi-Chirino (SA). The first-person singular personal pronoun of Candoshi is *nowa* and has a reduced variant *no* (Tuggy 1966: 238). The corresponding form of Chirino was not recorded and, for this, the attribution of an *n*-form for ‘I’ to the proto-language of this small family is unsure.

Chibchan (NA and SA). Constenla Umaña (2012: 408) proposes the reconstruction of the first-person singular personal pronoun of Proto-Chibchan as **da* or (with addition of the nasal formative) **dã*, with a non-nasal voiced stop onset subject to a “spontaneous nasalization” (*ibid.*, 413). Holt (1986), on the other hand, shows a possibility to reconstruct a nasal in the Proto-Chibchan first-person singular personal pronoun. The forms he proposes are **tas* (~ **das*) (p. 129) and **na* (p. 267). Wheeler (1972: 106) has **na-sV*/(*nV*)-*ya* ‘I’.

Coosan (NA). The two languages that compose this family, Hanis and Miluk, have a set of pronominal clitics used as both subjects and objects. The first-person singular clitic of Hanis is the proclitic *ən=* ~ (*?*)*nə=* (Kroeber 2013: 109); that of Miluk is the enclitic *=*(*?*)*u* ~ *=wu* (*ibid.*, 131). Curiously, Hanis first-person singular *ən=* ~ (*?*)*nə=* resembles Miluk second-person singular *=nə* ~ *=*(*?*)*ən*, while the Miluk first-person singular form resembles nothing in Hanis.

Otomanguean (NA). In Rensch’s (1976: 225) reconstruction of Proto-Otomanguean we find *(h)ka(h) followed by a cognate set composed of first-person pronouns. This proto-form is based on a *k* / *n* Ablaut alternation which has very little support in any other etymologies and is phonetically implausible (Greenberg 2000: 417). In the Otopamean subgroup, we find only forms in *k* for which Rensch’s reconstruction is **ka*. All glosses are first person plural inclusive. Amuzgoan, another branch of Otomanguean, has a reconstructed form **hka*(h) with a translation ‘I’, ‘we (incl.)’, and ‘we (excl.)’. In other subgroups of this family, we find forms in *n* for first person singular, and the following reconstructions for intermediate Otomanguean proto-languages are cited by Rensch: Proto-Mixtecan **nah*, Proto-Popolocan **na*, Proto-Chinantecan **hniá* (but cf. also the personal pronoun **naʔa*/**na* ‘I’ later reconstructed for Proto-Zapotecan by Fernández de Miranda (1995: 188)). Thus, we have two branches that have *k*-forms with predominantly first-person plural inclusive meanings and three branches (four including Zapotecan) that contain *n*-forms with the semantic value ‘I’ in almost all cases.

†*Timotean* (SA). In Timote-Cuica, the first-person singular pronoun is <an> (Jahn 1927: 403, Rivet 1927: 158). The corresponding form of Mucuchí-Mirripú, the other known member of this family, was not recorded.

†*Timucuan* (NA). Timucua has the pronominal forms *ni-*, first person object prefix to verbs, and *-na*, first person suffix to nouns (cf. also *honihe*, first person pronoun, and *honi-chequi* ‘with me’) (Crawford 1988: 160). The only first-person singular form recorded for Tawasa, Timucua’s only known relative, is the personal pronoun <ou> (Swanton 1929: 448). The attribution of *n*-forms for first person singular to Proto-Timucua is therefore uncertain.

Uru-Chipaya (SA). Chipaya has a first-person singular subject marker *-n* used with verbs in the habitual and in the perfective (Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 146). There is not a similar morpheme in Uru (see Hannß 2008: 211).

Utian (NA). Callaghan (2014: 173, 266, 268) reconstructs for Proto-Utian the independent pronouns *ka·ni (< *kan-ni ?) ‘I’ (probably used in isolation or apposition) and *ka(·)na (< *ka(·)-na ?) ‘my, mine’ (and possibly also ‘I’ in some constructions) and indicates that, in pre-Utian, *-ni and *-na may mean ‘I’ (*ibid.*, 35, 37).

2. *m*-forms for ‘2(SG)’

Aikanã (SA, isolate). Most verbs of this language mark a second-person singular subject with the suffix *-mε* (Vasconcelos 2004: 49).

Aymaran (SA). The proposed Proto-Aymaran forms of (i) the second-person singular subject marker used with verbs, (ii) the second-person singular possessive marker used with nouns, and (iii) the second-person singular personal pronoun are (i) *-ma, (ii) -*ma, and (iii) *huma (Hardman 1978: 152).

Cariban (SA). Meira (2002: 259-260) indicates that a second-person non-collective personal pronoun *VmV (perhaps *amo) can safely be reconstructed for Proto-Cariban, although the exact nature of the vowels is unclear. The collective counterpart of this form is derived

from it with the help of a collective suffix (*-jamo, *-komo, *-tomo, and maybe also *-no) (*ibid.*, 263). Gildea (1998: 80) reconstructs for Proto-Cariban a prefix *m(i)- that marks a second-person subject with intransitive verbs and a second-person subject together with a third person object with transitive verbs.

†*Cayuse* (NA, isolate). This language has a second-person (singular/plural) verbal subject marker *mīs-* (Rigsby 1966: 371).

Chapakuran (SA). Angenot-de Lima (1997: 84) reconstructs for the proto-language of this family the second-person singular personal pronoun *ʔawum. Its reflex in Wari', *wum*, compared with the other personal pronouns of the language, all beginning in a sequence *wV* except one (see Everett & Kern 1997: 303), suggests that the final *m* of *ʔawum might be a second-person singular suffix. Also in Wari', we find the verbal second-person singular clitics *ma* and *fima* and the object suffix *-em* (see Everett & Kern 1997: 334 for details).

†*Charruan* (SA). Chaná has a prefix <m- ~ me- ~ em- ~ eme-> used to mark a second-person singular subject with verbs. In the scanty documentation of Güenoa, we may recognize a verbal subject marker <m-> '2sg'. Charrua seems to have a verbal second-person singular subject marker <m-> or <mi-> (Viegas Barros 2009: 1, n. 3, Jaime & Viegas Barros 2013: 26, n. 29).

†*Chimariko* (NA, isolate). This language has a free personal pronoun *mamot* 'you' (sg.) (cf. *mamotowa* 'you' (du.) and *mamq'etot* 'you' (pl.)) (Jany 2009: 52), a possessive prefix *m-* used with body part terms, and a possessive suffix *-m* used with the remaining nouns (*ibid.*, 136). Depending on their stem class, verbs are marked for a second-person singular subject or object by a prefix *m-* or a homophonous suffix *-m* (*ibid.*, 187-188).

Chinookan (NA). All Chinookan languages have a prefix *m-* used to mark a second-person singular subject, (direct or indirect) object, or possessor (see Boas 1911: 580, Hymes 1955: 133, 212, 214, 215). The second-person singular personal pronouns of Chinookan languages also contain this prefix: Lower Chinook *maika* (Boas 1911: 626), Kathlamet *ma'yax* (emph.) (Boas 1911: 626), Wishram (Upper Chinook) *maiya* (Hymes 1989: 143).

Chonan (SA). Viegas Barros (1995: 344) reconstructs for Proto-

Chonan the second-person (singular/plural) personal pronoun **ma*:. In Ona, the prefix *m-* marks second-person possessors and objects (Rojas-Berscia 2014: 77). In Tehuelche, the other better-known language of this family, the following second-person bound markers occur: *m-*, *me-*, *ma-*, *-m* (Fernández Garay 1998: 204).

†*Coahuilteco* (NA, isolate). This language has two transitive subject-object prefixes with *m*: *mak-* ‘2SGS>3PLO, 3S>2O’, used in main clause statements in the present or in the past and in subordinate clauses (cf. *nak-* ‘1SGS>2O, 1SGS>3PLO’) (Troke 1996: 655, 656), and *may-* ~ *mi-* ‘2SGS(>3O), used in future-conditional (irrealis) statements (cf. *niw-* ‘1SGS(>3O)’) (*ibid.*, 656).

Cochimí-Yuman (NA). *Cochimí* has a prefix *m-* used to mark a second-person subject with active and intransitive (or stative) verbs and a second-person possessive suffix *-ma-pa* (Mixco 1978: 75). Langdon (1995: 177) reconstructs for Proto-Yuman the following forms: **ma*: ‘2’ (personal pronoun) and **m-* ‘2S>3O, 3S>2O’ (pronominal prefix on verbs).

Guahiboan (SA). Christian & Matteson (1972: 158) reconstruct for Proto-Guahiboan the second-person singular personal pronoun **xámi* ‘thou’ including a base **xá-* (cf. **xá-ni* ‘I’). All Guahiboan languages also have second-person affixes containing the consonant *m*. In Cubeo, for example, we find *-me* ‘2’, a subject marker used with most verbs, and *-mi* ‘2’, a subject marker used with nouns and adjectives (Mosonyi & Mosonyi 2000: 238, 248).

Huavean (NA). Suárez (1975: 42) reconstructs a Proto-Huavean verbal second-person singular marker **m* that could occur as a prefix or a suffix.

Jivaroan (SA). A second-person singular pronoun **ami* ‘you’ is easily reconstructable for Proto-Jivaroan based on the following forms: Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Shuar *ami* (Overall 2017: 153, Peña 2015: 331, Saad 2014: 46) and Achuar *ámĩ* (Fast et al. 1996: 31). All Jivaroan languages also have second-person suffixes containing the segment *m*. In Aguaruna, for example, we find a possessive marker *-mi* ‘2’ (Overall 2017: 162), the subject markers *-mi* and *-umi* ‘2SG’ and *-mi*, *-humi*, and *-uhumi* ‘2PL’ (*ibid.*, 369), and the object markers *-hama* and *-tama* ‘2’ (*ibid.*, 243).

Kakua-Nukak (SA). *Kakua* has a free-form second-person singular pronoun *mēm* with a corresponding proclitic form *ma=* which is (i) used to express a second-person singular possessor with nouns, (ii) combined with the possessor marker *-iʔ* to create a possessive pronoun which is also proclitic (*mîʔ=*), and (iii) employed to cross-reference a second-person singular subject argument on verbs (Bolaños 2016: 111, 184). For *Nukak*, the free-form second-person singular personal pronoun *bēb³* (Huber & Reed 1992: 201) (pronounced [méɛm], according to Hess, Conduff & Conduff (2005: 21)) and a coreferential morpheme *bā* [mā], used both as a possessor marker with nouns and as a subject marker with verbs, were recorded (Cabrera Becerra, Franky Calvo & Mahecha Rubio 1999: 386-387).

†*Kalapuyan* (NA). Shipley (1969: 230) reconstructs for Proto-Kalapuyan the personal pronoun **ma-ha* ‘thou’, but he advises that it may be improperly reconstructed and that it perhaps should be **ma* (cf. **ma(·ha)* ‘thou’ in Shipley (1970: 104)). Central Kalapuya (Santiam dialect), the better documented language of this family, has the following second-person personal pronouns: *ma^h* (sg.) and *ma^hti·* (pl.) (Banks 2007: 10).

Kanoê (SA, isolate). The second-person singular pronoun of *Kanoê* is *mi* (Bacelar 2004: 143). In addition, this language has two second-person singular verbal subject markers each with an allophone *mi: pe- ~ mi-* and *-p ~ -pe ~ -mi* (*ibid.*)

†*Karankawa* (NA, isolate). Gatschet (1891: 78) records a second-person singular verbal subject marker <m> in <m’ tschá áwa?> ‘How do you do?’ (literally, ‘How do you see yourself?’). It is possible that the prefix <em- ~ emi- ~ en->, attached to a number of nouns in Jean Béranger’s *Karankawa* vocabulary of 1720-1721, is a second-person singular possessive marker (Grant 1994: 36-37).

Karok (NA, isolate). This language has a second-person singular possessive prefix *mi-* (Bright 1957: 56). Cf. the second-person singular independent pronoun *ʔi·m* (*ibid.*, 344).

Kiowa-Tanoan (NA). The second-person singular personal pronoun that Sutton (2014: 683) reconstructs for Proto-Kiowa-Tanoan is **wjm*. The Proto-Kiowa-Tanoan proclitic marking a second-person singular intransitive subject could also contain the nasal *m* after an initial vowel of unclear quality (cf. *Kiowa em*, *Rio Grante Tewa* and *Arizona*

Tewa $y \sim \acute{o}$ (imp.), Taos Northern Tiwa γ , Picuris Northern Tiwa and Southern Tiwa a , Towa $q \sim a$; *ibid.*, 901).

Klamath-Modoc (NA, isolate). The second-person singular personal pronoun is γ in the subjective, but *mi-s* in the objective and *mi* in the genitive (Barker 1964: 239).

Leco (SA, isolate). This language has a second-person singular verbal subject marker with an allomorph *-m*, but also an allomorph *-n* (van de Kerke 2009: 305).

†*Lencan* (NA). Arguedas Cortés (1988: 105) reconstructs for Proto-Lenca the second-person singular personal pronoun *amanani (cf. *unani ‘I’). The two languages of this family, Honduran Lenca (HL) and Salvadorian Lenca (SL), also have a second-person singular possessive prefix and a second-person singular verbal subject suffix including the nasal *m*: HL <am-> (Pinart 1897: 23), SL <mă-> (Lehmann 1920: 701) (possessive prefixes); HL <-mi> ~ <-yem> (*ibid.*: 705), SL <-mi> ~ <-ma> (*ibid.*: 701, 705) (subject suffixes).

Maiduan (NA). Two second-person singular pronominal forms are proposed by Shipley & Smith (1982: 68) for Proto-Maiduan: *mi (subj.) and *min (obj.). In addition, a Proto-Maiduan second-person singular possessive marker *mink’i (< *min + k’i) is conceivable (*ibid.*, 67).

Mapuche (SA, isolate). In all second-person personal pronouns of this language, *m* is the first consonant: *eymi* (sg.), *eymu* (du.), *eymin* (pl.) (Smeets 2008: 97). The same consonant occurs word-initially in the second-person possessive pronouns of Mapuche: *mi* (sg.), *mu* (du.), *min* (pl.) (*ibid.*, 103). The suffix *-m* marks a second-person subject in indicative, conditional, and imperative verb forms, except a second-person singular subject in imperative forms (*ibid.*, 151).

Misumalpan (NA). Constenla Umaña (1987: 139, 149) reconstructs for Proto-Misumalpan the personal pronoun *man ‘you’ (sg.), the nominal possessive marker *ma- ‘2’, and the verbal subject marker *-m ‘2’.

Mixe-Zoquean (NA). Wichmann (1995: 94, 96, 362) reconstructs for Proto-Mixe-Zoquean the second-person singular personal pronoun *mici (but cf. *mis ‘you’ (sg.) in Brown *et al.* 2011: 361) and a verbal prefix *min- ‘2S, 2S>2O, 3S>2O’.

†*Molala* (NA, isolate). This language has an enclitic second-person singular possessive pronoun =*im* (Pharris 2006: 214) that forms the stem of the second-person singular personal pronoun in non-nominative cases (*ibid.*, 231; cf. *im-ayk* ‘your’). A prefix *m-* was used to express a second-person singular object of a verb (*ibid.*, 188).

Mosetén-Chimane (SA, isolate). The second-person singular personal pronoun, both in Mosetén (Sakel 2004: 117) and Chimane (Gill 1999: 5), is *mi*.

†*Mure* (SA, isolate). In the poor documentation of Mure, we can recognize a second-person singular possessive prefix <mi- ~ m-> and a second-person singular subject prefix <mi-> which, probably, is an allomorph of the same morpheme used as a possessive marker (Zamponi *forthcoming*: sec. 3.6).

Nadahup (SA). Epps & Bolaños (2017: 482) propose for the proto-language of this family a second-person singular pronoun *ʔəm apparently built up of a monoconsonantal base *ʔ (cf. *ʔāh ‘I’ and *ʔid ‘we’).

Nambiquaran (SA). Price (1978: 27) reconstructs for Proto-Nambiquaran the morpheme *mã⁴ ‘your’, which is likely a prefix.

Palaihnihan (NA). Olmsted (1964: 47) reconstructs for Proto-Palaihnihan the second-person singular personal pronoun *mi· based on Achumawi *mi·* and Atsugewi *miʔ ~ mi·*. Both Achumawi and Atsugewi also have a second-person singular subject marker *m-* used, in the former language, in verbal forms in the subordinate mode (de Angulo & Freeland 1930: 91-92, 97) and, in the latter language, in verbal forms in the present habitual (Olmsted 1961: 96-97, 106).

Panoan (SA). Oliveira (2014: 442) reconstructs for the proto-language of this family the second-person singular personal pronoun *mi (identical proto-form in Girard 1971: 167).

Pomoan (NA). The following second-person singular pronominal forms are attributed to Proto-Pomoan: *mító (object pronoun), *mít (possessive pronoun), *mít- (possessive prefix) (cf. also *ʔa·má, second-person singular subject pronoun) (McLendon 1976: 46-47).

†*Puelche* (SA, isolate). The second-person personal pronouns of this language are *ki-ma-w* (sg., du.) and *ki-ma-n* (pl.) (Casamiquela 1983:

51, Viegas Barros 2017: 3). They include a base *ki-* also found in *ki-fa-w* ‘we’ (du.) and *ki-fa-n* ‘we’ (pl.). A suffix *-kima* marks a second-person singular possessor (Casamiquela 1983: 48). Also, this suffix contains an element *ki-* (cf. *-kifina* ‘1pl’). Verbs typically express a second-person singular subject by the prefix *mu-* ~ *mi-* (*ibid.*, 69).

Puinave (SA, isolate). This language has a second-person singular personal pronoun *mam* (cf. *ḡām* ‘I’ and *yām* ‘you (pl.)’) (Girón 2008: 170) and a prefix *ma-* used with nouns to mark a second-person singular possessor (*ibid.*, 206) and with verbs to mark a second-person singular subject or (direct or indirect) object (*ibid.*, 228).

Sahaptian (NA). Rigsby (1966: 373) reconstructs for Proto-Sahaptian the personal pronoun **ʔí·m* ‘thou’ including a base **ʔí·* (cf. **ʔí·n* ‘I’).

†*Salinan* (NA, isolate). The second-person singular personal pronoun of Salinan is *móʔ* (Turner 1987: 126). The language also has a second-person singular possessor marker *ʔ-m-é-* ~ *ʔ-o-m-* that incorporates a nominal prefix *ʔ-* (*ibid.*, 73) and three verbal prefixes marking a second-person singular subject that also contain the nasal *m*: *kóm-* ~ *kom-*, used in negative constructions; *ʔom-*, used in interrogative constructions; and *m-*, used elsewhere (*ibid.*, 129, 132-135).

Seri (NA, isolate). In this language, we find a second-person (singular/plural) subject personal pronoun *me* (Moser & Marlett 2005: 846), a marker of direct object *ma* ‘2sg’ (with a plural counterpart *mazi*) (*ibid.*, 847), a marker of indirect object *me* ‘2’ (*ibid.*, 848), a nominal possessive prefix *mi-* ~ *ma-* ‘2’ (*ibid.*, 830), and a verbal subject marker *m-* ‘2sg’ (with a plural counterpart *ma-*) (*ibid.*, 846).

Tacanan (SA). Girard (1971: 101) reconstructs for the proto-language of this family a second-person singular pronominal root **mi-*.

†*Takelma* (NA, isolate). The second-person singular personal pronoun of this language is *ma* ~ *ma:* (Kendall 1977: 131). Note that a suffix *-tam* marks a second-person singular subject in intransitive verbs and, simultaneously, a second-person singular subject and a first-person singular object in transitive verbs in the assertive (cf. the plural counterpart *-tap*) (*ibid.*). Transitive verbs in the future imperative take a suffix *-kaʔm* when they occur with a second-person singular subject and a first-person singular object (*ibid.*, 132).

Tequistlatecan (NA). The three languages of this family have the following second-person singular personal pronouns: Highland Oaxaca Chontal *ʔimáʔ* (Turner 1966: 110), Lowland Oaxaca Chontal *imaʔ* (O'Connor 2007: 43), Tequistlateco Chontal *ma* (de Angulo & Freeland 1925: 1038). The initial syllable of *ʔimáʔ* and *imaʔ* also occur in the first-person singular pronoun of the respective languages: Highland Oaxaca Chontal *ʔiyáʔ* and Lowland Oaxaca Chontal *iyaʔ* (cf. Tequistlateco Chontal *ya*).

Totonacan (NA). The languages of this family, both of the Totonac branch and the Tepehua branch, have a second-person possessive prefix *min-* with a first-person counterpart *kin-* (Aschmann & Aschmann 1973: 262, Beck 2004: 7, Kung 2007: 472, MacKay 1999: 347, McQuown 1990: 103, Reid & Bishop 1974: 384, Watters 1988: 473).

Tsimshianic (NA). Tarpent (1997: 76) reconstructs for Proto-Tsimshianic a clitic transitive personal subject marker **mə* '2SG'.

Tucanoan (SA). Waltz (1972: 149) reconstructs for Proto-Tucanoan these two second-person personal pronouns: **mĩʔĩ*, singular, and **mĩʔĩ-sā*, plural. Chacon (2014: Appendix A) has **mi-tja* 'you all'.

Uru-Chipaya (SA). In the two languages that form this small family, the second-person singular personal pronoun is *am* (Hannß 2008: 183, Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 102). The Uru form also functions as a possessive pronoun (Hannß 2008: 186). Chipaya has a homophonous second-person singular possessive prefix *am-* (Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 117) and a second-person singular subject marker *-am ~ -m* used with verbs in the habitual or in the perfective as well as in verbless clauses (*ibid.*, 146).

Utian (NA). The following Proto-Utian second-person singular pronouns are reconstructed by Callaghan (2014: 173, 312, 313, 319, 321): **mi·(n)* 'thou' (a form that probably functioned as the subject of a sentence) (Proto-Miwokan **mi*, Proto-Costanoan **me·(n)/*mem*), **(m)* in 'thy' (clitic) (Proto-Miwokan **ʔin*, Proto-Costanoan **me(n)*), **mi-ny* 'thy, thine' (possibly 'thou' in some constructions) (Proto-Miwokan **mi-ny/*mi-ni*, Proto-Costanoan **me-ne*), **mi* 'thou' (a weakened clitic form of Proto-Utian **mi·(n)* 'id.') (Proto-Miwokan **mi*, Proto-Costanoan **me*), and **mi-č* 'thee' (obj.) (Lake Miwok *mi-c*, Proto-Costanoan **me-s*).

Uto-Aztecan (NA). The nasal *m* is, apparently, an optional component of the Proto-Uto-Aztecan personal pronoun *i(mi) ‘you’ (sg.) and the second-person singular possessive marker *i(mi)- (Langacker 1977: 86, 124).

†*Vilela* (SA, isolate). The suffix *-mi* marks a second-person possessor with nouns and a second-person subject with verbs (Lozano 2006: 111, 120). The second-person singular independent pronoun of the language appears to contain a suffix *-m*: *nam* ‘you (sg.)’ (cf. *nah* ‘I’).

Waorani (SA, isolate). A second-person singular subject is marked in the verb with the suffix *-mi* (Yeti Caiga 2012: 79).

Washo (NA, isolate). The second-person personal pronouns of Washo are formed with a prefix *m-*. Their forms are *mí* (sg.), *míši* (du.), and *míw* (pl.) (Jacobsen 1996: 38). The second-person possessive prefix of the language is *m-* before vowel-initial stems and *ʔum-* (for some people *ʔim-*) before consonant-initial stems (*ibid.*, 7, 10). This prefix also occurs with verbs to express a second-person subject (*ibid.*, 13).

Wintuan (NA). The following second-person singular pronouns are reconstructable for Proto-Wintuan (Shepherd 2005: 39): *mi (subj.), *mi-s (obj.), *mar (gen.), *ma-t (inal. possessive), and *ma-t-o (al. possessive).

Yaruro (SA, isolate). This language has a second-person singular nominative personal pronoun *mēnĕ* with an oblique counterpart *mĕā* (Mosonyi & Mosonyi 2000: 563).

Yokutsan (NA). The following first-person singular pronominal forms were reconstructed for Proto-Yokutsan by Gamble (1988: 63, 65, 68): *maʔ (nom.), *man (acc.), and *mam/*min (gen.).

†*Yukian* (NA). Schlichter (1985: 380-381) attributes to Proto-Yukian the following second-person singular pronominal forms: *miʔ (agent), *mis (patient, inal. possessor), and *mihta(aʔ) (al. possessor).

Yurakaré (SA, isolate). This language has a personal pronoun *mæx* ‘you (sg.)’ (Van Gijn 2014: 149), a cross-reference marker for subject *-m* ‘2sg’, and a cross-reference marker for direct object *mi-* ‘2sg’ (*ibid.*, 154). The latter prefix also functions as a second-person singular possessive marker (*ibid.*, 146).

Zamucoan (SA). Ciucci & Bertinetto (2015: 68, 70) reconstruct for Proto-Zamucoan the personal subject marker *ma- ~ *ba- ‘2’ used with verbs in the realis.

It is impossible to establish, or it was not established with certainty, whether the proto-languages of the following families have an *m*-form expressing second person (singular).

Chibchan (NA and SA). Like the first-person singular personal pronoun **da* (section 1), the second-person singular personal pronoun of Proto-Chibchan reconstructed by Constenla Umaña (2012: 408), **ba*, has a non-nasal voiced stop onset subject to a “spontaneous nasalization” (*ibid.*, 413). The second-person singular personal pronoun proposed by Holt (1986) for Proto-Chibchan is **ba*(*n*) (p. 90), but, perhaps, with *m* instead of *b* (cf. **ma*/**ba* on p. 271). Wheeler (1972: 107) has **mue-ya*(*nV*)- ‘thou’.

†*Híbito-Cholón* (SA). Only for Cholón, one of the two languages that constitute this small family, we have pronominal forms. These include the personal pronouns *mi* ‘you’ (sg. *m*.) and *mi-na-ha* ‘you’ (pl.) (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005: 158), the periphrastic possessive pronouns *mi mi-low* ‘yours’ (sg.) and *mi mi-low-ha* ‘yours’ (pl.) (*ibid.*, 159), and the affixes *mi-* ‘2SG.M’ and *mi-...-ha* ‘2PL’ which could be used as possessive markers as well as subject or object verbal markers (*ibid.*, 130, 199).

†*Jirajaran* (SA). Jahn (1927: 385) records for Ayomán the second-person singular pronoun <*moh*>. Its equivalents in Jirajara and Gayón were not recorded. This makes it impossible to say for sure that Proto-Jirajaran had an *m*-form for ‘you’ (sg.).

†*Shastan* (NA). The second-person personal pronouns of Shasta are *ma·ʔi* (sg.) and *ma·ká* (pl.). The second-person possessive markers are *ma·m-* (sg.) and *ma·k-* (pl.) (Silver 1966: 201). Second-person morphemes of the other languages that compose this family (New River Shasta, Okwanuchu, and Konomihu) were not recorded.

†*Timotean* (SA). The second-person singular pronoun recorded for Mucuchí and Mucubache (Mucuchí-Maripú) is <*ma*> (Rivet 1927: 164). Cuica (Timote-Cuica) has <*ih*> (Jahn 1927: 493).

3. *k*-forms for ‘2(SG)’ from the western sector of the Guianas.

Hodi (isolate). This language has a second-person singular personal pronoun ^h*kε* (pl. ^h*kε-di*) and a prefix ^h*k-* that marks a second-person subject with auxiliary verbs (Quatra 2008: 14, 20).

†*Máku* (isolate). This language has a verbal subject marker *ke-* ‘2’ (Rogers & Zamponi in prep.: sec. 3.5.2.1).

Sáliban. The three languages of this family have similar second-person personal pronouns: *Sáliba ùku* (sg.), *ùkudu* (pl.) (Estrada Ramírez n.d.); *Piaroa uku* (sg.), *ukutu* (pl.) (Mosonyi 2000: 660); *Mako ik^{wi}* (sg.), *ik^{widi}* (pl.) (Rosés Labrada 2015: 210). They also have similar second-person verbal subject markers on the basis of which Rosés Labrada (2015: 450-451) reconstructs for Proto-Sáliban the following affixes: **k^w*- ‘2SG’, **k^w*- ‘2PL’, and **-k^w* ‘2’.

†*Sapé*. Here we find a second-person singular person pronoun *kapi* (cf. *mipi* ‘1’) (pl. *kapimi*) and a prefix *ka-* ~ *k-* that marks a second-person singular possessor or subject (Zamponi *forthcoming*: sec. 2.13).

Taruma (SA, isolate). This language has a second-person (singular/plural) personal pronoun *akú(ka)* (Meira 2015: 5).

†*Urutani* (SA). This language has a free personal pronoun *kaykate* ‘you’ (sg.) (cf. *maykate* ‘1’ (sg.)) with a bound counterpart *ka-* (Migliazza 1978: 136).

4. The i ‘1(SG)’ : a ‘2(SG)’ pronominal pattern

Bororoan. The three languages of this family share a prefix *i-* used to mark a first-person singular possessor, subject, or object and a prefix *a-* used to mark a second-person singular possessor, subject, or object (Camargos 2013: 190).

Chiquitano-Sansimoniano. In Chiquitano, the prefixes *i-* and *a-* express, respectively, a first-person singular and a second-person singular possessor, subject, or argument of a preposition (Sans 2013: 24-27, 29, 39). No pronominal form of Sansimoniano was recorded.

Fulniô (isolate). This language has a prefix *i-* used to mark a first-person singular possessor, subject, or object and a prefix *a-* used to mark a second-person singular possessor, subject, or object (Meland 1968: 3, 12).

†*Kamakanan*. *Kamakã* and *Masakarã* share a prefix *in-* ‘1sg’ (Ramirez, Vegini & França 2015: 252). *Kamakã* also has a prefix *an-* ‘2sg’ (*ibid.*).

†*Karirian*. The four (known) languages of this family share a prefix *hi-* used to mark a first-person possessor, subject, or argument of a preposition (Adam 1897: 21-24). The same languages also mark a second-person possessor, subject, or argument of a preposition by single prefix. This is *e- ~ a-* in Kipeá and *a-* in Dzubukuá (*ibid.*, 21-25).

Matacoan. Viegas Barros (2013: 314-315) reconstructs for Proto-Matacoan the first-person prefixes **j(i)-* (possessive marker) and **jV-* (subject marker) and the second-person singular prefix **a- ~ *∅-* (subject marker).

Nuclear Macro-Je. Consider the following first-person singular prefixes in three different branches of this family: (i) Jabutí: Proto-Jabutí **i-* (Ribeiro & Van der Voort 2010: 558); (ii) Je: Proto-Je: **j-* (*ibid.*); (iii) Rikbaktsa: *i- ~ ik-* ‘1sg’ (subject marker), *ik-* (object marker) (Silva 2005: 66). Also observe the following second-person singular prefixes from all seven branches of this family: (i) Aimoré: Krenak: *a- ~ ā-* (possessive and subject marker) (Pessoa 2012: 223-224); (ii) Jabutí: Proto-Jabutí **a-* (Ribeiro & Van der Voort 2010: 558); (iii) Je: Proto-Je: **a-* (*ibid.*); (iv) Karajá *a-* (possessive marker) (Ribeiro 2012: 42); (v) Maxakalian: Maxakalí *a-* (subject marker), *ā-* (possessive and direct object marker) (Campos 2009: 78, 82, 89), Pataxó *a- ~ at-* (possessive marker) (Campos 2011); (vi) Ofayé *ε-* (possessive, subject, and object marker) (Gudschinsky 1978: 193, 212); (vii) Rikbaktsa *a-* (possessive and object marker) (Silva 2005: 33, 66).

†*Payaguá* (isolate). The prefix *j-* (before V) *~ i-* (before C) expresses a first-person singular possessor, while the prefix *h-* (before V) *~ e-* (before C) a second-person singular possessor (Zamponi *forthcoming*: sec. 2.11).

The component *i* of the *i* ‘1(sg)’ : *a* ‘2(sg)’ pronominal set can also be observed in one isolate of the Paraguay River area and one proto-language of Gran Chaco.

†*Guachí* (isolate). The prefix *i-* is a possessive marker, likely of first person singular (Zamponi *forthcoming*: sec. 2.5). The second-person singular possessive marker of this language was not recorded.

Guaicuruan. Viegas Barros (2013: 294, 317, 331) reconstructs for the proto-language of the family the following first-person singular affixes: **ej- ~ *j-* (before V) *~ *ji-* (before C) (possessive marker), **i-* (subject marker), and **i* (indirect object marker).

5. *n*-forms for '2(SG)'

†*Atakapan* (NA). The second-person singular personal pronoun is *na* in Western Atakapa (pl. *nakit*) and *natt* in Eastern Atakapa (pl. *nāāk*) (Gatschet & Swanton 1932: 82). Western and Eastern Atakapa also have a prefix *na-* ~ *n-* used to express a second-person singular object (*ibid.*, 22).

Barbacoan (SA). Curnow & Liddicoat (1998: 392) reconstruct for Proto-Barbacoan a second-person singular personal pronoun **nu*.

Cahuapanan (SA). Chayahuita has a possessive/subject marker *-n* '2SG' and an object marker *-nken* '2SG'. The former suffix is identical to the second-person singular possessive marker of Mayna (Rojas-Berscia 2015: 400). The latter suffix corresponds to *-en* ~ *-ken* in Jebero (Valenzuela & Butler 2009: 2-3).

†*Canichana* (SA, isolate). The prefix *en-* marks a second-person singular possessor or subject (Zamponi *forthcoming*: sec.2.4).

Eskimo-Aleut (NA). Fortescue, Jacobson & Kaplan (1994: 441) reconstruct for Proto-Eskimo the following absolutive case suffixes also marking a second-person possessor and possessum number: **-n* '2SG:SG', **-ykan* '2SG:DU', and **-tən* '2SG:PL'. Aleut has similar forms: *-Vn* '2SG:SG', *-kin* '2SG:DU', and *-t(xin)* '2SG:PL' (*ibid.*).

Guahiboan (SA). In all languages of this family, the prefix used to mark a second-person possessor with inalienably possessed nouns is *ne-* (with the co-allomorphs *ni-* and *n-* in Macaguán) (Buenaventura Vargas 1993: 49, Kondo 1985: 79, Mosonyi & Mosonyi 2000: 236, Ortiz 2000: 603) (cf. Proto-Guahiboan **ni-hi* 'your' (sg.) in Christian & Matteson (1972: 159)).

Harakmbut (SA). The two languages that forms this small family, Amarakaeri and Huachipaeri, have these second-person singular personal pronouns: *on* (Tripp 1995: 30) and *ōn* (Peck 1979: 29).

Kutenai (NA, isolate). This language has a second-person clitic pronoun *hin=* ~ *=in* (Morgan 1991: 243).

Kwaza (SA, isolate). This language has a second-person object morpheme *-nĩnã-* (van der Voort 2004: 254).

Leco (SA, isolate). As indicated in section 2, the second-person singular verbal subject marker of *Leco* has both an allomorph *-n* and an allomorph *-m* (van de Kerke 2009: 305).

†*Maku* (SA, isolate). This language has the rare possessive/subject marker /*n*-/ and the equally rare subject marker /-*n*-/ (infix) ‘2’ (Rogers & Zamponi in prep.: 3.3.3 and 3.7.2.1).

†*Molala* (NA, isolate). The suffix *-n* (after V) ~ *-in* (after C) expresses a second-person singular subject on verbs (Pharris 2006: 167).

Movima (SA, isolate). This language has an enclitic =*n* used to encode a second-person singular possessor or transitive subject (Haude 2006: 132-133, 269).

†*Mure* (SA, isolate). Besides with the above-mentioned prefix <mi-> ~ <m-> (section 2), this language marks nouns with a second-person singular possessor prefix <ne-> (Zamponi *forthcoming*: sec. 3.6).

†*Siuslaw* (NA, isolate). This language has a second-person singular subject marker *-nx* (Frachtenberg 1922: 468).

Taruma (SA, isolate). Farabee (1918: 283) records a pronominal form *ani* ‘your’.

†*Tonkawa* (NA, isolate). The second-person singular personal pronoun has these forms in *Tonkawa*: *na·‘ya* (nom.), *na·‘yak* (acc.), *na·‘xen* (gen.) (Hoijer 1946: 303).

Totonacan (NA). MacKay & Trechsel (2015: 124, 127-128, 138) reconstruct for Proto-Totonac and Proto-Tepehua (the proto-languages of the two main branches of the Totonacan family) the second-person object suffix **-n(i)*.

Tsimshianic (NA). Tarpent (1997: 76) reconstructs for Proto-Tsimshianic a suffix **-n* used to mark a second-person singular possessor, intransitive subject, or object.

Tupian (SA). Besides **on* ‘1’ (section 1), Rodrigues & Cabral (2012: 548-549) reconstruct for Proto-Tupian the personal pronominal marker **en* ‘2’.

†*Yana* (NA, isolate). The second-person singular personal pronoun, including a base *ai* and an element (a suffix?) *nV*, is *ainuma* ~ *ainu* (cf. *ainica* ‘I’, *ai(k^{hi})niki* ‘we’, and *ainuka* ‘you’ (pl.)) (Hinton 1988:

13, Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 25). A second-person singular subject is marked in an intransitive verb by the suffix *-numa* ~ *-nu*, also containing the above-mentioned element *nV* (cf. *-nca* ~ *-ʔnica* ‘1sg’, *-niki* ‘1pl’, and *-nuka* ‘2pl’). A second-person singular object is marked by *-numa* ~ *-nu* or *-ʔma* (Hinton 1988: 12).

Yaruro (SA, isolate). This language has a second-person singular possessive pronoun *nãẽã* (cf. *kãẽã* ‘mine’) (Mosonyi & Mosonyi 2000: 564).

Yuchi (NA, isolate). This language has a second-person singular subject marker *ne-* (Linn 2000: 131, 133).

†*Yurumanguí* (SA, isolate). This language appears to have a second-person singular subject marker *ne-* or *-ne* (Rivet 1942: 21).

The attribution of an *n*-form for ‘2(SG)’ to five further proto-languages is unsure.

†*Comecrudan* (NA). The second-person singular personal pronoun of Comecrudo is *nánaⁿ* (cf. *emnaⁿ* ‘you’ (pl.)) (Swanton 1940: 83), including an initial base *na* also found in other personal pronouns (cf. *na* ~ *nak* ‘I’, *nani* ‘he, she’, and *nawís* ‘they’). Mamulique has *nas* ‘you’ (sg.) (Berlandier & Chowell 1828-1829), perhaps with an identical base *na* (cf. *napel* ‘I’). The second-person singular pronoun of Garza was not recorded.

†*Coosan* (NA). As indicated above in section 1, Miluk has an enclitic *=nə* ~ *=(ʔ)ən* used to mark a second-person singular subject or object. Its equivalent in Hanis is the proclitic *eʔ=* ~ *e(h)=* (Kroeber 2013: 109).

Katukinan (SA). Katukina-Kanamari has the following possessive prefixes: *no-* ‘2SG’ and *na-* ‘2PL’ (Anjos 2011: 134). The corresponding morphemes in Katawixí, the other member of this small family, were not recorded.

Mixe-Zoquean (NA). Wichmann (1995: 362) reconstructs for Proto-Mixe-Zoquean the possessive pronoun **mici n-he?* ‘yours’ (sg.) including a personal prefix **n-* also found in **n-he?* ‘mine’ (see above 2.1), but he advises that “details concerning the shapes of the pronoun and the prefix are debatable”.

6. m-forms for '1(SG)'

Bororoan (SA). Camargos (2013: 174) reconstructs for Proto-Bororoan the personal pronoun *imi 'I'.

Chocoan (SA). Constenla Umaña & Margery Peña (1991: 188) reconstruct for Proto-Chocoan the personal pronoun *'mũ 'I'.

†*Chumashan* (NA). Klar (1977: 53) reconstructs for the proto-language of this family a first-person singular possessive/subject marker *mi-.

†*Cuitlateco* (NA, isolate). The first-person singular personal pronoun of this language is *mimi* (cf. *imiké?lu* 'we') (Escalante Hernández 1962: 26). A suffix *-mi* marks a first-person singular subject and indicative mood in verbs (*ibid.*, p. 19).

Eskimo-Aleut (NA). Fortescue, Jacobson & Kaplan (1994: 441) reconstruct for Proto-Eskimo the following relative case suffixes also marking a first-person possessor and possessum number: *-ma '1SG:SG', *-y_{ma} '1SG:PL', *-mtuy '1DU:SG', *-y_{amtuy} '1DU:PL', *-mta '1PL:SG', *-y_{amta} '1PL:DU'. Aleut has *min* in locative phrases, perhaps from *m + *ŋa (*ibid.*, 446).

Itonama (SA, isolate). The verbal suffix *-mo* marks a second (singular/plural) person object (Camp & Liccardi 1965: 256).

†*Mochica* (SA, isolate). The first-person singular personal pronoun has these two case forms: <moiñ> (direct and dative) and <mæiñ> (oblique). The first-person plural personal pronoun has these forms: <mæich> (direct and oblique; cf. <tzhæich> 'you' (pl., direct and oblique)) and <ñof> (dative) (Hovdhaugen 2004: 29).

†*Puri-Coroado* (SA, isolate). This language has a first-person singular subject marker <ma-> ~ <mu-> (Zamponi *forthcoming*: sec. 2.1).

Quechuan (SA). Proto-Quechuan had (and Quechua I and some Quechua II still have) a first-person object marker *-ma(:)- (which became *-wa-* in most of Quechua II) (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 189).

†*Sapé* (SA, isolate). In this language, the first-person singular person-

al pronoun is *mipi* (cf. *kapi* ‘you’ (sg.)). A first-person singular possessor or subject is marked with the prefix *mi-* ~ *m-* (Zamponi *forthcoming*: sec. 2.13).

†*Urutani* (SA, isolate). This language has a free-form pronoun *maykate* ‘I’ (cf. *kaykate* ‘you’ (sg.)) with a bound counterpart *ma-* (Migliazza 1978: 136).

†*Waikuri* (NA, isolate). This language has a first-person singular possessive prefix *m-* (before V) ~ *be-* (before C) (Zamponi 2004: 166). Note that the first-person singular personal pronoun of Waikuri is *be* (*ibid.*, 164).

Worani (SA, isolate). A first-person singular subject is marked in the verb by the suffix *-mo* (Caiga 2012: 79).

Warao (SA, isolate). Here we find the following first-person singular free and bound object markers: *ma* and *ma-* ~ *m-* (Romero-Figueroa 1997: 66).

7. n-forms for ‘1SG’ in Eurasia

Basque (isolate). The first-person singular personal pronoun is *ni* in the absolutive (Saltarelli 1989: 208). The language also has a verbal subject marker *n-* ‘1SG’ (*ibid.*, 302-309).

Hruso (isolate). This language has a first-person singular personal pronoun *no* (Simon 1993: 8).

Korean (isolate). The first-person singular personal pronoun of Middle Korean (Sohn 2012: 97) and of the present-day language is *na*.

Nivkh (isolate). The first-person singular personal pronoun is *ni* (nom.) (pl.: *nyj* or *jin*) (Gruzdeva 1998: 25). The language also has a subject marker of verbal forms *-n* ~ *-non* ~ *-na* ‘1SG, 1DU’ (*ibid.*, 56).

8. *m*-forms for ‘2SG’ in Eurasia

Austroasiatic. Shorto (2006: 99) reconstructs for the proto-language of the family the pronoun *mi[i]ʔ/*miih ‘you’ (sg.).

Hmong-Mien. The reconstructed Proto-Hmong-Mien second-person singular personal pronoun is *muɛi (cf. *miəu ‘you’ (pl.)) (Ratliff 2010: 41).

Tai-Kadai. The personal pronoun *m[ai]^A ‘you’ (sg.) was reconstructed for the proto-language of the family (Peiros 1998: 64).

The presence of an *m*-form for ‘2SG’ in the proto-language of a further family is probable, but not certain.

†*Hurro-Urartian*. Hurrian has a second-person singular enclitic pronoun =mma ~ =m (Campbell 2015: 60, 181). The few attested enclitic personal pronouns of Urartian do not include the second-person singular form (Wilhelm 2008: 113). The reconstruction of the Proto-Hurro-Urartian second-person singular enclitic pronoun is impossible without the Urartian form.

Notes

¹ Matteson (1972: 164) has *n(V)-.

² Matteson (1972: 164) has *-nu.

³ It is unclear what *N represents. The daughter languages, have the following first-person possessive markers: Aymara *-xa*; Jaqaru and Cauqui *-nha*.

⁴ A similar form occurs in and Wishram (Upper Chinook) (Boas 1911: 626).

⁵ For Obispoño the form <mi-tca> was recorded (Heizer 1955: 127).

⁶ *ha? is a base found in all personal pronouns. Jackson (1972: 116) has *h(o?)y-in-an T.

⁷ The first-person singular pronoun *nisi* of Callahuaya (a secret professional language of the central Andes) is from Puquina *ni* ‘I’ and contains an element *-si* also attested in other Callahuaya words such as *atasi* ‘woman’ (Puquina *atago*) (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 360).

⁸ The first-person singular verbal subject marker *-ni* that we may observe in many modern varieties (e.g. Cuzco Quechua) is derived historically from the empty morph *-ni-*, which is inserted between two morphemes when two consonants would otherwise come together. The first-person singular subject marker was originally *-y; it followed the empty morph *-ni-* when attached to consonant-final roots (-C + *-ni-* + *-y*), but ultimately the final *-y* was swallowed up as part of the *i* and the first-person suffix attached to verbs was then reanalyzed as *-ni* (*-ni-* + *-y* > *-ni*) (Campbell 2000: 219).

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