2.3.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

S.A. Wurm

2.3.3.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

As has been pointed out in 2.3.1., the distribution of the forms of personal pronouns in Papuan languages on a New Guinea-wide basis constitutes a matter of some importance in Papuan linguistics. With rare exceptions, these pronouns belong to three basic sets whose members are formally distinct but of which one set, set III, shows strong connections with the other two and may well be ultimately derived from them (see 2.3.3.4.4.). The distribution of these sets cuts across relationship boundaries in many instances. In addition to these three basic sets, two subsets are present, as well as a small set manifesting itself only in the form of the first person singular.

Detailed studies of the distribution and other noteworthy features of all these sets have been carried out by Wurm. The results have also been mentioned in Wurm 1978, and the full results may be published elsewhere. The following is a summary statement.

The discussion will be limited to the personal pronominal forms encountered in the three singular persons, and the first and second person of the plural. Because of the gaps in the occurrence of dual forms and their frequent derivation from plural forms through affixes, their comparability is impaired, and a discussion of the third person plural forms is made difficult through gaps in the materials and much more extensive variability of the forms than is observable in the other persons.
2.3.3.2. SET I

2.3.3.2.1. DISTRIBUTION

The strongest of the three basic sets mentioned above which will be referred to as set I, shows a very wide distribution. It is very common within the Trans-New Guinea Phylum for two to five, very frequently three to five, of the five pronominal forms listed in 2.3.3.1. to belong to set I, and their appearance can be regarded as constituting a typical Trans-New Guinea Phylum characteristic, though in some, very predominantly sub-phylic, areas within the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, pronoun forms belonging to sets II and III prevail. Outside the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, set I is quite strongly in evidence in the West Papuan Phylum in the northern Vogelkop, and in the East Bird's Head Phylum. It is also very strongly present in the Sepik-Ramu Phylum (especially in the Sepik Sub-Phylum), the East Papuan Phylum, and to a somewhat lesser extent, the Sko phylum-level Stock. In a good proportion of these areas, its presence may well be attributable to direct influence by Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages.

The Distribution Map of set I pronouns given below shows occurrences of pronoun forms belonging to set I in the New Guinea area, with the figures indicating how many of the five forms under consideration belong to set I in individual languages. Because of the size limitations of the map, one language has often been chosen to represent a cluster of neighbouring languages in the areas of set I pronoun occurrences. Also, only two or more occurrences in given languages are indicated to avoid overloading the map, and also in view of the fact that because of the simple phonemic structure of the largely monosyllabic pronouns, the chance of accidental similarity of a given pronoun to the characteristic set I base forms is considerable. The base maps are simplified versions of the two folding maps following p.26.

2.3.3.2.2. CHARACTERISTICS

Set I shows the following features:

1) The difference between the masculine and feminine 2sg. forms, if occurring (which is very rare with set I) is always based on a vowel contrast (usually a/u) only, with both members belonging to set I, e.g. Telefol (Central and South New Guinea Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum): kab = you sg.m., kub = you sg.f.
2) If in a masculine-feminine pair of 3sg. pronouns, the masculine or the feminine form belongs to set I, the opposite form usually also belongs to it (though there are some exceptions, with the opposite form belonging to sets II or III), with the difference between them usually based on a vowel (often e̞ȋ̞ȇ/u̞o) or consonant contrast, e.g. Ninggerum (Central and South New Guinea Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum): ye = he, yu = she; Mayo (Tama Family, Sepik-Ramu Phylum): ra = he, ta = she.

3) In languages in which an inclusive-exclusive contrast is present with lpl. pronoun forms - a feature probably attributable to Austronesian influence in the majority of the observed cases, so for instance in Timor, Northern Halmahera, and the Vogelkop, Bomberai and Huon Peninsulas - the inclusive and exclusive forms mostly belong to two different sets. If one of them belongs to set I, the other one is predominantly a member of set II, less commonly one of set III.

4) The characteristic base consonants in the predominantly monosyllabic and CV set I pronouns forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 n</td>
<td>1 n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k̑g̑ŋ̑ŋ̑</td>
<td>2 k̑g̑ŋ̑ŋ̑, t̑d̑ȓs̑n̑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 y̑t̑d̑ȓl̑v̑s̑, V̑k̑(v̑g̑ŋ̑-ŋ̑)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternations of these consonants which, in some instances, can go beyond those indicated are along the lines mentioned in 2.4.1.5.2.1. in this volume. With the exception of 3sg. V̑k̑, the consonants are commonly word-initial, but forms with a vowel, mostly a-, preceding them are met with in some areas (see below 2.3.3.2.3.).

Important basic forms of set I pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 na</td>
<td>1 ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ka</td>
<td>2 kȋte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yȇtȇV̑k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

2.3.3.2.3. ARCHAIC FORMS

In a number of languages, bi- and trisyllabic base forms and monosyllabic forms with a final consonant are encountered. While in some of these instances, the final syllables or consonants may constitute unrecognized function morphemes, there could be reasons for assuming that many such pronoun forms are archaic forms, without appearing to be original: in the light of observations made regarding 3sg. pronoun forms which appear to be fused into one form from two elements which are 3sg.m. and 3sg.f. forms belonging to different sets (see 2.3.3.9.), it may seem possible that many of these long forms constitute fused forms composed of pronominal forms of different sets. This assumption appears to be further supported by the fact that such long forms of which the first part belongs to set I, are virtually absent from the extreme west of the New Guinea area, e.g. from Timor-Alor-Pantar and the Vogelkop and Bomberai Peninsulas, though these areas may well be those of the first appearance of the language migration which seems to have brought set I into the New Guinea area. However, long, and possibly fused, set I forms are present in regions in which mutual influences and mixing of language strata associated with different pronoun sets (see 2.3.2.2.) are strongly in evidence such as the central south (and the centre) of the New Guinea mainland, and areas into which language migrations appear to have directly proceeded from the central south, such as the Huon Peninsula, and the Binandere Stock areas to the south-east of the latter (see 3.4.1.).

In view of this, such long and possibly fused forms, while apparently older than short forms found in some other parts of the New Guinea area, especially in its eastern half, seem to be rather less archaic than the forms with initial vowel mentioned below. However, their distribution in the New Guinea area is of considerable importance to linguistic prehistory (see 3.2.1. and 3.4.1.).

In the western half of the New Guinea mainland, in the eastern half in the north in the Sepik and Madang Districts, and in the south in the Gulf District, pronoun forms are found which correspond to the set I base forms, but have initial vowels, in addition. In individual languages in the west and south, they are met with in two to five instances out of the possible five - disregarding gender and inclusive-exclusive distinctions - pronoun forms under consideration, whereas in the north, their occurrences are limited to single isolated instances
in the languages in which they are present. These forms are likely to be rather archaic, and their uneven distribution as mentioned above has a bearing on linguistic prehistory (see 3.2.1. and 3.4.1.).

2.3.3.3. SET II

2.3.3.3.1. DISTRIBUTION

The second set which has been called set II, shows a much more regional distribution than set I. It is mainly present in the Northern Halmahera-Vogelkop Peninsula region, in much of the northern part of the non-peninsular eastern section of Irian Jaya, in a small part of the south-eastern portion of Irian Jaya, the Trans-Fly area, the central north of the mainland, the Torricelli Phylum and the Ramu Sub-Phylum (Sepik-Ramu Phylum) areas, in three further areas in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, i.e. two in the Papua New Guinea Highlands and one in the south-east, and finally in parts of the East Papuan Phylum, in particular on Rossel Island (in Yele), northern New Britain and New Ireland, Bougainville and the Solomon Islands.

For the Distribution Map of set II pronouns given below, the same principles of presentation have been adopted as has been the case with the map of set I forms (see 2.3.3.2.1.).

2.3.3.3.2. CHARACTERISTICS

Set II shows the following characteristics:

1) If in a masculine-feminine pair of 2sg. pronouns, the masculine form belongs to set II — which is mostly the case with such pairs unless they both belong to set I (which is rare: see 2.3.3.2.2., 1) — the feminine form regularly belongs to set III, e.g. Iatmul, Middle Sepik Stock, Sepik-Ramu Phylum: mən (set II) = you sg.m., fən (set III) = you sg.f. Exceptions to this situation are very few.

2) In masculine-feminine pairs of 3sg. pronouns in which one of the two gender forms belongs to set II, the other form is only very rarely also a member of set II: in the majority of the instances in which one of the two forms belongs to set II — mostly the feminine — the opposite form belongs to set III (e.g. in some Torricelli Phylum languages such as Muniwara, Marienberg Family, Torricelli Phylum: na (set III) = hə, wu (set II) = shə) or sometimes to set I (e.g. in languages of the Sko phylum-level Stock and some Torricelli Phylum languages) which constitutes some of the exceptions mentioned in 2.3.3.2.3., 2). Only rarely does the masculine form belong to set
II and the feminine to another set, (e.g. in Bilua, Yele-Solomons-Wasi Stock, East Papuan Phylum: set I).

3) As has been mentioned in 2.3.3.2.2., 3), members of inclusive-exclusive pairs of 1pl. pronouns tend to belong to two different sets. Combinations of set II-set I and set II-set III are met with.
4) The characteristic base consonants of the set II pronoun forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kʷgʷŋgʷŋ</td>
<td>1 mʷp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 m</td>
<td>2 mʷp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 bʷpʷw,ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alternations of these consonants which, in some cases, can go beyond those indicated, are along the lines mentioned in 2.4.1.5.2.1.. They are commonly word-initial. As is the case with set I forms, forms with a vowel preceding them are met with in some areas (see 2.3.3.3.3.). Important basic forms of set II pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ka</td>
<td>1 me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ma</td>
<td>2 m₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 baʷpʷwᵃʷmⁱ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.3.3.3. ARCHAIC FORMS

Long and possibly fused forms of which the first element belongs to set II are very rare. For the few instances observed, much the same applies as has been stated in 2.3.3.2.3. with regard to such forms of which the first element belongs to set I.

As with set I forms, set II forms with initial vowel occur, with a distribution which matches the areas of the highest incidence of set II forms to some extent except that in the Trans-Fly area their incidence is weaker. It seems quite likely that these forms are archaic - they appear mainly in areas in which the set II forms can be assumed to have penetrated at a very early time such as the Vogelkop Peninsula and Torricelli Phylum areas (see 3.4.1.).
2.3.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

2.3.3.4. SET III

2.3.3.4.1. DISTRIBUTION

The third set which has been called set III, shows a distribution which bears some similarity to that of set II (see 2.3.3.1.): it is mainly in evidence in the northern part of the Vogelkop Peninsula, the west of the Bomberai Peninsula, the neck-portion of Irian Jaya, the northern part of the non-peninsular eastern section of Irian Jaya, parts of the central north of the mainland, the Ramu Sub-Phylum (Sepik-Ramu Phylum) area, to a lesser extent than set II in the Torricelli Phylum area and neighbouring regions, though single occurrences are present in numerous languages there, in a number of areas in the Papua New Guinea Highlands and the south-east most of which are close to the points of significant occurrences of set II forms, in northern New Britain and New Ireland, and rather weakly in the Solomon Islands. However in contrast to set II, it shows an extremely strong occurrence in the Madang District, including its eastern part which is in the Trans-New Guinea Phylum area, as well as in an area stretching to the south of the western Madang District through the Highlands, especially the region occupied by the Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock, and beyond to the Papuan Gulf. At the same time, it is largely absent from the Trans-Fly area and south-eastern Irian Jaya which are major strongholds of set II.

On the Distribution Map of set III pronouns given below, the same principles have been followed as have applied to the map of set I forms (see 2.3.3.2.1.).

2.3.3.4.2. CHARACTERISTICS

Set III shows the following characteristics:

1) As has been mentioned in 2.3.3.3.2.1), the feminine form in a masculine-feminine pair of 2sg. pronouns regularly belongs to set III when the masculine form belongs to set II. Exceptions to this situation - disregarding the cases in which both forms of such a pair belong to set I (see 2.3.3.2.2.1)) are constituted by the very few instances in which the masculine form belongs to set III and the feminine form to set II or both to set III (which is the case in a few languages of the West Papuan Phylum).

2) It has been mentioned in 2.3.3.3.2.2) that in the majority of the instances in which one of the two forms in a masculine-feminine pair of 3sg. pronouns - usually the feminine - belongs to set II, the
opposite form belongs to set III. In a few cases in which one is a
member of set III, the opposite member belongs to set I (e.g. in
some Torricelli Phylum languages), which constitutes some of the
exceptions mentioned in 2.3.3.2.2.

3) What can be mentioned concerning the occurrence of a member of
set III in inclusive-exclusive pairs of lpl. pronouns has largely
been stated in 2.3.3.2.2.3) and 2.3.3.3.3). It remains to add
that in a very small number of languages (e.g. languages of the
Trans-Fly and Goilala Stocks, Trans-New Guinea Phylum), both members
of such a pair belong to set III.

4) The characteristic base consonants of the set III pronoun forms
are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 τvʌŋγ (vŋ)</td>
<td>1 (V){k} ~ (V) {t}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nʌn</td>
<td>2 nY{g}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, the alternations of these consonants which, in some cases, can
go beyond those indicated, are along the lines discussed in 2.4.1.5.2.1.
With the exception of the lpl. forms, they are commonly word-initial. As
in the case with the forms of sets I and II, forms with a vowel preceding
them are met with in some areas (see 2.3.3.4.3.). Important basic forms
of set III pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 dʌntʌŋγa</td>
<td>1 kiŋti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 na</td>
<td>2 nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.3.4.3. ARCHAIC FORMS

Long and possibly fused forms (see 2.3.3.2.3.) of which the first
part belongs to set III occur in a small number of instances. Consider-
ations similar to those applying to such apparently fused forms of which
the first element belongs to set I (see 2.3.3.2.3.) may hold for them,
and indeed in the far west of the New Guinea area, in assumed contact
regions between migrations believed to have been carrying pronoun forms
of different sets (see 3.4.1.) such as the Vogelkop and Bomberai
Peninsulas, some apparently fused pronoun forms are found of which the
first part belongs to set III: fused forms whose first part belongs to
sets I or II are extremely low in number in those areas.
As with sets I and II, set III forms with initial vowel occur though their incidence is of a rather low order. Their distribution is somewhat unexpected: they occur very largely outside the areas of the main concentration of set III forms as a whole, except for the eastern part of the Madang District and an area south of the western Madang District. This is in part complementary to the distribution of comparable forms of set II (see 2.3.3.3.3.) which may have some significance in the light of what has been said below in 2.3.3.4.4. about the special, possibly non-original, nature of set III. If the numerically rather insignificant set III forms with initial vowel are regarded as archaic which they probably are, their unexpected distribution may perhaps be explained in terms of their constituting an early phonological innovation carried by an early migration which separated from the main area of the set III forms in the west and migrated to the east, to be followed subsequently by the non-innovated forms carried by the eastward migration of the main body which pushed the innovated forms into fringe areas.

2.3.3.4.4. THE SPECIAL NATURE OF SET III FORMS

There are a few aspects inherent in the nature and distribution of the pronoun forms of set III which suggest that the forms constituting this set and in consequence, the set itself, are in part derived from the same original forms as members of set II, and in part directly derived from set I. The following facts are of interest in this respect:

1 sg.: In spite of the strong presence of set II forms in the northern part of the Vogelkop Peninsula which is also an area of major occurrence of set III, set II forms of the lsg. pronoun are totally lacking in that area, whereas set III forms are very strongly in evidence. In languages there in which several of the pronouns belong to set II, the lsg. pronoun usually belongs to set III. The characteristic base consonant of set II is k, and the main variant of set III is t: in 2.3.2.1. it has been pointed out that the interchangeability of these two consonants is a rather general Papuan characteristic, and it has been found to play an important part in reconstruction work (see 2.4.1.5.3.1.). In view of this, it may well be justifiable to postulate an original lsg. form with *č- (see 2.4.1.5.3.1.) from which the k- and t- forms of sets II and III developed, with the emergence of k taking place only east of the Vogelkop.
3 sg.: In western languages with gender distinction, e.g. in the Northern Halmahera (West Papuan Phylum) languages as well as in old languages elsewhere, i.e. the Torricelli Phylum languages, the 3sg.m. pronoun has \( n \) and the 3sg.f. one a labial \((m, w)\) as the characteristic base consonant which may well be regarded as an original situation. As a result of the impact of the non-gender Trans–New Guinea Phylum languages upon older languages (see 3.4.1.) many such languages appear to have lost their gender distinction, and one of the two, i.e. masculine or feminine, 3sg. pronoun forms became the sole 3sg. pronoun - the masculine form a member of set III and the feminine form one of set II. Some non-gender languages (e.g. Binanderean Family Languages, Binandere Stock; Awyu, Central and South New Guinea Stock; Kwale, Kwalean Stock - all three members of the Trans–New Guinea Phylum) have two 3sg. pronoun forms belonging to sets II and III, and some have forms which are fused from an original masculine and a feminine form (see 2.3.3.9.).

2 sg.: Similar considerations as have been mentioned above with regard to the 3sg. pronouns may be possible in the case of the 2sg. pronouns in the light of the fact that in some languages with gender distinction in the 2sg. (e.g. languages of the Middle Sepik Stock, Sepik–Ramu Phylum), the masculine form belongs to set II, and the feminine one to set III.

1 pl. (and 2 pl.): In spite of the strong presence of set III pronouns in the northern part of the Vogelkop Peninsula, 1pl. pronoun forms of this set are almost absent from that area and they are rare in adjacent areas and in the northern part of the non-peninsular eastern section of Irian Jaya. This indicates that they are likely to be a later development. Their forms and the strong occurrence of \( k \) or as their characteristic base consonant suggest a connection with apparent sets I + III fused forms which are found in south-eastern Irian Jaya, a typical area of interaction between different strata (see 3.4.1.), as well as in the Gulf and Huon Peninsula areas and in the north of the south-eastern tail-end of the mainland: areas into which migrations from the central southern 'interaction region' are assumed to have directly penetrated. The shape of these apparent fused forms \((nok, nag, etc.)\) and the presence in parts of the same areas, of 2pl. pronouns in very similar forms \((nigo, nige)\) which may well be the result of the fusion of 2sg. set III \( n-\) and 2pl. set I \( k-\) resulting from the interaction of sets I and III in an area south-east of the Vogelkop, may suggest an origin of the 1pl. set III \( k\) from a confusion between 1pl. and 2pl. forms in contact
situations: a phenomenon observable in other parts of the New Guinea area such as the Sepik region.

2.3.3.5. SET Ia

One of the two subsets mentioned in 2.3.3.1. constitutes a subset to set I and differs from the latter only in the 2sg. in having the base consonant t\textsuperscript{\textcircled{W}}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{W}}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{W}}(s) instead of k and its variants, with an important basic form being te.

It seems likely that the base consonants of 2sg. set I: k\textsuperscript{\textcircled{W}}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{W}}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{W}} and set Ia: t\textsuperscript{\textcircled{W}}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{W}}\textsuperscript{\textcircled{W}}(s) are derived from *\textcircled{W} (see 2.3.3.4.). It is noteworthy in this connection to consider that the distribution of set Ia bears some relationship to that of points which the early, west to east, Trans-New Guinea Phylum migration is assumed to have reached and passed through (see 3.4.1.), i.e. the Timor-Alor area, the south coast of the Vogelkop Peninsula, the Bomberai Peninsula, the south-western part of the non-peninsular portion of Irian Jaya, the central part of the mainland, the central north and the Sepik Districts area adjacent to it in the east, the inland area of the Gulf District, the area to the south of the Upper Markham River, and southern parts of the south-eastern tail portion of the mainland. It is also met with in the region immediately to the north of the central part of the mainland which is thought to be an area of penetration by the late, east-to-west, Trans-New Guinea Phylum migration (see 3.4.1.). There is some evidence that the Trans-New Guinea Phylum migration into that area has penetrated there from the central part of the mainland and in the course of this has apparently carried set Ia forms from that area northwards.

As is the case with set I forms, there are set Ia forms with initial vowel - probably archaic forms. They occur in the western areas of occurrence of set Ia, as well as in the northern areas.

On the Distribution Map of set Ia pronouns given below, the presence of a set Ia form of the 2sg. pronoun in given languages has been marked by *. As has been the case with maps 1-3, one language has been chosen in many instances to represent a cluster of adjacent languages.

2.3.3.6. SET x

The second subset mentioned in 2.3.3.1. constitutes a subset to all the sets mentioned so far and is characterised by the appearance of special forms of the pronoun forms belonging to those sets. The
characteristic features of these special forms are as follows:

1sg.: \( w^v \)- before the \( n \) of set I, e.g. \( w^n \)
      i instead of \( a \) in set II, e.g. \( k^i \)

2sg.: i instead of \( a \) in set I, e.g. \( k^i, a^n \)
      \(-y\) in set II, e.g. \( p^y \)
      the variant \( y^i \) in set Ia, e.g. \( y^i \)
      (\( w^u \)- before the \( n \) of set III, e.g. \( w^n u \) in Kwomtari
       (Kwomtari phylum-level Stock), but this may be due
       to the interchangeability of pronouns in many Sepik-
       Ramu Phylum languages (see 2.3.2.5.) from which
       this particular Kwomtari pronoun has quite obviously
       been borrowed).

3sg.: \(-n\) with set II, e.g. \( m^n \) (the assignment of this feature
       to set \( x \) is doubtful and 3sg. forms in \(-n\) may constitute
       ordinary variants of set II forms)
       (\( w^u \)- with set III, but this may, in the few instances of
       its occurrence in the Sepik District, also be attributable
       to what has been stated above under 2sg.).

1pl.: \( y^i - \) or \(-m\) with set I, e.g. \( y^n \), \( n^m \)
      \(-i\) after \( p \) with set II, e.g. \( e^p \)

2pl.: \( y^i - y^u\) before the base consonant of set I, e.g. \( y^u \)
      \( y^i - y^u\) before the base consonant of set II, e.g. \( y^p \)

The appearance of special forms of the kind discussed above would in itself not constitute a very unusual phenomenon justifying the establish-
ment of a separate set. The presence of single occurrences of such special forms in the pronoun range of a given language which is in-
frequent and encountered especially in the northern Vogelkop, the Irian
Jaya and Papua New Guinea Highlands, the centre of the mainland, the
Trans-Fly area, the Madang District, the Huon Peninsula, the southern
part of the south-eastern tail portion of the mainland, and northern
New Britain may therefore have perhaps no special significance (but
see below and 2.3.3.8.) though these points coincide to some extent
with the route of the assumed west-to-east Trans-New Guinea Phylum
migration. However, the high concentration of multiple occurrences, in
individual languages, of set \( x \) forms in a geographically contiguous
region in the Sepik Sub-Phylum (Sepik-Ramu Phylum), Torricelli Phylum
and the northern central Trans-New Guinea Phylum area adjoining the
latter in the south-west is undoubtedly significant, and very probably
attributable to the influence of a substratum in the area which antedates
the appearance of both the Sepik-Ramu and Trans-New Guinea Phyla mi-
grations into it (see 3.4.1.). At the same time, the distribution of
single occurrences may have some importance in the light of the some-
what similar, though more restricted, distribution of unclassifiable pronoun forms (see 2.3.3.8.).

On the Distribution Map of set x pronouns given below, the same principles of presentation have been adopted as have applied to the map of set I forms (see 2.3.3.2.1.).

2.3.3.7. SET B

The small set manifesting itself only in the form of the first person singular which was mentioned in 2.3.3.1. shows a regional distribution which strongly indicates that it constitutes a sub-stratum feature which antedates the penetration of the Trans-New Guinea and Sepik-Ramu Phylum migrations into some parts of the New Guinea area. It is, to a considerable extent, a feature of languages not belonging to these two large phyla, e.g. of languages of the Torricelli Phylum, the Left May phylum-level Family, of some of the Upper Sepik Isolates, the Wasmobo (or Gusap) Isolate in the Upper Markham River area, the Porome Isolate in the Gulf District, and of Anem in south-western New Britain, a member of the East Papuan Phylum. It also occurs in the Sepik-Ramu Phylum in languages of the Leonhard Schultze and the Lower Sepik (Nor-Fondo) Sub-Phyla, and not far from these areas, in the Senagi Sub-Phylum of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. However, the languages of these three sub-phyla are highly aberrant and contain very strong substrata, and it seems likely that the presence of set B in them is attributable to this substratum. More isolated occurrences of it have also been observed in the south of the south-eastern tail portion of the mainland, in the Trans-Fly area, in the north-western part of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum in northern Irian Jaya and in the Warenbore and Boromeo Isolates located in that region near the Mamberamo, in the mainland portion of the Geelvink Bay Phylum and in the Mairasi-Tanah Merah Stock of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum in the 'neck' portion of the Vogelkop Peninsula in Irian Jaya.

On the Distribution Map of set B pronouns given below, the presence of a set B form of the lsg. pronoun in given languages has been marked by +. The principles adopted for map 4 (set Ia pronouns, see 2.3.3.5.) apply to this map as well, though in view of the relative rarity of the occurrence of set B, cases in which one language represents a cluster of adjacent languages are not common.
An important basic form of set B is bo\textsuperscript{a}mo (\textsuperscript{a}po\textsuperscript{a}wa).

A remarkable feature of set B is the fact that it occurs in a number of unrelated languages within one given area in the Sepik Districts, and in other unrelated languages in other parts of Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya. While its presence in the Sepik District can be explained as reflecting a substratum in spite of the somewhat discontinuous nature of its area of occurrence (this fact is perhaps understandable in terms of the assumed Sepik-Ramu Phylum migration - see 3.4.1.), its presence in widely separated unrelated languages as well as in areas at and near the fringes of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum constitutes a problem. It may perhaps be indicative of some kind of wider connection between pre-Trans-New Guinea Phylum and pre-Sepik-Ramu Phylum languages in the New Guinea area (see 3.4.1.).

2.3.3.8. UNCLASSIFIABLE PRONOUN FORMS NOT BELONGING TO THE SETS DISCUSSED

There are some pronoun forms in individual languages which do not fit in with any of the various sets discussed so far. Their total number is very small, and their presence exceeds single occurrences per language in only very few instances, e.g. in languages of the Eleman Sub-Phylum of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

The distribution of these forms bears some similarity, in a greatly reduced form, to that of those of set x forms (see 2.3.3.6.): their highest concentration is in the Sepik Sub-Phylum (Sepik-Ramu Phylum) and Torricelli Phylum areas, though they are absent from the northern central Trans-New Guinea Phylum area adjoining the latter in the southwest. Their distribution agrees with that of single occurrences of set x forms (see 2.3.3.6.) in the appearance of unclassifiable forms in some very few languages in the Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea Highlands and the Trans-Fly area, but such forms are absent from the Huon Peninsula, the northern Vogelkop, the centre of the mainland, the Madang District, the southern part of the south-eastern tail portion of the mainland and northern New Britain in which single occurrences of set x forms have been observed. They are however quite strongly met within languages of the Eleman Sub-Phylum of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, in the Gulf District.

In the light of this, it seems possible to see in the distribution of such unclassifiable pronouns some further indication, as manifested in pronoun forms, of the existence of pre-Trans-New Guinea and Sepik-Ramu Phyla substrata in the Papuan languages, in addition to what has been said in 2.3.3.7. about set B pronouns.
2.3.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

On the Distribution Map of unclassifiable pronouns given below, the occurrence of such pronoun forms in given languages – mostly only one per language – has been indicated by +. The principles adopted for map 4 (set Ia pronouns, see 2.3.3.5.) have been applied to this map, but because of the rarity of the occurrence of unclassifiable pronoun forms, cases in which one language represents a cluster of adjacent languages are rare.

2.3.3.9. PARALLEL OCCURRENCES OF PRONOUNS OF DIFFERENT SETS, AND FUSED FORMS

As has been pointed out in 2.3.3.4.4., several non-gender languages have two distinct 3sg. pronoun forms which formally correspond to the masculine and feminine 3sg. pronouns of some of the gender languages. This situation appears to be the result of the impact of the non-gender Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages upon earlier languages with gender distinction.

Another comparable situation is observable for instance in the aberrant Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages of the Trans-Fly area in which the pronouns belong largely to set II, whereas the bound object person markers with verbs belong predominantly to set I.

A further development from such situations is the appearance, as already mentioned in 2.3.3.2.3., 2.3.3.4.4. and elsewhere, of long pronoun forms which seem to be fused forms composed of pronominal elements originally belonging to two different sets.

Of particular interest among these are 3sg. forms in non-gender languages which appear to be the result of the fusion of 3sg.m. and 3sg.f. forms in two-gender languages. In 2.3.3.4.4., the taking over of either the masculine or the feminine 3sg. form of two-gender languages by non-gender languages has been mentioned: the fused 3sg. forms in the latter type of languages seem to reflect a situation in which both the masculine and feminine forms were adopted, and fused into a single form. A good example of this is Wabuda (Trans-Fly Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum), 3sg. nuabu: sets III (nu-) + II (-abu), with nu- a set III 3sg.m. form observed in gender languages and abu a set II 3sg.f. form in gender languages.

Such apparently fused 3sg. forms reflecting masculine and feminine forms encountered in other two-gender languages are also met with in gender languages, e.g. Marind (Marind Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum), 3sg.m. anep: sets III + II. Another fused form in a gender language is for instance Kayik (Wapei-Palei Stock, Torricelli Phylum)
2.3.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

3sg.m. tene: sets I + III.

A few examples may be given of what seem to be comparable fused forms of other persons and which are possibly composed of pronoun forms originally belonging to different sets:

lsg.: Kamoro (Central and South New Guinea Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum) noro (I + III);
       Marind (Marind Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum) nok (I + II)

2sg.: Telefol (Central and South New Guinea Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum) kab (I + II);
       Daribi (Mikar) (Teberan stock-level Family, Trans-New Guinea Phylum) nagi (III + I(x))

1pl.: Yenimu (Central and South New Guinea Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum) ngu (I + III);
       Korafe (Binandere Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum) nama(ne) (I + II); Kiwai (Trans-
       Fly Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum) nimo (I + II)

2pl.: Zia (Mawai dial.) (Binandere Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum) nige (III + I); Kiwai (Trans-Fly Stock, Trans-
       New Guinea Phylum) nigo (III + I)

In some languages, the second part of individual pronoun forms may constitute function suffixes which may however well be derived from full pronoun forms in the light of what has been said above.

The areas of occurrence of apparently fused pronoun forms predominate in the centre and the eastern half of the mainland and its general central and southern area, with the Sepik Districts region also showing a fairly high concentration. Some of the areas in which they have been observed coincide with those of assumed contact regions between the migrations believed to have been carrying pronoun forms of different sets (see 3.4.1.), such as the southern part of the Vogelkop and adjacent regions, the central southern area of the mainland and the western part of the Sepik Districts and adjacent areas. They are also met with in areas such as the Huon Peninsula-Finisterre region and the northern part of the south-eastern tail portion of the mainland, into which migrations from the southern central contact area are assumed to have directly proceeded (see 3.4.1.).
On the map given below, the presence of fused pronoun forms, and of parallel occurrences of pronouns of different sets in 3sg. in non-gender languages, has been shown. The occurrence of such a form or forms has been marked by +. The principles adopted for map 4 (set Ia pronouns, see 2.3.3.5.) apply to this map as well.

2.3.3.10. CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the discussion given above it is clear that no simple one-to-one correspondence exists between the various pronoun sets found in Papuan languages and the established groups of probably interrelated languages. It has been observed that the bulk of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages contains a concentration of pronoun forms of set I, and it has been mentioned in 2.3.3.2.1. that the appearance of set I forms can be looked upon as a typical Trans-New Guinea Phylum characteristic, though the occurrence of this set is not limited to Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages. At the same time, many Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages, especially those of certain predominantly marginal and sub-phylic areas, contain a varying, sometimes quite high, number of pronoun forms of sets II and III. Both these sets, as well as set I, are strongly in evidence in the various unrelated phylic groups in the Sepik Districts, and are also encountered in the West Papuan and East Papuan Phyla. Sets x and B appear to be substratum features and are present in a number of unrelated phylic groups, predominantly in the Sepik Districts area.

The fact that a large number of Papuan languages, predominantly languages showing a preponderance of set II pronouns, distinguish two genders in the third - sometimes also the second - person singular, further complicates the picture: if gender distinction is indicated in languages with 3sg. set I pronoun forms, it is usually only denoted by a vowel change in those forms. However, in languages in which the 3sg.m. pronoun belongs to another set, the 3sg.f. pronoun tends to be a member of another set again.

In many cases, the 3sg. pronoun forms in non-gender languages show formal similarity to masculine or feminine 3sg. pronouns in gender languages and may have been taken over from them. A number of non-gender languages show two parallel 3sg. pronoun forms which formally resemble 3sg.m. and 3sg.f. forms in gender languages; others, including gender languages, show 3sg. pronouns as well as other pronouns which seem to be fused forms composed of elements similar to 3sg.m. and 3sg.f. pronouns in other languages, and to pronouns of different sets. The
occurrence of such forms shows some parallelism with the occurrence of mixed typological features which is in line with the fact that some correlation appears to exist between the presence of certain typological characteristics and of pronouns of certain sets as set out above in 2.3.2.2.
2.3.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

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