3 The true prepositions/ casemarkers in Proto Oceanic

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1 Introduction[1]

1.1 Preliminary comments

This work studies prepositions (PREP) and casemarkers (CM), categories which we shall usually combine as PCM. We begin with certain postulates about which PCMs, coming down from Proto Austronesian (PAn) and Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP), entered Proto Oceanic (POc) by direct inheritance. These are all monosyllables of CV structure. We won't deal with new prepositions emerging from locative nouns or from serial verbs except to note that as lenition gradually erodes understandability, longer words or phrases must be substituted or added. The present effort is more interested in finding relics of the ancient ones than in elaborating on the invaders.

We tend to say 'casemarker' when a PCM becomes more highly grammaticalised, more purely syntactic, with less specific semantic content, and/or, by lenition, tends toward becoming a clitic and eventually an affix.

Although the postulated PCMs are based on evidence, it is beyond the scope of this paper to test and prove them. We take them as given, and search the Oceanic languages for the PCMs that should appear as descendants of the postulated ones.

When reference to the PAn consonant *C is needed, I'll write it in lower case ('c'), to allow 'C' and 'V' to be used for generalised Consonant and Vowel.

Two principles used in the study are worth mentioning. Principle 1: Take the simplest explanation. If an attested form can come from an acceptable protoform, take that as its source; don't concoct a theory to create it *ex nihilo*. Principle 2: Postulate an irregular

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phonological change only as a last resort. If available, take an explanation that does not need any irregular sound change ad hoc.

As an example of the logic used here, consider the accepting or rejecting, as ancestral, of (1) the *lo* particle, which Ross (1988:287) calls a preposition innovated in Western Oceanic, and (2) the *ta* which Pawley (1973:147-148) called a true preposition, but Ross (1988:104-106) called an old noun. This study calls *ta* and not *lo* a possible true PCM because *ta* and not *lo* occurs as such in Formosan languages; and because *lo* and not *ta* has a plausible noun source, the locational noun *lalo*. Ross is right (1988:287) both in seeing *la/*lo* as an old inalienable locative noun and as seeing that it has become a preposition in the New Ireland languages. But the standing of *ta* in Ross's languages is less clear. For the Mussau language Ross (1988:117) shows:

(1)   *e-ta-ira*
       PREP-PREP-3PL[2]
       'for them'

but the occurrence of two successive prepositions is problematic. The *ta-* seems to be a grammaticalised determiner (casemarker), and its ancestry can be a PAn preposition **ca/*ta* or else a PAn demonstrative **cV* (which for PMP is most easily reconstructed **tu < *cu* with the allowable variation among three vowels).

1.2 Postulated cases

It is assumed that the 'focus' case system, found in Formosan and Philippine languages, was essentially what late PAn had. (Starosta 1974 may be right in contending that Rukai branched off from mainline AN before that system developed, though it is also possible that Rukai's ancestor had that system and lost it, as the ancestors of many MP languages did.) The system had at least the three cases found in Tagalog. Case 1 has been called the topic or focus. Evidence suggests that it began as a topic but became absolutive or nominative, and so

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2   Abbreviations used in this paper:

IS.BN	first singular benefactive	O	object particles
2SG	second person singular	OBJ	object
3PL	third person plural	PAn, PAN	Proto Austronesian
3SG	third person singular	PCEMP	Proto Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian
A	actor/agent particles		
AN	Austronesian	PCM	prepositional casemarkers
ART	article	PEMP	Proto Eastern Malayo-Polynesian
*c	Proto Austronesian consonant	PF	perfective
C	consonant	PMP	Proto Malayo-Polynesian
CEMP	Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian	PN	personal name
CM	casemarker	POc	Proto Oceanic
CONJ	conjunction	POSS	possessive
CV	consonant, vowel	PREP	preposition
DEM	demonstrative	PSHNNG	Proto South Halmahera North New Guinea
DIR	directional		
EMPH	emphatic	SRP	inner nominative pronoun
GEN	genitive	TAM	tense, aspect, mode
IRR	irrealis	V	vowel
LOC	locative	WMN	Western Melanesian
MP	Malayo-Polynesian	WMP	Western Malayo-Polynesian
NomAc	nominative accusative	<	comes from
		>	goes to

acquired some characteristics of the syntactic subject of the sentence, regardless of its semantic role. Affixes on the verb provide a partial mapping of semantic roles onto the syntactic cases.

Case 2 has genitive role (linking a noun to another noun), and is also used as the marked agent ('ergative' or passive), an agent (doer) that is not the focus nor a nominative subject. Its occasional 'from' role (*na, no*, Williams & Williams 1956:14, 15) is almost certainly a survival from earliest PAn, as (space) 'from' words tend to evolve into 'of' and 'by' words and not the reverse. Thus we get a small glimpse into a pre-PAn or early PAn state that preceded 'focus' syntax.

Case 3 is used for space relations (location or motion to/from) and for a broad variety of other semantic roles, such as time, dative, benefactive, causative, comitative, means, and manner. POc's ancestor, PCEMP, abandoned the focus system for a new Nominative-Accusative (NomAc) syntax, though its PCMs show their ancestry.

1.3 Functions of the initial consonants of ancestral PCM

It is postulated that the syntactic case and semantic role of each PCM was determined anciently by the consonant. In MP only six initial consonants, including zero, were used in PCMs, but most of them (zero, /s/, /k/, if not /t/ and /d/) seem to have been used for both Case 1 and Case 3. As PAn *c and *t merge in PMP, we need not consider the Formosan evidence that PAn had both *c- and *t- PCMs. The paradigm postulated here includes:

zero-	Case 1 topic, focus, nominative, absolutive
zero-	Case 3 locative, mostly with /i/ vowel
n-	Case 2 genitive, ablative, ergative, complement
s-	Case 3 dative, allative, adjuncts, usually *sa*
s-	Case 1 nominative, usually *si* for persons only
k-	Case 1 topic, nominative, presentive
k-	Case 3 allative, comitative, dative, adjunct
t-	Case 3 locative, accusative, allative, others
d-	Case 3 locative, accusative, others. It is *r-* in Oceanic.

Case 1 in *t-* and *d-* is more elusive. The six initial consonants (including zero) are seven in PAn, as two PAn consonants merge as *t-* in PMP.

The similarity of *t-* and *d-* in both phonology and usage suggests the possibility of a common prehistoric origin with some unknown element present in one of them; but that issue involves pre-PAn and may never be resolved.

The *n-* morph is the best established of all. It is also the simplest and clearest. Case 2 had only the *n-* marker; the *n-* marker was used only in Case 2; and Case 2 was clearly defined.

It is curious that in five of the seven reconstructible PAn PCMs the consonant is in the dental-alveolar range of articulation (PAn *n, *s, *t, *c, *d*) with only zero and *k* as exceptions. Is that a chance happening, or did something of interest happen in pre-PAn?

1.4 Functions of the vowels of ancestral PCM

The vowels anciently marked certain classes of substantives, but no simple paradigm seems to cover this matter. For the consonant *n-*, the one most certain to have occurred with

all three vowels in PAn, and what seems clearest from examining Philippine and Atayal languages (Schachter & Otanes 1972; Huang 1994; Li 1995) is that *i-* was used for proper names of persons (and perhaps places), personal pronouns, and some demonstrative pronouns; and *a* for nonspecific common nouns. A table (slightly adapted for clarity from Huang 1994:97) shows the vowels and classes as:

Casemarking, Genitive, for Nouns:

Common:	nonreferential [nonspecific]: *na'*
Referential [specific]:	*nku'*
Proper [always referential and specific]:	*ni'*

[An unidentified vowel is elided between *n* and *k* in the second line.]

In Chamorro (Topping & Dungca 1973:133-135), where *i* is a specific article that cannot occur before a pronoun, *nu + i* is contracted to *ni*. In Paiwan (Ferrell 1981), where *ni* is 'of' before personal pronouns and names of persons, *nu* or *nua* or (contracted to) *na* is used before common nouns. Those two contractions suggest that the ancient PCM was the *-u* form, and that PCMs in *-i* and *-a* are contractions of it with article **i* for persons or proper names and **a* for (nonspecific?) common nouns. Furthermore, Paiwan (Ferrell 1981:12) shows *tua* (PAn **sua*) beside *tu* (PAn **su*) as the -focus, non-agent 'construction marker'. This fits our definition of a Case 3 marker. His example 'the bird grasped the stone' seems accusative. Ferrell's 'construction markers' show only the 'syntactic slot', in contrast to case-markers, which, he says, should show also semantics. And for Kanakanavu, Li (1997:353) shows *sa* and *sua* as alternative forms of a casemarker. So we have evidence from languages in three different primary branches of AN, that casemarkers *Ci < Cui < Cu i*, and *Ca < Cua < Cu a*. Chamorro supports the hypothesis for *nV*, Kanakanavu supports it for *sV*, and Paiwan supports it for both.

So what the evidence suggests is that the PCMs in *-u* may be the most ancient ones; and that those in *-i* and *-a* were formed from the *-u* forms plus an article, *i* for reference to persons or proper nouns, or *a* for nonspecific common nouns. The simple *Cu* form may have remained for nouns fulfilling neither the *-i* nor the *-u* requirement.

For the other initials (zero, *k*, *d*, *t*, *c*) the same process may have taken place. On the other hand, some of them (perhaps the vowel alternatives to the locative *i* and possibly *di*) could have arisen later by analogy with the ancient **n-* and **s-* forms.

This explanation accounts for evidence that had been noted before by others. Zorc (pers. comm.) said that in the Central Philippine languages, regardless of the consonant, *-u* is the most specific, *-i* is indefinite-nonspecific, and *-a* is perhaps neutral, though specific-definite for Case 3 common nouns. Malcolm Ross (pers. comm.) suggested that the vowel is *i* for personal pronouns and names and for indefinite common nouns; but *a* for common nouns of things present, and *u* for common nouns of things absent.

It is agreed that PAn had only four vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*, and an indefinite ('schwa') that can be written '*e*' and became *o* in Oceanic. Vowels '*e*' and '*o*' in attested words, including PCMs, are usually from PAn **i* and **u* respectively. In CVCVC words, PAn final **-ay > e* and **-aw > o*. In Oceanic examples, when a PCM is attested as *-o* or *-e*, it will be regarded as ancestrally **-u* or **-i*, respectively, in the absence of any other explanation.

The archaic PCMs in *-u/-o* are somewhat scarce in Oceanic and other CEMP languages today. Beginning perhaps with prehistoric Wolio and the adjacent Proto CEMP, the PCMs with vowel *i* came to predominate. But forms with varying vowels are found scattered

widely. Collins (1983), based in part on Reid (1978), hypothesised either **u* or **su* as nominative marker for Proto Central Maluku in Seram, Central MP.

1.5 Some problems with the vowel + consonant system

One possible paradigm is that all the initials occurred with all three vowels. This is very simple and elegant. A purpose of this paper is to explore to what extent it is supported by evidence. It works best for the *n* and *s* forms, the ones for which we have evidence that the *-a* and *-i* variants arose from earlier *-u*.

For other initials, especially *k* and *s*, the list of cases and markers suggests two problems to be solved: (1) How are the Case 1 and Case 3 interpretations distinguishable to the hearer? (2) To what extent were the consonants of the casemarkers in free variation, within Case 3 (zero, **k*, **t*, **d*, **s*) and within Case 1 (the same repertory)? A full answer to the two questions may be attempted in a future study. A partial answer is that the vowel paradigm derived from *n* may not have applied to all initials. Initial zero in Case 3 in PAn may have been strictly locative, not used for direction or broader Case 3 meanings; and in PAn it may have had only the *i* vowel.

Part of the answer to question (2) is that PAn may have been like Amis as described in Chen (1987) in having two different cases (zero consonant as predicate noun and topic, and *k-* as nominative-absolutive) that merged into Case 1 in the emerging 'focus' syntax. Evidence in Amis is that the **kV* marker moved from topic use to nominative sooner than the **zeroV* did.

The point of question (1) is that use of the same initial for Cases 1 and 3 could result in ambiguity, but this has seldom, if ever, been a problem. A partial answer to question (1) is that only in Reid's (1974) Central Cordilleran language group is PCM *s-* allowed to occur with the same vowel in Cases 1 and 3, and even in that group, no language seems to have identical phonology for the two cases in the same person and number. For *s*, the oldest Case 1 usage probably was restricted to vowel *i* and restricted to singular proper names of persons; and the oldest Case 3 usage of *s-* may have been restricted to vowel *a*. Reid (1974:534) shows *s* used in both cases, singular, with vowel *-i* in Central Cordilleran languages, but Case 1 only for 'personal' and Case 3 only for 'common' substantives.

For *k-*, I don't know any language that has it in both Cases 1 and 3 with the same vowel. A partial exception is Rukai, in which one case has an *a/i* distinction based on specificity. And for initial zero, languages with broad use of Case 3 *i*, such as (WMP) Wolio (Anceaux 1987:45) and Oceanic, have generally lost, reduced or hidden the Case 1 *i*.

1.6 Demonstratives with casemarking

In Austronesian as in Indo-European, third person pronouns, articles, and demonstrative adjectives (determiners), often have a common origin in demonstrative pronouns. PAn **i(y)a(n)*, recognised by Dempwolff (1938), is the demonstrative that most commonly develops into 3SG in MP tongues. In PMP and Proto Central Philippine, and Formosan languages such as Atayal, are seen signs that the PCMs in *-i* merged with pronoun *(i)(y)a(n)* to the right, forming left-casemarked pronouns. The formation of Case 2 *niya* and its later course were well discussed by Blust (1977) and others. It is attested, for example, in Tagalog *niya* (Schachter & Otanes 1972:88). Blust noted its slight lenition to *nya* (and thence to 'palatalised' *-a* in POc), a process he thinks may have occurred independently in many

branches of AN. Tagalog also has *siya* and *diyan* (Schachter & Otanes 1972:88, 91). Less noticed has been Atayal *kya* glossed 'to it' and 'there' (Rau 1992:75, 227). In Oceanic and Indonesian, Case 3 role tended to bleach out. In Oceanic, the demonstrative *tia* appears as a predicate nominative marker in Fijian (Geraghty 1983:232) and its possible lenition as an article, *te*, *ta*, *ti*, has shown a powerful presence in Polynesian and Micronesian languages.

A fuller account is in Finney (1997). In that account I accepted Dempwolff's reconstruction of PMP pronoun *ia*. Now I see it as more parsimonious to reconstruct the PAn and PMP pronoun simply as *a*. The occasional forms that point to *ia* as the pronoun (having a different PCM on its left) seem to be later reanalyses occurring after grammaticalisation. This new approach allows us to posit a full set of PAn or PMP demonstratives, all light monosyllables *(C)V.

When the new nominative-accusative syntax of POc appeared, requiring preverbal subject pronouns, the 3SG forms available were *(i)a* descendants. Doublets were available, drawn from the old Case 1 with zero initial (old agent focus, nominative or absolutive) and the old Case 2 (with the agent in *n-*, ergative, from the old voices in which the nominative slot was occupied by something other than the agent). Most Polynesian languages have the preverbal subject 3SG as *na*, old Case 2, but it is (old Case 1) *e* in Fijian and *i* in the Polynesian languages of West Futuna and Aniwa (Dougherty 1983:34).

1.7 Forms in PAn, PMP, PCEMP, PEMP, PSHWNG, and POc

In the generally accepted theory of Blust, the successive proto levels from the top down to Oceanic are Proto Austronesian, Proto Malayo-Polynesian, Proto Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Proto Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Proto South Halmahera North New Guinea, and Proto Oceanic. Little is said here about the varying phonological forms of the PCMs at the several levels. The vowels, as noted, have changed minimally from PAn down to POc, and not much even within Oceanic. Among the consonants, *n-* has the clearest syntactic and semantic functions, and persists in a great number of languages today. The forms *ni* and *na*, which must have occurred by late PAn, occur unchanged in many Oceanic languages, and with much the same semantic role. The other initials, zero, *s*, *k*, *t* and *d*, also stayed unchanged from PMP all the way down to POc, although recently it has become customary to write *r* for what was formerly written POc *d*.

In presenting the PCMs of Oceanic languages, we'll deal briefly with those best known and most firmly established, and give longer discussion to those (such as *sa*) which are suggested here for the first time as Proto Oceanic.

2 Forms in Oceanic languages

2.1 A full set, all in *-i*

Arosi (Fox 1978), an Oceanic language of San Cristobal in the *SE* Solomons, has five 'prepositions' in *-i*, all glossed as 'of, belonging to', a genitive translation. They are: *i*, *ni*, *ki*, *ri*, and *si*. In §2.5.2 we'll note evidence that *ti* merged into *si*, and so the set may represent six initials. Attested forms in other Oceanic languages, too, are sufficient to show that ancestral forms *i*, *ni*, *ki*, *ti*, and *di* > *ri*, all found in Western MP, can be reconstructed for POc.

It is recognised that *i*, in all likelihood, was by source a locative preposition in the narrow sense. Likewise, evidence suggests that all of these PCMs began as prepositions of space. Only *ni* was a genitive in PAn, and it also had 'from' semantics. What we see here is the locative-allative prepositions invading the genitive field as in their own fields they are slowly replaced by old nouns or serial verbs. That happens in many language families. Contrariwise, in other Oceanic languages, *ni* can invade the field of other space relations. In Tungaru (Gilbertese, Kiribati) *ni* or *n* is glossed 'at, in, for, to' (Sabatier 1971). (We should say Sabatier and Oliva, as Sister Oliva, though modestly calling herself a mere translator of the Gilbertese-French dictionary into Gilbertese-English, was fluent in all three languages and must have used her own judgment.)

2.2 Oceanic PCMs in zero-

2.2.1 Oceanic PCMs u, old Case 1

In Formosan (Starosta 1974), *u* or *o* marks elements found in Amis (topics and predicate nouns) and in Tsou (less easily defined). Chen (1987) confirmed them in Amis, and Collins (1983) found them in Central MP. After the present paper was given, I found evidence for topic-marker *o* in Proto Oceanic, which may be given in a future paper.

2.2.2 Oceanic PCMs i, old Case 1

This is the Case 1 marker for personal proper names in Atayal, where Tagalog and many Formosan languages have *si*. Tagalog (Schachter & Otanes 1972:88) shows it in the Case 1 2SG *ikaw* 'thou', from **i* + **kaSu*.

For Lau, Solomon Islands, Fox's (1974) dozen definitions of PCM *i* include one that is nominative Case 1: "9. used before pronouns: *i gia* 'we', *i nau* 'I'".

The marker *ia* (from *i* plus article) in Tokelau is the most likely example I have seen of this in Oceanic. The Tokelau dictionary (Anon. 1986) lists six uses:

> 1. Before a personal name which is not preceded by a preposition, except the preposition *mai* 'from'...2. Sometimes used before pronouns which are not preceded by a preposition and which do not immediately follow the verb...3. Before locative nouns and place names which are not preceded by a preposition...4. Before nouns referring to people who are acting collectively...5. Before nouns referring to violent weather phenomena or to objects which occur in profusion...6. Before a noun which is the subject of a number predicate.

2.2.3 Oceanic PCMs a, old Case 1

Atayal Formosan uses this marker for nonspecific common nouns. Zorc (pers. comm.) rightly analyses the Tagalog common noun Case 1 marker *ang* as *a* + 'linker' *ng*.

No example was found in Oceanic. The *a* which occurs as a general article or a personal article in Oceanic languages seems to be a grammaticalisation (and possibly lenition) from demonstrative *a* or *ia*, not a reanalysis of an old Case 1 marker.

2.2.4 Oceanic PCMs u, old Case 3

The non-Oceanic use is shown by Donohue (1995), in a study of Tukang Besi on Sulawesi, giving examples of *u* labelled genitive, with varying semantic roles. Rather than create a new category for zero casemarking of (genitive) Case 2, we'll assume that this is an ancestrally locative Case 3 that has invaded genitive territory, as often happens. The following example has kept spatial semantics:

(2)   *te   po'o   l-tompa-api-su   u   La Mar*
        CORE   mango OBJ-throw-DIR-1SG.POSS GEN   PN
        'the mango that I threw over to *La* Mark'

In the Oceanic language of Anejom (Aneityum), the southernmost island in Vanuatu, "the basic locative prepositions are *a* and *u*, and a large number of locative phrases...are introduced by one or other of these two prepositions" (Lynch 1982:127). An example:

(3)   *Et   ehes   aen u   incai.*
        3SG:AOR come.from she LOC tree
        She is coming from the tree.

Kwamera, Vanuatu, has a demonstrative 'this' or 'here', *u*, which may be PAn preposition *u* + demonstrative (lenited). If so, that PCM is an early doublet of Kwamera *i, ia* 'it, to, in, on, from'.

In Yap, probably an Oceanic language, the preposition *u* is glossed 'at, from, on, in', and is the left preposition in the 'on top of' construction (Jensen 1977:54, 167, 238).

2.2.5 Oceanic PCMs i, old Case 3

These are too common to need comment. I am not the first to note that locative is the only semantic function that can be reconstructed with certainty for preposition *i* in POc. It acquired genitive uses, too. In Tuvalu (my fieldwork) embedded prepositional phrases such as 'on top of' are *i* + locative noun + *i*, in this case, *i lunga i*. One can also say *ki lunga i* for 'to the top of', or *mai lunga i* for 'from the top of'. Kennedy's *ki lunga ki* (1945:9) was never used in any Tuvalu island but Vaitupu and is no longer used there. Finney and Alexander (1998:30) found it in Rapanui and in Maori. Question of *qi*. The suggested presence of *qi* as a PCM in Proto Oceanic (Hooper 1985) is not supported by any *$*qi$ in non-Oceanic protolanguages. All examples suggested as reflexes of POc *$*qi$ are better accounted for as *i* or *ki*. Only two Oceanic languages were cited in support of a $**qi$ reconstruction, and both were misconstrued. Tongan may seem to have three similar PCMs, *i, 'i,* and *ki*, which could support Proto Polynesian and POc *i, qi,* and *ki* respectively. But Churchward's dictionary (1959) makes clear that the first two are alternate forms of the same word, without and with a glottal stop, respectively. The parsimonious view is that the initial glottal is a prosodic one that some speakers have reanalysed as phonemic. As for Kwara'ae (Deck 1933), it has no phonetic *ki*, but has *i* < POc *i*, and *'i* < POc *ki*, both being the regular reflexes for that language. It is time to abandon the myth of POc *qi*. The author of the *qi* paper, Robin Hooper, states (pers. comm.) that in writing the paper she was concerned mainly with other matters and only peripherally with the initial consonant, in which she has no investment. The *q* designation was decided by one of her professors.

2.2.6 Oceanic PCMs a, old Case 3

Just as with initial consonants, prepositions show variation of vowels, especially between -*i* and -*a*, and it may be that the locative *i* (initial zero) can have a variant *a*.

Tolo (Crowley 1986) shows a preposition *a* 'of':

(4)a. *gare a tataru*
     man of healing
     'man of healing' (a traditional doctor)

  b. *kabikabi a kolo*
     bank of river
     'bank of river'

Crowley regards it as a shortened form of *na*. But it's found in other languages where such origin is even more implausible.

For Anejom, the language of the southernmost island of Vanuatu, Lynch (1982) says, "the basic locative prepositions are *a* and *u*", and gives this example of *a*:

(5) *Et ehes aen a nauritai.*
    3SG:AOR come:from she LOC garden
    'She is coming from the garden.'

Lynch is puzzled by the "subtle" distinction between 'garden', which requires *a*, and 'tree' in sentence (3), which requires *u*.

For Hawai'ian, Puku'i and Elbert (1957:1) list:

(6)a. *'ai a puaqa*
     eat PCM pig
     'eat like a pig'

  b. *kahe a wai*
     flow PCM water
     'flow like water'

Samoan (Milner 1966) shows:

(7)a. *Sau a fuifui lupe.*
     come PCM cluster pigeon
     'Pigeons come in flocks.'

  b. *nu'u a uta*
     village PCM inland
     'inland village'

2.3 Oceanic PCMs in s-

Zorc (pers. comm.) hypothesises that Proto Central Philippine had all three *s*- forms: *su* as definite, usually Case 1, occasionally Case 3; *sa* as neutral or definite Case 3; and *si* as indefinite Case 3.

2.3.1 *Oceanic PCMs* su, *old Case 3*

In Formosa, Paiwan has **su-* > *tu-* (+ *a*) as casemarker for [Case 3] 'neither in Focus nor Agent' (Ferrell 1981:285).

In MP outside Oceanic, Case 3 *su* is found in Ata Manobo, southern Philippines (Hartung 1975:36). In the Talaud and Sangir Islands, Stokhof (1982b:41, 59, 220, 244, 283), *su* occurs (glossed 'at, in, on') in many dialects, including Taghulandang, Beo, Enemawira, Taruna, Tahuna, Tamako, Beran Manganitu, Tambo, Tabuti, Sawang, Siau. It is also found in languages in Seram (Samasuru-Paulohij, Elpaputih), glossed 'at' (Stokhof 1981:93, 115, 138, 155).

In North Sulawesi, where the languages are mostly of Philippine type, several languages show PCM *su*, with glosses mostly 'at, in, on', occasionally also 'from'. Languages include Tompakewa, Ratahan, Bantik. Another dialect of Tompakewa has *si*. Other examples of *su* are in Ratahan and Bantik (Stokhof 1983:281, 295).

Despite all this, I know of no example in Oceanic.

2.3.2 *Oceanic PCMs* si, *old Case 3*

Reid (1974) reported *si* in 'oblique' (Case 3) in the Central Cordilleran languages of the Philippines. Stokhof (1982b:76, 90, 105, 134, 162, 185, 268) also found it as 'on, at, in' in eight languages on Talaud and Sangir islands. But evidence for its occurrence in Oceanic is very slight.

Arosi *si* 'belonging to, of', has been mentioned above. Arosi *sia(na)* 'at the house of, in the presence of, with (like French *chez*)' (Fox 1978), is the same with the demonstrative suffix mentioned above. In view of the absence of Case 3 *si* elsewhere in Oceanic, and the possibility that some or all of Arosi *si* < **ti* (discussed in §2.5.2), we can have no confidence that POc had this *si* PCM.

2.3.3 *Oceanic PCMs* sa, *old Case 3*

As *sa* is such an important and basic preposition and casemarker in the Philippine languages, it is curious that nobody has looked for it in the Oceanic languages. It is possible that this PCM began with only the *a* vowel, and that the oblique *su* and *si* forms found in Western MP arose by analogy with the three-vowel paradigm found with other initials.

For Tagalog, Schachter and Otanes (1972) show the *sa* case as one of the three cases, calling it the 'directional complement'. Its central and probably oldest use is 'to, toward', but its uses cover a wide field of dative, allative, locative, instrumental, and miscellaneous oblique functions.

In Bikol, one of the Philippine languages in which it became a casemarking prefix to pronouns, it kept its *a* as well as the (arguably) pronominal *i* as shown in Mintz's (1971) entries:

> *saiya*   'his; him; her; to, from, by him (it, if animate)'
> *sainda*   'they; them; to, from, by them'

Oceanic has dethroned *sa* from its key position, mainly by encroachment of the five *-i* PCMs. The form *sa* survives only in niches here and there.

Tolo (Solomon Islands):

Tolo (Crowley 1986) has two *sa* prepositions: *sa-na* 'with, from, of, belonging to':

(8) *A   baka   pepetsi i   sa-na ki   Maria.*
     the child   little   at with   ART Maria
     'The small child is with Maria.'[3]

and *sa-nia* 'at, from, of':

(9) *Hira   baka ra   tsolo sani-u.*
     the-DEF-PL child they laugh at.me
     'The children are laughing at me.'

The *n-* elements on the ends of the prepositions are old object pronouns, not possessives, and do not mean that *sa* is an old noun. They resemble Chen's "DEM" (1987:127).

Kwamera (Vanuatu):

Here, *sa-* is defined (Lindstrom 1986:122) as "marker of benefactive':

(10) *O   sa-i   kaha.*
     do for-POSTCLITIC grandparent
     'Do it for grandmother.'

Tinrin (New Caledonia):

For this language, which is about the same as Grace's Grand Couli, Osumi (1995:132) says: "-*sâ* 'at, about' is suffixed to only two intransitive verbs, *a* and *îgâ*":

     a-sâ   'laugh at'
     îgâ-sâ   'dream about'

Nguna (Vanuatu):

The basic transitive clause, 3SG, in Nguna, is (Schütz 1969b:54, 207):

(11) *E   soli   a.*
     he bound it
     'He bound it.'

with element 3, inner nominative *e*, and element 5, inner accusative *a*.

With one verb, the 3SG object pronoun is *na*, ancestrally from **na + a*, or **ni + a*, old Case 2; and with some verbs it is *sa*, from **sa + a*, old Case 3. Those forms reflect the fact that in agent-focus in contemporary Tagalog and Wulai Atayal, and likely in PMP and PAn, either Case 2 or 3 can represent what can be considered semantically as (accusative-like) objects (patients, undergoers). For Tagalog (Schachter & Otanes 1972:78) the object is (*nang*) Case 2 in 'the child washed a plate' but is in (*sa*) Case 3 in 'the young man loves the young woman' and 'the child helped the woman'. For Wulai (Rau 1992:143-144) the 'direct object' of a common noun is in 'genitive' Case 2 (He bought a rope), while for a pronoun the 'direct object' is usually in 'dative-locative' Case 3 especially 'if it can be viewed as referring to a location', examples 'My mother talked to me', 'I did not utter a word', 'when he saw the woman'. So it is striking that despite the undeniable change from ergative to accusative syntax, the Vanuatu Oceanic language of Nguna shows clear relics of the representation of

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3 POc initial **k > h*, and initial **t > k*. The particle *ki < *ti* is honorific before female names.

accusative-like objects seen in agent focus in Atayalic (Formosan) and in Tagalog (Western MP) languages. The absence of an unequivocal accusative marker in those languages is a strong reason for classifying the languages as of ergative type, in which sentences of this kind are intransitive.

At any rate, Nguna is interesting as possibly the only Oceanic language in which *sa* follows the example of other PCMs in coalescing with a pronoun to its right, thereby constituting a left-sided case inflection (though it does that in at least one Philippine language, Bikol, and to a lesser extent, Pangasinan). Thereby, Nguna is the only Oceanic language in which *sa* occurs in ways that are more likely to be called 'casemarker' than 'preposition'.

Nguna is also the only language in which *sa* occurs in two forms: simple *sa* and *asa* (though Chamorro has it as *as*). In its *asa* form this casemarked pronoun is called Ablative Case by Schütz (1969b:39): "the ablative indicates the place from, of, or in which. The paradigm is almost identical to that for object." Indeed, his table of pronouns forms shows that for three of the six person-number slots the forms are identical; for the other three, including *sa*, the ablative differs only in having the syllable *a* prefixed; and in the 3SG pronoun, while, for the ablative, the *(a)sa* form is the only one, the inner accusative object has four forms, *sa*, *na*, *a*, and *e*.

When I first noticed that set of four forms, it puzzled me. Only much later did it dawn on me that the *sa* and *na* are ancient markers for the old Cases 3 and 2, respectively, each of which marks accusative-like objects in some non-Oceanic AN languages, as we have noted here. What Schütz calls Ablative Case functions much as Tagalog's *sa* case and Wulai's Case 3 called Dative (Rau 1992:144) or Locative (Huang 1993:17). Here are examples from Schütz (1969b), with page and line numbers:

(12)a.　*E too pae asa.*
　　　　 it TAM come from.it
　　　　 'It came from it.' (16:19)

　　 b.　*E paae asa mari-tīpa e.*
　　　　 he begin it against him
　　　　 'He turned on him.' (20:61)

and from Schütz (1969a:39):

(13)a.　*E one asa one.*
　　　　 it lie (on).him lie
　　　　 'It's required of him.'

　　 b.　*A noa ki sua e asa.*
　　　　 I tell OBJ TAM him of.it
　　　　 'I already told him about it.'[4]

When the oblique *asa* pronoun is to be replaced or supplemented by a noun, the PCM for the noun is not **asa* but *ki*. For example, Schütz (1969a:76) gives a basic sentence using pronouns:

(14)　　*Eu soso e asa.*
　　　　 they call it that
　　　　 'they call it that.'

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[4]　　Or *ki* is 'to', in which case, the translation is 'I told it to him.'

but when the pronouns are replaced by nouns, it comes out:

(15)   *Eu   soso   na-wora   waia   ki   m̃alap̄oa.*
        they   call   place   this   OBJ   Malapoa.
        'they called this place Malapoa.'

Rotuma:

In Rotuma (Churchward 1940), **sa* appears as *se*, which is phonologically consistent with the fact that the POc adverb *sake* 'upward' appears as *se'e*. Churchward (1940:31, 32) defines *se* as 'to; for' and comments:

> the chief non-possessive preps. are 'e, se, and ma, meaning (fundamentally) at, to, and with...Principal senses of se: (a) to (also towards...); on to, into, up to, as far as; until. (b) according to, to the extent of:...(c) for.

He also mentions it in 'look AFTER', 'think ABOUT', 'lean AGAINST'; and as the first preposition in *se rer ne* 'to the top of', which is *ki lunga i* in Tuvalu Polynesian. An example of a *se* phrase where English uses a direct object is:

(16)   *Gou   fesia'   se   irisa.*
        I   hate   PCM   them
        'I hate them.'

2.3.4 Oceanic PCMs su, old Case 1

Reid (1978) reconstructed **su* as nominative casemarker for a protolanguage ancestral to Philippine languages he studied. Chen (1987:52) gives McKaughan's (1962) example of Case 1 *so < su* in Maranao, a Philippine language.

Collins (1983), considered Reid's **su* as a reasonable source for *u* markers in Seram, but PAn **u* is more plausible. Pangasinan has *so* (< **su*) 'particle marking topic of equational sentence and subject of verbal sentence usually when these are 'general' and non-personal in character' (Benton 1971).

I know of no example of nominative *su* in Oceanic.

2.3.5 Oceanic PCMs si, old Case 1

This particle clearly goes back to PAn, and very early became a Case 1 marker for proper names of persons and, perhaps later, for third person pronouns referring to persons. Ross (pers. comm.) finds evidence that it began as an honorific particle placed after the PCM, before the name.

For Oceanic, Ross (1988:240-247) finds *si* a general topic marker in Western Melanesian (WMN), but as used in Roviana for final topic accusative marker ('pragmatic pivot') it aligned undergoer with intransitive subject as absolutive, and so made Roviana an ergative language (with *si* as absolutive casemarker) as opposed to its close kin Maringe.

2.3.6 Oceanic PCMs sa, old Case 1

I know of no example of nominative *sa* in Oceanic. Nor is there strong reason to think it existed in PMP. The initial Case 1 *s-* may never have had the full set of three vowel alternatives.

2.4 Oceanic PCMs in *k-*

2.4.1 Oceanic PCMs ku, old Case 3

Chen (1987:52) gives McKaughan's (1962) example of Case 3 locative *ko < ku* in Maranao Philippine.

Wolio, a WMP language of Southeast Sulawesi (Anceaux 1987), shows *ko < *ku* or **ku-a* as comitative preposition 'with, and'; so we have direct evidence of *u* forms for the *k*-initial both in the unmarked case (old Case 1) and in the oblique (old Case 3).

Yap is probably an Oceanic language. One of its four prepositions discussed by Jensen (1977:54, 167, 235-236, 238) is *ko/ku*. It is spoken and written *ku* in certain contexts and is surely from **ku*, although in other contexts it is spoken and written *ko*. It is glossed 'for'; also 'in', 'from'. It appears as the right (genitive) preposition in the 'on top of' construction.

Also in Oceanic, a Micronesian language, Marshallese (Abo et al. 1976), has differentiated *kon* 'for, because, with, concerning', possibly from **ku*.

2.4.2 Oceanic PCMs ki, old Case 3

These are clearly PAn, as they are common throughout many branches of AN, including Oceanic. In Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 1994:109) *ki* is comitative and allative. In Bunun (a language that has been described in both focus and accusative terms) Starosta (1974:316) calls *ki* 'accusative' without giving an example. It is also an accusative marker in Tanan Rukai (Starosta (1974:319): *ki* for personal and *ka* for impersonal (the former a true Case 3 but the latter agreeing with nominative). Some Philippine languages have *ki* as Case 3 marker for personal names, though *kani*, *kay* and *kang* also occur. In Deli-Malay Sumatra Indonesian, Tampubolon (1983) reports *ke* allative 'to, onto, into', in contrast to *di* locative 'on, in, at'; this may be a PAn distinction.

The Tolo Oceanic *k-* preposition [*h-* by regular sound change] (Crowley 1986) is expanded by suffixing demonstratives, as follows: *hinana* 'prep. for, of, belonging to' (+ noun) *hinia* 'prep. 1. with. 2. about, of, concerning.'

In Kwara'ae (by regular phonological change, '*k*' is a glottal, written with an apostrophe), interestingly, the POc **ki* reflex has genitive meaning 'of', sharing that field with *ni*. The subtle difference is shown in examples (Deck 1933):

> *ni* in: 'a bill of divorcement'
>
> '*i < ki* in: 'the sound of wailing'

For Nguna in Central Vanuatu, Schütz (1969a:41) says, '*Ki* and *ni* are both translated as 'of', but their difference in meaning is similar to that of O- and A- particles in many Polynesian languages' [inalienable and alienable possession, respectively].

Schütz seems to distinguish at least two *ki* particles: when it links noun with noun, and can be glossed 'of', like a genitive, he calls it a preposition; but in a verb phrase he seems to

Fiji (Capell 1968) has *ki* 'to, toward'; *kei* 'with, and'. That's the same combination of allative and comitative usage that was found in Mayrinax Atayal. Such close agreement between languages in different primary branches of AN (and too far apart geographically to posit borrowing) is striking. It is highly convincing for attribution to PAn.

Rotuma (where **k* > glottal): *'e* is "at, on, in, with (instrumental), from, than, etc." (Churchward 1940).

All Polynesian languages have **ki* (with any applicable phonological change, *k* to glottal). It is indistinguishable from *i* in Hawai'i. Nearly all have allative meaning 'to'; many have dative, benefactive, direct object, and other functions. For instance: West Futuna (Dougherty 1983:324) has *ki* oblique, dative object, 'to, toward', while Nukuoro (Carroll 1973:88) has *ki* (spelt *'gi'*) glossed: 'toward', 'to', 'in order to'; desiderative aspect (< *kia*).

Kosrae (Lee 1975, 1976) has *nu ke* 'to'; but simple *ke* 'from, at/about (place), instrument'; *ke* [its object is always non-human] 'at' (place), 'on', 'about' or 'at' (time, field of knowledge, topic of speaking); 'from', 'by means of', 'because of' (material, inanimate cause, instrument); *kac* 'at', 'about', 'for' (it or them) [this word, in Lee's dictionary (1976), is not in Lee's grammar (1975)]. Note that in Kosrae the digraph 'ac' is simply an open *e*, and 'c' is not a consonant; *nuh ke* 'to, till, up to (a time or place), for (a purpose)'; *liki* 'from, than'. (It is not clear whether this is from POc **ri* + **ki*, or from the word coined in POc **l* that is not ancestral.)

2.4.3 Oceanic PCMs ka, old Case 3

Several of Starosta's (1974) Formosan languages have accusative '*ka*' in common with the nominative, so there it may be an extension of the Case 1 use, not an independent Case 3 PCM.

Outside Oceanic, Stokhof (1987:185) shows *ka* as 'at, in' in Mentawai, an island off the west coast of Sumatra.

Note that some Philippine languages have Case 3 PCMs of form *kani* and *kay*, which could possibly arise from *ka* + *ni/i*.

In Oceanic, a Micronesian language, Marshallese, has differentiated *kon* 'for, because, with, concerning', and *nan*, 'to' (Abo et al. 1976).

2.4.4 Oceanic PCMs ku > ko, old Case 1

The *k-* PCMs, mainly *ka* and *ku/ko*, predominate in Formosan languages as the Case 1 ('nominative' or topic) markers.

In Polynesian languages, *ko* is a standard casemarker (e.g. Churchward 1959, who calls it a preposition), often called 'presentive'. 'Predicate nominative' may be a good term for some of its common uses. In Fijian it is said to have become an article for proper names (Capell 1968) though I think it keeps signs of its ancestral role.

Here is the PCM *ko*, marking predicate nominative in Tuvalu Polynesian (my fieldwork):

(17) *Koe ko te fai-ako-nga.*
      thou *KU* the teacher
      'You are the teacher.'

Compare a sentence (Rau 1992:187) in Wulai Atayal (where **ku* becomes *qu*):

Here is the PCM *ko*, marking predicate nominative in Tuvalu Polynesian (my fieldwork):

(17)   *Koe ko   te   fai-ako-nga.*
        thou *KU*   the   teacher
        'You are the teacher.'

Compare a sentence (Rau 1992:187) in Wulai Atayal (where *ku* becomes *qu*):

(18)   *Qani qu'   puqing   n-qu'   ngasaN   maku.*
        this   *KU*   origin   of-DEF   home   my
        'This is my home town.'

This illustrates the fact that *ku* (or perhaps any marker of topic) implied being specific and definite in PAn, and in Atayal it becomes usable as a marker of specificity or definiteness (put right of another PCM) even when it is not in topic or nominative Case. I think that's the sequence. The alternate hypothesis could be explored that *ku* was a definite article first and later came to serve as topic marker and nominative marker.

In Kapingamarangi Polynesian, where 'g' is [k] and 'd' is [t], Lieber and Dikepa's dictionary (1974:xliii, 51, 287) supports the concept of predicate nominative by defining *go* (< *ku*) 'it is, it was'. One of their examples is:

(19)   *Go   au   ne   hai di   maa.*
        it.was [*KU*] I   TAM   do the thing
        'It was I that did it.'

Note the article '*ti*'. There is a common belief that this article in Polynesian and Micronesian languages is only '*te*', but in fact, '*ti*' and '*ta*' are also scattered widely.

2.4.5 Oceanic PCMs ki, old Case 1

No unequivocal example was found in Oceanic, although the Kwaio and Fijian examples given in §2.4.6 may well belong here.

2.4.6 Oceanic PCMs ka, old Case 1

In Formosan languages, *ka* is perhaps the commonest marker of Case 1 (nominative). Examples are in Starosta (1974).

An interesting fact, not noticed before, is the *k*- Case 1 marking found in Oceanic Kwaio by Keesing (1985:28-29). The inner nominative pronoun 3SG, which he calls SRP, has two forms in free variation: *e* < *ia*, as in Standard Fijian; and *ka*, which may come from old Case 1 PCM *k(a, u, i) + ia*, though I incline now toward construing it as PCM *ki* + PAn demonstrative *a*. In confirmation of either hypothesis, Geraghty (1983:302) reports pronoun 3SG *kia* in some Fijian communalects.

2.5 Oceanic PCMs in t-

MP languages have a plethora of monosyllabic *t*- forms. Not all these are PCMs. Some are PAn demonstratives in *t*- and *c*-. Others might possibly be old locational nouns. In the section that follows, we'll mention some candidates that are to be rejected.

Are there any *t-* PCMs in Case 1? Fijian *tia,*which we have cited, is a rare example. Polynesian and Micronesian languages have an article that is usually *te* but also *ti* and *ta*. I had viewed it (1997) as lenitions of *tia,* but incline now toward viewing it as a set of simple PCMs, mostly nominative case, cognate with PCMs attested in Formosan languages both as *tV* and as *cV*.

2.5.1 Oceanic PCMs tu, old Case 3

PAn had a demonstrative **cu,* which was **tu* in PMP, and less often appears with vowel *a* or *i*. Occasionally it is hard to distinguish a Determiner (Casemarker, ancestrally a preposition) from a demonstrative determiner or article of demonstrative pronoun ancestry).

Tsou Formosan *to,* accusative marker (Starosta 1974:349) must be PAn **tu.* But Li's (1995) **cu,* accusative marker in Mayrinax Atayal must be PAn **cu.* By regular phonological change, these two PAn forms merge in accusative marker to **tu* in Amis (Chen 1987:136-137) and PMP.

In MP outside Oceanic, in Ata Manobo, in the south Philippines, Hartung (1975:34-37, 47, 51) shows *to* as a preposition glossed 'in, at, to, from, of'. An example:

(20)   *Wa   dod   bag   tunas   to kamot ta.*
      not   yet   quite   leafage   in   field   our
      'There aren't quite yet any sprouting leaves in our field.'

Stokhof (1987:131) has *to* 'at, in, on, from' for Lirung in the Talaud and Sangir Islands area. Stokhof (1987:131, 149) has it as *cho* ('at, in, on') in Nias, an island off the west coast of Sumatra. Borneo shows *tu-matan* 'from' (Stokhof 1986:30).

Standard Toba-Batak, described by Sarumpaet (1986:82-83), has *tu,* glossed 'to'.

In Oceanic, Grace (1976) in Grand Couli, New Caledonia, records *tu* 'in, at, of'.

Kwamera is a language in the South-east of Tanna island in Vanuatu. A *t-* preposition occurs with alternate forms *tu* and *ti,* the latter a high central vowel. Lindstrom (1986) defines it: "1. dative preposition: *to*;   *ti nipran* (I give it) to the women; *ti si*? to whom? for whom? 2. purposive or causative preposition;...*ramen ti nife*? what is he going for? 3. prefix to some temporal nouns expressing future;...*ti nipin* then (in the future);...4. marker of benefactive; ...*ti tata* for father;...6. prefix of address with calling out to people; *ti mama*! mama!" Definition 6 recalls the arguably non-oblique uses of *t-* forms noted in Ilokano and Tukang Besi.

Many WMP languages have a demonstrative pronoun *to* < **tu.* Sometimes it occurs with an *i-* prefix (fossilised Case 1 marker) and the complex resembles a casemarker.

2.5.2 Oceanic PCMs ti, old Case 3

For *t-*, more than other initials, it is unclear what the syntactic role was in the earliest period, and the semantic function is even less clear, although it seems to fall more often among the Case 3 markers of allative/locative/temporal and accusative functions.

In texts scanned, *t-* PCMs appear to be used to mark direct objects, subjects and locatives (or allatives) in Seediq (Atayalic), Tsou, and Amis and Bunun (all Starosta 1974). One of the examples seen in Wulai Atayalic was allative (Egerod 1966:362 in Huang 1993:56) as follows.

(21)   *M-usaH-sakuH   te   ngasan.*
         M-go.1S.BN   PCM   house
         'I go (in the direction of, toward) home.'

MP languages outside of Oceanic that show *ti* or *te* include Ilokano, Manobo, and some of Stokhof's Indonesian languages. 'Home' is a fairly common object.

First let's examine some MP particles that are doubtful candidates.

Note that Ilokano *i-ti* (Constantino 1971:224) (glossed: 'as for, concerning') occurs typically to mark a noun that is fronted as a topic (two occurrences of *ti*):

(22)   *I-ti   lalaki, napigpigsa ngem ti   babai.*
         PCM?.[as.for] man   strong   than PCM? woman
         'As for a man, he is stronger than a woman.'

This Ilokano use of *(i)ti* resembles the use of *te* in Donohue's (1995) Tukang Besi, WMP, where *te* can mark any noun emphasised by fronting (topic) as well as others of 'core' complement (not adjunct) role, generally with semantic functions agent, dative, theme-patient, or instrument.

In the Ilokano uses shown here, however, it is not clear whether it is the ancestral *t-* PCM or *t-* demonstrative.

One gloss of *(i-)ti* (also *ta*) in Ilokano is 'because of, on account of, due to, in'. The *i + ti* marker, which may be PAn, serves as a variant of *ti* in Ilokano but a variant of *i* in Amis.

(23)   *Iti   rurod na, kayat no   nga tiritiren ti tengnged ko.*
         from   anger his wish CONJ ?   twist   the neck   my
         'In his irritation, he wanted to twist my neck.' (again two uses in one sentence)

The parsimonious view seems to be that Ilokano's *ti* is a determiner/demonstrative, and the PCM is the *i* syllable left of it.

The closest resemblance to Atayal's allative *te* is in Seram (Central Moluccas) seen in Stokhof (1982a:20, 28, 29, 38). It is an illative, 'into'.

Manobo: In this Philippine language, *te* is not listed as an entry in the dictionary but is shown thrice (Elkins 1968:88) in defining another word, *himan* 'an item used by someone for any purpose'.

(24)   *himan te   me'ama*
         thing of   a.man
         'man's clothes'

The other two examples were 'carpenter's tool' and 'part of a house'.

Glosses that seem to be suggested for *te* include: 'of, pertaining to, used by, belonging to, located with, associated with'. It may well have arisen as a locative and become a genitive. Muna, a language of Sulawesi, has *te* 'in, on'. (Stokhoff 1985:175). In Seumalur, a language of the islands off the west coast of Sumatra, *teh* means 'from' (Stokhof 1987:101) In Lekon (Stokhof 1987:41) it means 'from' and 'in'. Two other languages in the area (Stokhof 1987:131, 149) have *cho* apparently from the more archaic *tu* form of this preposition. In Banggai, a language of Sulawesi, *tia* means 'at' in contrast to *na* 'from' (Stokhof 1985:262).

With that background, we search in Oceanic.

For Loniu (in the Admiralty Islands, Papua New Guinea) Hamel (1994) finds *ti* as an emphatic particle. It may precede a noun, as if a casemarker, but can also precede the verb or be in clause initial position. An example (1994:93) is:

(25)   *Suwe iy ti   cohonan mah iy ti   cohoman.*
       yam   3SG EMPH place.3SG taro 3SG EMPH place.3SG
       'Yams have their place, taro has its place.'

As Arosi (Fox 1978) has only two words in *ti*, one of which is onomatopoetic (squeak, of a mouse), its preposition *si* may represent ancestral **ti* as well as (instead of?) **si*.

Mota (Vanuatu) has *ti* as instrumental 'with':

(26)   *Iloke o kere ni me   vusi-a   ti   nia.*
       this the club he PAST strike-him with that
       'This is the club he has struck him with.'

Nakanai forms are quoted by Durie (1988) from Johnston's dissertation (1978) as follows:

(27)a. *E masta   vi-valiburi-a   la pepa lo-ata   te balus.*
       the white.man cause-scatter-3SG the paper come-down LOC plane
       'The white man scattered papers from a plane.'

    b. *Egite ge   go-muli   te   Kansel.*
       they IRR   motion-from.me.East LOC councillor
       'They are going east to see the councillor.'

The examples show that the locative preposition-casemarker *te* is a very general locative ('to' in one example, 'from' in another), with the specific meaning supplied by the verb and by a suffix on the verb. This construction in Nakanai is used only for movable things and animates such as persons.

Grace (1976) in Grand Couli, New Caledonia, records *tê* 'near, adjacent to, at the home of'. Osumi (1995:163) shows:

(28)   *wake tê-patrik*
       job   home-Patrick
       'job at Patrick's'

The Kwamera *ti, tu*, has been discussed under *tu*. Notice also Kwamera demonstrative *te* showing the *-ee, -e* lenition series as in Polynesian *tee-nei*. Lindstrom (1986) analyses demonstrative *te* as *ti + i*.

2.5.3 Oceanic PCMs ta, old Case 3

The PCM **ta* is reported in Starosta (1974:349) as a Dative-Accusative casemarker in the Formosan language Tsou. The language also has it as nominative, and also has accusative *nca* from **ca*. It also has *to* < **tu* as accusative and *co* < **cu* as nominative; that's more than we need. Bunun has accusative *ta* but as a suffix. It looks like the *-a* form of the Case 3 *t-* marker which also appears as *tu, te*, and *ti*.

Atayal (Li 1995) has a Case 3 marker which is *sa, sa-qu* in Wulai dialect and *c-ku* in Mayrinax (also Mayrinax *ca*; Huang 1994:109) and has been attributed to PAn **ca*, which would be *ta* in MP. More curiously, Li (1995:47) uses the Mayrinax Case 3 marker *ca'* even though he fails to mention it as such, fails to gloss it, and fails to list it among the casemarkers or prepositions:

(29)   *Kac-un cu' na' xuil ca' tunux.*
        bite-PF I GEN dog   head
        'I was bitten by a dog on the head.[5]

For POc, Pawley (1973) wrote, "**ta* is reconstructible as a preposition indicating locative and perhaps possessive relation."

Ross (1988) noted Pawley's reconstruction of POc preposition *ta*, but preferred to analyse it as a locative noun, because in some languages it takes possessive pronoun suffixes. They both may be right but speaking of different words. There may be two *ta* 'prepositions' of different origin.

Pawley's is the possible PAn **ta*. In Mosel's detailed study of Tolai (the language cited in Pawley 1973) it seems that this *ta* is identical in use with traditional Case 3 locative prepositions, such as *di* in Indonesian and Malayan. And for Loniu in the Admiralties, Hamel (1994: 97) gives an example of the preposition: *ta ku* 'in the pot'.

The other *ta*, the one that looks like a noun in taking possessive suffixes, may be from the demonstrative *t-* as seen in many Philippine languages. Can a demonstrative evolve into a locative noun? That's the reverse of the normal order of grammaticalisation. We note *ree-* 'at, in, with, for, to, upon, on' in Woleai (Sohn & Tawerilmang 1976) that is such a noun.

Mosel's (1984) work was a careful and detailed study of the syntax of Tolai, where there is a very strong appearance that *ta* is a pure preposition. What is striking is that the function of *ta* follows the basic pattern of *di* in Malayan or Indonesian, and the basic Case 3 prepositions in the non-Oceanic MP languages. In her table of prepositions for eight syntactic-semantic uses, Mosel (1884:171-172) lists *ta* in five of the categories (all but purpose, manner, and concern). For category 1, addressee-recipient-beneficiary, *ta* (glossed: 'to') is the only one. Likewise, in category 2, cause, *ta* (glossed: 'because of') is the only one. [That's the *ta* that is also 'because of' in Bikol, Ilokano, Isneg and Pangasinan.] For category 3, instrument, *ta* shares the area with *ma*. For category 6, time, *ta* shares the territory with three other prepositions. And for category 5, location, *ta* (glossed: 'in, at, to, from...') has six rivals for parts of the field:

(30)a.   *Nam ra   tutana i   gam vana ta ra   marum.*
          DEM ART   man   he TAM go in ART night
          'The man went off during the night.'

    b.   *To Kabiana i   ga   biti ta nina ra   tutana.*
          NAME   he TAM say to DEM ART man
          'Kabiana said to that man.'

    c.   *I   ve   iau ta   nam.*
          he inform me about that
          'He informed me about that.'

    d.   *I   ga   maur   ta ra   mapinai.*
          he TAM be.satisfied by ART leaf
          'He became satisfied by leaves.'

    e.   *Diat   a   ti   varubu ta   ra   en.*
          they.PL TAM TAM fight   because.of ART fish
          'they will fight because of the fish.'

---

5   Or 'in' or 'at' the head.

f. *Dia   ga   ububu kana vudu   ta   ra   labur.*
they/PL TAM destroy his   banana by ART wind
'they (spirits) destroyed his bananas by wind.'

So it appears that Tolai has the 'all-purpose preposition' *ta*, much like Indonesian *di*. But Tolai has another *ta*, a demonstrative. Mosel's sentence quoted for *ma* also has *ta* as 'some'. It is the latter that seems cognate with Ross's (1988:104-105) examples of substantives *ta*, *ti*, *te*, locative nouns (not far from demonstrative pronouns) which take possessive (or object?) pronoun suffixes and move toward becoming prepositions. I suggest that these two *ta* forms, both found in Tolai, differ in their ancestry.

The preposition *ta* is thoroughly consistent with the *t-* prepositions/casemarkers found throughout AN, mostly with a different vowel. In contrast, the *ta* that is a demonstrative pronoun, and can become a quasi-prepositional locative noun, resembles the *t-* demonstratives found in Philippine languages, from PAn *c-:

Isneg	*to:*	the, that
Bikol	*i-to:*	that, those
PamPAngan	*i-ta':*	that
Pangasinan	*si-ka-to:*	he, she, it (independent pronoun)
	to-a:	he, she, it (topic pronoun after *ag* 'only')

In Kosrae, Micronesia (Lee 1975:137-139), both POc *t* and *s* > s before *i* and *e*. Preposition *se* has a wide variety of functional roles: seller, speaker, observer, causer, possessor. When we consider that this phonology is oftener from *t-* than *s-*, and also that other Oceanic languages have prepositions from POc *te/*ti* and seldom from *se/*si*, it seems likely that Kosrae preposition *se* comes from a POc *t-* form. Its object is always human (in contrast to *ke*). It occurs both with and without a preceding preposition *nuh* (or *nwe*), which in Kosrae means 'to, till, up to, all the way to' (despite the 'from' meaning ancestral in the AN family) (Lee 1975:135-145, 1976). One contrast is:

se 'of ([object must be a person] possessor, seller, informer, observer, causer of emotions)'
nuh se 'to or toward a person (receiver, buyer, benefacted, or simply end of movement)'

2.6 Oceanic PCM in *d-*

The *dV* particle is not among the most heavily used PCM. Nevertheless its occurrence is scattered broadly throughout the family, summarised as follows.

Li (1978:573) found *dV* as locative in the extinct Formosan language Pazeh. Starosta (1974:327) showed it in Saisiyat as (sleep) 'on the' (bed), though he failed to list it among the casemarkers. Zeitoun et al. (1996:67) for Nanwang Puyuma called *da* 'oblique'; and gave an example of it in a sentence glossed '...(drink) *da* (water)' [apparently accusative].

In non-Oceanic MP languages, including Bikol, Bisayan, Malay and Indonesian, *di* has locative and accusative-like casemarking semantics. In Malay and Indonesian it is the left preposition in embedded PP phrases of the 'on top of' type. Just as in English, 'on top of' has optionally grammaticalised to 'atop', so in Malay and Indonesian the left preposition *dV-* has come to meld with the locational noun, while the right preposition is reduced to zero. This irreversible process in which an old locational noun, by lenition and grammaticalisation,

is reanalysed as a preposition (or postposition in Mandarin today) is evidently a diachronic part of Universal Grammar.

In Oceanic languages, where $d > r$, both accusative-like and locative/allative uses of rV persist. For Arosi, Fox (1978) defines r as 'verb transitive suffix'. For Maori Polynesian, Williams and Williams (1956:14) defined preposition ra 'by way of, through, of direction'.

2.6.1 Oceanic PCMs du > ru, old Case 3

In Formosa, no du has been reported.

Non-Oceanic examples of ru are found in some WMP languages. For example, Fatakai (Nuaulu), a language of Seram in the Central Moluccas (Stokhof 1981:80) has ru-ike 'at, on, till'.

In Yap, probably an Oceanic language, the du>ru preposition appears as roo- 'of', 'from', 'for'. Its object must be a suffixed possessive pronoun, and it is considered as replacing the preposition u in that context. See also §2.6.2 below.

In the Oceanic language Tinrin (Grand Couli) in New Caledonia, Osumi (1995:78-89, 165-167) shows ru 'at, in, on', as well as $drù$ 'on account of, because of', and $rugi$ 'at, on, about, locative, temporal and referential', made by adding the preposition gi 'at' (< *ki). There is also $nrô$, 'for (purposive, as in 'horse for children' and 'the day for his going'). The phonology of this language is complex and its diachrony has not been addressed.

2.6.2 Oceanic PCMs di > ri, old Case 3

Li (1978:573, 576-578) reported di as 'the locative or directional marker' in the extinct Formosan language Pazeh. In various examples it was glossed 'in', 'at', 'to', and 'from'. Li took care to distinguish it from the homophonous demonstrative di.

Zorc and others have recognised di as one of the basic PCMs for Case 3 in Philippine languages. In Indonesian and Malayan it is the all-purpose preposition for space relation. It is found in many of Stokhof's lists of Indonesian languages. Sarumpaet (1986:82-83) glosses it as 'for'.

In Yap, probably an Oceanic language, the $du > ru$ preposition roo- 'of', 'from', 'for' (already noted in §2.6.1) has a 'special impersonal form' riy 'of it', 'at it', 'from it'. The form may be from *ru ia, but *ri $(i)a$ is also plausible.

Arosi, as noted above in §2.6.1, use ri as a genitive 'of', and the same is true of Lau (Fox 1974).

Kii (Espiritu Santo, Vanuatu) has ri 'direction marker'.

For Grand Couli, New Caledonia, Grace (1976) shows re 'at, to'. For Tinrin, virtually the same dialect, Osumi (1995:165) shows $nrî$ 'in, with' (temporal and instrumental): 'life in those days', 'run with legs', while Kii (Espiritu Santo, Vanuatu) has ri 'direction marker'.

In Carolinian Micronesian two similar forms occur (Jackson & Marck 1991) that need to be distinguished: lee- and ree-. The lee- form is called a preposition, defined: 'at the place or time of'. Diachronically, its phonology fits either the ni or the la/lo preposition. After the hyphen is a noun, such as 'farm', 'sea', or 'evening'. The ree- form is called a relational noun [locative noun], defined: 'at, for, with, by, because of'. Diachronically it seems to be *dia, as in Indonesian, < PMP *di-$(i)a$. After the hyphen comes a severely reduced possessive pronoun, which may or may not be followed by a noun. This seems to be the demonstrative and third person pronoun, with bleached casemarking as in Indonesian, and in the Caroline

Islands assimilated to the set of locative nouns. In the example, I have had to supply the word-for-word gloss:

(31)   *Aa   lo'   ree-l   imwa-l   Juan.*
        he   PAST.go at.that-of.him house-of.him   John
        'He went to John's house.'

The *ree* is also a substantive, from the usual fusion of PCM with **iya* descendants, and so forms a left half of compound deictics.

The *ree-* morph also appears in Woleai (Sohn & Tawerilmang 1976), meaning 'at, in, with, for, to, upon, by, because of', considered to be a locative noun, though it seems to come down from **di* + **(i)a*. In Ponape (Rehg 1979) it called a prepositional noun and defined 'location of (him, her, it)'. It is the most used of all the locational nouns in the languages, and the only one that appears to come from an *i* PCM + **(i)a*. The rest of them in Micronesian languages clearly arose as nouns, and the *l/n* ones in Micronesian languages have the same *lalo* ancestry as in Ross's Western Melanesian languages.

Woleai has a *re-* prefix to nationality. It may be a shortened form of *ree*; or it may be straight from POc **ri* with no history of coalescence with the demonstrative.

In Gilbertese (Tungaru) POc **r* is lost. So, if the *ri* preposition survives, it has been merged into *i* and is no longer distinguishable. Kosrae has *liki* 'from, than'. As **l* and **r* merge in that language, the morph *l* could come from PMP **d* or from the word coined in POc **l* that is not ancestral.

2.6.3 Oceanic PCMs da > ra, old Case 3

Outside Oceanic, a few *da* or *ra* forms occur in Philippine languages, as Case 1 or Case 3.

The *ra* form occurs in Polynesian: Maori (Williams & Williams 1956:14) shows *raa* 'by way of, through': *ko nga mo kaikai tukua ra uta.* [not translated].

Tuamotu (Stimson & Marshall 1964) has *ra(a)* 'for, belonging to (*syn naa*)', an example of a Case 3 form beginning to acquire Case 2 genitive use.

In Kapingamarangi, Lieber and Dipeka (1974:xliii, 100) define preposition *laa* (< **raa* < **daa*) 'toward, around by, -ward' and 'in or from the general direction of'. Example:

(32)   *Mee   gu   hana laa   nngaaga.*
        he   TAM   go   toward   south
        'He went southward.'

In Nukuoro, Carroll (1973:251) shows at least two idioms with *laa* seeming to mean 'beyond, at the end of'.

2.7 Oceanic PCM in n-

As I have noted, the occurrence of this consonant, with all three vowels in PCMs in AN languages, is far better established than for any other consonant. This consonant also has a more clearly established syntactic-semantic function than any other; it was used as genitive (hanging noun from noun) and as ergative (marked agent, agent that is not focus or

nominative). Such words regularly descend from ablative 'from' prepositions, and some languages, including Maori, retain that as one of its uses.

2.7.1 Oceanic PCMs nu, old Case 2

Donohue (1995), in a study of Tukang Besi on Sulawesi, gives examples of *nu* labeled genitive, with various semantic roles.

Found in Chamorro and some Philippine and Indonesian languages, this particle has not been found, to my knowledge, in Oceanic. Of course, the less archaic forms of the *n*-particle (*ni* and *na*) are well known in Oceanic.

2.7.2 Oceanic PCMs ni, old Case 2

The best established PCM of all, *ni* is well attested in Formosan and Philippine languages, and its status outside Oceanic need not be reviewed here.

In Chamorro, where Topping and Dungca (1973:133-135) find *nu* and *i* merging to *nui* and then *ni*, the contemporary *nu*, *nui*, *ni* set may keep the ancient formation frozen in process, Topping is puzzled to find also *ni i*. That may reflect a reanalysis in which PAn PCM **i* plus demonstrative *a* is taken as a simple demonstrative *i(y)a* (fooling Dempwolf, as we have noted). In earlier work I followed Dempwolf.

Though *i/ni* alternation has been reported in two languages (*ni* after vowels and *i* after consonants) Hooper (1985) was right in rejecting any diachronic significance thereof. Both *i* and *ni* are very well reconstructed in PAn. Alternation in any language must be a recent development that could occur if the two prepositions came to have a broadly overlapping range of uses (as Fox (1978) reports they have in Arosi). The *ni* are too well known in Oceanic to need exemplification here.

In Yap the form is *nga* < **ni* + **ia* through the 'palatalisation' in POc described by Blust (1977). It is glossed 'to, for' (Jensen 1977:54, 167, 238).

In Polynesian *ni* is openly present in Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi, thinly disguised as *ni-* in West Futuna, and in most other Polynesian languages disguised by melding with possession classifiers *o* and *a* as *no*, *na*.

2.7.3 Oceanic PCMs na, old Case 2

Ross (1988:112) considers Oceanic preposition *na* to be from *ni* plus article *a*. But with *na* well attested in Formosan and Western MP languages, it must have been present in PAn and PMP; so it seems redundant to have it created anew in Oceanic.

As we have noticed, Polynesian also has possessive forms that are *na* from PCM *ni* + possession classifier *a*; and have corresponding *o* forms from the other classifier. These are not to be confused with the true ancestral *na* forms, which have no corresponding *no* forms.

The ancestral *na* forms in Oceanic are, in all or most cases, not genitive but agentive, the other main function of the Case 2 'genitives' in PAn. These are 'marked agent' (in somewhat different senses in Oceanic from those in Philippine and Formosan languages). In languages such as Hawai'ian, Maori, and Tuamotu, *na* puts greater emphasis on the subject than does the other agentive PCM, oblique *e*.

It is distressing to see that the greatest experts in Polynesian languages have failed to make the distinction between the two *na* words of different ancestry, and have treated the two as a single word. Williams and Williams (1956) define it in Maori as 'of, belonging to, by...'. Puku'i and Elbert (1957 and later editions) define it in Hawai'ian as 'by, for, belonging to (a form)'. Stimson and Marshall (1964) define it for Tuamotu as 'of, for, by,...by way of'. All regard it simply as the *a* form corresponding to *no*. All of them correctly include the gloss 'by' for *na* and not for *no*; but they fail to draw the conclusion that the *na* 'by' word is not the *na* word that has a corresponding *no* form.

2.8 Oceanic PCM, others

2.8.1 *Comitative preposition* ma *'with'*

Briefly, we mention the POc preposition *ma*, with locative uses as well as meaning 'with' in the comitative sense. Like English 'with', after it became comitative, it also acquired instrumental uses. Here is one from Mosel's (1984:175) Tolai:

(33)   *Ma   una   tumu   ra   mata=na ma   ta   kabang.*
      and   you.SG+TAM paint   ART   eye=his   with   some   lime
      'And paint his eyes with lime.'

In Oceanic, as in Indo-European, locatives become comitatives and then are reanalysed into conjunction 'and' joining nouns. The locative that was *anti* in Greek and *ante* in Latin is *and* in English. Its old spatial meaning was 'over against, opposite'.

In Polynesian this has happened both with *ma* and with *ka*.

In a further step, the 'and' connecting nouns can become an 'and' connecting verbs or clauses. That also has happened both with *ka* and with *ma*.

For *ka*, in Tuvalu Polynesian (my fieldwork) a sentence or clause beginning 'And' will be (if a NP follows) *ka-ko* (presentive PCM '*ko*'); or (if a verb follows) *ka-e* (neutral TAM *e*).

For *ma*, in Gilbertese (Tungaru Traditions, Grimble 1989:9) comitative *ma* as 'and' can also connect verbs:

(34)   *Bubunge   ma   bonotai.*
      begin   and   protect
      'Begin and protect me.'

2.8.2 *The* *l- *prepositions of Oceanic*

Ross (1988:286-287, 292) constructs for Proto New Ireland a locative preposition *la/*lo, not found in Meso-Melanesian languages outside New Ireland. He derives it plausibly from the locative noun *lalo* 'inside'. (In Polynesian, *lalo* is 'bottomside' and *loto* 'inside'.)

Hamel (1994:268) finds that PCM in Loniu, in the eastern Admiralty Islands:

(35)   *Ime   lo um.*
      3SG.come in house
      'He came into the house.'[6]

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[6]   *Um* is a reflex of PAn *Rumah 'house'.

As we have noted in the subsections of §2.6, some Micronesian languages have forms from *lalo* that need to be distinguished from forms deriving from the **d- > *r-* PCMs. Note that in Carolinian, Woleai and Ulithi, but not the other Micronesian languages, ancestral **l* and **n* merge.

2.9 Possible Case 1 *d*

Both *t-* and *d- > *r-* forms appear in Eastern Oceanic languages as neutral articles, as though coming from Case 1. I have spoken of this as 'bleached casemarking'. But perhaps there was Case 1 nominative ancestry. Evidence from Indonesian and from Reid's (1974) Central Cordilleran suggests the possibility of **d* as marker of Case 1. Malay/Indonesian has *dia* as a nominative third person singular pronoun 'he, she, it', more emphatic than *ia*. For the earliest Proto Central Cordilleran Reid reconstructs nominative singular **'di'* for general and *'di nan'* for specific.

3 Summary and conclusion

We have reviewed a number of prepositions or casemarkers which seem likely to have been present in Proto Oceanic, with emphasis on those whose phonology makes it plausible that they derive from Proto Malayo-Polynesian, and even PAn.

For *n-*, forms with all three vowels were clearly present in late PAn. The vowel depended on the classes of substantives governed by the PCM.

For some initial consonants and possibly for all, there is evidence suggesting that the ancient vowel was *u*, and that the *-i* and *-a* variants arose from addition of articles (or classifiers of nouns) on the right, and later deletion of the *u*. Certain attested langages have forms in *-ui* and *-ua* which, in this theory, are survivals of the intermediate stages of development.

Case 1 may have begun (as in Amis) as two cases: *k-* for the normal absolutive or nominative, and zero initial for predicate nouns and topics. Both may have had vowel variation, like *n*'s, from the beginning, with *u* the most ancient vowel. The *k-* probably began either as a topic marker or as a sign of specificity or referentiality, as topics are almost always specific. The ancient Case 1 marker with zero initial consonant may also have begun as a topic marker. If so, its progression to absolutive or nominative came later than that of *k-*

For some initial consonants of PCMs, PAn may have had only vowel *-i*, and forms with the other vowels may have arisen by analogy with *n-* PCMs. The Case 3 locatives with initial consonants zero and *d-* are likely candidates for this course.

The *s-* initials probably began as two completely independent forms, an allative Case 3 with a vowel, and an honorific Case 1 with *i* vowel, the latter used only for proper names of persons.

Initial MP *t* (descending from both **t* and **c* in PAn) shows hints that its early uses may have been not only for locatives and allatives but also for accusative, for emphatic, and perhaps for nouns of time, especially past. And *ti* may have been honorific for females.

Polynesian, despite its phonological simplification and its swing from accusative to ergative syntax and back again, is a conservative language that keeps major portions of the PMP and even PAn system of prepositions and of casemarking.

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Part 2

Languages of Melanesia