Fiji's '*o*' and '*ko*' in Context

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0. Conclusions on *o* and *ko*

0.1 The particles *o* and *ko* in Fijian are not allomorphs but particles of differing ancestry.

0.2 Particle *ko* can be traced all the way back to PAN, where it was *ku*, and was probably a case marker both for Nominative and for Predicate Noun.

0.3 Particle *o* also occurred in PAN, where it was *u*. It was a casemarker for non-clausal nouns, including vocatives, exclamations, and sentence-initial topics.

0.4 As with (perhaps) all monomoraic PCMs in PAN, these two -*u* particles had alternate forms with vowels *i* (article for specific nouns including names of persons) and *a* (article for nonspecific common nouns).

0.5 In POC and PCP, the *o* particle (and its alternate *e* form) still mark sentence-initial topics and other non-clausal nouns such as exclamations and vocatives.

0.6 The *ko* particle marked predicate nouns in PAN, POC and PCP—the common ancestor of Fijian and PN.

0.7 In Fijian, the *ko* form, as predicate noun, came to be used as an afterthought, for disambiguation, as a separate clause at first, at the end of a sentence.

0.8 Certain classes of NP are more likely than others to be used as predicates. So the European scholars of Fijian have come to think of the *ko* particle as an article for that class of NP, which is inaccurately called "proper nouns".

0.9   A test shows that Fijian *ko* is in an intermediate stage in which it still functions more as a casemarker than as an article. (It can co-occur with another article but not with another casemarker or preposition.)

0.10 The occurrence of vocative particle *e* in Polynesian both before and after the name is a retention of the ancestral state in PAN, 6000 years ago, when it was placed on the right or left or both sides of its sentence-initial non-clausal NP.

0.11 The missionaries weren't so dumb after all.

1.   Introduction

The following abbreviations are used for language groups: AN Austronesian, MP Malayo-Polynesian, OC Oceanic, EOC Eastern Oceanic, CP Central Pacific, RO Rotuman, FJ Fijian, PN Polynesian, and SO Samoan-Outlier. All these may have P added initially for Proto-. Other abbreviations are PCM preposition or casemarker, ART article, PREP preposition, PN pronoun, TAM tense-aspect marker, NonAc Nominative-Accusative syntax, AbErg Absolutive-Ergative syntax, and the traditional VP, NP, and PP, used instead of the more recent X-bar notation. Also used are 3s third person singular, V vowel, and C consonant (though C is also used for one of the phonemes of PAN, an alveolar affricate). The language usually called Gilbertese (or Kiribati) is here called by its traditional name, Tungaru.

In this paper we shall do four things.

- We describe the controversy over the alleged positional allomorphs *o* and *ko* of a supposed proper article in Fijian.

- Examining Amis and other Formosan languages, we discover *o* and *ko* as different lexical items traceable to PAN casemarkers: *o* for non-clausal NP; and *ko* probably for both predicate nouns and nominative-absolutive subjects. Both particles also come with

other vowels in this system in which the semantic-syntactic role of the preposition or casemarker is given by its initial consonant.

- Returning to examine Oceanic languages related to Fijian, we find examples of both the *zero* + V and the *k* + V particles that had not previously been recognized as cognates of the Fiji particles.

- Returning to Fijian, we use the knowledge gained in the previous steps to reanalyze the synchronic status of the casemarkers in question, and to construct a diachronic theory of how they got there.

Standard Fijian (FJ) is a descendant of the first written Fijian language, which was devised for Bible translation and mission work, and was based mainly on Bauan, one of the dialects or languages of Eastern Fiji. The term Proto Fijian (PFJ) refers to the hypothetical common ancestor of Eastern Fijian tongues. The (East) Fijian and Polynesian (PN) groups, as well as Rotuman, have common ancestry in PCP. The West Fijian dialects, though Oceanic, were captured later by (East) Fijian.

The Fijian group is regarded as generally more conservative (closer to PCP and POC) than is the Polynesian, and PCP is generally reconstructed more like PFJ than like PPN.

The major work cited for Fijian will be Schütz (1985). This is a magnificent work, very insightful and very thoroughly done. Geraghty's great work (1983) is and essential background to the study, though it does not focus on the issues of this project.

The concept evolving now about the PAN monosyllabic PCMs is that the semantic-syntactic function lay in the initial consonants. Initial *n* was genitive. Other initials were *zero*, *k*, and several dental-alveolar obstruents (*d*, *t*, *C*, *s*), and their functions could be either straight or oblique. Vowels were *u* (often becoming *o*) most simply; *i* (often becoming *e*) for persons and proper nouns; and *a* for nonspecific common nouns. In this study, we'll consider only initials *zero* and *k*, and only in their straight functions. Here, "straight" includes nominative, predicate noun,

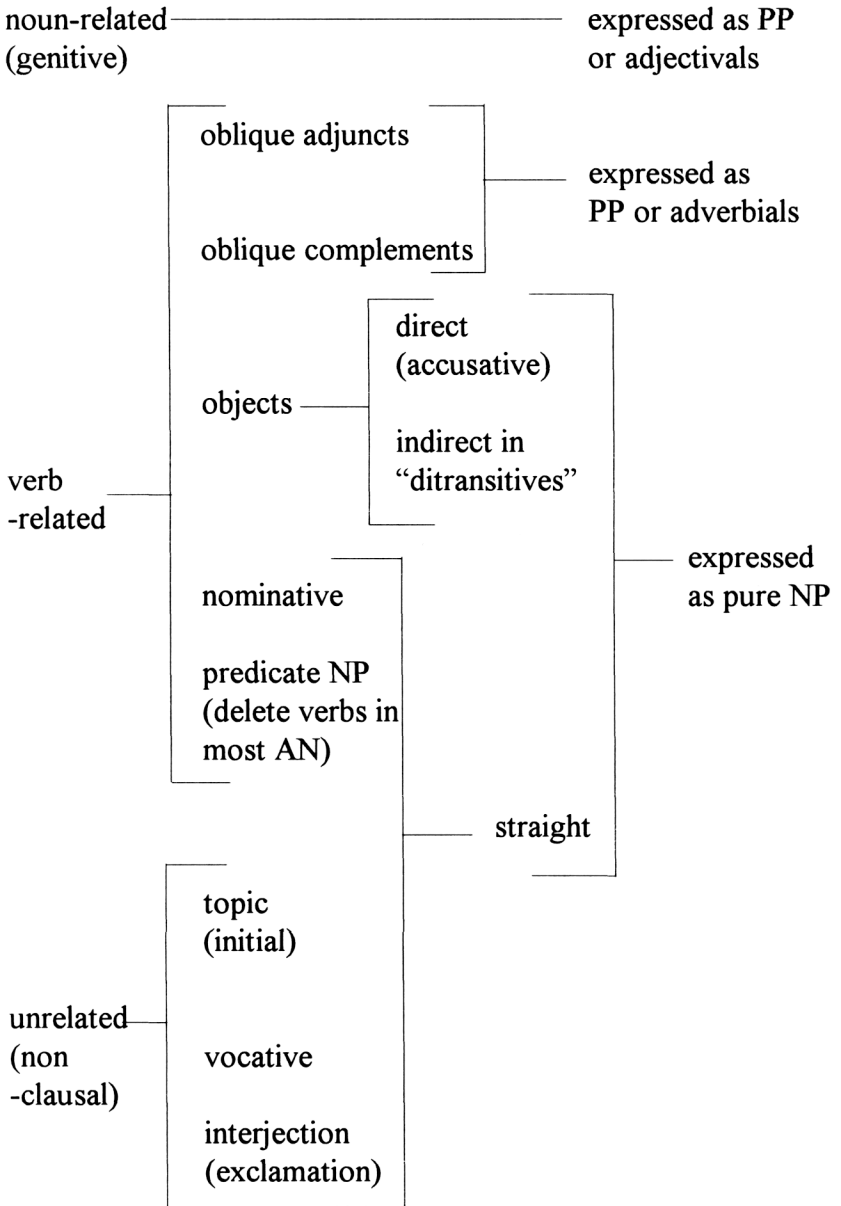and non-clausal nouns. Non-clausal nouns (those not within a clause) include vocatives, interjections, and sentence-initial topics. The overwhelming evidence from all the primary branches of AN in Formosa is that the monosyllabic case markers with initial *k-* and those with initial *zero* had differed in syntactic role in Proto-Austronesian. The variation in vowels, on the other hand, differentiated different classes of NP to which the casemarkers applied. The vowel *-i* anciently (and to some extent today) is used for persons and perhaps specific nouns, while the *-a* vowel applied to nonspecific common nouns. The *-u* forms were older and perhaps undifferentiated. The *-n* initials were genitive-ergative and the other initial consonants could apply to the nominative-like straight class and to oblique classes.

My Figure 1 shows that in one sense the non-clausal NP category stands against all categories of syntactic relations; but in another sense—that is the tendency to use common casemarking —the non-clausal category groups with predicate noun and nominative subject as a general nominative-like set.

2. The *o/ko* Controversy and Its Background

The standard teaching, found in grammars by Churchward (1941) and by Milner (1956, rev. 1973) is that a particle of form *ko*, regarded as a "proper article", has an alternate form *o*, which is normally used sentence-initially. A view often expressed or implied is that *o* arose by lenition from *ko*. Schütz vigorously attacks the view of positional allophones. He thinks that some dialects had one form and others had the other, and that the missionary translators of the Bible must have ignorantly mixed two dialects. (It's not clear to me why mixing dialects would give an impression of positional alternates.) He notes that early Methodist missionaries divided the Bible among themselves, and each began to translate his part of it in the dialect where he happened to work. Missionaries in Lau and Vanua Levu, including David Cargill in Lakeba, reported *ko* and little or no *o*, while those in the Bau area reported essentially all *o*. The Bau area became the standard for translating the whole Bible, but *o* was used only initially and *ko* elsewhere. Schütz (1985:41) quotes a 1982

Figure 1
An Incomplete Syntactic Classification of Noun Phrases

noun-related ——————————————— expressed as PP
(genitive)   or adjectivals

oblique adjuncts

                                                                    expressed as
                                                                    PP or adverbials

oblique complements

                        direct
                        (accusative)

            objects

                        indirect in
                        "ditransitives"

verb
-related
                                                            expressed
nominative   as pure NP

predicate NP
(delete verbs in
most AN)

                                    straight

topic
(initial)

unrelated
(non
-clausal)   vocative

interjection
(exclamation)

(Note: The present study deals with straight NP
whose monosyllabic casemarkers have initial zero- or k-.)

typescript of Geraghty as speculating that because the missionaries were acquainted with Tongan Polynesian and Lakeba Fijian, "both of which use *ko*, they viewed the Rewa and Bau *o* as a reduced or shortened version of *ko*." He also quotes Hazlewood (1850, 1872, not seen): "*o* is the same as *ko*, *k* being sometimes omitted for the sake of euphony, chiefly at the beginning of a sentence." Schütz uses *o* routinely in his text, except when quoting sources that had *ko*. He explains,

> As for present-day Standard Fijian, it would be inaccurate to suggest that *ko* is never spoken, for although it is not normally used in conversation, it appears in certain formal types of speech. And, of course, it appears in written Fijian; a glance at the Fijian Bible will show that the translators have been rigorous in following Hazlewood's 'rule' that *o* appears at the beginning of a sentence, *ko* elsewhere. Its existence is rather like that of the 'I shall, you will' distinction for English: an invention of grammarians, but believed long enough to influence some speakers. (Schütz 1985:320–21)

3. Evidence from Far-Flung Austronesian Groups

Schütz has boasted (p.c.), "I have never dabbled in diachronic linguistics." Too bad.

Comparative and diachronic studies have recently shown that both *o* (or *u*) and *ko* (or *ku*) are found in several of the main primary branches of the Austronesian language family. They are different casemarkers of different origin and different syntactic function.

The most thorough study of such markers in a Formosan language is that of Teresa M. Chen. In Figure 2 (Chen's Figure 4.1, 1987:127), she shows a table of the casemarkers. The Nominative is *ko*, and the Topic is *o*. Figure 3 (Chen's Figure 4.6, 1987:140) is another table that includes more semantic Case Relations and has ten ultimate categories. The first dichotomy is between +nmtv and -nmtv, which might be called oblique. Many have noted that there are degrees of obliquity. Transitive objects

Figure 2
Chen's Feature Tree and Inflectional Paradigm of Amis Determiners
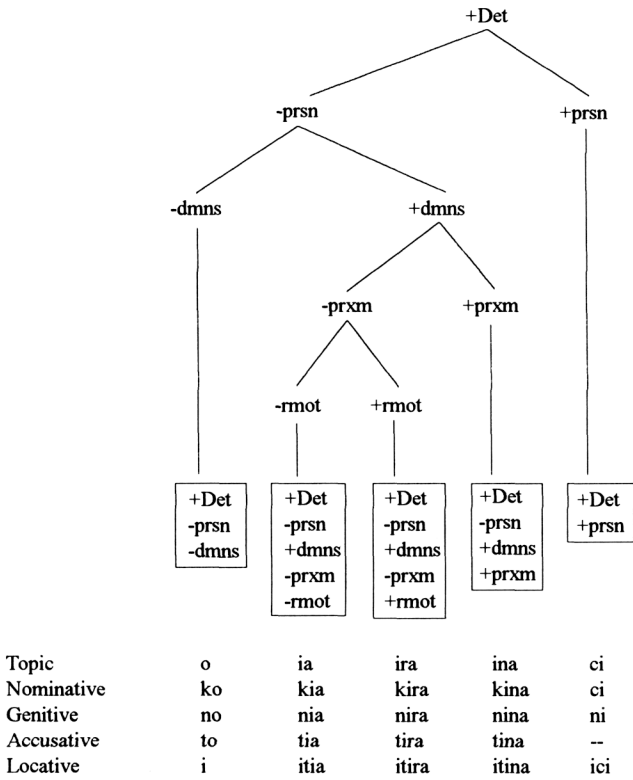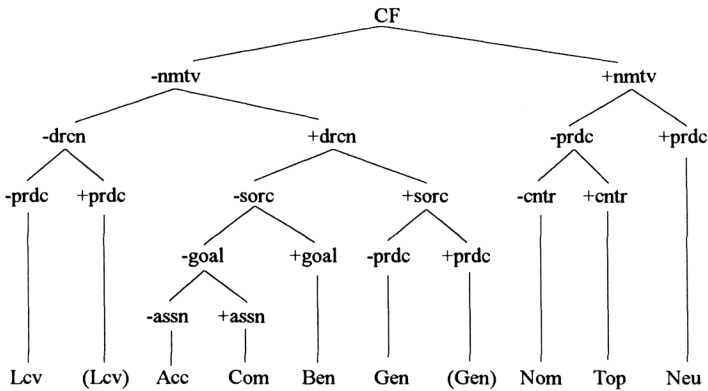(1987, 127)

	o	ia	ira	ina	ci
Topic	o	ia	ira	ina	ci
Nominative	ko	kia	kira	kina	ci
Genitive	no	nia	nira	nina	ni
Accusative	to	tia	tira	tina	--
Locative	i	itia	itira	itina	ici

Figure 3
Chen's Composite Feature Tree for Amis Case Forms
(1987, 140)

are less oblique than locative adjuncts. My Figure 1 distinguishes three degrees: straight, object, and oblique. Chen's +nmtv is the equivalent of my straight category. Within that category I distinguish two verb-related categories (nominative and predicate NP) and a non-clausal category that consists of substantives that are not within a clause and hence not engaged in a syntactic relation with anything. My non-clausal group includes topic, vocative, and interjection (also called exclamation). Chen divides the straight or +nmtv group differently. Her subdivision is into +prdc (Predicate NP) and -prdc; and the -prdc is divided into Nom and Top. Chen's Top may equate with my non-clausal group. At least, sentence-initial topics fall into her Top and my non-clausal group. As for the other two things (vocative and interjection) in my non-clausal group, Chen does not mention them at all.

So Chen's set with *o* marking is divided into Topic and "Neutral" (her term for the Predicate Noun). She groups the Topic more closely with the Nominative (which is marked differently, *ko*) than with the Predicate Noun, which is marked the same (*o*) as the Topic.

It seems to me that if any category merits the term "neutral" it is not the Predicate NP but the other subclass within the *o* casemarking, to wit, the non-clausal group of topics, vocatives, and exclamations. For Proto-Indo-European eight cases are generally listed, but the ancient Sanskrit grammarian Panini listed only seven, excluding the vocative because it is non-clausal, hence not in a syntactic relation with anything.

A distinguished scholar of the Formosan languages, Lillian Huang (p.c.), likes to use the term "neutral" to include both groups marked *o* in Amis: topic and predicate noun. But I agree with Chen that those two should not be grouped syntactically together against the nominative subject. The agreement in casemarking of topic and predicate NP in Amis may be a late, secondary development. True, they are both "straight" or "+nmtv", but syntactically it is the nominative subject and the predicate NP, both within the clause, that have something in common against the non-clausal NP. The nominative subject and the predicate NP are coindexed by syntactic processes within the

clause. In discourse, the non-clausal's coindexing with something in the clause may be inferable with virtual certainty, but the same can be true of NPs in different utterances made by different speakers in the discourse.

Because of these considerations within the Amis language, and because the PAN must be postulated as plausibly ancestral to Fijian as well as to Amis, I propose the following. PAN *o* marked sentence-initial topics and other non-clausals. PAN *ko* marked nominative (or absolutive) subjects and predicate NP.

With that PAN assignment, we need hypothesize only one change from PAN to Amis, and only one change from PAN to Oceanic. The change from PAN to Amis is that *o* replaced *ko* as the marker for predicate NP. The change from PAN to Oceanic is that zero replaced *ko* as the marker for nominative subject.

Note that in at least one Formosan language, the topic marker *u* or *o* comes at the right of the topic, not at its left. Also note that in Oceanic languages the vocative marker *o* or *e* comes both before and after its NP. I suggest that the reasonable conclusion is that by the late PAN period, the non-clausal marker (*u/o* and *i/e*) was placed at both borders of its NP. And a reasonable guess is that at the earliest period in PAN it occurred only right of its NP, as a conjunction separating the topic or vocative from the syntactic sentence. Or it may be that the bilateral marking was the earliest in PAN, and the left or right mark was deleted for some syntactic subcategories in some daughter languages.[1]

With that in mind, we now search for other *zero*- and *k*-casemarkers in Oceanic languages near Fiji, and in (standard) Fijian itself.

4. Evidence from Oceanic Languages Near Fiji

In POC, both the noun that can specify the nominative subject and the noun that can specify the accusative object bear no overt marking.

Polynesian. The *o* casemarker does not occur in Polynesian. A possessive particle *o*, now regarded as a preposition, is an old noun for a type of possession.

Its *i* form, as is to be expected, is used to mark persons. It pops up occasionally in Polynesian language, marking straight nouns, usually nominative (absolutive) subjects rather than topics. Marking person, it is followed by the personal article *a* or *aa*. Tokelau, an East PN language, is one in which it is not uncommon. The Tokelau Dictionary (Simona 1986) in the entry *ia*, defines various circumstances in which the word (phrase) is used, some of which are: [my hyphens between *i* and *a*]

(1) kua   hau   i-a   Tui
    TAM   come   I A   NAME
    "Tui has arrived."

(2) ka   nonofo   i   te   fale   i-a   ki-taaua
    TAM   stay   at   the   house   I A   you-and-I
    "You and I will stay at home."

All examples given were subjects of intransitive verbs.
It is also listed as an interjection as follows.

(3) 1. Used to attract attention:
        Here, hey. *Ia, hapo te afituhi.*
        Here, catch the box of matches.

    2. Used by story-tellers to indicate a new paragraph or phrase in the narrative:
        Ia, fano, fano te vaka...
        So, the canoe sailed on and on...
        [A form *io* is used to answer a roll call.]

The vocative particle *e* occurs in most Polynesian languages, and in most of them it occurs both before and after the name, though it can be deleted in either position. An example from my work in Tuvalu demonstrates this.

(4) Calling my attention:
   e Iosefa e!
   "Joe!" or "Hey, Joe!"

The *ko* particle occurs in almost every PN language, with its central function to mark the predicate NP. It marks the cleft function initially.

(5) *ko   Ioane   ko   te   fai-akonga*
   KO   John   KO   the   teacher
   "It is John that is the teacher."

It also marks isolated utterances of nouns, both in announcing a title and in answering a question. Thus, the story of Lusi (Finney 1992) begins:

(6) *ko   te   tala   o   Lusi*
   KO   the   story   of   Lusi
   "The story of Lusi" or "This is the story of Lusi."

In Hawaiian and some other East PN languages, *ko* phrases, former sentence-initial cleft constructions (or perhaps in some instances topics that would be *o* in Fijian?), have been reinterpreted as plain nominative subjects. This is a late, recent development.

Rotuman. Churchward (1940) shows the following entries representing the casemarker with initial zero in Rotuman.

(7) 1. *oo* - interj, used, like *ee*, in calling. Seldom used now except when playfully or rhetorically addressing inanimate things. *Ana oo, pul!* O cave, shut tight! *Pulolo oo, moos!* O lamp, go out! *Jou oo, kao!* O bottle, break!

   2. *oo!* - interj, O, Oh, or untranslatable. May express mild surprise, or sudden recollection, etc., like the English "O" or "Oh". Often weakened to *o*, it may serve...merely to introduce a statement: esp. in *o ma ke*

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ta'a (or *ta'ag*), if that be the case, or O well, if that be the case.[2]

3. *äe* - interj., hey!

4. *ee* - interj, used in calling a person, after a person's name...E.g. *Tu'a ee!* Tu'a!

5. *ee* (uttered with force) - interj. expressive of dislike or disgust: Fiji *saa!*

6. *'ee* - interj. of warning. Beware! Look out! Be careful!

7. *kii* - interj., war-cry used by leader to stir his followers to a fighting mood.

8. *ko* - indec, sign of the nom. of address [vocative], with incomplete form of noun. *ko Tua'*.

9. *ku* (with greatly prolonged *u*) - interj., call used in calling a person a long way off in the forest.

Note that in Rotuman, initial glottal can come from ancestral **k* in inherited words and in loans from Samoan; and initial *k* can come from loans from Tongan.[3]

Tungaru (Gilbertese). Tungaru is not in Central Pacific, but it is the most conservative of the Micronesia languages, which are in the Eastern Oceanic group which also includes the Central Pacific group.

Sabatier's (1971) Gilbertese-English Dictionary shows the following.

(8) *o* - int. Call, reply, surprise, lassitude, etc. (diff. tone but always placed at the end). *Maria O! Karaki O! I a mate O! Ai kabotura O!*[4]

Standard Fijian. For Standard Fijian, Capell (1968) shows the following.

(9) 1. *e* - a vocative particle sometimes used to reinforce a call to a person. It is interchangeable with *i*, but its use is not essential.

2. *i* - a noun preformative very commonly added to [before] verbal roots.

3. *i* - a personal article used (1) as a sign of the vocative before names and titles of people. *I Saka*, sir! *i ra gone*, boys! (2) in [before] certain pronouns after *ko*. Where it appears before a common noun it is [the preformative], e.g. *sa i tovo caa*, it is a bad habit.

4. *oo* - interj., like English Oh! mostly in certain cere-monial settings.

5. *u* - interj., of wonder

The findings in these Oceanic languages can be summarized as follows. Because of its agreement with Polynesian and with more distantly related AN languages not in CP, the *ko* particle in POC and PCP, the common ancestor of FJ and PN, must have marked predicate nouns. Both *e* and *o* forms are used as vocative markers. Except for the *ko* common to Fijian and Polynesian, nobody has previously noticed the resemblance of Fijian *o* and *ko* to these very similar particles in other Oceanic languages that are linguistically and geographically close to Fijian. There is some tendency in the other languages, as in Fijian, to let particles move from one syntactic role to another within the general *supercategory that I call "straight" and that Chen calls "+nmtv".* The ability to do so may be a property of universal grammar.

5. Re-Examination of Fijian

As we have seen, the Fijian *o* casemarker differs in ancestry from the *ko* casemarker all the way back to PAN, six thousand or more years ago.

The differing syntactic functions of *o* and *ko* (or with other vowels) throughout AN accounts exactly for the differing positional use of *o* and *ko* in Fijian. The particle with *zero* initial marked a sentence-initial topic. The particle with initial *k-* could occur initially but also elsewhere in the sentence.

The missionaries were not so dumb as Schütz thinks. They really did encounter a dialect that still used *o* for sentence-initial topic and *ko* for predicate nouns. Both the missionaries and their critics were mistaken in regarding the two forms as allomorphs of a single word, though they may have become such now.

How did the *ko* nouns, the predicate nouns, come to occur so often in the sentence-final position?

Remember that it has often been noted that in Oceanic the basic sentence is in pronouns, and when nouns for subjects and objects are present they seem to be added as afterthought. In Fijian and many other Oceanic languages, the NP's occur somewhere after the VP, when they are needed for disambiguation.

So it is consistent with general thought on the matter to believe that in proto-Fijian, not only the unmarked subject and object NP's but also the *ko* form, as predicate noun, came to be used as an afterthought. It could be a separate clause such as: "Look at him. It's the teacher." or "Look at him. The teacher, that is." Also, "There is he. It's the teacher." or "There is he. The teacher, that is."

Certain classes of nouns are likely to occur as predicate nouns in this construction: names of person, names of occupations, and kinship terms. Let's call this class LPN for "likely predicate nouns". The LPN class includes proper nouns but is not at all confined to them. By later reanalysis, the pair of clauses came to be considered a single clause, and the *ko-* marked noun, which had been a predicate nouns when it made its own

clause, came to be considered the accusative object or nominative subject of the sentence.

A further effect is that the NP quality of being "straight" or "+nmtv" is such a fundamental likeness that NPs of all subcategories therein tend to acquire the same case markings. In fact, in Fijian, the accusatives fall in with the straights (marked with *o/ko* or with articles alone) as opposed to the obliques (marked with prepositions). Let's back off here and consider the categories of certain function words: prepositions, casemarkers and articles.

Synchronically, casemarkers and articles are classed together as Det (determiners; see Figure 2: Chen's Feature Tree and Inflectional Paradigm of Amis Determiners). In this paper we'll ignore the fifth (rightmost) column, personal Det. The first (left) column is the pure casemarkers (+Det, -dmns). The other three columns (+Det, +dmns) show the casemarkers melded with markers of three degrees of distality. Synchronically, a phrase introduced by a preposition is a PP, while a phrase introduced by a casemarker is NP, a fundamental distinction.

Chen (1987:125) makes four points that distinguish casemarkers (and other determiners) from prepositions. Prepositions and casemarkers must have a lot in common if it is necessary to work so hard to distinguish them. When we examine languages such as Latin and Old English we can see clearly that the casemarking suffixes must be relics of an earlier generation of postpositions from a Proto language that had OV (object-verb) order. The history of Japanese (Sansom 1928) shows that nominatives and accusatives, not being PP, had to acquire their casemarkers from entities other than prepositions. In general, synchronically, prepositions and casemarkers are often best accounted for as a single category, PCM.

Normally one would define "proper noun" in the usual manner before considering something as a marker of proper nouns. In Fijian, however, the missionaries and other grammarians jumped to the conclusion that *ko* marks proper nouns, and then had to redefine "proper noun" as what we are calling the LPN, clearly not the normal definition of a proper noun.

5.1 Is *ko* an Article or a Casemarker?

In Polynesian, as generally throughout AN languages, *ko* is called a casemarker. Accounts of some PN languages, however, note that it tends to occur more with certain classes of nouns (our LPN or proper nouns) more than with others.

One test whether *ko* is an article or a casemarker is this: if it can co-occur with another article and cannot co-occur with another casemarker or preposition, it is a casemarker. If it can co-occur with another casemarker or preposition and cannot co-occur with another article, it is an article. The usual article is *na* (or *a*) and makes a noun definite (or specific). We would not expect to find it before a proper name, which is definite already. Schütz makes the following observation:

> Some nouns, especially kin terms, alternate between common [marked with *na*] and proper [marked with *ko*]. For example, one finds both

> | *na tama-qu* | my father |
> |---|---|
> | DEF father-1s | |

> | *o tama-qu* | my father |
> |---|---|
> | PRP father-1s | |

> In addition, one can occasionally find the two articles used with one noun:

> | *o na marama* | the lady (Schütz 1985:321)[5] |
> |---|---|

Schütz then quotes Hazlewood as follows:

> Sometimes *ko* is prefixed with *na* to any common noun, apparently for the sake of greater definitiveness—*a*, of itself, being indefinite—as *ko na marama*, the lady; *ko no turaga*, the gentleman (or chief), alluding to some particular one. (Hazlewood 1872:5)

Finally, Milner says (rather confusingly) the following:

> Like *na*, *ko* may determine two or more words (one of
> which may be the common article) as a proper phrase:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *ko na mata* | the herald |
> | *ko nona itau* | his friend (Milner 1967:14) |

Prepositions, of course, can be followed by articles, as in this
example in Schütz (1985:346):

(10) *ki na i-teitei*
     to the garden

But the particle *ko* cannot occur with another preposition or
casemarker. There is no example of a preposition (such as *ki*)
followed by *ko*. A "proper noun" follows the preposition directly,
as in Schütz (1985:347):

(11) *i Rewa*
     toward Rewa

So, by an appropriate test, the particle *ko* is still more a
casemarker than an article in Fijian (and more so in Polynesian).

    To return to our first question, Schütz is mistaken in
thinking that the missionaries, who established written Fijian by
translating the Bible, must have confused two dialect, one of
which had only *ko* and the other, only *o*. But the missionaries, in
common with other authorities on Fijian, were also mistaken in
regarding *ko* and *o* as positional allophones, and *o* as a lenition of
ko.

    The missionaries must have encountered a Bauan Dialect in
which the ancient distinction of *o* initial topic marker and *ko*
predicate noun marker, still held. This was not true of all Fijian
communalects at the time.

    It seems odd that nobody has reported a systematic,
thorough study of the occurrence of *o* and *ko* in the
"communalects" (languages and dialects) of Fiji. Today may be

too late. On the one hand, homogenization to a single marker for all straight (+nmtv) constructions may have progressed. And, on the other hand, familiarity with the Bible may have reinstated the distinction in speakers whose forebears had lost it.

Notes

1. Starosta (1974) in his discussion on causative verbs in Formosan languages finds casemarker *o* in two, and *ko* or other *kV* in five of six Formosan languages.

2. This looks like a sentence-initial topic, and so it is consistent with Amis and with Fijian, and with what we postulate for Proto-Austronesian.

3. Churchward (1940) for Rotuman shows both *o* and *ko* as vocative particles in this Central Pacific language most closely kin to Fijian and Polynesian.

4. Sabatier (1971) gives no gloss, but the first example, at least, is a vocative. He also shows *o* as a vocative particle in this most conservative of the Micronesian Oceanic languages.

5. We might characterize this as casemarker followed by article, the normal order.

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