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Ko te Karāma o te Reo Māori o te Pae Tonga o Te Kuki Airani: A Grammar of Southern Cook Islands Māori

Sally Akevai Te Namu Nicholas

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Māori Studies,
The University of Auckland, 2016.
Abstract

Cook Islands Māori is an endangered East Polynesian language closely related to but distinct from Tahitian and New Zealand Māori. This project focuses specifically on the varieties of Cook Islands Māori originating from, and spoken in, the Southern Group of the Cook Islands, that is, the islands of Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Atiu, Ma'uke, Miti’aro and Mangaia. These varieties are collectively known as Southern Cook Islands Māori or Te Reo Māori o te Pae Tonga o te Kuki Airani.

This thesis is a grammatical description, following the principles of ‘basic linguistic theory’ or the ‘theory neutral’ position of contemporary descriptive linguistic scholarship (Dryer, 2006; Dixon, 1997), of Southern Cook Islands Māori. The areas of the grammar that are covered are: the phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax of simple and complex sentences.

Over the course of this project over 60 hours of audio-video material was archived as part of the ongoing documentation of this language.
Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my grandfather Robert Griffith and to his mother Ni‘otangi (Rose) Kopupapa of Ma‘uken, and to all her many descendants - may we never lose each other.
Acknowledgements

ꞌApai nua
ꞌApai raro
Turuturu ā rangi
Turu ā rangi
Neke tū te papa o Avaiki
Tāꞌiri raukura te matangi e Tonga
lēkōkō!


I began this project with a reasonable linguistic and cultural competency and finished it with significantly more. However as a person who has spent most of their life outside the Cook Islands I do not enjoy full native competency in either realm. Therefore my ‘participants’, especially those whose inboxes I bombarded multiple times a week with questions for the last five years, and those whose boundless hospitality I enjoyed in Rarotonga and Maꞌuke, contributed immeasurably to the depth of this project.

There are far far too many people who helped me significantly to name them all but I must single out a few.

To my supervisors Professor Margaret Mutu and Dr Ross Clark, we have been a team for many years now and we have found a way to make it work very efficiently. My deepest gratitude to you both.

To all of those who have passed during the course of this project, especially Rangitukua Moeka’a, who passed away in 2012, and Mapu Taia who passed away in 2015, may the words you shared with me live on forever more.

Every one of my participants has contributed to this project but there are three in particular who have been with me from the beginning to the end, and whose linguistic expertise and literary skill has been particularly valuable. They are: Terangi Nikora, Jean Tekura Mason, and Makiuti Tongia. Thank you my friends.

I would also like to specifically acknowledge my Mama and Papa in Maꞌuke, Tuakana and Taurereau Taurarii who gave so generously of their home, their time and their stories, and taught me so much about myself and our family, as well as the staff and students of Maꞌuke School, who went out of their way to accommodate my recording devices and my endless questions about tiny details of our language.
To everyone who participated by giving interviews and contributing to the Vairanga Tuatua, or answering my strange abstract questions, or helping with transcription, or translation. It may sometimes have been hard to know how you were helping, but but this work is only possible because of you.

Lastly to my family and friends in New Zealand, Norway, and the Cook Islands whose love and support sustained me through this long and sometimes arduous process - ngā mihi aroha ki a koutou e te whānau.

Ka ‘akameitaki atu i te au tangata katoa tei tauturu i āku. Mē kāre kōtou kāre au. Mē kāre tā kōtou tauturu kāre tēia puka e ora mai. Kia ora ‘ua atu rāi tō tātou Reo Tupuna.
List of Abbreviations

(A) A is optional
Ø null form
[ ... ] phonetic transcription
/ ... / phonemic transcription
* ungrammatical utterance; reconstructed form
% utterance only acceptable to some speakers
? questionably grammatical utterance
~ reduplication boundary
- morpheme boundary, suffix
. divides components of a portmanteau morpheme
= clitic boundary
1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
1SG first person singular
1DEX first person dual exclusive
1DINC first person dual inclusive
1PLEX first person plural exclusive
1PLINC first person plural inclusive
2SG second person singular
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<td>relativiser; relative clause</td>
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<td>locative source</td>
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<td>SPEC</td>
<td>specifier</td>
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<td>same subject</td>
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<td>SUB</td>
<td>subject</td>
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<td>SUBR</td>
<td>subordinator</td>
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<td>tense, aspect or mood</td>
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<td>V</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Southern Cook Islands Māori (Te Reo Māori o te Pae Tonga o te Kuki Airani) is an East Polynesian language of the southern Cook Islands: Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Mangaia, 'Atiu, Miti'aro, and Ma'uke.¹ This thesis presents a broad overview of the grammar of Southern Cook Islands Māori (henceforth CIM), with the caveat that most of the data is from either the Ma'uke or Rarotonga dialects.

1.2 The Cook Islands- geographically and politically

In the pre-colonial era, the group of islands that now make up the modern day Cook Islands were not politically unified, and each individual island (or small group of Islands in the case of Ngā Pū Toru) was independent (Kloosterman, 2007). However, after the arrival of Europeans in the region, this group of Islands was gradually gathered into one administrative unit. In 1888, it was renamed the Cook Islands² and declared a British colony. This was done at the request of the Ariki³ who feared the French, a fear promulgated due to anti-Catholic sentiment cultivated by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society. The islands of the ‘northern group’ - Pukapuka, Rakahanga, Manihiki and Penrhyn were incorporated at this time. Later, in 1901, at the request of the British, New Zealand annexed the Cook Islands.

Since 1965, the Cook Islands has been a self-governing nation in free association with New Zealand. This means that the Cook Islands Government is responsible for all internal legislation, but New Zealand represents them at the United Nations, and is responsible for matters of defence. The Cook Islands are part of the Realm of New Zealand, and Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens, which means they are able to move freely between mainland New Zealand and the Cook Islands. When resident in mainland New Zealand, they have all the rights of New Zealand citizens. When resident in the Cook Islands, they do not have access to all the rights of New Zealand citizens, such as access to social welfare or the right to vote in New Zealand elections. They do, however, have access to New Zealand public health

¹The islands of ‘Atiu, Miti’aro and Ma’uke are collectively known as collectively known as Ngā Pū Toru.
²Captain James Cook, for whom the country is named, in fact only ever visited the island Palmerston, which was uninhabited at that time.
³Traditional leaders
services. New Zealanders who are not Cook Islanders, conversely, do not have the automatic right to live in work in the Cook Islands.

1.2.1 Location and constituents

The Cook Islands lie in the centre of triangle Polynesia, 8-23 degrees south of the equator and longitudes 156-167 degrees west. The country comprises 15 islands, 12 of which have permanent populations. The total land area is a mere 240 square kilometres but the economic exclusion zone, the total area including the ocean, is 1,800,000 square kilometres. The northern islands of Pukapuka (10°53’S 165°51’ W), Rakahanga (10°02’S 161°05’ W), Manihiki (10°24’S 161°00’ W), Penrhyn (9°00’20″S 157°58’10″W), and Palmerston (18°4’5”, 163°10’ W) are low lying coral atolls. Aitutaki (18°51’S, 159°47’W) is an atoll with a maximum elevation of 125m. The Islands of Ngā Pū Toru, ‘Atiu (19° 59’ S 158° 7’ W), Ma’ukena’u (20° 9’5, 157° 20’ W) and Miti’aro (19° 52’ S, 157° 42’ W), as well as the island of Mangaia (21°55’S 157°57’ W), are raised coral atolls or makatea islands. Rarotonga (21°14’S 159°47’W) is volcanic and modestly mountainous. The highest peak on Rarotonga is Te Manga, which is 653 metres above sea level.

All the islands of the Cook Islands are known by multiple names, some of these are listed in table 1.1 along with the approximate population of each island (Cook Islands Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, 2012).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name 1</th>
<th>Name 2</th>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Pop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mangaia</td>
<td>Auau ‘Enua</td>
<td>Discovery Island</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarotonga</td>
<td>Tumutevarovaro o Tonganui; Roxburgh Island</td>
<td>13,097</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ma’ukena’u</td>
<td>‘Akotokamanava</td>
<td>Parry Island</td>
<td>307</td>
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<td>Miti’aro</td>
<td>Nukuroa</td>
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<td>‘Atiu</td>
<td>‘Enuamanu</td>
<td>Samwell Island</td>
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<tr>
<td>Takutea</td>
<td>‘Enuaiti</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aitutaki</td>
<td>Araura</td>
<td>2,035</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuae</td>
<td>Sandwich Island, Hervey Island</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avarau</td>
<td>Orimatema</td>
<td>Palmerston</td>
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<td>Te Watu a Mataliki</td>
<td>Danger Island</td>
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<td>Nassau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suvarou</td>
<td>Suwarau</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Tapuhua</td>
<td>Grand Duke Alexander Island</td>
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<td>Mangarongaro</td>
<td>Penrhyn</td>
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Table 1.1: Names and population sizes of the islands of the Cook Islands

Figure 1.1 shows a map of the Cook Islands and figure 1.2 shows the position of the Cook Islands in Oceania.
1.2. THE COOK ISLANDS - GEOGRAPHICALLY AND POLITICALLY

COOK ISLANDS

Figure 1.1: Map of the Cook Islands (Map, 2016) (not to scale)
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Figure 1.2: Map of the Oceania and Australia (Aus, 2016)
1.2.2 Population

The resident population of the Cook Islands at the 2011 census was 14,974, 88% of whom are ethnically Cook Islands Māori (Cook Islands Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, 2012).

A much greater population of Cook Island Māori people resides in New Zealand. At the 2013 census, they numbered 61,839, making them the second largest Pasifika population in New Zealand. As New Zealand citizens, Cook Islanders are automatically entitled to live and work in Australia and consequently there is also a significant population there. According to the 2011 census there are 16,191 people with Cook Islands ancestry in Australia (Pryke, 2014). There are also Cook Islanders resident in many other parts of the world. The total number of Cook Islanders is not reflective of the total number of speakers of CIM (or any indigenous language of the Cook Islands) (cf. section 1.4).

1.3 The languages of the Cook Islands

The categorisation and naming conventions around the languages of the Cook Islands are somewhat confused. The Te Reo Maori Act (Government of the Cook Islands, 2003) defines (Cook Islands) Māori to mean,

"Maori" -

a Means the Maori language (including its various dialects) as spoken or written in any island of the Cook Islands; and

b Is deemed to include Pukapukan as spoken or written in Pukapuka;

The inclusion of Pukapukan in this definition is motivated by inclusiveness, rather than linguo-genetic accuracy, and is misleading. Linguo-genetically speaking, there are unequivocally two different languages spoken in the Cook Islands. The first is the language of the island of Pukapuka in the northern Cook Islands (also spoken on the neighbouring island of Nassau). Pukapukan belongs to the Samoic-Outlier subgroup of the Polynesian language family PPN>PNP>SMO (Pawley, 1966a; Marck, 2000; Salisbury, 2002), and is not mutually intelligible with any varieties of Māori from the rest of the Cook Islands. Geographically, Pukapuka is nearer to Samoa than to the Southern Cook Islands.

The second language, under the two-language analysis, comprises the East Polynesian varieties associated with the remaining islands of the Cook Islands, and is usually called Cook Islands Māori, or simply Māori by Cook Islands people. Under this analysis, the varieties from all of the islands other than Pukapuka are dialects of Cook Islands Māorī.

However, there is reasonable evidence to suggest that the northern dialects of Manihiki/Rakahanga (Memory, 1996) and Penrhyn (Yasuda, 1967) both constitute separate languages from that of the southern dialect group (CIM). Speakers of CIM universally report mutual intelligibility with other varieties of CIM, but not with either Rakahanga or Penrhyn. This fact, along with the phonological, lexical, and slight grammatical differences described by Memory (1996) and Yasuda (1967) would seem to be sufficient evidence to support a four-language analysis.

---

4The term Māori or its cognates is used by most East Polynesian peoples to refer to themselves and to their language. In the New Zealand / Cook Islands context this can get confusing. Both groups tend to refer to themselves and their own language as ‘Māori’ and disambiguate by modifying when necessary. So New Zealand Māori people refer to Cook Island Māori (Māori Kuki Airani) and Cook Islands Māori people speak about New Zealand Maori (Māori Aotearoa/Māori Nū Tīreni). However, in ‘mixed gatherings’ (which are of course common, daily, in the context of my life) this ambiguity can require a little friendly labelling gymnastics.
As such, I distinguish four indigenous languages in the Cook Islands: Pukapukan, Te Reo Māori o te Pae Tonga (Southern Cook Islands Māori or CIM), Rakahanga (or Rakahanga/Manihiki) and Penrhyn as shown in 1.2.

Table 1.2: Languages of the Cook Islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>ISO</th>
<th>Glottolog</th>
<th>Alternative names</th>
<th>Island(s) of origin</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Reo Māori o te Pae Tonga</td>
<td>rar</td>
<td>raro1241</td>
<td>Rarotongan, Māori,</td>
<td>Rarotonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>atiu123</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aitutaki</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mang1042</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mangaia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>atiu1237</td>
<td></td>
<td>ʻAtiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mauk1238</td>
<td></td>
<td>Māʻuke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>miti1242</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mitl’aro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakahanga</td>
<td>rkh</td>
<td>raka1237</td>
<td>Manihiki</td>
<td>Manihiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penrhyn</td>
<td>pnh</td>
<td>penr1237</td>
<td>Mangarongaro, Tongareva</td>
<td>Penrhyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Samoic Languages</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pukapukan</td>
<td>pkp</td>
<td>puka1242</td>
<td>Leo Wale</td>
<td>Pukapuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colonial Languages</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>eng</td>
<td>newz1240</td>
<td>Reo Papaʻa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmerston English</td>
<td>eng</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To add further to the naming and categorisation confusion, linguists have traditionally referred to Cook Islands Māori (both northern and southern) as ‘Rarotongan’, as can be seen from the ISO code of rar. This practice is confusing, as it confounds a ‘dialect’ name with a ‘language’ name. It is also politically controversial in the context of the language community (cf. section 1.6.1).

In this thesis, the label CIM refers collectively to the dialects of the southern group and the label Rarotongan refers to the Rarotongan dialect of CIM.

1.3.1 Linguo-genetic categorisation of CIM

The Polynesian language family is categorised as belonging to Austronesian > Nuclear Austronesian > Malayo-Polynesian > Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian > Eastern Malayo-Polynesian > Oceanic > Central Pacific > East Fijian-Polynesian.

The precise internal subgrouping of the Polynesian languages family has undergone some revisions, not all of which are widely accepted.

Following Pawley (1966a), CIM is classified as Polynesian > Nuclear Polynesian > East Polynesian > Central East Polynesian > Tahitic. Following Marck 2000, it would be classified as Polynesian>Nuclear Polynesian > Ellicean > East Polynesian>Central East Polynesian>Tahitic. Under both of these classifications CIM’s closest relations are the other Tahitian languages, New Zealand Māori (henceforth NZM) and Tahitian. More recently Glottolog (2016), following Walworth (2014), has posited the following more divergent classification for CIM.

Polynesian > Nuclear Polynesian > Northern Outlier Polynesian-East Polynesian > Solomons Northern Outlier Polynesian-
1.4 Status of the Language

East Polynesian > Central Northern Outlier Polynesian-East Polynesian > East Polynesian > Central East Polynesian > Mangaia-Old Rapa. This posits a different subcategorisation of the East Polynesian subgroup, that does not include a Tahitian subgroup. Instead, all the languages of the Central East Polynesian subgroup are said to be sister languages.

It is, however, uncontroversial to state that CIM is an East Polynesian language.

1.4 Status of the language

CIM is in danger of becoming a language that is no longer spoken. In New Zealand, where most Cook Islanders live, the 2013 census recorded that only 12% of Cook Islanders could speak their heritage language. This includes CIM, as well as the northern group languages and Pukapukan. Most of these CIM speakers are older, while Cook Island people who are effectively monolingual in English make up 80% of people under 30, and 68% of people under 65. (Statistics New Zealand, 2015).

The language is also under threat in the Cook Islands (Balawa, 1996; Herman, 2005). Nearly everyone in the Cook Islands speaks English and increasing numbers of people, especially younger people, are monolingual in English or are passive bilinguals. That is to say, effective intergenerational transmission has ceased for many families. This pattern is particularly apparent in Rarotonga and Aitutaki, which have the largest populations, but also have the largest numbers of (largely English speaking) tourists, and are the most ‘westernised’. The people of the more remote pā ‘enua, as the other islands are collectively called, tend to be fully competent bilinguals, with a preference for CIM in most everyday contexts. However their numbers are few. The 2011 census puts the total population of the CIM speaking pā ‘enua (including Aitutaki) at 3,290.

The endangered status of CIM makes it all the more important that the language is documented and described.

1.5 Previous work on Cook Islands Māori

Many Polynesian languages generally are quite well described. There are several surveys of the Austronesian or Oceanic groups that include Polynesian languages (e.g. Blust, 2013; Lynch et al., 2002) as well as comparative works that focus specifically on the Polynesian languages (Chung, 1978; Clark, 1976; Pawley, 1966a; Krupa, 1982). Several languages have substantial reference grammars (e.g. Bauer, 2012; Bauer et al., 1997; Besnier, 2002; Churchward, 1953; Elbert and Pukui, 2001; Pratt, 1893; Harlow, 2007; Hooper, 1996; Lazard and Peltzer, 2000; Mosel and Hovdhaugen, 1992; Mutu and Teikutoua, 2002), and various Polynesian languages, have been used as examples in broad typological surveys (e.g. Blust, 2013; Dixon, 1979; Keenan and Comrie, 1977; Lynch et al., 2002).

1.5.1 Descriptive work on Cook Islands Māori

CIM, has the unfortunate honour of being the least described of the larger Polynesian languages. No variety of any Northern or Southern variety of Cook Islands Māori has been thoroughly described using modern linguistic methods.5 Jasper Buse produced a number of short articles on some aspects of the structure Rarotongan (meaning the Rarotongan dialect) in the 1960s. Buse’s work covered the internal structure of the phrase (Buse, 1963c;iba), some simple

5Pukapukan, the Samoan-Outlet language of the Cook Islands has been thoroughly described (Salisbury, 2002).
sentence types (Buse, 1963a), and some aspects of conjunction and negation (Buse, 1963b). He also addressed the issue of word class (Buse, 1965). Buse drew on a simplified version of the ‘structuralist’ model, based on the early work of Bruce Biggs, (Biggs, 1960; 1961).

There has been some other descriptive work done on CIM, but it has been quite narrow in scope. There have been two masters theses written about aspects of CIM, Pearson’s (1974) Aitutaki an a partial description based on case, and more recently, Horton’s (2000), Determiners and complementizers in Cook Islands Maori which was written using the government and binding framework. There has also been some attention paid to the two northern varieties, The structure of the Penrhyn phrase (Yasuda, 1967), and A study to determine whether Manihiki-Rakahanga is a dialect of or a separate language to Rarotongan (Memory, 1996). However, no large scale or electronically searchable, corpus based, work has been produced for CIM and this thesis aims to help fill that gap.

1.5.2 Dictionaries

What CIM lacks in phonological or syntactic description it makes up for in lexicography. There are two very comprehensive dictionaries of CIM. The first, A dictionary of the Maori language of Rarotonga (1962) was written by Steven Savage, a native speaker of NZM, between 1894 and the time of his death in 1941. It was published posthumously. Each entry contains the headword and word class, as well as example sentences with glosses. Some entries also list the NZM cognate. Vowel length and the glottal phoneme are only marked where the author felt it was necessary for disambiguation. Many entries contain quite rich ethnographic information.

The second major dictionary work is the Cook Islands Maori Dictionary (Buse et al., 1995). This volume was compiled by Jasper Buse (a British linguist) and Raututi Taringa (a native speaker). Upon Buse’s death in 1985 the manuscript was edited and completed for publication by Bruce Biggs (the famous NZM Polynesianist) and Rangi Moeka’a (a native speaker with linguistic training). The first edition (Buse et al., 1995) was published in 1995, and a second edition, (Buse et al., 1996) which included an English finder list, added by Biggs and Moeka’a, was published the following year. Entries in this dictionary include an updated word class categorisation, multiple examples with glosses, and where it was recoverable, the etymology of the item. The orthography used in the dictionary is broadly phonetic, with vowel length and the glottal phoneme marked even when their occurrence is not phonemic (e.g. epenthetic glottal stops or stress related lengthening of vowels). Most of the entries in this work are from the Rarotongan dialect, but there are also a few entries from other dialects, which are noted as such.

The Buse dictionary (1995) and parts of the Savage dictionary (1962) have been digitised and are now available in various online dictionaries.

The Cook Islands biodiversity & natural heritage (2003) contains all the entries from Buse that relate to flora or fauna. This site retains the orthography used in Buse.

The Cook Islands Maori Database (2016) contains all of Buse, parts of Savage, and a number of crowd-sourced terms. The Buse entries have been stripped of the macrons and the marking for the glottal phoneme. The entries from Savage are being keyboarded by hand, and retain most of his orthography (cf. section 2.10.

*The dictionary is bilingual CIM to English.*
The Dictionary of Cook Islands languages, http://cookislandsdictionary.com, is an ongoing project involving the Ipukarea Society from Auckland University of Technology (AUT), the University of the South Pacific, and the Cook Islands Ministry of Education. This site contains all of Buse, (retaining the original orthography) as well as crowd-sourced terms. This site is explicitly collecting items from all the dialects of Northern and Southern Cook Islands Māori, and audio is currently being added to the entries.

### 1.5.3 Pedagogical grammars

Finally, there have been a number of pedagogically oriented ‘grammars’ produced for Cook Islands Māori. These include: *Rarotonga (Cook Islands) Maori Grammar* by Tuaive Mose. (1961), *Say it in Rarotongan* by Mana Strickland (1979), *Learning Rarotonga Maori* by Makiuti Tongia (1991), *Kai kōrero: A Cook Islands Maori language coursebook*, (1995) and *Te pepe Kuki Airani: A beginners guide to Cook Islands Māori* (2008).

Based on the present corpus of scholarly work, it can be seen that Cook Islands Māori is currently under-described.

### 1.5.4 Written history

Counterbalancing the paucity of linguistic scholarship on CIM (along with the good dictionaries) is the fact that CIM has a fairly rich written record dating back to the mid nineteenth century. This has greatly facilitated the creation of the *Vairanga Tuatua* corpus (cf. section 1.7), upon which most of the analysis in this thesis is based.

### 1.6 Dialectal variation within CIM

Speakers seem to have a sense of CIM as a language shared by all the southern islands, with each island having its own distinct dialect. However, speakers of CIM usually self identify as speakers of *Māori*, or as speakers of their particular variety i.e. Reo Rarotonga or Reo Ma’uke. Generally, speakers are aware there is a notion of Cook Islands Māori ,or *Māori Kuki Airani*, that encompasses all the varieties, and they may also use these terms to describe their language. Most speakers of CIM do not consider the northern varieties of Rakahanga and Penrhyn to be fully intelligible, and such view them as distinct languages.

The dialectal variation in CIM is predominantly lexical in nature, but there but there are a few noteworthy phonological differences. Speakers of CIM are very aware of the differences between the dialects, and can easily identify a person’s origin based on their dialect. Speakers also regularly report that the ‘sound’ of each dialect is distinctive - not just the words. In this section I will briefly survey some of the differences between the four main varieties of CIM: Rarotongan, Mangaian, Aitutakian and Ngā Pū Toru.

#### 1.6.1 Rarotongan as the de-facto standard variety

Missionaries artificially made Rarotongan the standard variety when they used that dialect to translate the Bible in 1858. As a result of this, nearly all written Cook Islands Māori is in the Rarotonga dialect. This has produced a kind of diglossia, where people of the pā ‘enua conduct most of their daily lives in their local variety, but read, write, and listen to sermons almost exclusively in Rarotongan. There are two typical responses to this situation. The more
conservative position says that Rarotongan, as the ‘language of the Bible’, is the correct variety to use in writing, and the correct variety to learn as a second language learner. The more self-determinative position says that the dominance of Rarotongan is hegemonic and that the other varieties need to be held in higher regard, and used more in writing, to assert the specific linguistic identities of the pā ’enua.

1.6.2 Rarotongan

The Rarotongan variety has the largest number of speakers, and as mentioned above, is also the most common written variety of CIM. Most speakers of other varieties of CIM are familiar with Rarotongan because it is the variety used in most religious contexts, both spoken and written. Due to its status as the dominant language it is often used as the standard against which variation is measured. This does not, of course, suggest that the Rarotongan variety is actually the underlying variety of CIM, merely that, for historical and political reasons, it is the dominant variety.

In order to redress the socio-linguistic balance slightly, I will mention here that the Rarotongan dialect has a number of unique lexical items that are not found in other dialects of CIM. Some of these are shown in table 1.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RAR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>OTHER CIM</th>
<th>PPN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ūtaro</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td>mokopuna</td>
<td>*mokopuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puakāoa</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>kurii</td>
<td>*kulii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuatua</td>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>araara, tara, tautara</td>
<td>*tala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katu</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>ūpoko, pauru</td>
<td>*ulupoko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāꞌī</td>
<td>bathe/swim</td>
<td>mōmē, takā vai</td>
<td>*kaukau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 1 is spoken in the Rarotongan dialect.7

(1) Noꞌo ana mātou i Titikaveka then 'aere mātou i reira ki a Maꞌuke.
live HABIT IPLEX LOC Titikaveka then go IPLEX LOC that GOAL PERS Maꞌuke

'We lived in Titikaveka then we went to Maꞌuke.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012b:00:37:12-00:37:15)
https://goo.gl/NIcsH0

1.6.3 Features of Mangaian

The variety of CIM spoken on the island of Mangaia (Tara Mangaia) has [k] → [ʔ~Ø] in some grammatical words. This feature has been noted since the earliest written records of Tara Mangaia. Example 2 is taken from a text that was published in modern times, but the original dates from circa 1870-1890. The following k-initial function words are written without the k in this passage; 'ua (RAR kua) 'āore (RAR kāore) and 'o (RAR ko). At the same time, there is an instance of the negator kāre, written with the verbal particle ka, and all the instances of the verbal particle ka retain their initial k.

(2) E roa ake ra, 'ua rave-a 'akaꞌou=i ma e Ngārā nō-na. 'Oki mai ra i Te TAM long DIR3 POS3 PFV do-CIA again=PASS DIR1 AGNT Ngārā for-3SG return DIR1 POS3 ACC Te 'Āmama, 'āore i pūruki=i'la ana, riro mai ra i a Ngārā. E 30 te mataꞌiti i 'Āmama NEG TAM conflict=PASS PFV taken DIR1 POS3 SAGNT PERS Ngārā TAM 30 TAM year LOC tōna 'au. 'O Te Ao te ariki. 'Ua motu tō Ngārā Mangaia i a Kirikovi. E 'ā his realm SPEC Te Ao DET chief PFV sever DET.POSS Ngārā Mangaia SAGNT PERS Kirikovi TAM four pūruki i tōna 'au, i Vaitoroa ka taꞌi, i Tāvavi, ka rua, i Te Kopā, ka toru. dispute LOC his reign LOC Vaitoroa INCHD one LOC Tāvavi INCHD two LOC Te Kopā INCHD three Kāre 'ua 'e Mangaia i rauka. (Reilly, 1993:86)
NEG MERELY EXIST Mangaia TAM obtain

'A little later, Ngārā again took the 'au8 forcefully to himself. [It had] returned to Te 'Āmama without being fought over, taken by Ngārā. His 'au [lasted] 30 years. Te Ao was the ariki. Ngārā's [mangaia] was severed by Kirikovi. [There were] four battles during his 'au. The first was at Vaitoroā; the second at Tāvāvi; the third at Te Kopā; no Mangaia was gained. ' (Reilly, 1993:87)

Example 3 is from a contemporary speaker. This example contains the Mangaian variant of the verbal particle kua.

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7Examples that include audio examples are marked by a hyperlink. The examples in this chapter can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info/5_1.html

8reign
1.6.4 Ngā Pū Toru

The Ngā Pū Toru variety spoken on the islands of Ma’uke, Miti’aro and ‘Atiu has some lexical differences, and is reported to be spoken faster and with more elision than other varieties. Much of the lexical difference seems to be the result of contact with Tahitian.

Example 4a is an example of the Ma’uke variety and 4b is the ‘Atiu variety. The words in bold are considered to be Ngā Pū Toru words by speakers.

(4) a. (K)āre e ānga te moe.
   NEG TAM sufficient-of-sleep DET sleep
   ‘The sleep was insufficient.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2014a:00:48:32-00:38:35) https://goo.gl/NIcSH0

b. ‘Ano atu tātou ki Miti’aro noa-atu ki te Miti’aro ō ‘e aronga ‘akateitei mai i go DIR2 1PLINK GOAL Miti’aro CONCESS LOC DET Miti’aro COMP CLS people disrespect DIR1 ACC a mātou i te ‘Enumanu, kua ‘akaue=ia rātou kia ‘āriki ratou i te Evangelia.
   PERS 1PLEX ACC DET ‘Atiu TAM order=PASS 3PL COMP accept 3PL ACC DET Christianity
   ‘They went to Miti’aro, even though they were a disrespectful people to us, the ‘Atiu people, they were ordered to accept Christianity.’ (Cook Islands Television and Shedden, J. (director), 2014:00:24:09-00:24:19)

1.6.5 Aitutaki

The Aitutaki variety is said to be losing the glottal phoneme like the ‘Atiu variety. Non Aitutaki speakers will make a joke in reference to the how the word aꞌiaꞌi (‘evening’) can be confused with aiai (‘to copulate (of humans)’). It is my observation that speakers of these varieties (most of whom themselves report that they “are not saying it”) are actually using the more extreme laryngeal variation of the phoneme (cf. section 2.2.3). The fact that speakers are not recognising that it is actually a phoneme in their language is notable. Example 5 is a contemporary speaker of the Aitutaki variety.

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9This is an impression which I share, but which needs some empirical evidence to confirm.
(5) Tēnā tuatua nō te ngenengene e taï‘i taime ka kanga tuatua kanga mai ra karanga atu rātou i a koe ‘e rupe.

‘About that concept of fatness, sometimes they joke, they tease, they say that you’re a pigeon.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2013b:00:08:53-00:09:00) https://goo.gl/NicsH0

1.6.6 Lexical variation

Table 1.4 shows some examples of lexical variation between the various dialects of CIM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Rarotonga</th>
<th>Mangaia</th>
<th>Aitutaki</th>
<th>Ngā Pū Toru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>tuatua</td>
<td>tara</td>
<td>autara</td>
<td>araara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to bathe</td>
<td>pā‘i</td>
<td>takā vai</td>
<td>mōmē</td>
<td>mōmē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to look</td>
<td>‘ākara</td>
<td>kakaro</td>
<td>‘aka’ie’ie</td>
<td>karo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beautiful</td>
<td>mānea</td>
<td>venu</td>
<td>‘aka’ie’ie</td>
<td>‘aka’ie’ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>mānga</td>
<td>mānga</td>
<td>mānga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to tell lies</td>
<td>pikika’a</td>
<td>‘amo</td>
<td>tivarevare</td>
<td>‘āvarevare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat</td>
<td>matū</td>
<td>‘aere</td>
<td>ngenengene</td>
<td>poripori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>‘aere</td>
<td>‘aere</td>
<td>‘aere</td>
<td>‘ano</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the data in this thesis is either in the Rarotongan dialect, or the Ma‘uke variety of the Ngā Pū Toru dialect. This is due to two factors.

1. The use of the Rarotongan variety in most written CIM.

2. My family connection to Ma‘uke, makes that island the most ethical and most practical field site.

The future work into the lexicography of the dialects of CIM that will be conducted by the Cook Islands Dictionary project (‘Te Ipukarea Society, Auckland University of Technology et al., 2016) will be very beneficial for the language community.

1.7 Methodology

CIM is my heritage language, and although my first language is English, I spent part of my early childhood (including my early schooling) in Rarotonga, at a time when children still spoke CIM to one another. Upon my family’s migration to New Zealand I was bilingually educated in English and New Zealand Māori (NZM). Therefore I have good competency in both CIM and NZM, and this has greatly facilitated many aspects of this research. My family connections to the Cook Islands meant that it was very easy for me to spend time ‘in the field’ both in Rarotonga and in Ma‘uke, and that I have
easy access to a large pool of native speakers in the form of my friends and family, both in New Zealand and the Cook Islands.

As a member of the language community, my relationship to this research differs in some respects from that which is typical of an outsider researcher. My motivations straddle those of both the academic and the community member. One significant advantage I had was the ability to transcribe and translate the recordings I collected myself, albeit with a lot of helpful proofing oversight from various ‘participants’. Likewise my ability to read and translate any written material meant that I was able to build quite a sizeable corpus for such a small language.

This thesis is a grammatical description of an aspect of CIM. This description is based on data collected in the Vairanga Tuatua corpus, which constituted the documentation part of this PhD project.

This project had three major sequential processes, which were repeated until a satisfactory analysis was reached for each element of the grammar. These are as follows:

1. Collection and annotation of corpus data (Vairanga Tuatua)
2. Analysis of corpus data (and other available data) in order to formulate hypotheses
3. Testing of said hypotheses with a range of native speakers (Tāmatamata Ture)

1.7.1 Sources of the Vairanga Tuatua

The Vairanga Tuatua, which translates as ‘Vestibule of talking’, is a corpus of written and spoken Cook Islands Māori. At the time of writing it stands at 1,643,109 tokens and 84,129 types. 111,170 tokens form the contemporary spoken sub-corpus, while the remaining data comes from written sources, both contemporary and historical. The Vairanga Tuatua is that part of the material that was collected that has also been prepared for the concordancer. The wider corpus includes more material, some of which is not considered linguistically appropriate to include in all searches. This includes elicitation sessions, the Bible, as well as any audio-video material that is not yet transcribed or searchable. The Bible is excluded; even though it is a large text, it was not written by native speakers, and is stylistically atypical for CIM. Material from the wider corpus is used as examples where no genuine textual example is appropriate, along with constructed examples.

1.7.1.1 Historical written records

CIM was first written in the mid 19th century, and there is a small body of written material dating from that time until the present day. The Vairanga Tuatua includes narratives and family histories dating from the late 19th century. Major sources of this early material include the Journal of the Polynesian Society, material collected by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints in the 1970s - which dates back to the mid nineteenth century (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2016), the Savage dictionary (1962), and material held at the New Zealand Electronic Texts Centre (Hutchin et al., 2006a). Most of this material is available in digital (searchable) form.
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1.7.2 Mid-to late 20th century written records

The mid to late 20th century sub corpus includes the Buse dictionary (1995), some of the works of Taira Rere, Te tua ta’ito o te Kuki Airani (Simiona, 1979), Aitu nui Muramura (Tonga et al., 1984), and large number of children’s books. Some of this material was made available to me in digital format. Some of it was keyboarded by hand, and some was scanned and made searchable by OCR, followed by correction by hand.

1.7.2.1 Contemporary written records

The Vairanga Tuatua also contains contemporary written material from the 21st century which was born digital. This includes public information documents produced by both the Cook Islands and the New Zealand governments as well as material from newspapers, and a digital newsletter (Tongaia, 2013).

1.7.2.2 Contemporary audio-visual data

The contemporary audio-visual data was collected over the course of this project. There are more than 52 hours recorded, about half of which have been transcribed. 111, 170 tokens of this transcribed data have been marked up in extensible markup language (XML) and included in the Vairanga Tuatua. However, all the transcribed material is searchable via ELAN. This audio-visual data is archived at The Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (Paradisec) in the collection Te Vairanga Tuatua o te Te Reo Māori o te Pae Tonga: Cook Islands Māori (Southern dialects) (Nicholas, S. (collector), 2012).

This material was collected in the field in Ma’uke, Rarotonga, Auckland, Wellington and Rotorua. The equipment used in the files included the TASCAM DR-100 and ZOOMH1, audio recorders, as well as a SONY HDR-PJ200E digital handycam, and an iPhone 4s. Due to the tropical climate, and general tendency for most socialising to be conducted outside, nearly all of the recordings from the Cook Islands are quite noisy with environmental sounds (roosters, rain, wind, etc). As such, they are not suitable for any phonetic analysis, but they are all clear enough for general presentation. A small number of recordings were conducted in the Faculty of Arts recording studio at the University of Auckland. These recordings are of a very high quality, and are suitable for phonetic analysis, as are some of the field recordings that were conducted inside in quiet places.

In keeping with the lofty goals of contemporary documentary theory (Gippert et al., 2006; Grenoble and Furbee, 2010), I endeavoured to collect as wide a range as possible of examples of language in use. However, there is a limit to the range and volume of what is practical and ethical to document. So, although this collection is broad in terms of genre, it is not as broad in terms of the type of setting. Most of the collection consists of interview-like situations, where I am speaking with one or two speakers. However, many of these sessions also include some natural conversation. In terms of genre, the collection includes, narrative, formal oratory, prayer, reading, expository text, conversation, song, and dance. There were a number of recordings conducted in the Staff room at Ma’uke school which involve up to 8 speakers, and are very good representations of natural conversation.

The oldest speaker was 82 years old at the time of the recording, and the youngest was 11. There are a total of 46 speakers. All are native speakers of a variety of CIM. Most of the people are speaking the Ma’uke variety of CIM, but there are also speakers of the Rarotonga, Aitutaki and Mangaia varieties. About 40% of the material includes video.
Some of this material consists of recordings of elicitation discussions. None of these are incorporated into the searchable part of Vairanga Tuatua as they are not examples of natural language. However, they are archived at Paradisec, and are therefore accessible to future researchers or community members.

1.7.3 Additional audio video material

There is a small amount of audio-visual material in the Vairanga Tuatua that has been collected from other sources. This includes public information material produced by the New Zealand government, SBS Cook Islands Māori podcast (SBS, 2016), and various YouTube videos. Only a small proportion of this material has been transcribed at this time, and this work is ongoing.

1.7.4 Analysis

The principal software tools used in the analysis of the data for this thesis were CasualConc, ELAN (Wittenburg et al., 2006), (Imao, 2015), and Praat (Boersma, 2001).

CasualConc is a concordancer that can search multiple file types, including PDF files, to find instances or words or combinations of words. Because CasualConc can search multiple file types, not all the material included into the corpus needed to be conformed to xml to be searchable. This greatly increased the size of the searchable corpus. However, it is important that as much of this material as possible is correctly annotated in the future, so as much of this material as possible, both practically, and with respect to copyright, can be made available to the public.

ELAN is produced by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics at The Language Archive, Nijmegen in The Netherlands. This software was used to make time aligned transcriptions and translations of the audio-visual material collected for the Vairanga Tuatua. It was also used as a concordancer to search the material that had been inputted into ELAN files, but had not yet been cleaned up enough to add to the CasualConc database.

Praat was used for the phonetic analysis of utterances and words (cf. chapter 2).

1.7.5 The tāmatamata ture process

During the Tāmatamata Ture (‘rule testing’) I consulted with a wide range of native speakers of CIM to test my assumptions and hypotheses, and to solicit grammaticality judgements and translation advice. I was often able to conduct this process over email. My Tāmatamata Ture mailing list included approximately 50 people. They ranged in age from early 20s to 70s, and included multiple speakers of each variety of CIM. I also conducted in-person elicitation sessions in New Zealand and the Cook Islands, both in groups and in one-on-one situations.

1.7.6 Theoretical orientation

Theoretically speaking, the description in this thesis is approached from the so called ‘basic linguistic theory’ or ‘theory neutral’ position in the vein of Dixon (1997) and Dryer (Dryer, 2006). To the extent that it is not entirely ‘theory neutral’, it mainly draws from the typological tradition (Payne, 1997; Givón, 2001a; Shopen, 2007). However, elements other theoretical orientations are also present.
1.8 Conventions

Unless some specific phonetic information is being addressed, all examples are given using the CIMR orthography. This means that they will often be slightly different to their source material.

If the source material is monolingual in CIM, the translation is mine, and the reference will be given at the end of the example, as in 6.

(6) Kua ‘aere atu rāua ki ta’atali.
TAM go DIR2 3D GOAL beach

‘They went to the beach.’ (Simiona, 1979:38)

If the source material is bilingual, I often provide my own close (more literal) translation, in which case the example is presented, as in 6 above. However, sometimes I use the original translation, in which case the translation will be marked by its own citation, as in 7.

(7) Kua ‘aere’aere a Tangaroa i taua au ‘enua ra ē, e ‘aere atu ra ki runga i te rangi. (Taraꞌare, 2000:2:)
TAM walk PERS Tangaroa LOC DET.ANA PL land PDS3 CONJ TAM go DIR2 PDS3 LOC above LOC sky

‘Tangaroa wandered about these lands and then [would] go above to the heavens.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:118)

If the example comes from Buse (1995), I always use his translation, and sometimes add a second closer translation for clarification, as in 8. The page number and head word are given in the citation.

(8) ‘Eia’a koe e ‘akamaꞌore i te paka! E vaoꞌo rāi ē nāna rāi e topa.
NEG.IMP 2SG TAM CAUSE-peel ACC DET scab IMP leave EMP CONJ AE REFL TAM fall

‘Don’t you peel off the scab! Let it drop off of its own accord.’ (Buse et al., 1995:26: ‘akamaꞌore) Lit: ‘Don’t you peel off the scab! just leave it, it will drop off by itself.’

Examples that are taken from audio-visual sources, as in 9, are given with reference to the name of the speaker(s), and the citation for the Paradisec item (Nicholas, S. (collector), 2012), along with the start and end time within that file, in hours, minutes and seconds. A hyperlink is also provided to a separate website, where short clips of the audio-visual examples for each chapter are playable. Unless specific reference is being made to repairs and other speech hesitations, the text is presented without those features.

(9) Nō-te-mea kāre ‘oki tā-rātou English e mako ana.
because NEG EMP their English TAM proper HABIT

‘Because their English is not correct.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:11:40.426 - 00:11:43.161)
https://goo.gl/NicsH0
Examples provided by participants in elicitation, in general conversation, or correspondence are credited to the contributor by name, along with the date, as in 10. Examples that were elicited were always checked with several other speakers before inclusion.

(10) Kāre au e kai ana i te kiko manu.

\[
\text{NEG 1SG TAM eat HABIT ACC DET flesh animal}
\]

‘I don’t eat meat.’ Jean Tekura Mason, February 20 2013

If no citation is given for an example, then that means that it is a constructed example. Although it usually best to use textual examples as much as possible, if the material is particularly basic, or if I am trying to illustrate a minor difference between constructions, a constructed example can be more useful.

The interlinear glosses largely follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, exceptions and language specific labels are given in the list of abbreviations. The level of detail included in the glosses varies depending on the specific focus of the example.

It is not unusual for speakers to code switch between English and CIM, or to include phonetically unintegrated loan words from English in their CIM speech. When examples include English I simply gloss the English as English.

1.9 The scope of the present study

The material in this thesis is arranged broadly hierarchically from smaller to larger structures. Chapter 2 covers the phonetics and phonology. Chapter 3 discusses word formation, and word class. Chapter 4 describes the internal structure of the syntactic phrase, and discusses the various paradigms of particles found within the pre and post-posed peripheries of the syntactic phrase. Chapter 5 covers the various simple (mono-clausal) nominal sentences. Chapter 6 covers the various simple (mono-clausal) verbal sentences, as well as the actancy system of CIM. Chapter 7 discusses the actor emphatic construction. Chapter 8 covers all non-core prepositional phrases; that is, adjunct phrases. Chapter 9 covers the coordination of phrases and clauses. Chapter 10 covers complex sentences with dependent clauses. Chapter 11 discusses possession, and chapter 12 discusses negation.

Describing a language completely is, of course, impossible (Lichtenberk, 2008). Likewise, presenting the grammar of a language in the form of a linear document is restrictive, and diminishes the inherently dynamic nature of the relationships between the various aspects of the grammar and lexicon. Working within this framework, and the restricted time frame available for a project of this nature, has meant that many important and fascinating features of CIM are not discussed. This thesis draws from both contemporary and historical data and, as such, includes some discussion of diachronic issues. However, this is not a primary focus in this thesis. I was not able to include much discussion of question formation, pragmatic, or discourse features generally, and these features should be investigated in the future. Fortunately there is now data available in the Vairanga Tuatua and the wider corpus for any future scholarship to draw upon.
Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter covers some features of the phonology of CIM. These features are: the phoneme paradigm (sections 2.2 and 2.3), the phonotactics (2.4), the phonological phrase (P-phrase) (2.5), intonation (2.6), some phonological processes (2.7), reduplication (2.8), stress (2.9), and orthography (2.10). The scope of this project did not allow for extensive phonological or phonetic investigations, so, some of the material in this chapter should be considered preliminary. Further research focussing on the phonology on CIM is desirable.¹

2.2 Consonants

CIM is typical of Polynesian languages in that its phoneme inventory is very small with just nine consonants and five vowels.² The consonant paradigm of CIM is shown in figure 2.1. The point of articulation of the /t/ phoneme is usually realised somewhere between dental and alveolar.

![Figure 2.1: Consonant paradigm](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosive</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Lab. dent.</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap/Flap</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1 Polynesian reflexes

Table 2.1 compares the CIM consonant paradigm to Proto Polynesian and a selection of other Polynesian languages.

¹The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at [https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands- maori-general-info/5_2.html](https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info/5_2.html)
²All CIM phonemes are pulmonic and egressive.
## Table 2.1: Polynesian consonant paradigm comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Polynesian</th>
<th>*p</th>
<th>*t</th>
<th>*k</th>
<th>*ʔ</th>
<th>*f</th>
<th>*s</th>
<th>*h</th>
<th>*m</th>
<th>*ŋ</th>
<th>*l</th>
<th>*r</th>
<th>*w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tongic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t, s/i</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niue</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t, s/i</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoic-Outier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pukapuka</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y [ð]</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokelau</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvalu</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Polynesian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIM</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahiti</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>f/h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZM</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>t, h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penrhyn</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>s, h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakahanga</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>f/h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawai‘i</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>h/f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ř</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapanui</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* = proto form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ = phonologically conditioned variation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≈ = follows some other condition (e.g. geographical, register, dialect)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2.2 Plosives

There are four plosives which are contrastive for place of articulation. There is no phonemic voice distinction and the basic realisation of all the stops is voiceless with very little to no aspiration. The phonetics of the notional glottal plosive will be discussed separately in section 2.2.3.

#### 2.2.2.1 p, t, and k

These three segments are all attested throughout the Polynesian language family and are reconstructed for Proto Polynesian.

/p/: Voiceless bi-labial plosive

/t/: Voiceless lamino-dental plosive

/k/: Voiceless velar plosive

Table 2.2 shows contrastive pairs for /p/ /t/ and /k/.

The phoneme /t/ shows some allophonic variation whereby it is optionally realised with affrication before the high vowels /i/ and to a lesser extent /u/. Example 11 shows the underlying stop phoneme in 11a and the affricated allophone in 11b.
2.2. CONSONANTS

Table 2.2: Contrastive pairs for /p/ /t/ /k/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p vs t</td>
<td>piki clamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiki fetch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p vs k</td>
<td>kape dodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kake climb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t vs k</td>
<td>tuku put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuku mussel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) a. **taŋata**
human
‘human’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:10:15-00:10:16) [https://goo.gl/oWVZdc](https://goo.gl/oWVZdc)

b. **ʧaki**
guard
‘guard’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:07:11-00:07:12) [https://goo.gl/oWVZdc](https://goo.gl/oWVZdc)

2.2.3 Glottal phoneme

The glottal phoneme in CIM is the reflex of both Proto Polynesian *s and *f, (cf. (NZM /f/ and /h/), as was shown in Table 2.1). Table 2.3 offers minimal pairs showing the phonemic status of the glottal phoneme in CIM.

Table 2.3: Glottal phoneme vs Ø: minimal pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’u</td>
<td>to plane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘au</td>
<td>peace, hibiscus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ua</td>
<td>fruit, seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u’a</td>
<td>female (of animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū’ā</td>
<td>thigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tae</td>
<td>to arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta’e</td>
<td>to drip or flow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tai</td>
<td>the sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta’i</td>
<td>numeral one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although this phoneme is usually described as a glottal stop, it has quite a range of actualisations, most of which are not stops. In careful speech, it is realised as a more typical glottal stop, as in figure 2.2. The speaker in figure 2.2 is an adult female speaking (reading aloud) very carefully. Example 12a shows the context for the [tai] sequence, and examples 12b shows the context for the [taʔ̰i] sequence.

Figure 2.2: Left [tai] (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:04:32.407-00:04:32.804), right: [taʔ̰i] creaky voiced glottal stop allophone (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:02:20.880-00:02:21.625)

(12) a. Tei roto a Tā i te tai.

LOC inside PERS Tā LOC DET sea

‘Tā is in the sea.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:04:30-00:04:32)

https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

b. Ta’i rua toru.

one two three

‘One two three’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:02:20-00:02:23)

https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

In this example there is some partial voicing or laryngealization. Some laryngealization occurs in almost all realisations of the glottal phoneme. The stop variant of the phoneme is more likely to occur in careful speech although it may occur in more natural speech, usually in phrase initial position, i.e. when it is not preceded by a vowel.

In the much more common intervocalic context, the phoneme is realised as something like the creaky voiced glottal approximant [*] described by Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:76) for the Papuan language Gimi. The creaky voice (or

\footnote{In the following diagrams the the wave form and spectrogram for the sequence [tai] is shown on the left for comparison.}
2.2. CONSONANTS

laryngealization) extends into the preceding and following vowels. As can be seen in figure 2.2.3, there is no blockage of the airflow but there is a slight reduction in energy and intensity. The speaker is an adult male speaking naturally. Example 13a shows the context for the [tai] sequence and examples 13b shows the context for the [ta̰*ði] sequence.

Figure 2.3: Left [tai] 00:03:26.086-00:03:26.551], right: [ta̰*ði] Creaky voiced glottal approximant allophone [X] (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2013:01:07:16:690-01:07:16:836)

(13) a. Nō raro mai i te pū ‘ara tāi.
   Loc underneath Dir1 Loc Det tree pandanus sea
   ‘Underneath the pandanus tree...’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2013:00:03:31-00:03:34)
   https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

b. Tēta’i rā, ka ‘aere ‘oki rāua ki tēta’i ngā’i ki tēta’i ‘enua.
   Det.I.S day Tam go Emp 3D Goal Det.I.S place Goal Det.I.S island
   ‘One day they went to a certain place on a certain island.’ Ma’ara Maeva (speaker) (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2013:01:07:15-01:07:21)
   https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

Figure 2.4 shows the most ‘extreme’ allophone. In this example there is almost no visible distinction between the two vowels. Rather the whole sequence is larengealized. The speaker in this example is an different adult male who is also speaking naturally. He did not have an example of the sequence [tai] to use for comparison.
This is one further variant of the glottal phoneme whereby it may be realised as [h] when sung. This type of variation for glottal phonemes is not unusual cross-linguistically.

In the great majority of languages we have heard, glottal stops are apt to fall short of complete closure, especially in intervocalic positions. In place of a true stop, a very compressed form of creaky voice or some less extreme form of stiff phonation may be superimposed on the vocalic stream.” (Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996:75).

This pattern has previously been observed in a Polynesian language. Mutu (2002:25) observed a similar pattern for the glottal phoneme in Marquesan. This suggests that this pattern might occur elsewhere in the Polynesian language family and a cross-linguistic study into this phenomenon would also be of interest.
2.2.4 Nasals

There are three voiced nasal stops, all of which can be reconstructed to Proto Polynesian. They are:

- **m**: Bilabial nasal
- **n**: Alveolar nasal
- **ŋ**: Velar nasal

Table 2.4 shows some contrastive pairs for the nasal phonemes.

Table 2.4: Contrastive pairs for the nasals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tunu</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumu</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngata</td>
<td>sea-slug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tano</td>
<td>correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tango</td>
<td>correct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.5 Liquid /ɾ/

There is one liquid phoneme which is realised as either an alveolar tap [ɾ] or as an alveolar lateral approximant [l]. This phoneme is represented orthographically by ⟨ r ⟩. It is not yet known what, if any, conditions would predict the [ɾ] variant or the [l] variant.

2.2.6 Fricative/approximant [v~w] /v/

The consonant reconstructed in Proto Polynesian as *w is represented orthographically by ⟨ v ⟩ in CIM. There is variation between a voiced labio-dental fricative [v] and a labio-velar approximant [w]. There is a slight tendency for [w] to occur before a back vowel and [v] to occur before a front vowel but this is not obligatory. In fact the example shown figure 2.5 and example 15 shows both variants occurring in the same reduplicated root vai-vai ('watery'). Once again, further analysis is required to establish a pattern.

(15) Pērā te mario para ē te tiopu vai-vai.
    alike DET banana ripe CONJ DET soup watery

'Such as ripe bananas and watery soup.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:03:09-00:03:12:) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc
2.2.7 Selected contrastive pairs for the CIM consonants

Table 2.5 shows some further contrastive pairs for various sets of consonants.
Table 2.5: Misc consonantal pairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t vs m vs r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama</td>
<td>boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mama</td>
<td>a mouthful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rama</td>
<td>torch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k vs v vs m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keri</td>
<td>dig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veri</td>
<td>centipede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meri</td>
<td>honey (l.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r vs ŋ vs k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riri</td>
<td>angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ringi</td>
<td>pour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riki</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v vs m vs r vs p vs t vs k vs ? vs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vana</td>
<td>sea eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana</td>
<td>authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kana</td>
<td>grater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rana</td>
<td>toad (l.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tana</td>
<td>her/his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pana</td>
<td>leap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ana</td>
<td>bow and arrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Vowels

CIM has the common five vowel system, found throughout the Polynesian language family, as presented in the vowel parallelogram in figure 2.6.

Figure 2.6: Vowel paradigm

![Vowel paradigm](image)

The symbol a represents a low mid central vowel. The front vowels i (high) and e (mid) are unrounded, while the back vowels u (high) and o (mid) have lip rounding. Some acoustic measurements are given in section 2.3.2.

Minimal pairs for short vowels which are phonetically similar are shown in table 2.6, which also includes contrasts between /ei/ and the similar vowel sequence /ei/.
2.3.1 Vowel length

Vowel length is phonemic. Table 2.8 shows minimal pairs for each short-long contrast. Contemporary long vowels in Polynesian languages are considered by some Polynesianists to be more correctly analysed as geminate pairs (Biggs, 1961; Pawley, 1966b). There is evidence that the long vowels in contemporary Polynesian languages have arisen through the deletion of a historical intervening consonant (Williams, 2000; De Chene, 1979; Greenhill and Clark, 2011). Table 2.7 shows words that have been reconstructed for Proto Polynesian and the CIM cognates containing VV rather the VCV (source: (Greenhill and Clark, 2011)).

Table 2.6: Contrastive pairs for the short vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>kite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ε/</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>kete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>kata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>ota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>ata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>'otu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>'utu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>tei</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore there are some morphosyntactic processes that may be mora-based, and long vowels comprise two morae for these purposes.

However, there is much disagreement amongst Polynesianists as to the significance of this fact synchronically.
I will take the position here\(^4\) that in CIM there is a five vowel system with a phonemic distinctive feature of length. This results in ten vowel phonemes rather than five.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaka</td>
<td>cloth-like material of coconut tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakā</td>
<td>glory; shine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kākā</td>
<td>a vine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keke</td>
<td>to saw or amputate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēke</td>
<td>cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kekē</td>
<td>different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēkē</td>
<td>armpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tītī</td>
<td>traditional dance skirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tītī</td>
<td>a kind of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patī</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patī</td>
<td>to splash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toto</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totō</td>
<td>to pull or drag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōna</td>
<td>to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōna</td>
<td>her/his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pupu</td>
<td>a group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pupū</td>
<td>to bubble up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūpū</td>
<td>a small shell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.9 shows contrastive pairs for some sets of similar long vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i:/ and /ɛ:/</td>
<td>kī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i:/ and /a:/</td>
<td>kē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ:/ and /a:/</td>
<td>kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ:/ and /u:/</td>
<td>tō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔː:/ and /uː:/</td>
<td>tō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uː/ and /iː:/</td>
<td>tū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^4\)This question is worth returning to in future.
CHAPTER 2. PHONOLOGY

2.3.2 Vowel formant measurements

The acoustic data presented in this thesis is the result of a small scale study of the speech of two speakers and further analysis of a much larger sample size would be required to make any strong claims. The first speaker is an adult female (designated V1) who is reading a text quite slowly and clearly. The second speaker is an adult male (designated T1) who is pronouncing words and vowels in isolation. The analysis was conducted using Praat (Boersma, 2001) and the plots were produced using NORM (Thomas and Kendall, 2007).

Figure 2.7 shows the measurements for V1. There are multiple examples of each vowel. The mean formants, and one standard deviation, are represented in figure 2.7.

Figure 2.8 shows acoustic measurements for the long and short vowels as spoken in isolation by T1. There is only one example of each vowel represented here and, as such, this should be treated as preliminary only. Further study involving larger samples and more speakers is necessary. The raw data for figures 2.7 and 2.8 can be found in appendix A.

There is insufficient data for these results to be used to draw any definite conclusions. However, the patterns that are emerging here are similar to those found in NZM (King et al., 2011) with respect to the overall spread of the vowels, and the differences between the long and short vowels. This suggests that they are likely to be somewhat representative.

The spread of the vowels does not suggest a tendency to maximise the difference between the phonemes (cf. (Bauer, 2012:3.1.2.2.1) and (Hohepa, 1967:6)). The two front vowels /i/ and /e/ seem to be particularly close. The back vowels /o/ and /u/ are more spread but still not very spread. In terms of any difference in vowel quality between the long and short variations, the front vowels show very little difference in quality while the back vowel show some difference. The greatest difference would appear to be between /a/ and /a:/.

2.3.3 Devoicing

The final vowel or vowels of an utterance-final phrase is often devoiced to a certain extent, particularly in rapid speech. Figure 2.9 shows the spectrogram of the final phrase of the sentence shown in 16. The last two vowels are devoiced in this example.

(16) Pēnei kua ōtī pa’a i a Mama Mere te ‘ākono i te tātā’anga o te Reo Pukapuka.

Pukapuka

‘Perhaps Mama Mere has finished looking after the orthography of the Pukapukan language.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Melota, M. (speaker), 2014a:00:09:14-00:09:16) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc
2.3. VOWELS

**Figure 2.7:** The mean long and short vowel formants +1SD for V1

![V1 long and short vowel formants + SD](image-url)
Figure 2.8: The long and short vowel formants for T1
2.4 Phonotactics

The basic syllable structure is (C)V. All syllables are open and consonant clusters are not permissible. Sequences of up to three vowels are common but the most common syllable structure is CV. A CV syllable is a light syllable and a CVV (where VV can be a long vowel)\(^5\) is a heavy syllable. Sequences of like-vowels or pairs of vowels where a high vowel follows a lower vowel are generally treated as one syllable, as in (17a). However, sequences of vowels where the second vowel is lower than the first are optionally realised as two syllables, as in (17b).

\[(17)\]
\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{a. } tau'+tu'+ru \\
\quad \text{‘help’} \\
\text{b. } ti+a+re \\
\quad \text{‘flower’}
\end{array}\]

\(^5\)This is an example of the relevance of geminate vowel analysis for some phonological processes.
CHAPTER 2. PHONOLOGY

There is one exception to the open syllable requirement. In loan words that have a sequence of a nasal followed by a stop, such as bank, tank or Monday, many speakers delete the vowel that normally intervenes between the nasal and the stop. So paŋka → paŋk–a, tangika → taŋk–a and Monitē → Montē. It seems that the vowel that is dropped is most often /i/.

2.4.1 Restrictions

There is a restriction on the sequence [vu] and [vo]. These sequences are only found in a small number of loanwords. Harlow accounts for this restriction (which is found throughout East Polynesian languages) elegantly with reference to the diachronic origin of the /v~w/ phoneme (Harlow, 2007:69).

2.4.2 The mora

The notion of the mora is generally considered to be significant in Polynesian languages particularly for principles of word and phrase formation, and (possibly) the assignment of stress. In Polynesian languages the mora is defined as one short vowel with an optional preceding consonant. Vowel sequences, including long vowels, are treated as sequences of morae. That is, there is one short vowel per mora and long vowels count as two vowels for mora counting purposes. (Bauer et al., 1997:25)

A base or prosodic word has a minimal length of two morae. Mono-moraic particles are not normally able to be uttered in isolation (see section 3.3 for further discussion of the base/particle distinction). There are very few indigenous bases longer than four morae but longer words can be formed via affixation. Most roots are two or three morae in length. A phonological phrase must be at least three morae in length.

2.5 The phonological phrase

The concept of the phrase as major unit of analysis, both of phonology and grammar is well established in Polynesian languages (Bauer et al., 1997; Biggs, 1960; 1961; Buse, 1963c; Clark, 1976; Harlow, 2007; Krupa, 1982; Mutu, 1989; Pawley, 1966b). The features of the CIM syntactic phrase are discussed in chapters 3 and 4. The phonological phrase (P-phrase) is usually but not always, isomorphic with the syntactic phrase in CIM.

The phonological phrase is identified by the following features in CIM.

1. Pauses are permitted between P-phrases but not P-phrase internally.
2. Each P-phrase attracts one main stress.
3. A P-phrase has a minimal length of three morae.

2.5.1 Pauses

In natural spoken CIM, there is no pause permissible within a syntactic phrase. Within a phrase, all vowel sequences are pronounced without interruption. Pauses between phrases are not obligatory and it is common for two or three
syntactic phrases to be uttered without pause. However, if a repair is made, the speaker will always restart from the beginning of the syntactic phrase.

Figure 2.10 shows the sentence in (18) with the P-phrases clearly separated by pauses.

(18) ‘E a’a, te-ka ui’ilia atu, ki a koe?
CLS what REL-FUT ask=PASS DIR2 GOAL PERS 2SG

‘What will you be asked?’ (Electoral Commision, 2011:00:00:43-00:00:46) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

Example 19 shows an utterance that includes multiple repairs. The waveform for this utterance is shown in figure 2.11.

(19) Ko te- lnapō tā mātou- tā mātou ‘iri’irikapua nō runga i te- i te-
SPEC DET last-night DET.POSS 1PLEX DET.POSS 1PLEX origin belong on ACC DET ACC DET
i te a’a- i te taiki ... 
ACC DET what ACC DET spear

‘That’s- last night our- our origin about the- the what- the spear ....’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Marearai, P. (speaker), 2015a:00:05:07-00:05:15) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

2.5.2 Phrase stress

Primary stress is allocated per P-phrase rather than per ‘word’. Each P-phrase contains one primary stress. Longer P-phrases may contain one or more secondary stresses. This stress often falls on the penultimate mora of the phrase

\[^6\text{Cf. emphatic stress}\]
(cf. section 2.9). Example 20 demonstrates this pattern. Stress is discussed further in section 2.9.

(20) Ka 'aPai, a 'Papa, i te 'vaka, ki roto, i te 'are.

TAM carry PERS father ACC DET canoe GOAL inside ACC DET house

‘Father carries the canoe into the shed.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:04:53-00:04:56) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

2.5.3 Minimal length

A P-phrase has a minimal length of three morae. When a syntactic phrase has fewer than three morae, some adjustment must occur to satisfy the minimal length criterion. When personal pronouns occur in the subject phrase, the phrase comprises the pronoun and no other material. This means that a syntactic phrase of less than three morae is produced if that phrase contains one of the short personal pronouns au (1SG), koe (2SG), or ia (3SG). The third person singular pronoun ia is realised as āia in the subject position, thus meeting the thee morae criterion. If au or koe occur in the subject position they are phonologically incorporated into the preceding P-phrase. Example 21 shows examples with short pronouns as grammatical subjects which are incorporated phonologically into the preceding P-phrase and example 22 shows examples with long pronouns which form their own P-phrase. The P-phrase boundaries where pauses can occur are indicated by commas.

\footnote{The personal article does not occur with pronouns in the subject position.}
2.6. INTONATION PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

(21) a. Ka kai au, i te ‘ānani.
   TAM eat 1SG ACC DET orange
   ‘I will eat oranges.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:02:48-00:02:51)
   https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

b. E ‘aere koe, e repo, ki roto, i te ‘are iti.
   TAM go 2SG TAM defecate LC inside LC DET house small
   ‘You go to defecate in the toilet.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Kairae, P. (speaker), 2013:00:12:17-00:12:19)
   https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

(22) a. Ka kanga, tāua, i te pōro.
   TAM play 1DINC ACC DET ball
   ‘We play with the ball.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:02:48-00:02:51)
   https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

b. E kau kōrua, ki roto i te tai!
   IMP swim 2D LC inside LC DET sea
   ‘You two, swim in the sea!’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:03:27-00:03:30)
   https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

Further evidence for the three morae minimum P-phrase is presented in section 2.7.1.

2.6 Intonation patterns of sentences

This section will discuss the intonation patterns of declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences. There is variation between speakers with respect to the intonation patterns for the particular sentence types and more detailed study of this phenomenon in CIM is necessary.

2.6.1 Declarative sentences

In declarative sentences the stressed phrase, which is usually the predicate phrase, shows a clear rise-fall intonation pattern. Subsequent phrases tend to be steady at the lower pitch of the main phrase until the final phrase which falls to a pitch that is lower than any other in the utterance. Alternatively, the subsequent phrases may remain at the final pitch level of the stressed phrase and then fall to a low pitch at the end of the final phrase. This pattern is shown in figure 2.12, which shows the intonation pattern for the sentence in 23.

(23) Ka kanga, tāua, ki roto, i te tai.
   TAM play 1DINC LC inside LC DET sea
   ‘We shall play in the sea.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:03:03-00:03:05)
   https://goo.gl/oWVZdc
2.6.2 Interrogatives

2.6.2.1 Question word (WH) questions

There are two common patterns with Wh-questions. In the first pattern, the question has the same intonation shape as a declarative sentence with the highest point occurring on the question word itself. The pitch of that high point is usually higher than in a declarative. This pattern is shown in figure 2.13. The context is shown in example 24.

(24) *E a’a, te-ka uiai atu, ki a koe?*

    cls what det.rel-fut ask=pass dir2 goal pers 2sg

    ‘What will you be asked?’ (Electoral Commission, 2011:00:00:43-00:00:46) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

In the second pattern, the pitch remains high throughout the utterance and has a pronounced high rising terminal intonation (HRT). This pattern is more common in younger speakers and may be the result of influence from English (despite that fact the wh-question in English do not usually have HRT). This is shown in figure 2.14. The context is given in example 25.

![Figure 2.12: Declarative intonation for 23](image-url)
2.6. INTONATION PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

Figure 2.13: Traditional interrogative intonation pattern of example 24

(25) Tei ʻea te kete?
    LOC where DET basket

‘Where is the basket?’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:01:41-00:01:42)
https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

2.6.2.2 Non-WH questions

Questions that do not involve an overt interrogative base (WH-word) are not formally distinguished from declaratives. Questions of this type usually have high rising terminal intonation (HRT) contrasting with the falling intonation of declaratives. Sometimes the pitch is raised throughout, but at other times the earlier phrases are lower and only the final phrase raises. This is demonstrated in figure 2.15, which show the pattern for example 26.

(26) E kai ana koe, ‘e kava?
    TAM eat HABIT 2SG CLS alcohol

‘Do you drink (consume) alcohol?’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2014c:00:00:16-00:00:18) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc
At other times, questions of this type may have a falling final-intonation and a high rising intonation on the predicate phrase, as in (27).

(27) ‘Aere’aere ‘ua mai koe?
walk MERELY DIR1 2SG

‘Did you just walk here?’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:57:51-00:57:51) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

Generally, in questions not formally marked as such, the interrogative sense will be indicated by a high rising intonation somewhere in the utterance. I would expect that this intonation peak occurs on the material that is being questioned.

2.6.3 Imperatives

Imperatives pattern much like declaratives except that the initial pitch peak tends to be higher than in declaratives. In short imperatives comprising a single P-phrase, the pitch contour starts high and usually remains fairly high, although it it may fall slightly as it does in figure 2.17 which shows the pitch data for example 28.
Figure 2.15: Intonation pattern of non WH-word question with HRT (cf. example 26)

(28) ‘Ākara!
look

‘Look!’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:04:11-00:04:12) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

However, in longer imperatives the phrases that follow the predicate tend to pattern just as in the declaratives with the final phrase falling, as in figure 2.18 and example 29.

(29) E kanga, e Ngā, ki roto i te tai!
play VOC Ngā LOC inside LOC DET sea

‘Play in the sea Ngā!’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Moeka’a, R. (speaker), 2012:00:03:12-00:03:15)
https://goo.gl/oWVZdc
2.7 Phonological processes

This section will discuss two interesting phonological processes that occur at the level of the P-phrase in CIM.

2.7.1 Reach three

It was mentioned in section 2.5 that the P-phrase has a minimal length of three morae. Further evidence for this claim is presented here. There is a phenomenon in CIM, which I will call the ‘reach three’ process, whereby if a syntactic phrase has a length of less than three morae, an additional mora is added to the phrase to meet the minimal length requirement. This process occurs in active imperative VPs, vocative NPs, and numeral NPs.

2.7.1.1 Imperatives with e

Active (type I) verb phrases of less than three morae must be preceded by the particle e, whereas verb phrases of three or more morae with phrase of three or more morae the particle e is optional, as in 31.

---

\(^8\)This pattern is observed in both NZM and Tahitian CITE.
(30) a. E no'o ki raro!
   IMP sit LDC down
   'Sit down!'

b. *Ø No'o ki raro!

(31) a. E 'aere koe e tāma'iti i a Tara.
   IMP/AUG go 2SG IMP/AUG startle ACC PERS Tara
   Go and startle Tara. (Buse et al., 1995:432: tāma'iti)

b. E 'aere mai koe kia mirimiri au i tō'ou vaevae.
   IMP go DIR1 2SG TAM massage 1SG ACC your leg
   'Come here and let me massage your leg a bit.' (Buse et al., 1995:250: mirimiri)
c. Ø 'Aere mai koe ākōnei, ka 'akapā mātou i a koe.
IMP/AUG go DIR1 2SG later-today TAM force to play IPLEX ACC PERS 2SG

‘Come later on, we’ll make you play (tennis, cricket).’ (Buse et al., 1995:32: ‘akapā1)

d. Ø 'Aere ki te tai koko
IMP go LOC DET sea fast flowing

‘Go to the fast flowing sea.’ (Short, 1951:255)

It would appear that there is free variation between e~Ø in phrases of three or more morae. This can be seen in examples 32 and 33 where the same verb occurs both with and without the e.

(32) a. E 'a'a'o i te meika ki roto i te-reira au pi'a, è ko te toetoe,
IMP.AUG pack ACC DET banana GOAL inside LOC DET–ANA PL box CONJ SPEC DET leftovers
e tari nā kotou.
IMP.AUG take for 2PL

‘Pack the bananas in those boxes, and take any left over for yourselves.’ (Buse et al., 1995:504: toetoe)
2.7. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

b. Ø 'A’ao i te kākā’u tau nō te opati kia ranga-tū tō’ou tūranga ē tā’au moni Ø wear ACC DET clothes proper for DET office OPT lever-stand your reputation and your money ‘anga’anga.
work

‘Wear the right clothes for the office to improve your reputation and your earnings.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

(33) a. Āe e Teariki, Ø ‘akarongo koe ki a Mama!
yes VOC Teariki Ø listen 2SG GOAL PERS Nana

‘Yes Teariki, listen to Nana!’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:125)

b. E ‘akarongo koe i tēia imene mē imene=’ia.
IMP listen 2SG ACC this song COND sing=PASS

‘Listen to this song when it is being sung.’ (Rere, 1975:61)

The passive imperative (cf. section 6.4.6) never takes the particle e (34). This is likely to be because a passive imperative always involves a suffixed verb, and as such, is always going to meet the minimum requirement of three morae.

(34) a. Ø Tui-a tō ‘ei kia vave.
Ø sew-CIA DET.POSS.N. 2SG garland OPT early

‘Hurry up and finish stringing your garland.’ (Buse et al., 1995:520; tui1) LIT: ‘Sew your garland, be early.’


2.7.1.2 Vocative particle

The vocative particle e follows the same pattern as the imperative. The particle is required for names (or pronouns) of less than three morae (35), but it is optional for names of three or more.

(35) a. Kia-orana e Mere.
hello VOC Mere

‘Hello Mere.’

b. *Kia-orana Mere.
hello Mere

Intended: ‘Hello Mere.’
2.7.1.3 Numerals

Numerals follow the same pattern as imperatives when they are collocated with the particle e. The numerals two to nine all contain exactly two morae and require the particle e, as in (37). The numeral one (also bimoraic) either occurs with the particle e, or occurs as a variant ‘okota’i.

(37) a. Kua tā-manako=ꞌia e varu au ‘uri’ia ka tupu mai ki tēia tua o te Pā ‘Enua		CaUSE-think=PASS PL cyclone TAM grow DIR1 LOC this side of DET row island
Patipika	Pacific

‘It is predicted that eight cyclones will develop in this end of the Pacific islands.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2009a)

b. Kua tapa=ꞌia ngā ‘enua e toru mei te reira tuātau mai e tae mai
TAM name=PASS DET.PLUAL island TAM.NUM three SOURCE DET that time DIR1 TAM reach DIR1
ki tēianei ē, ko Ngā-Pū-Toru.
GOAL now SUBR SPEC Ngā-Pū-Toru

‘These three islands have been called Ngā Pū Toru ever since that time until now.’ (Simiona, 1979:25)

Numerals over ten are all more than three morae in length. Consequently, the particle e is not obligatory with these numerals.

(38) a. Ko te tamaiti matāmua a te ariki, e taꞌi-ngaaꞌuru ōna mataꞌiti kua mate, i te
SPEC DET child first born of DET chief TAM one-ten his year PFV dead SAGNT DET
paikiranga mai tētaꞌi toroka ē kua tāki nā runga i aia.
reverse-NR DIR1 DET.I.S truck CONJ TAM raise TRANS above LOC 3SG

‘The eldest son of the chief died, when a truck ran over him while it was backing, he was ten years old.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:179)
2.7. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

b. Ø taꞌi-ngaꞌuru paꞌa óna mataꞌi tōna noꞌoꞌanga ki New Caledonia ‘eā.
   Ø one-ten maybe her year her live-LOC New Caledonia

   ‘She lived in New Caledonia for about ten years.’ LIT: ‘Her stay in New Caledonia was about ten years.’
   (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:40:23-00:40:26) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

Numerals also show this ‘reach three morae’ pattern with the human prefix toko- (39a), the ordinal prefix tua-(39c), and the distributive prefix taki- (taki-). The prefix toko- only occurs with the bimoraic two one to nine. Tua- and taki- occur with the bimoraic numerals one to nine.

(39)  a. Kua tuatua=ꞌia e tē noꞌō ra aia i te rangi tua-toru.
   TAM talk=PASS SUBR TAM stay POS3 3SG LOC DET sky ORDINAL-three

   ‘They say he is living up there in the third level of the sky.’ (Buse et al., 1995:516: tua2)

b. Ko ia ngā tama toko-toru.
   SPEC 3SGX DET.PAUCAL child HUMAN-three

   ‘These are the three children.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006m)

c. E tu’a taki-rua koe.
   IMP share DISTR-two 2SG

   ‘Share them out two each.’ (Buse et al., 1995:403: rua2)

2.7.1.4 ‘Reach three’ in loan words

The ‘reach three’ pattern can also be observed in two very frequent sentence fragments that occur both in CIM and in Cook Islands English. They are ok ra [okera] and thank you ra [θæŋkjura]. In these expressions the positional particle ra is added to the end of the phrase, increasing the total length of the phrase from two morae (cf. (Hammond, 1997) to the minimal requirement, for CIM phrases, of three morae.

2.7.1.5 A proposed analysis

Brown (2015), has suggested for NZM that the particle e in all of these constructions is semantically empty and it is merely there to fulfil a minimal length requirement for a phonological phrase. In NZM the particle is required for phrases of two morae but proscribed from longer phrases. In CIM it seems that, if this is origin of this pattern, then CIM speakers have begun to reanalyse this particle as having some morphological value. Most likely as a verbal particle in the imperative and the numeral and as a determiner in the vocatives.

2.7.2 The add one phenomenon

There is a second lengthening pattern in CIM that I will call the ‘add one’ phenomenon. This phenomenon occurs when a P-phrase that is exactly three morae in length, requires that the vowel in the initial particle be lengthened.
2.7.2.1 The personal article

The personal article a introduces NPs that contain names or, in some conditions pronouns. When the personal article introduces a pronoun, its length varies depending on the length of pronoun. If the pronoun is bimoraic the personal article is long (40a, 40b and 40c), elsewhere it is short (40d and 40e).

This process increases the length of the P-phrase from three to four morae.

(40) a. E ‘āpi‘i=‘ia ana e tōna metua ki ā-ia.
    TAM teach=PASS HABIT AGNT his parent GOAL PERS-3SG
    ‘He was taught by his parents.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:09:53-00:09:55) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

b. Karanga atu i reira au ki ā koe.
    say DIR2 LOC that 1SG GOAL PERS 2SG
    ‘So I say to you …’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:35:27-00:35:29) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

c. Kua ‘akaronga koe i ā-ku i roto i te a’ia’i i tuatua nei.
    TAM listen 2SG ACC PERS-2SG LOC inside LOC DET evening TAM speak POS1
    ‘You have listened to me talking this evening’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:22:18-00:22:20) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

d. Tae mai ki a mātou ‘e tune kē.
    reach DIR1 GOAL PERS 1PLEX CLS tune CONTR
    ‘(When it) gets to us it’s a different tune.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:27:57-00:28:00 ) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

e. Nā-‘au e arataki i a tāua.
    AE-2SG TAM lead ACC PERS 1DINC
    ‘You will lead us.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:31:32-00:31:33) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

Names which are bimoraic optionally lengthen the personal article. Conversely, names which exceed three morae never cause the personal article to lengthen. In example 41a the personal article is long preceding the bimoraic name Mere and in 41b it is short preceding the longer name Mama Mere. Due to the tendency for vowels at phrase boundaries to be connected in natural speech, it was difficult to find clear examples in the audio-visual sub-corpus of the Vairanga Tuatua, of long personal articles occurring before short names that could clearly be disambiguated from the preceding vowel. However I have observed this pattern frequently in the wild.

---

9 Pronouns take the personal article following the prepositions i and ki except for the 3SG, ia, which always takes the personal article.
2.8. REDUPLICATION

(41) a. Karanga atu i reira mātou: Kāre à Mere i te pū āpi'i.
    say DIR2 LOC that 1PLEX NEG PERS Mere LOC DET teacher

   ‘So we say: Mere is not the teacher.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2013a:00:00:35-00:00:39) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

b. Pēnei kua oti pa'a i a Mama Mere te 'ākono i te tātā'anga o te Reo Pukapuka.
    maybe TAM finished perhaps SGN'T PERS Mama Mere DET care ACC DET write-IR of DET language Pukapuka

   ‘Perhaps Mama Mere has finished looking after the orthography of the Pukapukan language.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Melota, M. (speaker), 2014a:00:09:14-00:09:16) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

2.7.2.2 Ka~kā

The verbal particle ka follows a similar pattern to that of the personal article with pronouns. The vowel is short, unless the rest of the VP is only two morae in length, in which case the vowel is lengthened. This increases the total length of the P-phrase to four morae, as shown in 42.

(42) a. Kā tū (if they wanna help).
    TAM stand

   ‘(They) stand (if they want to help).’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:24:30-00:24:32) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

b. Ka pēti.
    TAM bet

   ‘(We) bet.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:46:12-00:46:14) https://goo.gl/oWVZdc

This ‘add one’ lengthening is not required to satisfy a minimal P-phrase length of three morae and its motivations remain obtuse at this time.

2.7.3 Summary of add mora phenomena

Table 2.10 summarises the length altering morphophonemic process.

2.8 Reduplication

CIM uses reduplication for a range of morphological effects, the semantics of which are discussed in section 3.12. Phonologically speaking there are two regular types of reduplication, partial and full.
### 2.8.1 Full reduplication

In simple full reduplication the whole stem is repeated. Full reduplication (FR) is most commonly applied to bimoraic roots but there are a few examples of other types of roots with simple FR, as can be seen in table 2.11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>FR</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rere</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td>rere</td>
<td>skip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kake</td>
<td>climb</td>
<td>kakekake</td>
<td>climb frequentitively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moto</td>
<td>punch</td>
<td>motomoto</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maki</td>
<td>sick</td>
<td>makimaki</td>
<td>sickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ata</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>ma'atama'ata</td>
<td>very big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'āpa</td>
<td>half</td>
<td>'āpa'āpa</td>
<td>to go halves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aere</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>'aere'aere</td>
<td>go about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūmū</td>
<td>pile up</td>
<td>mūmūmūmū</td>
<td>pile together, cluster, swarm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Polymorphemic forms containing a bimoraic root can also undergo full reduplication of one of the morphemes. In (C)VVCV words the CVCV morpheme is repeated, as can be seen in table 2.12.

### 2.8.2 Partial reduplication

In bimoraic roots, partial reduplication involves the repetition of the first mora ((C)V) of the root.

In roots that are longer than two morae, partial reduplication involves some change in the vowels.

In CVCVCV forms, the initial vowel is lengthened as can be seen in the examples in the second section of table 2.14. The overall pattern here is the reduplication of the last two morae and a vowel change (either in length or in quality) in the initial bimoraic syllable.
### 2.9. STRESS

This issue of how stress works in CIM is complex, and further research into this area is required in order to get a clearer picture. My initial observations follow.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>FR</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āpuku</td>
<td>swallow</td>
<td>āpukupuku</td>
<td>gobble or bolt food down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘āoro</td>
<td>scrape lightly</td>
<td>‘āorooro</td>
<td>rub down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'emo</td>
<td>sink down</td>
<td>mā’emo’emo</td>
<td>sink down, miscarry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mákave</td>
<td>a plait or tress</td>
<td>mákavekave</td>
<td>having strands or plaits, frills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mārama</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>māramarama</td>
<td>light (frequentive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nākiro</td>
<td>realise</td>
<td>nākirokiro</td>
<td>realise (frequentive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.12: Complex FR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>FR</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āpuku</td>
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<td>ma'emo</td>
<td>sink down</td>
<td>mā’emo’emo</td>
<td>sink down, miscarry</td>
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<td>mákave</td>
<td>a plait or tress</td>
<td>mákavekave</td>
<td>having strands or plaits, frills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mārama</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>māramarama</td>
<td>light (frequentive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nākiro</td>
<td>realise</td>
<td>nākirokiro</td>
<td>realise (frequentive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.13: Partial reduplication of bimoraic roots**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>FR</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ꞌoro</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>ꞌoꞌoro</td>
<td>run (plural subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kake</td>
<td>climb</td>
<td>kakake</td>
<td>climb (plural subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moto</td>
<td>punch</td>
<td>momoto</td>
<td>punch (plural subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupu</td>
<td>grow</td>
<td>tutupu</td>
<td>grow luxuriantly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In CV,V|CV forms, there are two possible analyses. In the first the CV sequence is reduplicated and the second vowel of the sequence is assimilated to the first, resulting in a long vowel. The second, simpler analysis is that only the first vowel is reduplicated, as in the section section of table 2.14.

**Table 2.14: Partial reduplication of longer roots**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>FR</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karanga</td>
<td>call</td>
<td>kārangaranga</td>
<td>converse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marere</td>
<td>drop</td>
<td>mārerere</td>
<td>drop one by one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ara</td>
<td>think</td>
<td>mā’ara’ara</td>
<td>remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meitaki</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>mēmeitaki</td>
<td>very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘aere</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>‘i’aere</td>
<td>to wander around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>FR</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karanga</td>
<td>call</td>
<td>kārangaranga</td>
<td>converse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marere</td>
<td>drop</td>
<td>mārerere</td>
<td>drop one by one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ara</td>
<td>think</td>
<td>mā’ara’ara</td>
<td>remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meitaki</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>mēmeitaki</td>
<td>very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘aere</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>‘i’aere</td>
<td>to wander around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Words are not usually pronounced in isolation in natural CIM speech. However, native speakers are capable of pronouncing a lexical item alone upon request. Words spoken in isolation are the equivalent of a final phrase (Selkirk, 1996:195).

There are two clear word-stress patterns in evidence. These patterns apply most consistently to words that only contain light syllables but they also apply (less consistently) to words of other forms. In the first pattern, WSP1, the stress falls on the first mora. In the second pattern, WSP2, the stress falls on the penultimate mora (vowel). The use of these patterns varies between speakers. Sometimes an individual speaker will favour one of the patterns. However, a single speaker may also produce both patterns freely. The exact conditions that produce this variation are unclear and require further investigation.

2.9.1.1 WSP1 - stress on the first mora

Words of the form CVCV are always stressed on the first vowel, which is of course is also the penultimate mora, as shown in 43. So in CVCV words, the two patterns converge.

(43) a. ātu’pu
   ‘to grow’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:02:30-00:02:31) https://goo.gl/5mC3SC
b. āmi’ri
   ‘massage’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:02:33-00:02:34) https://goo.gl/stc75P
c. āma’na
   ‘authority’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:02:25-00:02:26) https://goo.gl/cy9108

WSP1 can be seen in longer words that contain only light syllables, that is words of the CVC(CV)(CV) structure. Example 44 shows CVCVCV (three morae) words with the stress falling on the first mora.

(44) a. ātanga’ta
   ‘human’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:06:42-00:06:43) https://goo.gl/8q3IxR
b. āma’ara
   ‘remember’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Melota, M. (speaker), 2014b:00:02:34-00:02:35) https://goo.gl/BsRWXU
c. āva’ine
   ‘woman’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Melota, M. (speaker), 2014b:00:02:39-00:02:40) https://goo.gl/ptwyQ8

Example 45 shows (four morae) CVCVCVCV words with stress falling on the first mora.

\footnote{With the exception of some types of short imperatives consisting of one word.}
2.9. STRESS

WSP1 also occurs in polymoraic words that contain a heavy syllable (cf. section 2.4). This pattern occurs where the vowel sequence contains like vowels, \((CV) CV_a V_a (CV)\) that is, a long vowel, as in (46), as well as in words that contain unlike vowels \((CV) CV_i V_j (CV)\), as in (47).

(45)  

a.  ꜝmokopuna

‘grandchild.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:01:33-00:01:34) https://goo.gl/dvNUra

b.  ꜝꞌinangaro

‘desire.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:07:16-00:07:17) https://goo.gl/wPBv2q

c.  ꜝtamariki

‘children.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:03:40-00:03:41) https://goo.gl/9DTgg8

(46)  

a.  ꜝpōpongi

‘morning’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:01:27-00:01:28) https://goo.gl/pgo0QY

b.  ꜝtūtaka

‘inspection, to inspect’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:03:41-00:03:42) https://goo.gl/FHXSvb

c.  ꜝvānanga

‘to converse, study’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:11:06-00:11:07) https://goo.gl/n0CCvu

(47)  

a.  ꜝmaunga

‘mountain’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:09:16-00:09:19) https://goo.gl/3Em7En

b.  ꜝtuꞌaꞌine

‘sister (of a male)’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:14:07-00:14:08) https://goo.gl/59JWe

c.  ꜝpangia

‘satisfied (of hunger, thirst)’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:11:00-00:11:01) https://goo.gl/grbDmk
2.9.1.2 WSP2- penultimate stress

In WSP2 the stress falls on the penultimate mora of a word. This stress pattern is the most common pattern in Polynesian languages (Harlow, 2007:81). WPS2 occurs in tri-moraic words where all syllables are light. Example 48 shows this pattern in the same words that shows the WSP1 in 44.

(48) a. taŋgata
   ‘human’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:05:06-00:05:07) https://goo.gl/TUpFlE
   b. maʻara
   ‘remember’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:04:59-00:05:00) https://goo.gl/vwJL0a
   c. vaʻine
   ‘woman’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:05:08-00:05:09) https://goo.gl/8cEIyN

WSP2 also occurs with words of four morae, as in 49, which shows that same words as 45.

(49) a. mokoʻpuna
   ‘grandchild’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:00:59-00:01:00) https://goo.gl/PMgMsB
   b. ʻinaŋgaro
   ‘desire’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:01:01-00:01:02) https://goo.gl/LJSFZI
   c. tamaʻriki
   ‘children’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:01:02-00:01:03) https://goo.gl/zin6a1

Example 50 shows that the WSP2 can also occur in words with an initial long vowel of the form CVVCVCV.

(50) a. pōʻpungi
   ‘morning’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:08:35-00:08:37) https://goo.gl/5xQbKp
   b. tūtaka
   ‘inspection, to inspect’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:08:38-00:08:40) https://goo.gl/0uZ17C
   c. vāmanga
   ‘to converse, study’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:08:25-00:08:26) https://goo.gl/uOx7qU
2.9. STRESS

2.9.1.3 The effect of long vowels on word stress

In words which contain one long vowel (one long vowel is two morae), that long vowel usually draws the stress. In tri-moraic words the long vowel always draws the stress, as in 51. If the long vowel is word-initial, then the stress occurs on that syllable, as in 51a, which conforms to both WSP1 and to WSP2. If the long vowel is word-final then stressing that vowel conforms to WSP2.

Example 51 shows words that have a total of three morae, two of which occur as one long vowel. In these words the long vowel is always stressed.

(51) a. 굽vāꞌi
  ‘to split’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:10:42-00:10:43) https://goo.gl/43XfCD
b. 굽kakī
  ‘neck’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:10:34-00:10:35) https://goo.gl/hYgCFz
c. 굽vāꤔi
  ‘to wrap up’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:10:40-00:10:41) https://goo.gl/5yM2qB

As was seen in 46 and 50 words of the form CVVCVCV can show either WSP1 or WSP2, which indicates that it is not obligatory to stress a long vowel.

In words of the form CVCVVCV, the long vowel draws the stress. However this form only occurs in loan words.

2.9.1.4 The effect of vowel sequences on word stress

Words which contain a sequence of unlike vowels pattern similarly to words that contain long vowels, in that they can occur with both WSP1 and WSP2. In example 52, the words show WSP1.

(52) a. 굽pererau
  ‘wing’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:09:31-00:09:33) https://goo.gl/jTgzO3
b. 굽moana
  ‘ocean’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:10:04-00:10:05) https://goo.gl/zr0nBt
c. 굽pangia
  ‘satisfied’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:11:00-00:11:02) https://goo.gl/LswKPV
d. 굽meitaki
  ‘good’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:09:20-00:09:21) https://goo.gl/cjRzhG

In example 53 the words show WSP2.
2.9.1.5 Words longer than four morae

Mono-morphemic words (or words that are synchronically interpreted as mono-morphemic) of more than four morae are rare, and it is likely that inter-speaker variation in the internal analysis of these forms is one factor in any variation in stress placement.

In words that contain multiple long vowels at least three stress patterns can occur. WSP1 can occur, as in 54.

(54) a. ̀āpōpō
   ‘tomorrow.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:07:55-00:07:56) https://goo.gl/w6shrs
b. ̀mūtēkī
   ‘quiet’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:03:26-00:03:28) https://goo.gl/a8GHXF
c. ́ārāvei
   ‘to meet’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Maeva, M. (speaker), 2016:00:10:46-00:10:48) https://goo.gl/njg8Ve

In the examples in 55, the stress falls on the final long vowel which is equivalent to the penultimate mora.

(55) a. mūtēkī
   ‘quiet.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:08:20-00:08:21) https://goo.gl/uM3eep
b. ̀ārāvei
   ‘meet’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:15:55-00:14:57) https://goo.gl/E8bXzx
c. ̀āpōpō
   ‘tomorrow’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:14:36-00:14:38) https://goo.gl/OBEXmT
2.9. STRESS

d. *pūngāvere*vere

‘cobweb’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:10:01-00:10:03) https://goo.gl/48di2h

In third pattern that is not obviously related to WSP1 or WSP2 these second long vowel may also be stressed, as in 56.

(56) a. *mūtekī*

‘quiet’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:14:57-00:14:59) https://goo.gl/sqkaeY

b. *āfrāvai*

‘meet’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016b:00:14:55-00:14:57) https://goo.gl/f8r3ut

2.9.1.6 Summary

There are two main word stress patterns that can apply to words of any form. In WSP1 the first mora is stressed and in WSP2 the penultimate mora is stressed. It is not clear what factors influence the choice between WSP1 and WSP2. In words that contain a single long vowel, that syllable may optionally draw the stress, even if that does not conform to WSP1 or WSP2.

2.9.2 Phrase stress

In a sentence, the main stress falls on the lexical head of the predicate, usually on the mora that would normally draw word stress. In verbal sentences, all other phrases except for the final phrase are usually stressed on the penultimate mora. The predicate phrase often has a clear secondary stress on the penultimate mora as well. The final phrase may be stressed on the penultimate mora, or it may place its main stress on the lexical head, following the word stress rules (such as they are).

This pattern is reminiscent of the stress pattern that is common to most Polynesian languages\(^\text{11}\) whereby the primary stress falls on the penultimate mora of a P-phrase and secondary stress on every alternating mora.

I tentatively propose the following rule for CIM: stress the penultimate mora in all phrases except the main phrase (the predicate or focus phrase) where the lexical head is stressed, or the final phrase, where the lexical head *may* optionally be stressed. This pattern could be considered the basic or pragmatically unmarked stress pattern in CIM.

Example 57 shows the stress falling on the penultimate mora of every phrase except the last where it falls on the first mora of the three morae base. This example is an answer to a question and as such, does not contain the predicate.

\(^{11}\)NZM being a notable exception.
CHAPTER 2. PHONOLOGY

(57)  
Mon'ē, Ma'ana'piti, Pure'ruru, ì̂fì̀méne, Vafrai, Ma'ana, Tapati.  
Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday Saturday Sunday.

‘Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Taurarii, T. (speaker), 2014:00:00:09-00:00:26) https://goo.gl/BJ5svQ

Example 58 shows complete sentences where the stress in the predicate phrase and the final phrase fall on the lexical head. The stress in all other phrases falls on the penultimate mora.

(58)  
Kua  screamed DET person 1 PL ACC DEM person

‘This person has beaten that person.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Rongo, T. (speaker), 2016a:00:01:10-00:01:14) https://goo.gl/tzXLn6

The final phrase of a sentence may have a primary stress on the penultimate mora, particularly if the final phrase contains one of the deictic particles ra or na (cf. section 4.8.3.1), as in 59. Generally, phrases that contain one of the deictic particles ra or na draw quite a marked stress to the penultimate vowel of the phrase. This stress is so prominent that it is sometimes marked in writing by an acute accent (Kingstone, 2008). I suggest that this phenomena is a stronger variant of WSP2.

(59) a.  
Kua  hit DET person ACC DET person 3 PL

‘The man hit that man.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Marearai, P. (speaker), 2015b:00:01:06-00:01:11) https://goo.gl/jgQJ8R

b.  
(Ae) go DET 3 POS3

(yes) ‘Go away.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Kairae, P. (speaker), 2013:00:35:44-00:35:46) https://goo.gl/nrlL44

Not all CIM sentences follow this basic stress pattern. Nominal sentences often contain only two phrases, one of which is the predicate and one of which is the final phrase, so both phrases may stress the lexical head. Longer sentences of any kind also seem to show more variation, including stressing the lexical head of all phrases, as in 60.

(60)  
Kua make DET 1PL LOC PRO.LOC ACC DET POS 3

‘So we made the quilts.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Marearai, P. (speaker), 2015b:00:07:37-00:07:40) https://goo.gl/HYx7li

It is likely that there are pragmatic factors at play that would explain some of the variation. Unfortunately, these questions are outside the scope of this thesis.
2.9.3 Emphatic stress

CIM employs a particularly noticeable emphatic stress where the vowel or vowels being stressed are lengthened much more than in ordinary lengthening, as in 61. In this example the word kata (‘to laugh’) is uttered twice. In the first kata the initial /a/ is emphatically stressed and is 0.576 ms in length. By comparison, the second time kata is pronounced the initial /a/ is the normal length for an unmarked short vowel at 0.043 ms. In this utterance there are three ordinary long /ā/ vowels with a mean length of 0.120 ms. The pronoun mātou is emphatically stressed in the final phrase and final vowel sequence /ou/ is 0.633 ms. When the same pronoun is uttered unemphatically in the first phrase, the final vowel sequence /ou/ is 0.080 ms.

(61) Tae mātou ki tēta'i tua kaaata mātou, kata mātoouo.
reach 1PLEX GOAL DET.I.S side laugh.EMP 1PLEX laugh 1PLEX.EMP

‘When we got to the side we were hysterical with laughter, we really laughed.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:25:36-00:25:42) https://goo.gl/l1YWbD

As the name and the gloss suggests this adds a strong emphatic quality to the item undergoing this stress. The notional sentence without the emphatic lengthening would be glossed as ‘When we got to the side we laughed, we laughed.’ This emphatic stress or emphatic lengthening could be considered to be phonemic, as can be seen in the minimal pairs shown in 62.

(62) a. Kua ki i te tangata.
    TAM full SAGN'T DET person

    ‘(It) was full of people.’

b. Kua kiiii i te tangata.
    TAM full SAGN'T DET person

    ‘(It) was completely full of people.’

2.10 Orthography

There is no official orthography for CIM but all texts and examples in this work are presented with the CIMR orthography which is the system used for the Cook Islands Māori Revised New Testament (2014). In the CIMR orthography lexical items are generally spelt phonemically and particles are spelt morphologically. That is, each morpheme in function words is spelt consistently, regardless of any phonetic variation. All examples are given using this orthography unless there is a particular need to make note of a phonetic feature.12

Table 2.15 shows the relationship between the phonemes and the graphemes of the CIM alphabet.

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12This contrasts with the orthography used in the Buse dictionary which marks all long vowels and glottal stops regardless of whether they are phonemic or not. It also contrasts with the vernacular orthography which does not mark most long vowels or glottal phonemes.
CHAPTER 2. PHONOLOGY

a, â, e, ē ng (/ŋ/), i, ĭ, k, m, n, o, ō p, r, t, u, ū v, ř (/ʁ/)

Table 2.15: Phonemes vs graphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Grapheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consonants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
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<tr>
<td>p</td>
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<td>k</td>
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</table>

The digraph ng represent the velar nasal /ŋ/ while the ꙍ character represents the glottal phoneme. Long vowels are indicated by a macron.

2.11 Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the phonology of CIM. The phonemes of CIM were described in sections 2.2 and 2.3. Section 2.4 briefly addressed the phonotactics of CIM. In section 2.5 the phonological phrase (P-phrase) was identified as the most important site of phonological processes in CIM. Section 2.6 surveyed the intonation patterns of the major utterance types in CIM. Section 2.7 discussed some phonological processes that apply to the P-phrase. The phonology of reduplication was discussed in section 2.8 (cf. section 3.12 for the semantics of reduplication), and word and phrase stress were discussed in section 2.9. Lastly, details of the CIM orthography were provided (section 2.10).
Chapter 3

Morphology 1: ‘Words’

3.1 Overview

This chapter has three major divisions. Sections 3.2 to 3.4 address the literature pertaining to the analysis of word class in isolating languages such as CIM. Section 3.5 outlines the argument for the claim that there are categories of nouns and verbs in CIM. The second part of this chapter gives an overview of the behaviour of nouns (3.6), pronouns (3.7), and verbs (3.8) in CIM. Various word formation processes are covered in the last section. Sections 3.9 and 3.10 deal with inflection and derivation. Sections 3.11 and 3.12 discuss compounding and reduplication, while section 3.13 briefly addresses the word class of conjunctions.\(^1\)

3.2 Introduction

Cook Islands Māori is predominately an isolating language. To the extent that it is not isolating, it is agglutinative. Mono-morphemic words are the most common type, and words with more than three morphemes are fairly rare. There are a small number of inflectional processes, and an equally small number of derivational processes.

This analysis applies if, and only if, one does not treat the syntactic phrase as ‘the word’ unit. If one does, then all verbs would be marked for TAM, and all nouns would be marked for number, definiteness, case, and so on, and the various nominal and verbal particles would be regarded as inflections.

Bruce Biggs observed in 1960:376

THE CONVENTIONAL DIVISION of linguistic descriptions into phonology, morphology, and syntax runs into a certain difficulty when the language being described is of an isolating type. By an ‘isolating type’ of language I mean one in which the informant word, that is to say, the smallest utterance fragment that will be offered by the informant, consists in the great majority of cases, of a single morpheme. The Polynesian languages represent such a type.

\(^1\)The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info5_3.html
Given that speakers of CIM will readily utter single morphemes in the manner that Biggs describes, the analysis of CIM as isolating is appropriate. Therefore, CIM presents this same difficulty with respect to the division between morphology and syntax.

Buse, writing specifically about CIM, also clearly considered this issue to be a ‘problem’ with his contemporaneous work, \emph{Problems of morphology and classification illustrated from Rarotongan} (1965).

A key concept identified by Biggs, and largely accepted by all subsequent Polynesianists, is what eventually came to be known as the \textit{phrase}.

The phrase is considered to be the primary syntactic unit in Polynesian languages generally (Krupa, 1982:81). In this thesis, I will treat this syntactic phrase as the site of ‘morphological processes’. The internal structure of the phrase, and the various paradigms of non-lexical morphemes, are covered in the following chapter (4). This chapter will attempt to address the issues of word class and word formation.

### 3.3 Word class

The first key concept with respect to word class is the distinction between particles and bases. These are Biggs’s terms and the concept is similar to the idea of function words vs lexical items (Hunter, 2007). Bases are lexical items which can occur in the nucleus of a phrase and are able to be uttered in isolation, as Biggs puts it “the informant word” (1960:376). The particles are grammatical. Those that occur preposed to the nucleus carry the TAM, case, number and specificity information while those that follow the nucleus modify the phrase in a systematic way. One formal feature of particles is that unlike bases, particles cannot undergo reduplication (Buse, 1963c:152). Phonetically, bases must have a minimum of two morae (that is, two unlike vowels or one long vowel) whereas particles may be mono-moraic (cf. section 2.4.2). Particles are not usually uttered in isolation but bases are readily produced in isolation by speakers.

I think this distinction between particles and bases as a major categorial distinction is prima facie viable but it may be a little difficult to categorically define it, as Harlow himself acknowledges (2007:100). Following Harlow, I will accept this distinction for the purposes of this discussion.

Once the existence of the category of ‘base’ is established, the next task is to determine what further subcategorisation can apply to this macro category of ‘bases’. Here again we meet a difficulty which has long been recognised in Polynesian languages. The majority of bases can function as nouns and verbs as well as modifiers to nouns or to verbs or even to other modifiers. There is no clear-cut distinction between nouns and verbs other than their occurrence in a noun phrase or a verb phrase. The following examples show the base \textit{kai} being used in all three unmarked ways. In example 63a, \textit{kai} is verbal in a transitive sentence. In example 63b, \textit{kai} is nominal and is the direct object of a ‘transitive verb’. In example 63c, \textit{kai} could be said to be modifying the verb in an intransitive sentence, although this is usually analysed more precisely as noun incorporation. In example 63d, \textit{kai} is modifying the noun \textit{ꞌare} in a locative sentence. Example 64 shows \textit{kai} with overt nominalisation marking, where the sense of the form is clearly derived form the verbal sense.

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2 Biggs initially called this a ‘contour word’ while Buse uses the term ‘piece’ but Biggs eventual came to the term ‘phrase’ which has stuck.
3.3. WORD CLASS

(63) a. Tē kai nei rātou i te poke.
   TAM eat TAM 3PL ACC DET poke
   ‘They are eating poke.’ (a kind of pudding)

b. Tē tunu nei rātou i te kai.
   TAM cook TAM 3PL ACC DET food
   ‘They are cooking the food.’

c. E tanu kai ana aia
   TAM plant food TAM 3SG
   ‘She plants food.’

d. Tei roto aia i te ‘are kai
   LOC inside 3SG LOC DET house food/eat
   ‘She is in the kitchen.’

(64) Kua ta'ero=ia te ika i te ka'anga i te ‘ora.
   TAM intoxicated=PASS DET fish LOC DET eat-NR ACC DET barringtonia
   ‘The fish were poisoned through eating the ‘ora (barringtonia).’ (Buse et al., 1995:413: ta'ero)

This distribution is typical for bases in CIM. Very few bases would not be able to do all of these things as long as one’s imagination could cope. That is to say, it would appear that no bases are grammatically restricted from the full distribution pattern but semantic restrictions may apply.³

3.3.1 Biggs/Buse model of the types of bases

Turning now to previous work on word class in CIM and EP languages generally, the issue of word class has traditionally been considered difficult in the description of Polynesian languages (Williams, 1938; Buse, 1965; Biggs, 1974). This issue was addressed by Buse in relation to the notional word classes in CIM. He proposed the following distribution based model (1965:46).

verbs (V), which colligate: with nominal particles (P2, 3, 4), verbal particles (PI), and with the passive suffix (ps) and the passive clitic (PC);

statives (S), which colligate with nominal and verbal particles, but are incapable of passive suffixation;

nouns (N), which colligate only with nominal particles

³The possible notable exception would be a small subcategory of the stative verbs which cannot modify another base.
The nominal particles to which he refers are discussed in section 4.6 and the verbal particles can be found in section 4.4 but suffice to say that these particles are unique to noun phrases and verb phrases respectively.

Buse attributes the model to that proposed by Bruce Biggs for NZM (Biggs, 1961). Biggs (1998) eventually came to use the labels ‘universal’, ‘stative’, and ‘noun’ for these three categories. The base kai from the examples in 63 would be a ‘universal’ (a la Biggs) or ‘verb’ (a la Buse) under this system. Buse provides examples of ‘verbs’, ‘statives’, and ‘nouns’ (Buse, 1965:39).

3.4 Nouns and verbs exist

Once a lexical item is safe and sound inside a noun phrase or a verb phrase there is no longer any doubt as to its categorisation and we can proceed with any analysis based on the phrase type. In other words, a form can be identified as nominal or verbal by its morphological marking. However the question remains, are the bare lexical items nouns or verbs or are they simply ‘universals’ as Biggs puts it.

The analysis I propose is that nouns and verbs do exist at the lexical level and that the high frequency of multi functional homophonous forms can be explained by two processes:

1. Pairs of homophonous forms showing meaning differences that are unpredictable
2. Pairs of homophonous forms produced by zero-derivation with directly predictable meanings

This type of analysis evokes that of Bazell’s ‘third linguist’4 (1958:7) whereas the Buse/Biggs model follows the second. More recently this ‘third linguist’ type of analysis has been applied to Polynesian languages including Tokelauan (Vonen, 1994) and NZM (Clark, 1983).

3.4.1 Two homophonous forms

Firstly, there are homophonous pairs (one with a verbal sense and one with a nominal sense) that have two distinct, if related meanings. These are two separate items in the lexicon. These meanings are obviously semantically related but the two senses are not directly predictable from each other. With these homophonous pairs one form is likely to have been derived from the other at some point in history, but exactly how this happened is not synchronically relevant. Looking again at the examples with kai (‘to eat, food’) in (65) we can see straightforward verbal uses in 65a, as well as a verb that has been overtly nominalised in 65b. Here it has a predictable deverbal meaning of ‘the action’ or the ‘the process’. In this case: ‘the eating’. This overt nominalisation indicates that this particular unmarked form is verbal. However there is another zero-derived nominal form that also has the predictable deverbal sense, as in 65c.5

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4See appendix B.

5This sentence is ambiguous in that it could also mean ‘The food was fast’ or ‘The food was early’ but the most natural interpretation is the deverbal one.
3.4. NOUNS AND VERBS EXIST

(65) a. Tē kai nei rātou i te poke.  
TAM eat TAM 3PL ACC DET poke

'They are eating poke.'

b. Kua ta'ero=ia te ika i te kai'anga i te 'ora.  
TAM intoxicated=PASS DET fish LOC DET eat-NR ACC DET barringtonia

'The fish were poisoned through eating the 'ora.' (barringtonia) (Buse et al., 1995:413: ta'ero)

c. Kua viviki te kai.  
TAM fast DET eat

'The eating was fast.'

Then there are the straightforward nominal examples of (66) where the meaning is not 'the event of eating' but 'food'.

(66) a. Tē tunu nei rātou i te kai.  
TAM cook TAM 3PL ACC DET food

'They are cooking the food.'

b. E kai tā'ana tā tātou i teia rā.  
CLS food re-cook DET.POSS 1PL.INC LOC this day

'We’re having re-cooked food today.' (Buse et al., 1995:409: tā'ana)

For some further discussion about the difference between the suffixed and unsuffixed forms of nominalised verbs see Clark (1981).

When kai acts as a modifier it can be difficult to tell if that form is nominal or verbal. In example (67a), kai is a noun that has undergone object incorporation. The nearest equivalent without object incorporation would be a sentence with a transitive verb and a definite object NP, as in (67b). However, in (67c) and (67d) it is not clear if the form kai is verbal or nominal, as either interpretation could produce that translation. In example (67e) the term is covering both bases with a modifier comprising VERB-NOUN.⁶

(67) a. E tunu kai ana aia  
TAM cook food HABIT 3SG

'S/he cooks food.'

b. E tunu ana aia i te kai  
TAM cook HABIT 3SG ACC DET food

'S/he cooks the food.'

⁶In dialects other than Rarotongan, the word mānga is preferred for the noun ‘food’ and in these dialects the form for ‘restaurant’ is ‘are kai mānga’ which I take as evidence that the second kai in ‘are kai-kai’ is nominal, rather than an example of reduplication.
c. Tei roto aia i te ‘are kai
LOC inside 3SG LOC DET house food/eat

‘She is in the restaurant.’

d. ‘E ‘are kai tāpae=i’a tērā e te tangata.
CLS house food/eat call-in=PASS that AGNT DET people

‘People often call in at that cafe.’ (Buse et al., 1995:443: tāpae)

e. ‘Ākara’ia nei te topa o te au ‘are kai-kai i Rarotonga nei i tē ia ‘opena
look=PASS POS1 DET fall of DET PL house eat-food LOC Rarotonga POS1 LOC this end
marama.
month

‘(We) will see that restaurants in Rarotonga will be closing at the end of this month.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

Table 3.1 shows some more examples sets of homophonous verb/noun pairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Verbal Gloss</th>
<th>Nominal Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kai</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rongo</td>
<td>hear</td>
<td>news</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’itoe</td>
<td>tear, strip</td>
<td>spine of a banana leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motu</td>
<td>sever, break off</td>
<td>island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūparu</td>
<td>lay ground bait</td>
<td>ground bait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’uapou</td>
<td>assemble</td>
<td>bible meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’o’ora</td>
<td>spread out</td>
<td>dowry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga’á</td>
<td>split</td>
<td>crack, fissure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maunu</td>
<td>bait</td>
<td>bait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni’o</td>
<td>sprout</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōtaka</td>
<td>roll, spin</td>
<td>spinning top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viriviri</td>
<td>drill, twirl</td>
<td>a ring shaped doughnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāi</td>
<td>to crave</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aro’a</td>
<td>greet</td>
<td>kindness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuatua</td>
<td>speak</td>
<td>word, story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’ura</td>
<td>dance</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.2 One underlying form

The second process applies to lexical items that are either verbs or nouns fundamentally, but they can undergo zero-derivation and for these lexical items, the semantics of the derived form will be regularly predictable. The nominal form of an underlyingly verbal form will be ‘the event’ or ‘the process’.
3.4. NOUNS AND VERBS EXIST

Example 68a is a nominal sentence (cf. chapter 5) comprising two noun phrases, both of which contain forms which would typically be verbal, namely, the bases tanu (‘to plant’) and ‘anga’anga (‘to work’) (cf. 68b and 68c where they occur in their unmarked verbal states). However, in 68a both are morphologically nominal having undergone zero-derivation, that is - they are not suffixed. In this sentence tanu refers to ‘the process of planting’ and ‘anga’anga to ‘the process of working’. So both of these lexical items are verbs that have undergone zero-derivation to produce regular derived nominal forms.

In 68c, ‘anga’anga is verbal and tanu is modifying a noun. Here tanu, the modifier, is clearly verbal, [Ngāꞌi [tanu kai ] - [Place [plant crops]] unlike kai in example 67d where the classification of kai was undeterminable. Example 68d contains a NP where tanu is overtly nominalised and refers to the event of the planting. Overt nominalisation is discussed further in sections 3.10.2 and 10.3.1.

(68) a. Ko te tanu kai, tāna
SPEC DET plant food DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG work
‘Her work is cultivation.’

b. Kua tanu (rātou) i te huꞌi ē te kape, pērā te tī, veꞌi,
TAM plant 3PL ACC DET yam CONJ DET giant-taro alike-POS3 DET Cordyline-terminals plantain
kuru ē te nū.
breadfruit CONJ DET coconut
‘(They) have planted yams and giant taro as well as cordyline roots (rautī), plantains, breadfruit, and coconuts.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

c. E ‘anga’anga ana aia i te ngāꞌi tanu kai.
TAM work TAM 3SG LOC DET place plant food
‘She works in the plantation.’

d. Tē tiaki arāpō nei au nō te tanu-’anga i taku kūmara.
TAM wait lunar-calender POS1 1SG for DET plant-IRR ACC my kūmara
‘I’m waiting for the right phase of the moon to plant my kūmara.’ (Buse et al., 1995:71: arāpō)

Table 3.2 shows some verbs that can (or at least marginally can in the right context) undergo zero-derivation to produce a noun whose meaning is regularly predictable. All these verbs, and in fact, all transitive or action intransitive verbs (cf. section 3.8) can undergo overt nominalisation to produce this predictable nominal sense.

7This categorisation is determined by the morphology of the phrase in which the base occurs. So both bases are considered to be nominal in example 68a because they are both preceded by determiners whereas the verbal form in 68c is preceded by a verbal particle.
Table 3.2: Verbs that have predictable nominal forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Verbal Gloss</th>
<th>Nominal Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tanu</td>
<td>plant</td>
<td>the process or event of planting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'anga'anga</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>the process or event of working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'āmiri</td>
<td>touch</td>
<td>the process or event of touching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanao</td>
<td>groove</td>
<td>the process or event of groping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatau</td>
<td>read</td>
<td>the process or event of reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'u</td>
<td>point out</td>
<td>the process or event of pointing out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karanga</td>
<td>say, call</td>
<td>the process or event of calling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eke</td>
<td>descend</td>
<td>the process or event of descending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moe</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>the process or event of sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'ate'amamao</td>
<td>prepare</td>
<td>the process or event of preparing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miti</td>
<td>lick</td>
<td>the process or event of licking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngau</td>
<td>chew</td>
<td>the process or event of chewing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nane</td>
<td>to mix</td>
<td>the process or event of mixing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.2.1 Underlying nouns

There are also examples where the underlying form seems more likely to be nominal, as in example 69 with mátipi. Example 69a has the noun mátipi (‘knife’) and example 69b has the verb mátipi (‘to cut or slice’).

(69) a. Kua kōputa aia i te nū ki te mátipi.
    TAM pierce 3SG ACC DET green-coconut INSTR DET knife

    ‘He pierced the drinking coconut with a knife.’ (Buse et al., 1995:192: kōputa)

b. Kua no'o aia ki raro i te pae i a Mama ē kua 'ākarakara 'ua aia
    TAM sit 3SG LOC under LOC DET side LOC PERS grandmother CONJ TAM look MERELY 3SG
    i a Mama e mátipi nei i tā-rāua kūmara.
    ACC PERS grandmother TAM slice POS1 ACC their kūmara

    ‘She sat beside Nana and looked at her while Nana was cutting their kūmara.’ (Rere, 1967:25)

This pattern of noun = ‘instrument or tool’ and the zero derived verb = ‘the action of using that tool’ is quite productive. Other examples of this pattern include ‘oe (‘a paddle, to paddle), kō (‘a husking spike, to husk)⁸, as well as the loan words paraipani (‘a frying pan, to fry’), and purumu, (‘a broom, to sweep’). These are displayed so as to show the predictable pattern in table 3.3.

Similarly there is a pattern where the noun= ‘type of clothing’ and verb= ‘to put on or wear that type of clothing’, as in the examples in 70, with further examples in table 3.4.

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⁸The verbal sense has spread from the use of a kō, to more broadly, ‘to dig’.
Table 3.3: Tool verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Nominal gloss</th>
<th>Verbal gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mātipi</td>
<td>knife</td>
<td>to use a knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘oe</td>
<td>paddle</td>
<td>to use a paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō</td>
<td>husking spike</td>
<td>to use a husking spike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paraipani</td>
<td>frying pan</td>
<td>to use a frying pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purumu</td>
<td>broom</td>
<td>to use a broom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ana</td>
<td>bow and arrow</td>
<td>to use a bow and arrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Clothing verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Nominal gloss</th>
<th>Verbal gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rākei</td>
<td>costume</td>
<td>put on or wear a costume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pare</td>
<td>hat</td>
<td>put on or wear a hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ei</td>
<td>garland</td>
<td>put on or wear a garland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāka’u</td>
<td>clothing</td>
<td>put on or wear clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāreu</td>
<td>waist wrap</td>
<td>put on or wear a pāreu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāmaka</td>
<td>shoes</td>
<td>put on or wear shoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Buse (Buse, 1965) considered that there was a small set of bases which cannot occur in a verb phrase (phrase marked by a verbal particle) and that this set constituted the true nouns. I contest the claim that any base is grammatically unable to occur in a verb phrase. There are some bases, that for semantic reasons, only rarely occur in a verb phrase. However there is no grammatical restriction proscribing their use as a verb.

The examples in 71 all contain verbs that seem semantically unexpected based on their nominal sense but nevertheless produce acceptable sentences. Example 71a contains a verb that is ordinarily a personal pronoun, which seems particularly unexpected. Example 71b has a term that refers to a category of humans in its more usual nominal sense but when used verbally like this, there is a change of status type of sense at play.
(71) a. Kua tātou tātou.  
PFV 1PLINC 1PLINC  
‘We are one.’

b. Kua va'ine nāna e toru ana  
PFV woman belong.ACAT.3SG TAM three PFV  
‘He had three wives.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006f)

### 3.4.3 Claims

I make the following broad claims about word class in CIM:

1. There is a major division between a largely closed class of particles or function words and a largely open class of bases/lexical items/content words.
2. The syntactic phrase, rather than the ‘word’ is the primary site of morphological operations (cf. chapter 4).
3. Within the category of base, there are nouns (with further subcategories of noun) and verbs (with further subcategories of verbs).
   a) Any base form (cf. section 3.4) can potentially occur in either a noun phrase or a verb phrase.
   b) A base is nominal if it is the initial base in the nucleus of a NP and verbal if it is the initial base in the nucleus of a VP.
   c) There are a large number of polysemous lexemes that undergo zero-derivation to change the part of speech category.
4. There is no grammatical category of adjective or adverb.
5. Any base can modify any other base.9
6. There is a closed class of conjunctions which are distinct from the other bases and particles because they occur outside the phrase.

### 3.5 Word class in Cook Islands Māori

I am going to propose a part of speech model for CIM that draws heavily on later models for New Zealand Māori (Bauer et al., 1997; Harlow, 2007). Thus I identify nouns, verbs and conjunctions as the main categories of bases in CIM. Let us set aside the issue of the underlying precategoriality of any particular item for the purposes of the following discussion: a base is nominal if it occurs in a noun phrase. That is to say, it has nominal morphology – namely the presence of

---

9 The one exception to this might be the so-called stative verbs which appear not to be able to modify other bases, although this matter needs further investigation.
prepositions and determiners in the preposed periphery of the phrase. A base is verbal if it occurs in a verb phrase, that is a phrase initiated by a verbal particle. Conjunctions occur outside the phrase. The various subcategories of nouns, verbs and conjunctions are discussed in sections 3.6, 3.8 and 3.13 respectively.

3.6 Nouns

There are bases that very rarely co-occur with either the verbal particle or the passive suffix/clitic and these are the bases that the Biggs/Buse model considers to be nouns. These bases tend to be semantically the most prototypically nominal. Buse (1965:46) offers vaka (outrigger-canoe, boat) as an example of a prototypical noun, as shown in 72.

(72)  Kua 'apai katoa mai te au teina o Rū i te au 'oe, te moenga 'ei kie, ē kua
      TAM take also DIR1 DET PL sibling of Rū ACC DET PL paddle DET mats COMP sail CONI TAM
      'akatomo i tō-rātou vaka ki te kai ē te vai.
      load ACC their boat INSTR DET food CONJ DET water

      'Rū’s younger brothers also took the paddles and the sleeping mats as sails and loaded their boat with food and water.’ (Simiona, 1979:46)

Vaka in example 72 is marked by the determiner tō-rātou (‘their’) and the NP is in turn marked by preposition i (accusative). Thus the semantically typical noun vaka is also morphologically marked as nominal in this example. The detail of the structure of the noun phrase will be covered chapter 4 and the set of particles associated with noun phrases are discussed in section 4.6, but here I will discuss the subcategories of nouns. There are four subcategories of nouns, distinguishable to a certain extent by the way they collocate with determiners. They are common nouns, pronouns, locative nouns and personal nouns.

3.6.1 Common nouns

The most important definitional feature of ‘common nouns’ is that they obligatorily co-occur with a determiner (see section 4.6.3 for a more fulsome discussion of these determiners). The common nouns in the examples in 73 are underlined and the determiners are in bold.

(73) a. Tēia te 'upā'anga mua a te 'Are Kōrero o 'Akatokamanava ē ko tēia
      PRO.DEM1 DET meeting first of DET house knowledge of 'Akatokamanava CONJ SPEC PRO.DEM1
      te ingoa o te au |tangata| tei rāve i teia 'upā'anga.
      DET name o DET PL person DET.REL.PST do ACC DEM1 meeting

      ‘This was the first meeting of the ‘Akatokamanava ‘knowledge house’ and these are the names of the people who attended this meeting.’ (Purea, 2013:1)
b. Kua ‘akaue atu rāua i tō-rāua metua kia 'āpai mai ki roto i tāua aꞌi maꞌata ē TAM order DIR 3D ACC DET.POSS.OCAT-3D parent COMP light ACC DET.I.S fire large CONJ
kia titiri i te vaꞌine tāna i 'apai mai ki roto i tāua aꞌi COND throw-out ACC DET woman DET.REL.POSS PST bring DIR LOC inside LOC DET.ANA fire ra, nō-te-mea, 'e tuputupuā te-reira nō te moana, 'e atua nō te puna i POS3 because CLS monster PRD.LOC from DET ocean CLS god from DET soft-coral LOC
roto i te taꞌi
inside LOC DET sea

'They ordered their parents to light a large fire and throw the woman and the things she had brought there into the fire because she was a monster from the ocean, a god from the soft coral in the sea.' (Simiona, 1979:43)

Other examples of prototypical nouns include 'are ('house'), taro ('colocasia esculenta'), vaꞌine ('woman'), 'enua ('land'). Nouns produced via overt nominalisation are treated as common nouns as with 'āpiꞌiꞌanga in example 74.

(74) Mē maka te 'āpiꞌi-ꞌanga 'aere mai ki te pupu rua.
COND satisfactory DET learn-NR go DIR GOAL DET group two

'When the learning is satisfactory (they) go on to the second class.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:11:19-00:11:24) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

3.6.2 Personal pronouns

The paradigm of personal pronouns, shown in table 3.5, is similar to that of other Polynesian languages. Distinction is made between singular, dual and plural number as well as between inclusive (of the hearer) and exclusive (of the hearer) in the first person dual and plural forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person inclusive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>tāua</td>
<td>tātou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>au/āku</td>
<td>māua</td>
<td>mātou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>ko'e</td>
<td>kōrua</td>
<td>kōtou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person exclusive</td>
<td>aia/ia</td>
<td>rāua</td>
<td>rātou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6. NOUNS

3.6.2.1 Personal pronouns and the personal article

There is a particular determiner, the personal article a (cf. 4.6.3.1) which is most strongly associated with personal nouns (cf. 3.6.4) but also occurs with other types of nouns in some conditions. With some exceptions, personal pronouns do not take the personal article except when they occur in phrases introduced by i or ki. Example 75 demonstrates this regular pattern with koe (2SG) in the subject position without the personal article and rātou (3PL) in a prepositional phrase with the personal article.

(75) Ka kōpae Ø koe i a rātou nō roto mai i tērā au responsibilities.

‘You set them aside from their responsibilities.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:49:20-00:49:25) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

3.6.2.2 Variant forms

The 1SG and 3SG personal pronouns both have variant forms. The unmarked from of the 1st person singular pronoun is au. This form occurs in the subject position, as in 76a. The first person singular pronoun also takes the “subject form” au following the agent marker e in passive sentences, as in example (76d), and following the specifier ko, as in 76e.

However, the 1st person singular pronoun takes the form āku in phrases introduced by the prepositions i, as in example 76b, or ki, as in example 76c. This form can be synchronically analysed as being made up of the personal article a and the bound 1SG form -ku. This -ku form is seen elsewhere in CIM (cf. 4.6.3.17 and 3.6.2.6).

The distribution of the forms of the singular pronouns is summarised in table 3.6.10

(76) a. Kua pāpā au i te kaingākai.

‘I have hit the table.’

b. ‘Iki mai rātou i āku ‘ei va’ine ‘akateretere i te mānga.

‘I was elected as the food manager.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:40:12-00:40:19) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

c. Kua ‘apai aia i te puka ki āku.

‘S/he has brought the book to me.’

d. Kua pāpā-i te kaingākai e au.

‘The table has been hit by me.’

10N.B. in the vernacular orthography, the object marker i is often written as part of the word i.e. iāku, kiāku.
e. Nō tērā ko au te chairman 'oki o te mea.
   from DEM3 SPEC 1SG DET chairman EMPH of DET thing

   ‘Because of that I was the chairman.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:39:16-00:39:22)
   https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

The third person singular personal pronoun has the underlying form of ia but it behaves slightly irregularly in that it always occurs with the personal article a in the subject position where it would not be expected, as in 77a. Elsewhere it follows the expected pattern with the personal article. It takes the personal article when following the prepositions i (77b) or ki (77c), but it is unmarked when it occurs in the agent phrase of a passive marked by e (77d), or following the specifier ko (77e).

(77) a. Kua ako aia i te tamaiti kia ‘aere meitaki ki te kāinga ma te māniana kore.
   TAM teach PERS.3SG ACC DET child TAM go well GOAL DET home COM DET noise not
   ‘He urged the child to walk home in a proper fashion without making a noise.’ (Buse et al., 1995:54: ako)

b. Ka ‘inangaro mātou kātoatoa i-te moe kāpiti atu ki aia i te pō mua.
   TAM desire 1PLEX all COMP sleep united DIR2 GOAL PERS.3SG LOC DET night first
   ‘We all wanted to sleep with her on the first night’ (Frisbie, 1999:3)

c. I ‘ārāvei ana, koe i aia?
   TAM meet TAM 2SG ACC PERS.3SG
   ‘Did you meet him?’ (Buse et al., 1995:117: iāia)

d. Ka ‘oko-na e ia te puaka.
   TAM sell-CIA AGNT 3SG DET pig.
   ‘He’s going to sell off the pig.’ (Buse et al., 1995:116: ia1) Lit: ‘The pig will be sold by him.’

e. Ko au e pū‘āpī‘i ana nō te ‘āpī‘i ta‘i, ko ia ‘e pū‘āpī‘i nō te ‘āpī‘i rua.
   SPEC 1SG TAM teach HABIT for DET school one SPEC 3SG CLS teacher for the school two
   ‘I was taught in primary school and he was a secondary school teacher.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:48:00:04:58) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Ko</th>
<th>Passive Agent</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>i/ki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>akeu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aia</td>
<td>iia</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>aia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koe</td>
<td>koe</td>
<td>koe</td>
<td>a koe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.2.3 3SG ia

There is also a form of the third person singular pronoun that functions somewhat like the English pronoun *it*. It has the form *ia* in all conditions, that is, it does not take the personal article which distinguishes it from the 3SG proper. In 78a this *ia* pronoun is the subject of the second clause. This pronoun can refer to a human or animate 3SG referent, as in 78a, but it can also refer to a non-animate referent, as in 78b, where it is more like a demonstrative pronoun. This pronoun is discussed again in sections 3.7.1.1 and 4.6.3.11.

(78) a. Mē ‘e tangata piripou roa kerekere, ko au *ia*.
   COND EXIST person trousers long black SPEC 1SG 3SGX
   ‘If it was someone with black trousers, it was me.’ (Buse et al., 1995:116: ia1)

   b. Ko te ‘anga’anga *ia* a tauta Maui metua ra.
      SPEC DET work DEMX of DET.ANA Maui ancestor POS3
      ‘It was the work of that ancestor, Maui.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006j)

Table 3.7 shows the ways that the types of personal pronouns are marked in various phrases types with respect to the personal article.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase type</th>
<th>‘E ko</th>
<th>SUB (Ø)</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i/ki</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>Nā/Nā</th>
<th>a/o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type ↓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard pattern</td>
<td>* Ø Ø Ø PERS</td>
<td>PERS</td>
<td>Ø Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>* Ø au Ø au Ø au PERS-ku PERS-ku -ku *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>* Ø ia PERS-ia Ø ia PERS-ia PERS-ia -na *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>* Ø koe Ø koe Ø koe PERS koe PERS koe -‘ou~‘au *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.2.4 Two other instances of the bound forms

In addition to the *ā-ku* variation of the 1SG personal pronoun, there are two further paradigms of personal pronouns where the variant forms of the singular pronouns occur, namely *-ku* for 1SG, *-ou~-au* for 2SG and *-na* for 3SG. Both the singular t-class and the singular n-class possessive pronouns use the bound forms of the personal pronouns. They also both vary between *o~a* depending on the category of the possessive relationship (cf. section 11.2).

3.6.2.5 Singular t-class possessive pronouns

The first of these sets is the singular t-class possessive pronouns. These pronouns comprise the determiner te<sup>11</sup>, the appropriate possessive preposition *o~a* and the bound pronoun form in the singular, as in example 79. The t-class possessive pronouns have the same form in the as the possessive determiners (cf. 4.6.3.17). The syntax of the type

<sup>11</sup>Hence the designation t-class.
of sentence in 79 containing this type of pronoun will be discussed in section 5.3.3. Table 3.8 shows the singular possessive pronouns. The dual and plural l-class possessive pronouns are discussed in section 3.7.2.

(79) ‘E paitikara tōku.
EXIST bike PRO.Poss.OCAT.1SG
‘I have a bike.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OCAT</th>
<th>ACAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>tōku</td>
<td>tāku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>tō‘ou</td>
<td>tā‘au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>tōna</td>
<td>tāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.6.2.6 N-class possessive pronouns

Table 3.9 shows a further set of pronouns that contain the bound singular pronominal forms. They are the singular n-class possessive pronouns. They are formed by combining the preposition nā or nō with -ku for 1SG, -‘ou-‘au for 2SG, and -na for 3SG. The n-class possessives are discussed further in sections 3.7.4, 4.6.2, and 5.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OCAT</th>
<th>ACAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>nōku</td>
<td>nāku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>nō‘ou</td>
<td>nā‘au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>nōna</td>
<td>nāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.6.3 Locative nouns

The third subcategory of CIM nouns are the locative nouns. The locative nouns proper are a closed set of nouns that are semantically inherently locative (cf. appendix ??). Formally these nouns proscribe a determiner but are nevertheless considered to be nominal because they occur in prepositional phrases. They include many forms that are expressed by prepositions in English such as roto (‘inside’) va‘o (‘outside’) or tua (‘beyond’) which refer to a “relative frame of spatial reference” (Cablitz, 2006:332). They also include some terms that are more environmentally based such as uta (‘inland-ward’) and tai (‘seaward’), as in 80c, which refer to some “absolute frame of spatial reference” (Cablitz, 2006:332) and could be considered to be topological nouns. Locative nouns are frequently collocated with the locative prepositions (i, tei, ‘ei, ki, mei, ā, nā), as in the examples in 80 (cf. sections 4.6.2 and 8).

---

12 Hence the label n-class.
13 Place names have some of the characteristics of locative nouns and some of personals and will be discussed separately in section 3.6.4.1.
3.6. Nouns

(80) a. Ka ‘apai katoa aia i te tero a te aronga ko’i moni i runga ake i te TAM tax also 3SG ACC DET tax of DET group collect money LOC above DIR3 LOC DET $400,000 ki runga.

$400,000 GOAL above

‘He also increased the tax for those whose income is over $400,000.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Kua ō katoa atu ana tēta’i au va’ine ki roto i te pārimani, ē tei TAM give? also DIR2 PFV DET.I.S PL women GOAL inside LDC DET parliament CONJ LOC.PRES roto rāi tēta’i pae i tēiane, ē ka ma’a atu tō tēia ngā rā ki inside EMPH DET.I.S set LDC now CONJ TAM large DIR2 DET.POSS DEM1 PAUCAL day GOAL mua.

front

‘Some women have also been elected into Parliament, and some are still in there as of now, and there will be more in the future.’ (Wolfgramm, 2014)

c. I te ‘angi’angi-’anga te matangi, kua ‘uti i tō-rātou kie ē kua ‘akatere ki uta. LOC DET blow-NR DET wind TAM hoist ACC their sail CONJ TAM sail GOAL inland

‘When the wind started to blow, they hoisted sail and made for the shore.’ (Buse et al., 1995:9: ‘angi’angi)

Table 3.10 lists the locative nouns.

3.6.3.1 Locative nouns and the personal article

As will be discussed in section 3.6.4.1, place names can take the personal article like typical personal nouns (81a), but they also often occur without a determiner in a locative phrase like a typical locative noun, as in 81b (cf. 85).

(81) a. ‘E āire a Avarua

CLS town PERS Avarua

‘Avarua is a town.’

b. Ka ‘ano mātou ki Ø Avarua

TAM go 1PLEX GOAL Ø Avarua

‘We’re going to Avarua.’

There are also some constructions where prototypical locative bases occur with what might be the personal article, as in 82.
Table 3.10: List of locative nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basic Locative Nouns</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>runga</td>
<td>above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raro</td>
<td>below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roto</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va'ō</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mua</td>
<td>in front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muri</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tua</td>
<td>beyond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rotopū</td>
<td>in the middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topological Locative Nouns</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tai</td>
<td>seaward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uta</td>
<td>landward, inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'atai</td>
<td>the seaside, the beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tua</td>
<td>beyond the reef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'apa</td>
<td>Wind quarter, compass point locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative Pronouns</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō</td>
<td>PRO.LOC3 - some location distant from both the speaker and the hearer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō</td>
<td>PRO.LOC - a generic location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konei</td>
<td>PRO.LOC1 - a location near the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kona</td>
<td>PRO.LOC2 - a location near the addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reira</td>
<td>LOC.ANA - aforementioned location</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(82) a. ‘Ē rānuinui a roto
CLS big LOC/PERS inside

‘The inside is big.’ Ma’ara Maeva, August 24 2015

b. ‘Ē kivakiva a va'ō
CLS blue LOC/PERS outside

‘The outside is blue.’ Ma’ara Maeva, August 24 2015

c. ‘Ē meitaki atu a roto i a va'ō
CLS good DIR2 LOC inside LOC LOC/PERS outside

‘The inside is better than the outside.’ or ‘Inside is better than outside.’ Ma’ara Maeva, August 24 2015

In 82a and 82b the form a could be analysed as a locative preposition (cf. section 4.6.2 and 8.2). However in 82c, the particle a is preceded by i which is itself a locative preposition. This would indicate that the particle a, at least in this sentence, is not a locative preposition and may be the personal article. So, locative nouns may sometimes occur with the personal article. However, this is a marginal phenomenon as place names (as in 81a) are not typical locative
nouns and there are very few clear examples of a typical locative noun introduced by the personal article. Most such examples occur in the specific type of sentence shown in 82c where the argument could be made that the locative is acting as a personal.

3.6.4 Personal nouns/names

The fourth category of nouns is the personal nouns (or names) which occur with a specific determiner, the personal article a. This distinguishes them from other nouns which cannot readily co-occur with the personal article. The personal article occurs before names of people typically, as well as the names of places, mountains, social groups (peoples), ships and other personified entities. Names of months are personal nouns and take the personal article (83a), but names of days of the week do not (83b), and thus are common nouns.

(83) a. ‘E marama mānea a Mē.

CLS month fine PERS May

'May is a fine month.' (Buse et al., 1995:1: 'a1)

b. ‘E mānea tikāi ā konei i te Tapati.

CLS nice EMPH LOC here LOC DET Sunday

'It’s nice here on Sundays.' (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:391)

The personal article marks personal nouns in zero marked NPs, and NPs marked by i or ki. However, the personal article is not obligatory with personal nouns in all contexts. Personal nouns of any kind are not marked by the personal article in the following conditions:

1. Phrases introduced by ko (cf. section 5.2).
2. In the agent phrase of a passive sentence introduced by the preposition e (cf. section 6.4).
3. In phrases introduced by the n-class possessive prepositions nā and nō (cf. section 5.6).
4. Phrases introduced by the possessive prepositions a and o (cf. section 11.2).

In the examples in 84 the personal nouns are underlined and the personal article is in bold. These examples all contain the most prototypical personal nouns; names of humans. The personal nouns in 84a and 84b are both in the subject position while the personal noun in 84c is in a locative prepositional phrase (or possibly the indirect object phrase if analysed as such).

(84) a. Ka ‘aka’oro a Tere i te toroka.

TAM drive PERS Tere ACC DET truck

'Tere will drive the truck.' (Buse et al., 1995:92: e1)
3.6.4.1 Place names

Place names, referring to locations as they do, would seem to belong semantically in the locative nouns category but they also have something semantically in common with the personals category, namely that they are names. Accordingly, place names seem to behave like personal nouns in some instances but in some cases like locative nouns (cf. section 3.6.3) with respect to the types of determiners with which they occur. The following examples in 85 include names of places and demonstrate the inconsistency of the personal article’s behaviour with place names. Typical personal nouns (names of humans) cannot co-occur with any determiner other than the personal article, but as can be seen here, this restriction does not apply to place names. Example 85a has two place names both showing prototypical personal noun behaviour with a place name in subject position marked by the personal article and one in a possessive phrase unmarked, as would be expected. Example 85b has a place name in a locative phrase with the personal article. Example 85c has one place name in a locative phrase marked by the personal article and another place name, also in a locative phrase but here it is unmarked. The use of the personal article with place names does not appear to be predictable.

(85) a. Kāre a Viti e kauraro ki te ‘akaue-anga a Aotearoa kia kiriti i te NEG PERS Fiji TAM submit X DET order-NR of New-Zealand COMP throw-out ACC DET kavamani ‘iki-kore=’ia e te ‘iti-tangata. government elect-NEG=PASS AGNT TAM People

‘Fiji has not bowed to New Zealand’s demands that the undemocratic government should be expelled by the people.’ (Tongala, 2013)

b. Tei tō Māui ta’e’anga atu ki reira tei a rātou te mana i a LOC DET.POSS.OCAT Māui reach-NR DIR2 LOC there LOC PERS 3PL DET authority LOC PERS ‘Avaiki kātoatoa.

Hawaiki all

‘When Māui got there they had the authority over all of Hawaiki.’
3.7. PRONOUNS

3.7.1 Example of pronouns

c. Mei te toru rā i tōna ‘akaruke-‘anga i a Rarotonga nei i
   SOURCE DET three day LOC DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG depart-IR LOC PERS Rarotonga POS1 TAM
tae ei aia ki Ø Aitutaki
   reach ANA 3SG GOAL Ø Aitutaki

‘From the third day from her departure from Rarotonga, she arrived at Aitutaki.’ (Simiona, 1979:81)

3.6.4.2 Summary of personal nouns

So to summarise, personal nouns are names that co-occur with the personal article. The most prototypical members of this class are names of humans and names of months which prescribe any other determiner. Other members of this class optionally take the personal article. Generally, when an entity is being treated like a name, it will pattern like a standard personal noun with respect to the personal article, but when an entity is being treated like a location it will pattern like a locative noun. Place names show the most variation in this respect.

3.6.5 Summary of the categories of nouns

Although the grammatical basis for the four noun categories is not unequivocal, prototypical members of each category will follow the standard pattern of that category and less prototypical members show some variation. Common nouns require a determiner in all phrase types (apart from ‘e predicates) and represent the prototypical behaviour of nouns in CIM. The other categories of nouns each have different patterns. Personal nouns either take the personal article or Ø as their determiner. Pronouns usually take Ø but also take the personal article in some phrase types. Locative nouns cannot usually take a determiner, i.e. must be zero marked in any phrase type and do not occur in all phrase types. Locative nouns have the least typical behaviour of the categories of nouns. Place names sometimes take no determiner, like locative nouns, and sometimes take the personal article, like personal nouns, and are an example of a type of noun whose category is not clear.

Table 3.11 shows how each category of noun is marked in each type of noun phrase. The type of noun phrase is described by the particle or category of particle that introduces the NP. SUB = the zero marked subject phrase of a sentence, LOC = the locative particles. See section 4.6 and table 4.3 for further discussion of the various nominal particles.

3.7 Pronouns

This section will discuss some other pro forms (in addition to the personal pronouns discussed in section 3.6.2) that occur in the nucleus of noun phrases in CIM and are thus designated as pronouns.

Most of the t-class determiners can be used pronominally, including the demonstrative determiners (tēia, tēnā, tērā), the possessive determiners (tākutārātou etc.) as well as tēta’i and te reira.15 There are also small sets of locative and interrogative pronouns.

14 The exceptions being place names and possibly the types of sentences in 82 where locative bases occur with the personal article.
15 However, taua (or aua) cannot be used pronominally, nor can te, ‘e or a. See section 4.6.3 for a full discussion of these determiners.
### Table 3.11: Distribution of noun categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase type →</th>
<th>'E ko SUB (Ø) e i/ki LOC Nā/Nā a/o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun Type ↓</td>
<td>Common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr.</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place Names</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.7.1 Demonstrative pronouns

All the demonstrative determiners can occur alone in a phrase without another noun and in these contexts they are acting as demonstrative pronouns with person deixis reference. They are frequently found as subjects of nominal sentences, as in example 86.

(86) “Ko au tērā!” i nā Rima ei ma te rere mai ki runga.

`SPEC 1SG PRO TAM of Rima ANA with TAM jump DIR1 LOC up`

“That’s me!” said Rima jumping up.’ (Heather et al., ndd)

They are not restricted to this position however and can occur in all types of NPs, as in 87, where tērā occurs in the object phrase and takes the personal article.

(87) Kāre koe e tangi ana i a tērā?

`not 2SG TAM cry TAM ACC PERS PRO`

‘Don’t you feel sorry for the poor fellow?’ LIT ‘Do you not cry for them-sg?’ (Buse et al., 1995:484: tērā)

#### 3.7.1.1 Demonstrative pronoun ia

The non-specific 3sgX pronoun ia (cf. section 3.6.2.3) has some demonstrative properties and is glossed by Buse as “this (one), that (one), these, those, esp. the one(s) indicated, referred to, or being discussed” (1995:116). Where the referent of this pronoun is non-animate, it is more like a demonstrative than a personal pronoun, as in 88.

(88) a. Ko-ia ia

`SPEC-3SG PRO DEM3X`

‘That’s the one (that’s it; that’s right).’ (Buse et al., 1995:116: ia1)
3.7. PRONOUNS

b. Ko te ‘akakoro’anga ia o te ‘akairo ora’anga.

SPEC DET intention PRO.DEK3X of DET sign live-NR

‘That is the study of archeology.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:4)

3.7.2 T-class (determiner) possessive pronouns

Analogous with the demonstrative pronouns and their relationship to the demonstrative determiners, there is a set of possessive pronouns that are clearly related to the possessive determiners. All t-class possessive determiners (cf. section 4.6.3.17) that include a pronoun and are marked for possessive category\(^{16}\) can act as possessive pronouns (cf. section 3.6.2.5). Example 89a has a possessive pronoun in the subject position while 89b has a one in a locative phrase.

(89) a. ‘E taeake Papa’ā tōku i roto i te motoka i tērā taime.

EXIST friend Pākehā PRO.POSS.1SG LOC inside LOC the car LOC that time

‘I had a Pākehā friend in the car at that time.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:08:28-00:08:30) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

b. Tēia’a ‘oki tā-rātou pearl mē compare au ki tā-tātou.

heavy EMPH their pearl COND compare 1SG GOAL PRO.POSS-1PLINC

‘Their pearls are much heavier when I compare them to ours.’

Possessive pronouns of the form tō~tā NAME (90a) or tō~tā NP (90b) also occur.

(90) a. Kua ‘aere atu ra rāua ma te ‘enua i raro i a rāua e tae atu ra rāua

TAM go DIR2 POS 3D COM DET land LOC below LOC PERS 3D TAM reach DIR2 POS3 3D

ki ‘Avaiki, kua tūpa’u atu ra i tō-rāua ‘enua ki tō Kae. (Tara’are, 2000:12)

LOC Hawaiki TAM place DIR2 POS3 ACC their island GOAL DET.POSS Kae

‘They proceeded with the land beneath them and reached Avaiki (Hawaiki) and placed the island alongside that of Kae.’ (Tara’are, 2000:126)

\(^{16}\)The t-class possessive determiners that cannot act as pronouns are the neutral singular possessive determiners and the the basic possessive determiner tō~tā (if it is alone).
b. Ko te tumu, kāre tō rātou au 'enua 'ōu i tu='ia e te maki
SPEC TAM reason NEG DET.POSS.DCAT 3PL PL island new TAM afflict=PASS AGNT TAM sickness
marēria, ē 'e viviki ake te tangata i te ma'ata i tō te au
malaria CONJ CLS fast DIR3 DET people SAGNT/LOC DET many LOC DET.POSS.DCAT DET PL
'enua mama'ata ake
island large DIR3

'It was because their new islands were not afflicted with malaria and so the population grew quicker than that of the larger islands.' (Salesa et al., 2004:26)

3.7.3 Tētaꞌi

The indefinite-specific determiner (DET.I.S) tētaꞌi17 can also stand alone in a noun phrase as an ‘indefinite specific pronoun’. In example 91b tētaꞌi occurs in a locative phrase, in 91a it is the subject, and here it has an existential sense. In 91c, the form tētaꞌi in used in both the subject and the object phrase and these instances are not co-indexed.

(91) a. 'E peka peka tētaꞌi i kō, nō-reira te 'akavā i pū ei.
EXIST trouble PRO.EXIST LOC PRO.LOC therefore DET TAM gather ANA

'There is some trouble over there, that is why the police are gathering.' (Buse et al., 1995:363: pū1)

b. Kua kite atu mātou i runga i te pa'irere i taua purūmū rā, tē tīroa
TAM see DIR3 IPLEX LOC above LOC DET aeroplane ACC DET.ANA road DIR3 TAM lay-out
'ua ra mei tētaꞌi 'ope o te 'enua ki tētaꞌi.
MERELY POS3 SOURCE DET.I.S hip of the island GOAL PRO.EXIST

'From the plane we saw the road running the length of the island from one end to the other.' (Buse et al., 1995:498: tīroa)

c. Mē kāre e rauka i te 'atu-enua ē te tangata tāra'u i-te 'ārāvei atu tētaꞌi;
COND NEG TAM able SAGNT DET landlord CONJ DET person rent COMP meet DIR2 PRO.EXIST
i tētaꞌi, 'e mea tau kia kāpiki rāua i te numero 0800 73 76 66.
ACC PRO.EXIST CLS thing proper COMP call 3D ACC DET number 0800 73 76 66

'If the landlord or tenant can't locate the other person, they should call 0800 73 76 66' (Department of Building and Housing, 2011:7) Lit: 'If it is not possible for the landlord and the tenant to meet one to one it is ok for them to call the number 0800 73 76 66.'

The pronominal form of tētaꞌi is reminiscent of the English pronouns ‘someone’, ‘something’ or ‘anything’. The sentence type in 91a is discussed further in section 5.3.4.

17Likely to be a lexicalised form of te (the) + taꞌi (one).
3.7. PRONOUNS

3.7.3.1 Summary of the determinative pronouns

In keeping with the zero-derivation word formation analysis, these pronoun forms would be derived from the determiners proper and analysed as separate lexical items. However, there is a much closer semantic relationship between the determinival and the pronominal uses of these forms than there is with of the noun/verb homophonous pairs (cf. section 3.4). In fact, there is some suggestion that, particularly with tētaꞌi and possessive pronouns, the determiners are still referring anaphorically to an actual subject noun, either the one referenced in the predicate, as in 91a and 89b, or to some generic subject such as mea ('thing') or tangata ('person'), as in 91c.

There is likely much more to be said about this feature and this an interesting topic for further theoretical elucidation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Determiner</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tēia</td>
<td>DEM1</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>PRO.DEM1</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēnā</td>
<td>DEM2</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>PRO.DEM2</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tērā</td>
<td>DEM4</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>PRO.DEM3</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>DEM3X</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>PRO.DEM3X</td>
<td>that/it</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Selected Possessive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Determiner</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tāku</td>
<td>DET.PDSSI.1SG</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>PRO.PDSSI.1SG</td>
<td>mine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō rātou</td>
<td>DET.PDSS 3PL</td>
<td>their</td>
<td>PRO.PDSS 3PL</td>
<td>theirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā mātou</td>
<td>DET.PDSS 1PLEX</td>
<td>our</td>
<td>PRO.PDSS 1PLEX</td>
<td>ours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōꞌou</td>
<td>DET.PDSS 2SG</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>PRO.PDSS 2SG</td>
<td>yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tētaꞌi</td>
<td>DET.I.S</td>
<td>a certain</td>
<td>PRO.EXTANT</td>
<td>there is something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tētaꞌi</td>
<td>DET.I.S</td>
<td>a certain</td>
<td>PRO.I.S</td>
<td>something, someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Other**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Determiner</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taua</td>
<td>DET.ANA</td>
<td>that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>DET</td>
<td>the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>DET.VDC</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>DET.PERS</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7.4 N-class possessive pronouns

There is a class of pronouns formed from the specific possessive prepositions nā and nō. The singular possessor variants of these pronouns were introduced in section 3.6.2.6. For the dual and plural possessor variants, the n-class possessive pronoun is formed by simply juxtaposing the specific possessive preposition nā–nō with the appropriate pronoun, as in table 3.13. The n-class possessive pronouns constitute the predicate phrase of specific possessor nominal sentences (cf. section 5.6), and as beneficiary or possessive adjunct phrases of (cf. section 8.7).
### Table 3.13: The dual and plural-possessor n-class possessive-pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā māua</td>
<td>belong.ACAT 1DEX</td>
<td>belongs to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō māua</td>
<td>belong.OCAT 1DEX</td>
<td>belongs to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā mātou</td>
<td>belong.ACAT 1PLEX</td>
<td>belongs to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō mātou</td>
<td>belong.OCAT 1PLEX</td>
<td>belongs to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā tāua</td>
<td>belong.ACAT 1DINC</td>
<td>belongs to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō tāua</td>
<td>belong.OCAT 1DINC</td>
<td>belongs to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā tātou</td>
<td>belong.ACAT 1PLINC</td>
<td>belongs to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō tātou</td>
<td>belong.OCAT 1PLINC</td>
<td>belongs to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā kōrua</td>
<td>belong.ACAT 2D</td>
<td>belongs to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō kōrua</td>
<td>belong.OCAT 2D</td>
<td>belongs to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā kōtou</td>
<td>belong.ACAT 2PL</td>
<td>belongs to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō kōtou</td>
<td>belong.OCAT 2PL</td>
<td>belongs to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā rāua</td>
<td>belong.ACAT 3D</td>
<td>belongs to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō rāua</td>
<td>belong.OCAT 3D</td>
<td>belongs to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā rātou</td>
<td>belong.ACAT 3PL</td>
<td>belongs to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō rātou</td>
<td>belong.OCAT 3PL</td>
<td>belongs to them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.7.5 Locative pronouns

There are a number of locative pronouns, the first three of which are based on the locative pronoun kō which Buse (1995:181) glosses as ‘over there, yonder’. Kō can be combined with one of the positional particles to produce konei ‘there near the speaker’ (92a) and kona ‘there near the addressee’ (92b). Table 3.14 lists the locative pronouns.

#### Table 3.14: The locative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kō</td>
<td>location3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konei</td>
<td>location 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kona</td>
<td>location 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōkō</td>
<td>further over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reira</td>
<td>anaphoric location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form kō carries the sense of PRO.LOC3 even when the POS3 particle ra is not present as in 92c but it is often collocated with ra, as in 92d. The locative phrase i kō frequently co-occurs with a second locative phrase, as in 93a, when making reference to a specific location, but this is not obligatory, as can be seen in 93b, where the same type of location is expressed with a single locative phrase. These types of locative phrases are discussed further in section
8.2.

(92) a. Ko rātou te mua i-te ‘akaārī i tēia teata i konei.
   SPEC 3PL DET first COMP show ACC this film LOC PRD.LOC1
   ‘They were the first ones to show this film here.’ (Rani, 2010b)

b. ‘E peni tā'au i kona?
   EXIST pen PRO.POSS.ACAT.2SG LOC PRO.LOC2
   ‘Have you got a pen there (by you)?’ (Rere, 1967:53)

c. Kua tāpā'opa'ba tēia au ‘apinga tunu kai, tērā te toe i kō.
   TAM reserve-something DEM1 PL thing cook food PRO.DEM3 DET rest LOC PRO.LOC
   ‘All these cooking utensils are reserved, the rest are over there.’ (Buse et al., 1995:445: tāpā'opa'o)

d. Āe, āe. Te kāinga o te ‘akavā nui? Āe tei kō ra āe.
   yes yes DET home of the judge large yes LOC.PRES PRO.LOC POS3 yes
   ‘Yes. The island resident agent’s house? Yes, it’s over there. Yes.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:20:28-00:20:31) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

(93) a. I te tae ake ‘anga a Māmī ki kō i te ‘aremaki, kāre rāi ala i tuatua
   LOC DET reach DIR2 NR of Mum GOAL PRD.LOC LOC DET hospital NEG EMPH 3SG TAM speak ana.
   PFV
   ‘When Mum arrived at the hospital, she hadn’t spoken at all.’ (Aiono-Iosefa et al., 1999:11)

b. I ‘ano atu pa’a aia ki te ‘aremaki i Ma’uke kāre e rauka i-te treat.
   TAM go DIR2 maybe 3SG GOAL DET hospital LOC Ma’uke NEG TAM able COMP treat
   ‘Maybe he went to the hospital in Ma’uke (but) was not able to be treated (there).’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:57:11-00:57:14) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

3.7.5.1 Reira

The lexical item reira has a wide range of grammatical functions, all of which have some anaphoric sense. The most basic sense of reira is an anaphoric location. Buse (1995:388) glosses reira as ‘That (place, time, method, circumstance, etc., which has been referred to, is under discussion, or is understood)’ indicating the wide range of functions and the fact that reira co-occurs with various sets of prepositions. The examples in 94 are a fairly typical of the literal anaphoric locative sense of reira.
CHAPTER 3. MORPHOLOGY I: ‘WORDS’

(94) a. Ko te au tangata ka tere atu ki Miti’aro ka moe atu rātou ‘okota’i pō ki reira.
   TAM DET PL person TAM travel DIR2 GOAL Miti’aro TAM sleep DIR3 3PL one night LOC
   PRO.LOC.ANA

‘Those who are going to Miti’aro, they will sleep there for one night.’ (Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, Government of the Cook Islands, 2014b)

b. Mei reira i tae atu ra ki Tuatea, kake atu ra ki Tukinuku, ‘ārāvei SOURCE PRO.LOC.ANA TAM reach DIR2 POS3 GOAL Tuatea climb DIR3 POS3 GOAL Tukinuku meet ake ra rāua ki reira i a Tutapu.
   DIR3 POS3 3D LOC PRO.LOC.ANA ACC PERS Tutapu

‘From there (he) went to Tuatea and climbed up to Tukinku and there they met Tutapu.’ (Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1892:69)

The phrase ‘ei reira in example 95a relates to location in time rather than location in space and from this, the sense of ‘therefore’ seen in 95b is a fairly natural extension of the literal sense of: nō, ‘belong to’ + reira ‘that aforementioned’.

(95) a. ‘Ei reira koe ka ‘aere mai e, ma te ‘anga i te ‘akamou o
   LOC.FUT PRO.LOC.ANA 2SG TAM go DIR1 ACA DET create ACC DET hold give
   kura ki ngā atua.
   sacred-symbol GOAL DET.PAUCAL god

‘Then you will come with the creation of holding the sacred symbols of the gods.’ (Tara’are, 2000:17)

b. Nō reira, e tau rava kia ‘akama’a’ara ‘aka’ouw=ia tēia au ingoa.
   of PRO.LOC.ANA TAM proper EMPH OPT think again=PASS this PL name

‘Therefore it is correct to think about these names again.’ (Simiona, 1979:11)

Reira can also take a determiner (indicating that it is not strictly a locative base) and stand as a generic anaphoric pronoun, as in 96, reminiscent of the demonstrative pronouns in section 3.7.1.

(96) Kua rave mai a Maru’aka’ita i te kumete poi, kua tāki ki runga, ē kua inu rapurapu TAM take DIR1 PERS Maru’aka’ita ACC DET bowl poi TAM raise LOC up CONJ TAM drink hurry atu ra i te reira.
   DIR2 POS3 ACC DET PRO

‘Maru’aka’ita took the bowl of poi, lifted it up and drank it greedily.’
3.7.6 Nominal interrogative pro-forms

There are three interrogative pro-forms with nominal uses (cf. section 3.8.6 for the verbal pro-forms). These are shown in table 3.15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ꞌai</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>personal interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aꞌa</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>common noun interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꞌea</td>
<td>where, when</td>
<td>locative interrogative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.15: Nominal interrogative pro-forms

The nominal interrogatives are exemplified in example 97: ꞌai (who), in 97a, aꞌa (what), in 97b, ꞌea (where), in 97c, and all three in 97d.

   SPEC who DEM3 SPEC Inara yes
b. Mei te aꞌa te tū o te oraꞌanga o te ‘iiti-tangata o Moturiki i te au tauatini mataꞌiti tei topo ki muri.
   SOURCE DET what DET way of DET life of DET people of Moturiki LOC DET PL thousand year DET.REL fall LOC before
   ‘What were the lives of the people of Moturiki like thousands of years in the past?’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:2)
c. Tei ꞌea a Teata?
   LOC.PRES where PERS Teata
   ‘Where is Teata?’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:35:35-00:35:36) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK
d. Kia ꞌakakite au ki a koe ē ko ꞌai au nō ꞌea mai au ‘e aꞌa tāku
   OPT explain 1SG GOAL PERS 2SG CONJ SPEC who 1SG from where DIR1 1SG CLS what DET.REL i rave i roto i te oraꞌanga nei.
   TAM do LOC inside LOC DET life POS1
   ‘...for me to tell you about who I am, where I’m from and what I’ve done in my life.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:31:54-00:32:02) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

Example 98 shows the time location sense of ꞌea.

---

18The interrogative aꞌa can also occur in a VP.
(98) Ka ‘āite ā-ępā tātou mei a rātou i taiapā=e a e Ngāuta!
INCHD alike LOC.FUT-when 1PLINC SOURCE PERS 3PL TAM kill=PASS AGNT Ngāuta

‘It will be the same, when will we, just like them, be killed by Ngāuta!’ (Simiona, 1979:36)

There is also an interrogative determiner tēꞌea that is glossed as ‘which’ (cf. section 4.6.3.21).

Table 3.16 shows the distribution of the interrogative pronouns across the various NP types organised by the type of particle that introduces the phrase.

Table 3.16: Distribution of nominal interrogative pro-forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase type Pronoun</th>
<th>Ko PRED</th>
<th>‘E PRED</th>
<th>Nā/Nō PRED</th>
<th>Ø SUB</th>
<th>iki PP</th>
<th>LOC PP</th>
<th>a/o PP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ai</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’a</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.8 Verbs

In the manner in which the category of nouns was asserted in section 3.6, bases are verbs if they occur as the head20 of a phrase that is introduced by one of the closed set of particles that index tense/aspect/mood (henceforth TAM); that is, by a verbal particle (cf. section 4.4). There is a major grammatical subdivision within the category of verb between the ones that take an agent or instigator subject and may be passivised and those that take a patient/theme subject and may not be passivised. There is a further division in the first category between transitive and intransitive verbs. The three clearly grammatically distinct categories of verb are transitives, action intransitives and stative. The following sections will discuss these types of verbs with respect to the case marking they specify, their ability to be passivised or occur in the actor emphatic construction, their behaviour in possessive nominalisations and the type of imperative construction they occur in.

3.8.1 Transitives

Transitive verbs have the following distinctive features:

1. A zero marked subject that is a semantic agent.

2. The argument structure includes a phrase marked by the preposition i that is semantically a patient (tentatively designated as the direct object and considered to be in the accusative case).

3. They may be passivised via either the passive suffix or the passive clitic (cf. section 3.9.1).

19 As with the personal pronouns, when the personal interrogative ‘ai follows either i or ki the personal article is required.
20 I am considering the initial base to be the head for the purposes of this discussion.
4. They can freely occur in the actor emphatic construction (cf. chapter 7).

5. When nominalised, a patient possessor is OCAT marked and an agent possessor is ACAT marked (cf. section 11.2).

6. The active imperative is marked by e-Ø.

Table 3.17 lists some prototypical transitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pāpā</td>
<td>beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauturu</td>
<td>help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rave</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ākara</td>
<td>look at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūtaki</td>
<td>pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tātā</td>
<td>write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ārāvei</td>
<td>meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatau</td>
<td>read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tautai</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōpara</td>
<td>push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'āmiri</td>
<td>touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'āpī'i</td>
<td>teach/learn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sentences in example 99 demonstrate the simple active transitive construction with the agent in the zero-marked subject phrase and the patient in the i-marked accusative phrase.

(99) a. E kai ana Ø koe i ēnā ngā ika, ma tēnā meika?
TAM eat HABIT Ø 2SG ACC DEM.PL2 PAUCAL fish COM DEM2 banana
PREDICATE . . SUBJECT . OBJECT . . ADJUNCT PP

'Would you eat those fish with that banana?' (Tara'are, 2000:4)

b. Ka ōpara Ø a Boehner, te Va'a-'akatere'au o te tua pāto'i Republican, i tēta'i
TAM push Ø PERS Boehner DET speaker o DET side debate republican ACC DET.I.S
kotinga tero nō te aronga ona mirioni kia 'akamata ki runga i te $1 mirioni.
boundary tax for DET group own million OPT start LOC above LOC DET $1 million

'Republican speaker John Boehner has proposed raising tax rates on income of $1 million or more.' (Tongaia, 2013)
3.8.1.1 Passivisation of transitive verbs

The examples in 100 show transitive verbs in passive sentences where the verb is suffixed, the grammatical subject is the patient, and the agent is optionally expressed by an oblique NP marked by the preposition e, as seen in 273a. Transitive verbs can freely be passivised and they each have an associated passive suffix (cf. section 6.4).

(100) a. Kua tanu-mia tēta’i rua meika mario rānuinui
    TAM plant-CIA DET.I.S two banana mario very-big
    ‘Two very large mario bananas were planted.’ (Simiona, 1979:46)

b. Kua tokotoko-a te vaka e rātou ki te motu.
    TAM propel with pole-CIA DET boat AGNT 3PL GOAL DET islet
    ‘They poled the canoes to the islet.’ (Buse et al., 1995:506: tokotoko)

3.8.1.2 Occurrence in the actoremphatic construction

Transitives are the only type of verb that freely occur in the actor emphatic construction (cf. chapter 7 for a full discussion of this sentence type).

(101) a. Nā ‘ai i kai i te nītā?
    AE who PST eat ACC DET pawpaw
    ‘Who ate the pawpaws?’ (Heather et al., nda)

b. Nā Ngangati e tā i a Tonga’iti
    AE Ngangati TAM kill ACC PERS Tonga’iti
    ‘Ngangati will kill Tonga’iti.’ (Reilly, 1993:82)

3.8.1.3 Behaviour in possessive nominalisations

The different verb types show different patterns with respect to the way that possessive phrases are marked in nominalisations such as 102, where the subject of the sentence consists of a nominalised verb and a possessor phrase.

(102) Nui, te 'anga'anga, a te pū'āpi'i ma'ata.
    PRED SUB.POSSESUM . SUB.POSSESSOR numerous DET work of ACAT DET teacher big
    ‘The duties of the principal are numerous.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:51:06-00:51:09)
    https://goo.gl/LMGPKX
The pattern for transitive verbs is reminiscent of the interesting pattern that NZM has when it comes to nominalisations that involve possessive constructions. In NZM, there is a regular pattern where, in nominalisations where the possessor is the subject of an active transitive verb, that is, the agent, the possessive phrase is ACAT marked. However in nominalisations where the possessor is the patient (the entity that would have been the object of the notional active sentence) the possessive phrase is OCAT (Harlow, 2007:108). By contrast, intransitive verbs are OCAT marked, despite the fact that they too often have agent subjects.

CIM also exhibits this possessive nominalisation pattern. Example 103 has an ACAT marked agent possessor, while example 104 has an OCAT marked patient possessor.

(103) Mānea te ripoti nō Obama i tēia ngā rā i tāna ‘akatere’anga.
    fine DET report about Obama LOC these PAUCAL day LOC DET.PASS.ACAT-3SG operate-NR

    ‘The news from the last few days about Obama’s administration was positive.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

(104) E ‘akapē’ea ana te ‘aka’aere’anga o te tārērē ‘āpi’i o te ‘openga mata’iti?
    TAM how HABIT DET operate-NR of OCAT DET exam school of DET end year

    ‘How do the end of year exams work?’ Lit the running of the exams (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2014:2)

The examples in 106 demonstrate how this mechanism prevents the ambiguity that English suffers from in constructions like that of 105 where it is ambiguous as to whether the monster did the killing or got killed. Example 106a has a patient possessor that is OCAT marked and example 106b has an agent possessor that is ACAT marked.

(105) The killing of the monster.

(106) a. Ko te tua ta’ito nō te tā-ia-‘anga o Kae.
    SPEC DET story ancient about DET kill-CIA-NR of OCAT Kae

    ‘The ancient story of the killing of Kae.’ (Kae was killed) Tangata Va’ienrene, June 9 2015

b. Kua viviki te tā puaka a te au tamāroa.
    TAM fast DET kill pig of OCAT TAM PL boy

    ‘The boys’ killing of the pigs was fast.’ (The boys killed the pigs) Tangata Va’ienrene, June 9 2015

Unfortunately the situation is not that simple for CIM where many nominalisations of transitive verbs show OCAT possession even when the possessor is an agent, as in the sentences in 107. Unexpected ACAT marked nominalisations, by contrast, do not occur.

21 cf. chapter 11 for further discussion of the ACAT/OCAT distinction.
(107) a. Tē vai atu ra te ma'ata'-anga o te tuatua nō tō-rāua tipū'anga i te rākau.

'Their story of the big tree still exists.' (Simiona, 1979:26)

b. Kua ā te 'auri ki runga i te papa i tōna pātia'anga i te vete.

'The harpoon struck the flat bed (of the lagoon) when he speared the goatfish.' (Buse et al., 1995:313: papa2)

c. 'E mānea tikāi tōna kā'iro'iro'-anga i te kārā o te taura.

'It's very beautiful the way she has blended the different colours of the threads.' (Buse et al., 1995:141: kā'iro'iro)

When native speakers are asked to produce sentences where they are explicitly paying attention to this distinction they consistently mark the possessive phrase following the NZM pattern, as in example 106 above. However there are enough examples in the Vairanga Tuatua corpus that don't follow the pattern to suggest that this is not obligatory. My tentative explanation for this phenomenon would be that in constructions where the ACAT marking would be expected, but the context is sufficiently disambiguating, or the significance of the agent is low in the discourse, then the less marked OCAT variation is available. These conclusions are very speculative and this topic would be an interesting matter for further investigation.

3.8.1.4 Behaviour with imperatives

Active transitive imperatives are marked by the particle e~Ø, as in 108. The particle e is optional when the verb phrase is greater than two morae in length, as in 108b, (cf. section 2.7.1.1).

(108) a. E pāpā, e tāpeka koe i taku mōari ki runga i tēnā 'ātava.

'Dad, tie my swing up to that branch.' (Buse et al., 1995:252: mōari)

b. Ø 'Aere atu ki va'o, 'inē.

'Please go outside.' (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:15)
3.8. VERBS

3.8.2 Action intransitive

Semantically this class of verbs primarily includes verbs of motion, as the designation ‘action intransitive’ (named following Bauer (1997)) suggests, as well as bodily function verbs, activities, and some mental states.

The formal features of the action intransitive category of verbs are:

1. A zero marked subject that is a semantic agent (for unergative verbs) or a theme (for unaccusative verbs).
2. Cannot take a patient phrase introduced by i.e. semantically they refer to intransitive actions.
3. Can be passivised, usually producing a construction that is higher on the discourse transitivity scale (Hopper and Thompson, 1980), often with a shift in meaning in the verb itself towards a different, more transitive sense.
4. They cannot occur in the actor emphatic construction.
5. When nominalised the possessor is OCAT marked.
6. The imperative is marked by e~Ø.

Table 3.18 lists some typical action intransitive verbs with unergative verbs above the line and unaccusative verbs below the line.

Table 3.18: Some action intransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘aere</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘oro</td>
<td>run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>swim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rere</td>
<td>fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no’o</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘uri</td>
<td>turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manako</td>
<td>think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘inga</td>
<td>fall over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topa</td>
<td>drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mare</td>
<td>cough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimi</td>
<td>urinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruaki</td>
<td>vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matangi</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sentences in example 109 show typical action intransitive sentences.
(109) a. Ko tētaꞌi pae ra i a rātou, i 'aere 'akaꞌou atu ki te 'itinga.  
   SPEC one part POS3 LOC PERS 3PL TAM go again DIR2 GOAL DET east
   'One lot of them went back east again.' (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:1)

b. Ko te tamariki tei tū=ꞌia e tēia maki, pēnei ka ruaki rātou ē ka  
   SPEC DET children DET.REL affect=PASS AGNT illness perhaps TAM vomit 3PL CONJ TAM  
   ngatā i-te 'akaea mē mare rātou. (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2013a:2)
   difficult COMP breath CONJ cough 3PL
   'Affected children may vomit and find it difficult to breathe when they cough.' (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2013c:2)

c. Inārā, ko te nuti mataora, ka topa te ua ā tēia ngā rā ki mua.  
   CONTR SPEC DET news happy TAM fall DET rain LOC.FUT this PAUCAL day LOC front
   'But the good news is, rain will fall in the next few days.' (Tongaia, 2013)

3.8.2.1 Passivisation of ‘action intransitive’ verbs

Action intransitive verbs can occur in passive sentences and take a passive suffix. When the passive suffix is present, a patient participant is invoked, thus producing an event that is more transitive (two participants, an effected entity, more punctual etc). Example 110a shows an action intransitive (bodily function verb) in its unmarked form while 110b shows the same verb with the passive suffix. Example 110b has a patient that is affected by the verb whereas 110a has an intransitive event with a locative adjunct.

(110) a. E mimi 'ua ana paꞌa te tamariki tamāroa ki roto i tō-rātou ngāi  
   TAM urinate MERELY HABIT maybe DET children boy LOC inside LOC their place  
   'āpiꞌiŋa! 
   learn-NR
   'Maybe the boys just urinate inside their classroom.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:02:41-00:02:47) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

b. Kua mimi-a e te pēpe te roꞌi.  
   TAM urinate-CIA AGNT DET baby DET bed
   'The baby has wet the bed.' (Buse et al., 1995:249: mimi)

Another example of this transitive semantic shift can be seen with the action intransitive verb noꞌo which in its intransitive sense means to sit or to stay, as in 111a but when it is passivised it has the more transitive sense of ‘to settle or colonise a place’, as in 111b.
3.8. VERBS

(111) a. Te tōrea 'e manu tērā e no'o ana ki te ngā'i vai.

'Vetorea (Pluvialis fulva) is a bird that lives in the water areas.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:13:52-00:13:55) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

b. Mei reira, kua no'om'ia te au tu'anga i va'o mai Porinetia.

'Like that the places outside of Polynesia were settled.' (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:8)

3.8.2.2 Actor emphatic

Action intransitive verbs do not occur in the actor emphatic construction which has a preference for dynamic transitive verbs.

3.8.2.3 Behaviour in possessive nominalisations

When action intransitives occur in possessive nominalised constructions they are OCAT possessed as the examples in 112.

(112) a. Kua pāꞌere=ꞌia te kōpū o te 'oro'enua e te niuniu i tōna

'The horse’s belly was lacerated by the barbed-wire when it jumped over it.' (Buse et al., 1995:301: pāꞌere)

b. Inārā, kia tae ki tētā'i rā i tōna no'o-ꞌanga ki runga i te

'However upon one day during her stay on the island she asked her husband, Vaeruarangi if she and her sister-in-law could go to visit the lands that had been settled by her ancestors’ (Purea, 2013:29)
Since the possessor in these constructions is the agent, this suggests that the choice between ACAT and OCAT is not semantically motivated for intransitive verbs. The nominalisation pattern for these two verb types shows an ergative pattern with A being ACAT marked while P and S are OCAT marked.\textsuperscript{22}

### 3.8.2.4 Action intransitive verbs in imperatives

Active action intransitive verbs take the phonologically conditioned e-Ø verbal particle in imperatives (see section 2.7.1.1), as in 113a (e) and 113b (Ø).

(113) a. \textit{E} no‘o e \textit{Mere!}

\begin{verbatim}
IMP sīt VOC Mere
\end{verbatim}

‘Mere sit down!’

b. \textit{Ø} ‘Aere atu, kāre au e ‘inangaro i-te tangata uiui tuatua ki āku, e manamanatā au.

\begin{verbatim}
IMP go DIR2 NEG 1SG TAM want COMP person ask talk to 1SG TAM trouble 1SG
\end{verbatim}

‘Go away, I don’t want people asking me questions now, I’m busy’ (Buse et al., 1995:539: uiui)

### 3.8.3 Suffix-able verbs

The transitives and the action intransitives together make up the category of verbs that can take the passive suffix. In the Biggsian nomenclature, all suffix-able words are ‘universals’ but I will refer to the category that includes transitive and action intransitive verbs as ‘suffix-able verbs’. As in most languages, many verbs can have both transitive and intransitive senses. Example 114 demonstrates this with the verb \textit{kai} (to eat).

(114) a. \textit{Kua kai rāua ē kia pau, kua ‘inangaro a Paenui i-te ‘aere.}

\begin{verbatim}
TAM eat 3D CONJ TAM finished TAM want PERS Paenui COMP go
\end{verbatim}

‘They ate and when they were done Paenui wanted to go.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006a)

b. \textit{Kua kai rātou i te ika ē kia kī te kōpū kua vare-a rātou e te moe.}

\begin{verbatim}
TAM eat 3PL ACC DET fish CONJ TAM full DET belly TAM overcome-CIA 3PL AGRT DET sleep
\end{verbatim}

‘They ate the fish and when they were full they were overcome with sleep.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006k)

### 3.8.4 Stative (neuter) verbs

The third major distinctive sub category of verbs is the stative verbs\textsuperscript{23} which have the following features:

\textsuperscript{22}In the discussion of ergative patterns it is customary to avoid terms like subject and object. So the NP that is the single participant of an ‘intransitive’ construction is referred to as S while in two participant constructions, the participant that is usually the agent is A and the participant that is usually the patient is P (or O). These symbols do not however stand for subject, agent, patient, or object (Dixon, 1979; Comrie, 1978).

\textsuperscript{23}Despite some quite reasonable objections to the use of this term I will continue with the popular (particularly amongst Māori linguists) trend of calling this class of verbs and the type of sentences they produce stative rather than neuter which is the other preferred term. The term ‘stative’
1. A zero marked subject that is the semantic theme or patient.

2. An optional phrase introduced by i that indicates the agent or cause of the state.

3. Cannot be passivised.

4. Semantically are often stative or ‘inherently passive’.

5. They are nominalised with an OCAT marked possessor.

6. Can take an imperative/optative with kia.

Table 3.19 lists some typical stative verbs, the verbs below the line will be discussed in section 3.8.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mate</td>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ora</td>
<td>alive, well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāpakau</td>
<td>shallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ō'ono</td>
<td>deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roa</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poto</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kave</td>
<td>sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vene</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ati</td>
<td>broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaro</td>
<td>lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaropina</td>
<td>forgotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meitaki</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kino</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mou</td>
<td>held</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riro</td>
<td>taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pou</td>
<td>gone, exhausted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oti</td>
<td>finished</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 115a is a typical stative sentence (see section 6.5) without an agent phrase, while 115b shows the same verb in a sentence with an agent phrase.

(115) a. Kua **mate aia**.

TAM dead 3SG

‘He is dead.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:-33:55-00:33:56) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

is semantically misleading as not all verbs in the category express ‘states’ nor are ‘states’ always expressed by this subcategory of (neuter) verbs. However I think this term has come to idiosyncratically mean ‘this particular class of verbs and sentences’ in the discussion of Polynesian languages so I will continue that practice here.
b. Inārā, kia mate a Koitai ē Maitu rāua ko Teariki Teau kua mataora
  CINTR TAM dead PERS Koitai CONJ Maitu SAGNT PERS Tauri CONJ SPEC Teariki Teau TAM happy
  a Mana
  PERS Mana

‘However when Koitai and Maitu were killed by Tauri and Teariki Teau, Mana was happy.’ (Purea, 2013:55)

As many statives are attributive in nature they often function as modifiers. Example 116a shows the statico *kino* modifying a verb and example 116b shows the statico *meitaki* modifying a noun.

(116) a. Kua rave *kino* aia i tā-mātou kai.
  TAM do bad 3SG ACC our food

‘S/he prepared our meal badly.’ (Buse et al., 1995:177: *kino*)

b. Nā tēia tūꞌanga e ‘oronga ana ki te au tangata Nutireni kātoatoa i-te aē this organisation TAM provide HABIT GOAL DET PL person New-Zealand all COMP tauturu i te pae o te ngutuꞌare meitaki ē te tūranga ngōꞌie ‘ua i-te help ACC DET group of the home good CONJ DET location easy MERELY COMP tūtaki i taua au ngutuꞌare. (Luꞌi Ola, 2012b:59)
  pay ACC that PL home

‘This organisation (Housing New Zealand) provides New Zealanders with access to good quality, affordable homes.’ (Luꞌi Ola, 2012a:59)

However, there is possibly a further subcategorisation within the statico class with respect to a very small subset of verbs that cannot act as modifiers. These are the verbs below the line in table 3.19. Semantically these verbs are the most dynamic and least statico. These dynamic statives do not appear to show any other differences with the standard statives although this would be an interesting topic for further investigation.

3.8.4.1 Passive

Statives by definition cannot be passivised. That is, they do not have a passive suffix and cannot occur in a passive sentence. This is an important designatory feature for this class of verbs. The passive clitic can cliticise to a verb phrase headed by a statico verb but its effect in these phrases is emphatic rather than inflectional (see section 3.9.1).

3.8.4.2 Actor emphatic

Statives cannot occur in the actor emphatic construction.

3.8.4.3 Nominalisation

Statives always have an OCAT marked possessor in possessive nominalisations.
3.8.4.4 Imperative

Statives cannot occur in imperatives proper for semantic reasons but they can occur in an imperative-like construction with the optative verbal particle *kia*, as in the examples in 117. This type of construction is not to be confused with optative complement clauses in which any type of verb can occur. For the purpose of comparison I will say that statives occur in imperatives with *kia*.

(117) a. *Kia manuia koe*
   OPT fortunate 2SG
   ‘May you be fortunate.’

b. *Kia māro’iro’i koe i-te rave i tā’au ‘anga’anga.*
   OPT vigorous 2SG COMP do ACC your work
   ‘Do your work with vigour.’ (Buse et al., 1995:231: māro’iro’i)

3.8.5 Two further categories

There are two further categories of verb that can be semantically distinguished from the prototypical transitive verbs but are not unequivocally formally distinguished.

3.8.5.1 Experiencer verbs

There is a subcategory of verb that is grammatically significant in non-East Polynesian languages and also in NZM (which is an East Polynesian language) called ‘experiencer verbs’ by Bauer in relation to NZM, and variously ‘type-II’ or ‘middle’ verbs in relation to Samoan or Tongan (Bauer et al., 1997; Chung, 1978; Clark, 1976).

Semantically, experiencer verbs are those that take an experiencer rather than an agent as their subject. Some verbs that take experiencer subjects (at least in the senses in 3.20) are shown in table 3.20.

Table 3.20: Verbs that take experiencer subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mārama</td>
<td>understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kite</td>
<td>see, know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rongo</td>
<td>hear, feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anoano</td>
<td>desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘inangaro</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Typically, in NON-EP languages, this category of verbs take a nominative-accusative case marking system (whereas the prototypical transitives take an ergative-absolutive system). In NZM, an East Polynesian language that does not

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24Erinn on the conservative side of this issue here as there is some suggestion that the NZM passive construction functions more like the non-EP ergative construction than a prototypical passive but this issue is controversial (Chung, 1978; Clark, 1976; Milner, 1962; 1976; Nicholas, 2010).
have an ergative sentence type, these ‘experiencer verbs’ have several formal features that distinguish them from what Bauer (1997) calls the ‘canonical transitives’. They mark the theme participant with the particle ki rather than the accusative marker i, they cannot occur in the actor emphatic construction, they take OCAT possessors in nominalisations and they utilise a different relativisation strategy for relativising on the ki phrase.

Based on the behaviour of verbs that take an experiencer subject, this category of verb seems only marginally distinctive in CIM. The theme NP is marked in the same way as the patient NP in the standard active transitive sentence with the accusative marker i, as in 118a. As in NZM, they cannot occur in the actor emphatic construction but this seems semantically logical (cf. section 7). They do not show the same idiosyncratic behaviour when relativising on the theme NP as they do in NZM (see section 10.7 for further discussion of relative clauses). They do take OCAT nominalisation, as in 118b which contrasts with the ACAT nominalisation of agent-subject transitives. This may be semantically motivated by the non-agentive nature of the subjects of these verbs, or it may just be that this is the unmarked variant for possessive nominalisations.

(118) a. I a Piki e no' o nei i reira kua rongo atu aia i tētā'i pārārā.
   LOC PERS Piki TAM sit POS1 LOC there TAM hear DIR1 3SG ACC DET.I.S loud-sound
   ‘While Piki was sitting there he heard a certain loud sound.’ (Rere, 1967:23)

b. Kua riri ma'ata a Kiu i tōna rongo'anga ē tē ora rāi ra a
   TAM angry large PERS Kiu LOC DET.PSS.OCAT.3SG hear-NR SUBR TAM alive EMPH POS3 PERS
   Varokura.
   Varokura
   ‘Kiu was furious when he heard that Varokura was still alive.’ (Simiona, 1979:65)

Verbs that take an experiencer subject can, very marginally, form similar types of imperatives/optative with kia to those formed by statives, but only for some verbs and only for some speakers, and only when there is a question or result/reason clause present or implied. So these are really more like optative complements than the stative imperatives in 117, which can freely stand alone.

While CIM has experiencer verbs they do not form a distinct grammatical category.

3.8.5.2 Di-transitive verbs

There is not a grammatical category of di-transitive verbs per se in the sense of verbs that obligatorily take three arguments. In CIM, verbs that are typically di-transitive in languages which have such a category (‘give’, ‘sell’, ‘bring’, ‘tell’ etc) put the ‘recipient’ participant (the one that would be the indirect object in the English sentence: ‘She gave the book to the queen’) in a locative phrase introduced by the locative preposition that marks a goal (ki). This is aligned with the “indirect-object construction” typology in the general sense in that the theme is marked like a standard “mono transitive patient” (with i) while the recipient/ addressee is marked differently (with ki). This is the typical typology for dependent indexing languages of which CIM is an example. However the notional indirect object phrase in these three participant constructions does not show any difference in its behaviour to any other locative phrase with ki.
Example 119 demonstrates a typical three participant verbal construction with the ‘semantically di-transitive’ verbs *ōake* (to give) and *tuku* (to put).

(119) a. Kua *ō-ake* a Mana i te vaka ki a Tangapatoro ma te ‘akakite ki a Mana Mana i ACC DET boat GOAL/IO PERS Tangapatoro COM DET explain GOAL PERS
   Tauri opt follow GOAL ‘Enuamanu.
   Tauri opt DET ‘Enuamanu

‘Mana gave the boat to Tangapatoro and explained to Tauri that he should follow him to ‘Enuamanu’ (Tanga et al., 1984:31)

b. Ko te vaerua o tēia pati-‘anga kia riro rāi ē nā te Tū‘anga o te Ture e tā‘anga‘anga i tēia moni to, kia kore te Tū‘anga o te Moni e law TAM make DET DET money remaining opt DET DET department of DET money TAM
   tuku atu i tēia moni ki tēta‘i Minitiri kē atu o te Kavamani.
   give DIR2 ACC this money GOAL DET.I.S ministry CNTR DIR2 of the government

‘The essence of this request is to enable the Justice Department to utilise these left-over funds, so the Treasury Department doesn’t give these funds to another Ministry of Government.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2009a)

### 3.8.6 Verbal pro forms

There are a small number of pro forms that are used verbally, namely the set of manner pro forms and the verbal interrogatives *a‘a* and *pē‘ea*.

#### 3.8.6.1 Manner pro forms

There are three ‘manner’ pro forms that exhibit person deixis like the demonstrative and locative pronouns. They all contain the bound morpheme *pē-* (‘resembling’), and either a positional particle, as with *pēnā* and *pērā*, or in the case of *pēia*, the generic third person pronoun *ia*. These pro forms pattern like statives.

(120) a. Auraka e *pēnā* mē ‘a‘aki.
   NEG.IMP TAM alike-POS2 COND pick
   ‘Don’t pick them like that.’ (Buse et al., 1995:336: *pēnā*)

---

25 *Pēnei* which might be the expected form of the first person version exists and is a pro-sentence or sentence adverbial and is glossed as ‘maybe’. 
b. *Kua kī ia kāinga i te kai.* *Kua pērā 'aere 'ua ra aia, e kī 'ua* 
\[\text{TAM full DET home SAGNT DET food TAM alike-POS3 go MERELY POS3 3SG TAM full MERELY }\]
\[\text{ake taua 'enua i te u'i-'ara-kākano. (Tara'are, 2000:11)}\]
\[\text{DIR3 that land SAGNT DET u'i-'ara-kākano}\]

'That home was full of food. And so (like that) he went on until the land was filled by the *u'i-'ara-kākano.*' 
(Tara'are, 2000:125)

### 3.8.6.2 Verbal interrogative pro forms

Table 3.21 lists the interrogative pro-forms that are used verbally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'a</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>verbal interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pē'ea</td>
<td>how</td>
<td>manner interrogative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although *a'a* is more commonly found in noun phrases, it can also occur in verb phrases, most commonly in action intransitive sentences, as in the examples in 121.

(121) a.  *Tē a'a nei au? Tē pu'a kākā'u.*
\[\text{TAM what POS1 1SG TAM soap clothing}\]

'What am I doing? Washing clothes.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012f:00:00:41-00:00:47)
https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

b. *Tei te a'a a Mata ē tōna mama?*
\[\text{PRDG.PRS DET what PERS Mata CONJ her mother}\]

'What are Mata and her mother doing?' (Rere, 1967:26)

*Pē'ea* contains two morphemes: the prefix *pē-* (‘resembling’) and the locative interrogative *'ea* and is glossed as ‘how’. *Pē'ea* patterns like a stative. Examples are given in 122.

(122) a.  *Kua pē'ea tā'au tautai? Kāre atu, kāre mai.*
\[\text{TAM how your fishing NEG DIR2 NEG DIR1}\]

'How did the fishing go? Nothing at all.' (Buse et al., 1995:157: kāre)
b. *E kimī ana rātou ē tē *pē'ea nei te ora'anga o te tangata i tēia tuātau, TAM seek HABIT 3PL SUBR PROG how POS1 DET life-NR of the people LOC this time
 pērā katoa i tō te tuātau mua.
 alike also LOC DET.POSS DET time front

‘They study how the lives of people of this time are, as well as that of the past.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:5)

There is a variant version, ‘*akapē'ea* which includes the causative prefix and provides a slightly stronger sense of causitivity, as in 123.

(123) a. *E *'aka-pē'ea mātou i ēi i roto i tēia 'are?* TAM CAUS-how IPLEX TAM fit ANA LOC inside LOC this house

‘How did we (all) fit inside this house?’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:54:20-00:54:22) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

b. *Ka *'akapē'ea au e rauka mai ei i āku tētai au tuatua 'akakitekite 'aka'ou* TAM CAUS-how 1SG TAM obtain DIR1 ANA SAGNT 1SG DET.I.S PL speech explain again mai?

‘How am I able to get some more information.’ (Electoral Enrolment Centre, 2012:2)

### 3.8.7 Summary of verbal types

Table 3.22 indicates the features of each notional verb category with respect to: how many obligatory participants they specify, the semantic status of the subject, the compatibility with the passive construction, the compatibility with the actor emphatic construction, the possessive category in nominalisation (a/o) and the type of imperative (IMP) they are associated with.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Oblig Participants</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Passive</th>
<th>AE</th>
<th>NOM a/o</th>
<th>IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>A/O</td>
<td>e/Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?Experience</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Experiencer</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>?kia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action Intransitive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Agent/Theme</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>e/Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Theme/Patient</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>kia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.9 Inflection

As in all Polynesian languages, there is very little in the way of inflection in CIM. This section will give a conservative survey of the various morphological processes available in CIM for passivisation and number marking.

3.9.1 Passivisation

Transitive and action intransitive verbs can be ‘passivised’ via a lexically conditioned suffix of the form (C(i))a, glossed in this document as CIA. This suffix is required when the verb occurs in a passive sentence. In such a sentence the semantic patient is the (zero marked) grammatical subject, as in 124a. When an agent is expressed it is overtly marked with the preposition e, as in 124b.

(124) a. I tanu-mia aia i konei?
   TAM bury-CIA 3SG LOC here
   ‘Was he buried here?’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:15:28-00:15:31) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

b. Tāpapa i’o ra rāua i taua mimiti o te tuna i tanu-mia e raua, tāpapa ‘ua
   wait DIR4 POS3 3D DET that head of the eel TAM bury-CIA AGNT 3D wait MERELY
   rāi rāua i tei tuatua=‘ia e te tuna.
   EMPH 3D ACC DET.REL speak=PASS AGNT DET eel
   ‘They waited for that head of the eel that they had buried, they waited for the instructions the eel had given to be fulfilled.’ (Gill, 1912:125)

The exact form of the passive suffix is not synchronically predictable but diachronically the initial consonant is related to early (Proto Eastern Oceanic and earlier) forms of the words that once had final consonants which are now lost (Clark, 1976; Pawley et al., 2001). The initial consonant of the modern CIM passive suffix for any particular verb often reflects that historical consonant, although many verbs have more than one suffix.

3.9.1.1 Passive clitic

Like Tahitian and Hawaiian but unlike NZM, CIM has generalised one particular form of the CIA suffix and this one, =‘ia (glossed in this document as PASS) can productively passivise nearly any verb. The clitic =‘ia operates at the phrase level, hence its designation as a clitic. Nearly any verb can take the passive clitic and the passive clitic can attach to any, or all, of the verb itself and/or any modifying base or manner particle. In example 125a, the clitic appears on the manner particle while the verb itself is not marked. In examples 125b and 125c, the verb is marked with the passive suffix and the manner particle is marked with the clitic. This double marking is sometimes referred to as passive concord, but it is not obligatory. The passive clitic may also co-occur with the passive suffix (125d).
3.9. INFLECTION

(125) a. Mē kāre 'e mākarōna i 'akairo='ia ki runga ake i te vōvera, ka 'akapoto
Cond Neg exist macron TAM sign=PASS loc above DIR3 loc DET vowel TAM shorten
'ua='ia te 'akatangi'anga i te-reira vōvera.
MERELY=PASS DET pronunciation loc that vowel

'If there no macron marked above the vowel the pronunciation of that vowel is just shorted.' (Simiona, 1979:71)

b. Kāre e teitei roa ana, ka tae-a 'ua='ia e au i-te 'ītae.
NEG TAM tall long PFV TAM reach-CIA MERELY=PASS AGT 1SG COMP try-to-attain

'It's not so very high, I'll be able to reach it quite easily.' (Buse et al., 1995:482: teitei)

c. Kāre e kite-a meitaki='ia te mataara nō te pakari i te ko'u.
NEG TAM see-CIA well=PASS DET road because DET dense loc DET mist

'The mist was so dense that the path couldn't be seen very well.' (Buse et al., 1995:305: pakari)

d. Kua 'apai-na='ia mai te tamaiti nā runga i te tangotango ki mua i te aroaro
TAM take-CIA=PASS DIR1 DET child by above loc DET platform loc front loc DET face
of Tenu.

of Tenu

'The child was taken by way of the platform before Tenu's presence.' (Tanga et al., 1984:22)

3.9.2 Number marking

Most number marking in CIM is done periphrastically by means of number classifiers which are discussed in section 4.6.4. However there are three inflectional means of number marking, none of which is fully productive. In noun phrases, these are the plural nouns formed by stem modification and the plural forms of determiners. In verb phrases number (of the subject) is sometimes marked by reduplication which is covered in section 3.12.

3.9.2.1 Stem modification

There are a small number of kinship nouns that undergo stem modification to indicate plurality. The modification is the lengthening of the anti-penultimate vowel in the word. These are listed in table 3.23. It is likely that this once applied to more kinship terms as it does in NZM, (Harlow, 2007:115), but this form of plural marking is becoming obsolete and even these terms no longer obligatorily require the marked plural form.

There is one additional inherently plural noun that does not involve stem modification but rather suppletion and that is tamariki (children) which contrasts with the singular tamaiti (child). Both of these terms are compounds of tama (child) modified by a synonym for ‘small’.
3.9.2.2 T-deletion

Most of the t-class determiners (cf. section 4.6.3.10) may mark plural by deleting the initial t- of the determiner, as in 126, where both the plural form and the unmarked form of the demonstrative determiner can be seen. As in this example, most instances of t-deleted plural determiners occur with numeral predicates (including kāre where it means zero, as in 127). Some speakers reject the t-deleted forms in other contexts such as the sentence in 128a, which they correct to 128b. However, t-deleted plural determiners are attested in the Tuatua Vairangi in other contexts, as can be seen in 129.

(126) E rua nga’urū ēia ‘akari i rungā i tēia māviri.
   TAM two ten DEM.PL coconut LOC on LOC DEM1 māviri
   ‘There are twenty coconuts on this bunch.’ (Buse et al., 1995:244: māviri)

(127) Te ‘akatangi kitā noa-atu kāre ā-rātou pa‘u ‘eā kāre rātou e rutu pa‘u ana.
   DET play guitar despite NEG DET.PL.POSS.ACAT-3PL drum TAG NEG 3PL TAM hit drum PFV
   ‘The guitar playing! Even though they don’t have any drums eh they don’t play drums.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:28:20-00:28:24) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

(128) a. ?Ko Mere rāua ko Dave ōku metua.
   SPEC Mere and SPEC Dave DET.PL.POSS.OCAT.1SG parent
   ‘My parents are Mere and Dave.’

  b. Ko Mere rāua ko Dave tōku ngā metua.
   SPEC Mere and SPEC Dave DET.POSS.OCAT.1SG PAUCAL parent
   ‘My parents are Mere and Dave.’
3.10. DERIVATION

(129) a. Kua tōpiri au i ōku mata.
   TAM shut 1SG ACC DET.PL.Poss.OCAT.1SG eye
   ‘I shut my eyes.’ (Buse et al., 1995:510: tōpiri)

b. E ꞌakavatavata mai i ō-kōtou taringa ki āku nei.
   TAM pay attention DIR1 LOC DET.PL.Poss.OCAT-2PL ear LOC 1SG POS1
   ‘Pay attention to me.’ LIT: ‘Your ears should pay attention to me.’ (Buse et al., 1995:51: ꞌakavatavata)

3.9.3 ACAT/OCAT possession

The full details of the two possessive categories represented by ACAT/OCAT are covered in chapter 11 but they are mentioned briefly here to make the suggestion that this process could be considered to be a type of inflection. In this process, a particular semantic variation (ACAT/OCAT possession) is indicated by a systematic phonological change in the form of the possessive determiner or possessive preposition. However this possessive variation is usually analysed as being two separate forms of each possessive determiner or preposition.

3.10 Derivation

There are only two productive derivation processes in CIM, one forming causative verbs and one nominalisations.

There are two causative prefixes, ꞌaka- and tā-, and there is a nominalising suffix -(C)anga, as well as the generalised nominalising clitic, =ꞌanga.

3.10.1 Causative prefixes

There are two highly productive prefixes that produce a grammatically transitive verb when affixed to any noun or intransitive verb, and produce a causative verb when affixed to a transitive verb. Transitive verbs are the least likely to take a causative prefix but they can. Both prefixes can affix to any type of base. The two prefixes are ꞌaka- and tā-. They are both generically glossed elsewhere in this work as CAUSE, as a systematic distinction between the two suffixes is no longer clear. In his early work, Buse glosses ꞌaka- as “causative-simulative” and tā- as “causative-completive” (1965:37), indicating a semantic difference or at least a trend towards a semantic difference. I will address the ‘simulative’ sense separately in section 3.10.1.2.

Savage says of ꞌaka-: “a causitive (sic) prefix: the general sense of the prefix aka is to express the sense, to make to, to cause something to be done; it has not however the same emphatic value of the prefix tā,” (1962:13). So the notional difference between ꞌaka- and tā- would seem to be the degree of volitionality, deliberateness or completed-ness, with tā- resulting in higher degrees of these features than ꞌaka-. However, this semantic constrast is not always clear. Although there are many instances of pairs of ꞌaka-base vs tā-base that have clearly different meanings, as in 130, which also match the expected results based on the

---

26 The Buse dictionary lists 7 fine semantic senses for the effect of the prefix ꞌaka- (1995:12). At this point I will only discuss the causative sense.
Buse/Savage glosses, there are also pairs where the difference seems less distinctive, as in 131, which might match that pattern or pairs that appear to have no obvious difference in meaning, as in 133.

(130) a. *Kua ‘aka-mate te kōpapa o Temu.*

\[
\text{TAM CAUSE-dead DET body of Temu}
\]

‘Temu became paralysed.’ Jane Taurarii email

b. *Kua tā-mate a Tere i a Temu.*

\[
\text{TAM CAUSE-dead PERS Tere ACC PERS Temu}
\]

‘Tere killed Temu’ Jane Taurarii email

c. *Auraka koe e ‘aka-ori mai i te kaingākai ka makuru mai te mereki ki runga Don’t 2SG TAM CAUSE-move DIRI ACC DET table TAM fall DIRI TAM plate LOC on i te ta’ua. LOC DET floor}

‘Don’t shake the table or the plates will fall to the floor.’ Jean Tekura Mason, September 1 2015

d. *E tā-ori koe i tēta’i tipunu tuka ki roto i tā’au kapu ti ‘ei-reira e IMP CAUSE-move 2SG ACC DET.I.S spoon sugar LOC inside LOC you cup tea CONJ TAM vene \text{ei. ANA}

‘Stir a teaspoon of sugar in your cup of tea to sweeten it.’ Jean Tekura Mason, September 1 2015

On the surface the examples in 131 seem to be consistent with the “degree of deliberateness of the action” hypothesis. Example 131a contains the bare form of the verb (a stative) for reference. Example 131b contains the verb prefixed by ‘aka- which has a slightly less deliberate sense than the tā- prefixed version in 132. In example 131b, the person who is causing the song to be out of tune is very unlikely to be doing it on purpose while there is an implication in 132 that someone has deliberately put the guitar out of tune presumably by interfering with the tuning pegs.

(131) a. *Kua ‘ereni tēta’i reo o te ‘āmōnia.*

\[
\text{TAM discordant DET voice of DET organ}
\]

‘One of the organ keys is out of tune’ (Buse et al., 1995:58: ‘āmōnia2)

b. *Nā‘au tikāi e ‘aka-‘ereni ana i tā-tātou īmene!*

\[
\text{AE-2S really TAM CAUSE-discordant PFV ACC our-PLEX song}
\]

‘You are definitely the one making our song flat!’ (Buse et al., 1995:18: ‘aka‘ereni)
3.10. DERIVATION

c. Nā 'ai i tāꞌereni i te kitā?
AE who TAM CAUSE-discardant ACC DET guitar

‘Who put the guitar out of tune?’ (Buse et al., 1995:413: tāꞌereni)

However, the deliberate action implied by 132 using the tā- prefix can equally well be expressed with the 'aka- prefix, as in 132, thus rendering a strict application of any rule about the choice of tā- verses 'aka- unviable in this (any many other) cases.

(132) Nā 'ai i 'akaꞌereni i te kitā?
AE who TAM CAUSE-discardant ACC DET guitar

‘Who put the guitar out of tune?’ everyone on my list

It is also possible for these prefixes to co-occur,27 as in example 133a, which I pointed to earlier as an example of a pair which would appear be synonymous. Interestingly Buse glosses both his entry for 'akatāꞌuriꞌuri and his entry for tāꞌuriꞌuri in the same way: to “Rock from side to side, roll, lurch.” (1995:474). Example 133b has the verb tāꞌuriꞌuri functioning as an action intransitive, which indicates that this is likely to be a lexicalised form. Example 133c has the un-affixed form being used transitively, further muddying the waters.

(133) a. Kua 'aka-tāꞌuriꞌuri te mouꞌoe i te paꞌi kia ruaki te pātete!
TAM CAUSE-CAUSE-turn TAM hold-paddle ACC DET ship COMP vomit DET passenger

‘The steersman rocked the ship from side to side in order to make the passengers vomit!’ (Buse et al., 1995:44: ‘akatāꞌuriꞌuri)

b. I tō-mātou ‘akarukeꞌanga i te ava kua karekare te moana ē kua tāꞌuriꞌuri
LOC our departure LOC TAM harbour TAM rough DET ocean CONJ TAM rock

‘When we left the harbour, the sea got rough and the ship rolled.’ (Buse et al., 1995:158: karekare)

c. E ‘uriꞌuri i teia pī a ki roto i tērā ‘ākoko.
IMP roll ACC this box LOC inside LOC that corner

‘Roll this crate (turn it over and over) over to that corner.’ (Buse et al., 1995:545: ‘uriꞌuri2)

Table 3.24 lists some examples of the effect of the two prefixes on various types of base. All of these glosses are taken in this instance from Buse (1995).

27Where these two suffixes co-occur it is tā- always precedes 'aka-.
### Table 3.24: Results of the causative prefixes by base type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bare</th>
<th>'Aka-</th>
<th>Tā-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinase</td>
<td>bad abuse, malign, slur</td>
<td>harm, injure, damage, ill-treat, spoil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meitaki</td>
<td>good make well, praise, thank</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veru</td>
<td>Ragged, frayed fray, make a fringe</td>
<td>cut into a fringe, rip or cut into strips, make tattered or frayed to kill or murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mate</td>
<td>dead become paralysed or lame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Action Intransitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rere</td>
<td>fly Fly (tr.), make somebody walk, make something go, manage (an organisation or business)</td>
<td>send somebody or something swinging or flying through the air set walking, set going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aere</td>
<td>go make somebody walk, make something go, manage (an organisation or business)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uta</td>
<td>carry, transport, hoist, load hoist, load, carry pile or heap something carelessly, in disordered profusion fight one another</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>hit, strike, fight make fight, attack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Noun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'are</td>
<td>house add on, extend (of house) roof over, protect with roof or shelter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūtū</td>
<td>picture, appearance act, dramatise, mime, practise -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miti</td>
<td>salt - to add salt to something, to salt down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'akari</td>
<td>coconut - add coconut sauce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.10. DERIVATION

3.10.1.1 Lexical vs grammatical

The looseness of the predictably of any difference between the causative senses ‘aka-’ and ‘tā-’ suggests that it is a system that may be breaking down, with some lexicalised forms preserving a distinction, while other pairs (of ‘tā-X vs ‘aka-X’) are more or less synonymous, and other pairs still are lexically distinct.

There is one very productive pattern of ‘tā-type-of-food’ which produces the meaning ‘add type-of-food to something’ (see table 3.25). This pattern is applied to any “addable” food including introduced foods which are shown below the line in table 3.25.

Table 3.25: ‘tā-type of food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>‘tā-form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miti</td>
<td>salt</td>
<td>tāmiti</td>
<td>add salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vai ‘akari</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>tāvai</td>
<td>add water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coconut sauce</td>
<td>tā‘akari</td>
<td>add coconut sauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pepa ‘ōporo tuka</td>
<td>pepper</td>
<td>tāpepa</td>
<td>add pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chillie</td>
<td>tā‘ōporo</td>
<td>add chillies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>tātuka</td>
<td>add sugar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.10.1.2 Simulative ‘aka-

The prefix ‘aka-’ has a second sense characterised by Buse as ‘simulative’ that is, ‘in the manner of’. This sense most commonly occurs with nouns denoting humans or animals, that is, with more animate referents. This variant can sometimes produce a noun as a result of the derivation, as in 134a, but this is a little marginal as 134b is only acceptable to some speakers, while others want to correct it to 134c, where ‘akatamā’ine is verbal, as it is in the corpus based example 134d.

(134) a. Te ‘aka-va’ine i a koe!

TAM SIM-woman LOC PERS 2SG

‘How womanish you are!’ (Buse et al., 1995:51: ‘akava’ine)

b. ?Ko ia tāku ‘akatamā’ine.

SPEC 3SG my SIM-daughter

‘She is my niece.’

c. Ka ‘aka-tamā’ine au i tērā tamā’ine.

TAM SIM-daughter 1SG ACC DEM3 girl

‘That girl is my niece.’ LIT: ‘I make that girl my daughter/ like a daughter’ Jean Tekura Mason, September 1 2015
   TAM SIM-daughter 1SG ACC 3SG because CLS daughter 3SG belong my sister
   'I regard her as my daughter because she’s my sister’s daughter.' (Buse et al., 1995:43: 'akatamāꞌine)

(135) a. Ka 'aka-tamariki aia i a Utuparaoa, ko ia 'oki nā tōna tuaꞌine i 'ānau
   TAM SIM-children 3SG ACC PERS Utuparaoa SPEC 3SG EMPH AE his sister TAM give-birth
   mai i aia.
   DIR1 ACC 3SG
   ‘He took Utuparao as a child, he who his sister had given birth to.’ (Purea, 2013:64)

b. E koe, 'e aꞌa koe i 'aka-puaka atu ei i a Rere?
   VOC 2SG EXIST what 2SG TAM SIM-pig DIR2 ANA ACC PERS Rere
   ‘Hey you, why did you call Rere a pig.’ (Buse et al., 1995:38: 'akapuaka)

These prefixes are addressed again in section 6.10.1.1 in relation to their valency adjusting properties. The finer details of the semantics of these two suffixes are too complex for this work and would warrant detailed further investigation.

3.10.2 Nominalisation

The second productive derivational process is the overt nominalisation of verbs with either a suffix, which has the form, -(C)anga and is lexically determined in the same way as the passive suffix, or with the nominalising clitic, =ꞌanga.

Most of the time there is no difference in meaning between the suffixed version (136a) and the cliticized version (136b), and the resultant nominalised form has the interpretation of ‘the event or process of the VERB’.

(136) a. Tēia te 'angaꞌanga mua tā Tangiꞌia i rave i tōna tae-nga mai ki te
   this DET work first DET.POSS.ACAT Tangiꞌia TAM do LOC his reach-NR DIR1 LOC DET
   'enua nei. (Smith and Te-Aia, 1893:275)
   land POS1
   ‘This is the first work undertaken by Tangiia on his arrival at this land.’ (Smith and Te-Aia, 1893:276)

b. I tōna tae=ꞌanga ki reira, kua tāki mai a Raru i te kumete poi.
   LOC his reach=INR LOC there TAM raise DIR1 PERS Raru ACC DET bowl poi
   ‘When he arrived there, Raru raised up the bowl of poi.’ (Simiona, 1979:3)

However, nominalisations with the actual suffix as opposed to the clitic sometimes have specific lexicalised senses that aren’t ‘the process or event of VERB.’ Examples 137a and 137b show the two nominalised versions of vai, ‘to exist’.

(137) a. Tēia te 'angaꞌanga mua tā Tangiꞌia i rave i tōna tae-nga mai ki te
   this DET work first DET.POSS.ACAT Tangiꞌia TAM do LOC his reach-NR DIR1 LOC DET
   'enua nei. (Smith and Te-Aia, 1893:275)
   land POS1
   ‘This is the first work undertaken by Tangiia on his arrival at this land.’ (Smith and Te-Aia, 1893:276)

b. I tōna taeꞌanga ki reira, kua tāki mai a Raru i te kumete poi.
   LOC his reach=NR LOC there TAM raise DIR1 PERS Raru ACC DET bowl poi
   ‘When he arrived there, Raru raised up the bowl of poi.’ (Simiona, 1979:3)
3.10. DERIVATION

(137) a. Kua na'ena'e tā-tātou kai nō tei roa te vaiꞌanga ki raro i te umu.
   TAM over-baked our food from REL.PST long DET exist=IR LOC under LOC the oven
   ‘Our food was baked too much through being left in the oven for so long.’ (Buse et al., 1995:264: na’ena’e)

b. E tāpoki koe i tō'ou va'a ē tō'ou putangā'rū ki tēta'i pepa tāmā 'upe mē
   IMP cover 2SG ACC your mouth and your nose INSTR DET.1.S paper clear mucus COND
   mare-ti'e koe, ka titiri atu ei i te-reira pepa ki roto i te tīni vai-ranga
   sneeze 2SG TAM throw-out DIR RūA ACC that paper GOAL inside LOC DET tin exist-NRS
   ti'ā.
   ‘Cover your mouth and nose with a tissue when you sneeze - then put the tissue in a rubbish bin.’ (National
   Influenza Specialist Group, 2009a:2)

Table 3.26 shows a few more examples of these lexicalised forms compared with the predictable results with the
clitic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Suffixed form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>With clitic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moe</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>moenga</td>
<td>sleeping mat</td>
<td>moe'anga</td>
<td>the process or event of sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tū</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>tūranga</td>
<td>position, place</td>
<td>tū'anga</td>
<td>the process or event of standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vai</td>
<td>exist</td>
<td>vairanga</td>
<td>receptacle</td>
<td>vai'anga</td>
<td>the process or event of existing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zero nominalisations, as in 138 are discussed earlier in section 3.4 and the syntax of nominalised verb phrases as
adverbal clauses is discussed in section 10.3.1.

(138) Ė kia tae te Aā ki te maunga i te po, tērā taua Ruru ra tei runga i
   CONJ TAM reach PERS Aā LOC DET mountain LOC DET night DET Ruru POS3 LOC on LOC
   te rakau, kua varea e te moe. (GILL, 1912:44)
   DET tree TAM overcome AGNT DET sleep
   ‘When the Aā reached the mountain in the night, there was the Ruru on the tree fast asleep.’ (LIT: overcome
   by sleep). (GILL, 1912:51)

3.10.3 Various non productive affixes listed by Buse

Buse identifies “10 common inner prefixes” (1965:36), that is, prefixes that attach directly onto the lexical base. These
are contrasted with ‘middle’ (tā-) and outer (ꞌaka-) prefixes. This ordering applies when there are more than one of
these prefixes present.
Ka 'aka-tā-tī-poki~poki te vaka.

TAM CAUS1-CAUS2-OBLIC-FR~cover TAM canoe

'The canoe will be capsized.'

Most of these prefixes are no longer fully productive in contemporary CIM and are non-compositional enough to be considered lexicalised, but they are worth listing here to serve as possible signposts for further study. Table 3.27 is adapted from the list in Buse (1965:36) where he lists the various prefixes and gives examples but does not offer any glosses for the prefixes. In fact he says, "It is difficult to isolate any semantic constant for many of these prefixes, although /'ii-/ often carries a connotation of narrowness or thinness, /ma- N maa-/ of spontaneity, /tau-/ of reciprocity, and /tii-/ of obliquity" (1965:36).

### Table 3.27: Buse’s ‘inner prefixes’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Affixed Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) aa-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranga keri</td>
<td>lever</td>
<td>aa-ranga</td>
<td>bob up to the surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aa-keri</td>
<td>dig up, resurrect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) nga-ngaa-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'oro</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>nga-'oro</td>
<td>crumble (as an old building)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaa-'oro'oro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>crumble (frequentative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) 'ii-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karo</td>
<td>scoop out, hollow out</td>
<td>'ii-karokaro</td>
<td>winkie something out of a crevice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) koo-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'a to'e</td>
<td>sail through the air</td>
<td>koo-ta'a</td>
<td>a frigate bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>base, rump, stern</td>
<td>koo-to'e</td>
<td>reverse, back away, make excuses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) ma~maa-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutara uti</td>
<td>loosen</td>
<td>maa-taratara, ma-'uti</td>
<td>gradually work loose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>twitch, jerk</td>
<td>ma- 'uti</td>
<td>snap off (like a button)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) pa~pa-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tere</td>
<td>travel along</td>
<td>pa-tere</td>
<td>slide, slip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>paa-teretere</td>
<td>slide, slip (frequentative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) tau-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'oa</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td>tau-'oa'oa</td>
<td>make friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) tii-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roa kaokao</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>tii-roa</td>
<td>place lengthwise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>side</td>
<td>tii-kaokao</td>
<td>list (of a ship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) too-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maru pata</td>
<td>shade</td>
<td>oo-marumaru</td>
<td>become overcast (of the sky)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>drip, drop, blob</td>
<td>too-patapata</td>
<td>sprinkle, covered with spots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) tuu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para</td>
<td>slime (on eel)</td>
<td>tuu-para</td>
<td>smear, smudge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.11 Compounds

Cross-linguistically it can be difficult to definitively ascertain whether particular sequences of morphemes are compounds, or merely modifying "sequences of words" (Payne, 1997:92). This difficulty is exacerbated in languages of the more isolating/analytic type, which can't provide morphological clues. CIM has a preference for monomorphemic 'words', but it also has small number of bi/multi-morphemic lexical items that occur frequently enough, and are non compositional enough, to be considered lexicalised compounds.

Table 3.28 list some compounds. They are organised along a cline of compositionality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matekite (S)</th>
<th>Mata (N)</th>
<th>Kite (Vt)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be careful</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngutu'are (N)</th>
<th>Ngutu (N)</th>
<th>'Are (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>household, home</td>
<td>lips</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arumaki (Vt)</th>
<th>Aro (Vt)</th>
<th>Maki (S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to chase</td>
<td>to follow</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kororomotu (V, N)</th>
<th>Korer (N)</th>
<th>Motu (S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>promise, contract</td>
<td>that which is said</td>
<td>sever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mou'auri (N, Vi)</th>
<th>Mou (S)</th>
<th>'Auri (N) (loan)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imprisoned, prisoner</td>
<td>be caught</td>
<td>iron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tauamaro (V, N)</th>
<th>Tau</th>
<th>Maro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>argue, argument</td>
<td>settled, proper</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matariki (N)</th>
<th>Mata</th>
<th>Riki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the pleiades</td>
<td>eyes</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aremaki (N)</th>
<th>'Are (N)</th>
<th>Maki (S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hospital</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>sick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngati tanutanu (N)</th>
<th>Ngati (N)</th>
<th>Tanutanu (V)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plantation</td>
<td>place</td>
<td>plant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key**

-Vt = transitive
-Vi = action intransitive
-V = suffix-able
-S = stative
-N = noun

The examples in 140 show cases of non lexicalised modification where the head of the phrase is modified by another base, and the result is largely predictable.

(140) a. Kua tunutunu karakara aia i te ika.  

    TAM cook-FR grill 3SG ACC DET fish  

    'He grilled the fish.' (Buse et al., 1995:155: karakara)
b. Kāre tēia au tātatau ēmēre i te ‘apīnga ‘aka-mānea ‘ua.
   NEG  this  PL  tattoo/amazing  LOC  DET  thing  CAUSE-beautiful  MERELY

‘These amazing tattoos are not merely decorative things.’ (Salesa et al., 2004:2)

3.11.1 Object incorporation

CIM has a highly productive process of noun incorporation whereby a notional direct object is incorporated into the verb phrase and stripped of any of its specific-ness or definite-ness. Example 141a shows the incorporated construction while 141b would be a putative version of the corresponding ‘un-incorporated’ construction. Example 142 has a nominalised form of the verb with an incorporated object.

(141) a. Kua tunu kēke taku mama.
   TAM  cook  cake  my  mother

‘My mother has baked some cakes.’ (Buse et al., 1995:169: kēke)

b. Kua tunu taku mama i tēta’i au kēke.
   TAM  cook  my  mother  ACC  DET.I.S  PL  cake

‘My mother has baked some cakes.’

(142) I taua tuātau ‘e tūkē  rāi te ‘oko’oko varaoa.
   LOC  that  time  CLS  different  EMPH  DET  sell-FR  bread

‘In those days the way bread was sold (LIT: ‘bread selling’) was really different.’ (Ranfurly, 1998:2)

This process of object incorporation could be considered a form of compounding but an argument against this analysis is the transparency of this process. You do not find examples of object incorporation that couldn’t be ‘un-incorporated’ producing a synonymous or near synonymous sentence, as in the pair of sentences in 141. However, as the diagnosis of ‘this form is or is not a compound’ is, as we know, challenging, I will make no proclamation either way in this thesis. The valency changing properties of this incorporated object construction are discussed in section 6.10.3.

3.12 Reduplication

3.12.1 Introduction

Reduplication has features of both derivation and inflection and is a notoriously complex domain in Polynesian languages (Harlow, 2007:128). Consequently I will address it separately from the general discussions of inflection and derivation. The phonological features of reduplication are discussed in more detail in section 2.8. This section discusses the semantic effects of the various types of reduplication.
As with the earlier word formation processes discussed in this chapter, reduplication produces some predictable semantic or grammatical results but there are also many forms which appear to have been lexicalised and whose meaning cannot be predicted via any pattern. In fact, the predictability of (the result of) the various reduplication processes seems to be somewhat fragile in contemporary CIM. That is to say, reduplication may no longer be fully productive in CIM. I will first discuss Buses’s description and then return to the issue of productivity.

3.12.2 Buse’s 1965 analysis

Buse (1965) addresses reduplication and describes three patterns of reduplication: partial reduplication (PR), full reduplication (FR) and double reduplication (DR). He only discusses disyllabic roots.

Partial reduplication (PR) phonologically involves the repetition of the first syllable of a disyllabic root as in moto (‘punch’) → momoto (‘punch-plural subject’). According to Buse, PR expresses either “intensity” or “plurality”. Full reduplication (FR) involves the repetition of the whole base as in moto (‘punch’) → motomoto (‘box’). Buse glosses FR as “frequentative diminutive, diffuse or sporadic action.” The third category of reduplication, double reduplication (DR) involves “double repetition of the first syllable of the root, together with lengthening of the first vowel of the reduplicated form,” as in moto (‘punch’) → mōmomoto (‘punch-dual subject’). According to Buse, DR results in a dual subject reading but he says in 1965, that it is rare and only used by older speakers. In 2016 I would be inclined to call it obsolete and will not discuss DR further here.

Table 3.29 shows some reduplicated forms and their glosses for partial reduplication (PR) and full reduplication (FR). These examples are based on the examples from Buse (1965:35) and supplemented by further examples taken from his dictionary (1995). I have also made note of the semantic descriptor (based on Buses’s categories) that applies to each example. PS = plurality, EMPH = intensity, FREQ = frequentative, DIM = diminutive, DIFF = diffuse or sporadic action or state.

28 That is, it marks a plural subject.
29 Complex full reduplication will not be discussed here (cf. section 2.12).
### Table 3.29: Reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>FR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Action Intransitive Verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rere</td>
<td>jump, fly</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>rerere</td>
<td>skip (DIM) fly (FREQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꞌoro</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>ꞌoꞌoro</td>
<td>run (PS)</td>
<td>ꞌoroꞌoro</td>
<td>run, flee, travel along (FREQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kake</td>
<td>climb</td>
<td>kake</td>
<td>climb (PS)</td>
<td>kakekake</td>
<td>climb (FREQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupa</td>
<td>grow</td>
<td>tuta</td>
<td>grow luxuriantly (EMPH)</td>
<td>tuptu</td>
<td>grow (FREQ), sprout (DIM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꞌoki</td>
<td>return</td>
<td>ꞌoꞌoki</td>
<td>return (PS)</td>
<td>ꞌokiꞌoki</td>
<td>return, revert, regress (FREQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kata</td>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>kakata</td>
<td>laugh (PS)</td>
<td>kakatakata</td>
<td>giggle (FREQ), smile (DIM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Action intransitive bases more than two syllables/morae</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꞌaere</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>ꞌaꞌaere</td>
<td>stray, wander around</td>
<td>ꞌaereꞌaere</td>
<td>walk (DIM) go about (FREQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive Verbs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moto</td>
<td>punch</td>
<td>momoto</td>
<td>PL sub punch</td>
<td>motomoto</td>
<td>box (FREQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kite</td>
<td>clever</td>
<td>kike</td>
<td>cunning (EMPH)</td>
<td>kitekite</td>
<td>be knowledgeable (FREQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanu</td>
<td>plant</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>grow or plant a lot of crops. (EMPH) (PS)</td>
<td>tanutana</td>
<td>plant or cultivate land, fill in (a hole) (FREQ, DIM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kika</td>
<td>drag</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Statives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mate</td>
<td>dead</td>
<td>mamate</td>
<td>die (PS)</td>
<td>matemate</td>
<td>die (severally (FREQ) or gradually (DIM))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kino</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>kikino</td>
<td>bad (PS)</td>
<td>kinokino</td>
<td>bad-ish (DIM) bad (FREQ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ꞌati</td>
<td>broken</td>
<td>ꞌaꞌati</td>
<td>break (TRANS)</td>
<td>ꞌatiꞌati</td>
<td>break something into pieces, fold into creases (TRANS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nui</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>nunui</td>
<td>high-ranking, important (of people) large (PS)</td>
<td>makimaki</td>
<td>sickly, chronically ill (FREQ), slightly ill (DIM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maki</td>
<td>sick</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anunana</td>
<td>cool (DIM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vera</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>vera</td>
<td>continuously hot (FREQ) (TRANS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stative bases more than two syllables/morae</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maꞌata</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>mamaꞌata</td>
<td>large (PS)</td>
<td>maꞌatamaꞌata</td>
<td>Very big, too big. (EMPH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meitaki</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>mēmeitaki</td>
<td>good (PS) better (EMPH)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.12. REDUPLICATION

3.12.3 An expansion on Buse's analysis

Although Buse attributes the intensive /emphatic sense only to PR it can in fact also be produced by FR, as in the examples in 143.

(143) a. I a Varokura e kake atu nei ki runga, kua totoro mai tētaꞌi moko
   LOC PERS Varokura TAM climb DIR2 POS1 TAM crawl DIR1 DET.I.S lizard
   maꞌata~maꞌata i-te kakati i aia.
   large~FR COMP bite ACC 3SG
   'While Varokura was climbing up a very big lizard crawled towards him to bite him.' (Simiona, 1979:65)

b. Mē vaꞌavaꞌa koa ki a rātou, ka reka~reka rātou ki a koa.
   COND chat 2SG LOC PERS 3PL TAM pleased~FR 3PL LOC PERS 2SG
   'They would be delighted if you were to have a chat with them.' (Buse et al., 1995:55: vaꞌavaꞌa)

Likewise a plural sense can be produced by FR, as in 144. In 144a the reduplicated form is modifying a plural NP. Replication of modifiers seems to indicate or co-indicate plurality fairly consistently.

(144) a. I reira tē rave=ꞌi a ara te au aitamu a te au ʻenua tūkē~tūkē.
   LOC that TAM do=PASS POS3 DET PL item o DET PL island different~DR
   'Thus the items of all the different islands were done.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:06:28-00:06:36) https://goo.gl/LMGPXK

b. I Niu-Tireni nei, ko te kai-kaiꞌanga i te aꞌiaꞌi, kua karanga=ꞌia te reira, ē
   LOC New-Zealand POS1 SPEC TAM eat-FR-NR LOC TAM evening TAM call=PASS DET that SUBR
   "tea" Mē kua pati=ꞌia koa kia 'aere atu e inu~inu vai anani mē kāre kapu-tea
   COND TAM ask=PASS 2SG OPT go DIR2 TAM drink~FR water orange COND NEG cup
   kope, 'e au kai me te totiti riki~riki, ē te au kēke vene~vene, kāre 'oki
   coffee EXIST PL food like DET sausage small-FR CONJ DET PL cake sweet~FR NEG EMPH
   i te kaikaiꞌanga tikāi.
   LOC DET eat-FR-NR EMPH
   'Here in New Zealand the evening meal is called “tea”. If you are invited to go to drink orange juice or
   coffee (there will be) food like small sausages and sweet cakes. It isn’t a proper full meal.' (Polynesian
   Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:11)

3.12.4 Productivity

There is some fragility to the grammatical productivity of all the reduplication patterns in contemporary CIM. Although partial reduplication does tend to fairly consistently indicate plurality, it is by no means obligatory for marking plurality.
In 145 the stative kino is modifying a plural NP in both examples but only undergoes reduplication in one. However many but not all speakers will reject the reduplicated form when it does not refer to a plural subject. The acceptability of the reduplicated form with a non plural subject does not show any age or dialect based pattern. Perhaps for some speakers, if the plural subject does not apply, then the intensive interpretation is available. Or alternatively, perhaps some speakers do not parse these forms as reduplicated.

(145) a. 'Akatū a Rutaki i tōna kumiti nō-runga i te tīkī ē te pāruru i te set-up PERS Rutaki ACC DET PASS committee about ACC DET guard and DET protect ACC DET
   au mama e ōkinokino=i′ia nei ki roto i te ngutu′are e te au tāne ki-kino.
   PL mother TAM abuse=PASS POS1 LOC inside LOC the home AGNT DET PL man PR~bad
   'The women of Rutaki have banded together to form a committee to monitor and stop abuse and violence against women in the homes of their village.' (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Inārā, e roko=i′ia ana tēta′i pae aronga nō tēta′i tuātau poto mē oti CONTR TAM afflicted=PASS HABIT DET.I.S section group for DET.I.S time short COND finished
   rātou i te patia=i′ia, e tēta′i au 'akairo kino meangiti, mei te mamae uuaa,
   3PL SAGNT DET inject=PASS AGNT DET.I.S PL sign bad small like DET pain muscle
   mē-kore-rā, te au tū mamae katu (National Influenza Specialist Group, 2009a:2)
   or TAM PL manner pain head
   'However, some people will experience mild side effects such as muscle aches or headaches for a short time after vaccination.' (National Influenza Specialist Group, 2009b:1)

3.12.5 Lexical vs grammatical reduplication

There are a number of lexical items that would seem to have been formed via reduplication but either, no un-reduplicated form exists or, the difference between the reduplicated and the un-reduplicated form is not transparently predictable. In both of these cases the reduplication would seem to be historical and the reduplicated form has subsequently been lexicalised. It seems likely that this lexicalisation process is ongoing in contemporary CIM. Some examples of items of this nature are shown in table 3.30.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-piki</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-pikipiki</td>
<td>cunning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-more</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>moremore</td>
<td>to be smooth, bald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa’a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>pa’apa’a</td>
<td>praise, glorify, boast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.12.6 A derivational effect of reduplication

Sometimes the reduplicated form actually produces a derived form where the reduplicated form of a stative becomes transitive as with ‘ati, a stative glossed as ‘to be snapped’. In example 146a the partially reduplicated (PR) form ‘a’ati is a transitive verb glossed as ‘to snap something’. Likewise vera, a stative glossed as ‘to be hot’ occurs fully reduplicated (veravera) in 146b, where it is passivised, and the sentence is a perfectly normal passive sentence, where veravera’ia means ‘to me made hot’.

(146) a. Kua vare’ae te au tamariki i aia, ē nō-reira, kua ‘āviri ē kua pāpā rātou i aia ē kua ‘a’ati i tāna teka.
   TAM jealous DET PL children SAGRT 3SG CONJ therefore TAM mock CONJ TAM beat 3PL ACC.
   ‘The children were jealous of him so they mocked and beat him and broke his dart.’ (Simiona, 1979:71)

   b. Kua vera~vera=’ia te tamaiti e te ‘ōporo.
   TAM vera~PR=PASS DET child AGNT DET chilly
   ‘The chillies made the child feel hot.’ (Buse et al., 1995:560: veravera)

Reduplication in CIM is a complex issue and further detailed study is required.

3.13 Conjunctions

There is a small word class that it makes sense to call conjunctions. The members of this class have a tendency to be multi morphemic and their composition is quite often but not always transparent. The most important formal characteristic of this word class is that these items occur outside the phrase (see chapter 4). The grammar of coordination is described in chapter 9 and subordinating conjunction is described in chapter 10. Table 3.31 lists some important conjunctions including some of the common ‘conjunction phrases’.

3.14 Summary

This chapter described the morphology of word classes and word formation in CIM. Sections 3.2 to 3.4 discussed the problems surrounding the analysis of word class in isolating languages such as CIM, with reference to earlier work on this topic by Polynesianists. Section 3.5 stated the claim that the categories of nouns and verbs can be applied to CIM, but only unequivocally at the phrase level, not as an inherant proprety of the lexical item. The second part of this chapter surveyed the categories and behaviours of nouns (3.6), pronouns (3.7), and verbs (3.8) in CIM. The third part of this chapter addressed inflection (3.9) and derivation (3.10), compounding (3.11), reduplication (3.12), and conjunctions (3.13).
### Table 3.31: Conjunctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Adversative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>adversative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rērē</td>
<td>but, however</td>
<td>adversative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāringa</td>
<td>if</td>
<td>counterfactual conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inārā</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>adversative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāreka</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>nominal adversative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Coordinating</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pērā katoa</td>
<td>as well as</td>
<td>conjunction, addition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e oti</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>conjunction phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Conditional</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māri</td>
<td>except</td>
<td>concessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noa atu</td>
<td>despite</td>
<td>concessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē</td>
<td>if, when</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

Morphology 2: The internal structure of the phrase

4.1 Overview

This chapter will cover the internal structure of the syntactic phrase, and catalogue the sets of minor morphemes (Biggs, 1961) i.e. the grammatical particles. Section 4.2 introduces the Polynesian syntactic phrase. Section 4.3 describes the verb phrase, and section 4.4 catalogues the particles that are unique to the preposed periphery of the verb phrase. Section 4.5 describes the prepositional phase, and its relationship to the noun phrase. Then section 4.6 catalogues the particles that are unique to the preposed periphery of a noun phrase. The internal structure of the nucleus of the syntactic phrase is addressed in section 4.7. Section 4.8 catalogues the postposed particles, which are common to both noun and verb phrases, and section 4.9 describes a set of modifying particles that, contrary to the usual pattern, occur in the preposed periphery. In section 4.10, some exceptions to the strict ordering of particles are described. Finally the particle mē, which occurs both phrase-internally and phrase-externally, is covered in section 4.11.1

4.2 The Phrase

Biggs and Buse, and other Polynesianists in the 1950s and 1960s, make particular mention of a constituent that has come to be known as the phrase and, as Krupa (1982:81) puts it, in contrast to the disagreement over word class and what constitutes a word, “there is general agreement that the notion of ‘phrase’ is indispensable.” Much of Buse’s work on CIM was concerned with the internal structure of the phrase and much of his analysis still stands (Buse, 1963ab;c). Where my analysis differs from his in this chapter, note will be made. The striking features of the CIM phrase are as follows:

1. Very consistent internal component ordering restriction.

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1The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info/5_4.html
2. Strong prohibition against breaking the phrase phonologically.

3. Phrases (along with conjunctions and a few single word grammatical constituents) are the basic constituents of the clause.

4.2.1 Internal structure overview

Phrase internally, there is a specific structure which generally follows the head initial pattern of most ordering patterns in CIM. Biggs (1961) developed a model for NZM that works well for CIM. The phrase contains an obligatory nucleus in which there is a ‘lexical head’ (base) that is followed by an optional modifying base. There are occasionally two modifying bases in the nucleus but rarely more than that. There are also two ‘peripheries’; the preposed periphery and the postposed periphery. Most of the potential material occurs in the postposed periphery in keeping with the head initial pattern. The specific content of these peripheries is quite regular. There are various particle paradigms that are associated with particular fixed slots in the peripheries of the phrase. There are three major types of phrase in CIM: verb phrases, prepositional phrases, and noun phrases. Verb phrases are marked by a verbal particle. Prepositional phrases are marked by a preposition and the subject NP is $\emptyset$ marked.

The preposed periphery of VPs and PPs are different and the content of the preposed periphery determines the phrase type. However, all phrase types have the same potential content in the postposed periphery. Table 4.1 shows the three components of the three types of phrase. The members of each paradigm of particles are elucidated fully in sections 4.6, 4.4 and 4.8.
Table 4.1: The three major components of the phrase and their contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Preposed Periphery</th>
<th>Nucleus</th>
<th>Postposed Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
<td>VERBAL-PARTICLE</td>
<td>[BASE (BASE)]</td>
<td>(MANNER) (DIRECTIONAL) (POSITIONAL) (EXTERNAL-MODIFIER)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Noun Phrase</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>DETERMINER (NUMBER-CLASSIFIER)</td>
<td>[BASE (BASE)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepositional Phrase</td>
<td>PREPOSITION</td>
<td>DETERMINER (NUMBER-CLASSIFIER)</td>
<td>[BASE (BASE)]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.2 Constituency

The syntactic phrase is an indivisible unit. To illustrate this principle, the following constructed examples demonstrate the way constituents are permitted to move, while smaller elements are not. Phrase boundaries in the examples in 147 are indicated by commas. The sentence in example 147a shows the unmarked form of this proposition. Example 147b is ungrammatical because the subject phrase has been inserted between the nucleus and the postposed periphery of the verb phrase. In 147c the subject phrase a Mere is in focus and has been fronted. Examples 147d and 147e show two other grammatical variations while example 147f is considered marginal by native speakers. Exactly what makes this particular variation questionable is unclear and would be an interesting matter to investigate further.

(147) a. Kua ’aere viviki atu ra, a Mere, ki te toa muramura, inana’i
   TAM go quick DIR2 POS3 PERS Mere GOAL DET shop red yesterday
   ‘Mere went to the red shop yesterday.’

b. *Kua ’aere viviki a Mere atu ra ki te toa muramura inana’i
   TAM go quick PERS Mere *DIR2 *POS3 GOAL DET shop red yesterday

c. Ko Mere, i ’aere viviki atu ra, ki te toa muramura, inana’i
   SPEC Mere TAM go quick DIR2 POS3 GOAL DET shop red yesterday
   ‘Mere went to the red shop yesterday.’

d. Kua ’aere viviki atu ra, inana’i, a Mere, ki te toa muramura.
   TAM go fast DIR2 POS3 yesterday PERS Mere GOAL DET shop red
   ‘Mere went quickly to the red shop yesterday.’

e. Inana’i, kua ’aere viviki atu ra, a Mere, ki te toa muramura.
   yesterday TAM go fast DIR2 POS3 PERS Mere GOAL DET shop red
   ‘Yesterday, Mere went quickly to the red shop.’

f. *Kua ’aere viviki atu ra, a Mere, inana’i, ki te toa muramura.
   TAM go fast DIR2 POS3 PERS Mere yesterday GOAL DET shop red
   ‘Mere went quickly to the red shop yesterday.’

4.2.3 Phonological evidence for the constituency of the phrase

The syntactic phrase as defined here, has some phonological properties that support its status as a syntactic constituent. No pause is permitted within a syntactic phrase. If a repair must be made, it is made from the beginning of the syntactic phrase. More than one syntactic phrase may be uttered without pause. However, nothing smaller than a syntactic phrase may be uttered in isolation\(^2\) (cf. section 2.5).

\(^2\)Speakers will produce smaller elements, such as particles, as citation forms when prompted, but this rarely, if ever, occurs in natural speech.
4.3 Verb phrase

The defining feature of the verb phrase is that it is initiated by one of the verbal particles (see section 4.4). The verbal particle is the only component of the preposed periphery of a verb phrase. The minimal verb phrase contains a base and a verbal particle. The maximal verb phrase may also contain: lexical modifiers in the nucleus, a manner particle (cf. section 4.8.1), a directional particle (cf. section 4.8.2), a positional particle (cf. section 4.8.3), and an external modifier particle (cf. section 4.8.4), in the postposed periphery.

\[
\text{v.p.}_{\text{verb-particle}} \{\text{base} \}_{\text{base}} \text{ M D P X M}_{\text{post-particle}}
\]

VERBAL PARTICLE VERB (LEXICAL MODIFIER) (MANNER) (DIRECTIONAL) (POSITIONAL) (EXT MODIFIER)

Example 148 shows a VP with a full postposed periphery. Example 149 shows a VP with a lexical modifier in the nucleus as well as a full postposed periphery.

(148)  
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\text{Tē} & ʻakaʻoki & ʻua & mai & nei & rāi & rātou & i-te & tuatua.  \\
v.p. & base & manner & directional & positional & external modifier & 3sg & comp & speak  \\
PROG & cause-return & merely & dir1 & pos1 & emp & 3sg & comp & speak
\end{tabular}

ʼThey are just going back to talk.ʼ (Cook Islands Herald, 2010d)

(149)  
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
\text{Kua} & pērā & ʻaere & ʻua & atu & ra & rāi, & e & tae & ʻua & atu & ra & ki & roto & i & te  \\
TAM & alike-pos3 & go & merely & dir2 & pos3 & emp & tam & reach & merely & dir2 & pos3 & goal & inside & loc & det
\end{tabular}

ʼThis they did, and went on to the house.ʼ (Taraꞌare, 1920c:182)

There is an additional morpheme that can occur in a verb phrase. This is the so-called passive clitic =ʻia which affixes to the verb, and/or to any other internal postposed particles and passivises that phrase (see section 3.9.1).

4.4 Verbal particles and TAM

This section will discuss the verbal particles. The details of the various sets of particles found in the postposed periphery of both verb and noun phrases, are discussed in section 4.8. The tense, aspect, and mood information is carried by a set of phrase-initial particles that mark that phrase as verbal. Further TAM nuances are also carried by the positional particles, and where applicable, this relationship will be discussed in this section. Aspect is more grammatically important than tense or mode, and tense is usually coded periphrastically by time adverbials. Table 4.2 lists the verbal particles.4

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3 Sometimes designated as v.p.s.
4 Note that i and e are marked as co-occurring with the particle ana but they are frequently collocated with another positional positional particle, even when they occur in sentence initial clauses.
Table 4.2: The verbal particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Initial (main clause)</th>
<th>Sentence Medial (dependent clause)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kua  (…ana)</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tē  …nei/na/ra</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i  (…ana)</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ...ana</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kia</td>
<td>kia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø / e</td>
<td>Derived (complex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tei te</td>
<td>i te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.1 Kua

Kua marks perfective aspect and does not mark tense or mode. Payne (1997:239) defines perfective aspect as: "[— ————] "the situation is viewed in its entirety."

With agentive verbs, as in 150 with aere, it indicates that an action has been completed. With stative verbs it indicates that the state has been established, as in 151 clause with mate. It does not, however, give any indication of when the event occurs or the state is achieved. Therefore, without any explicit indication of time, the sentence in example (150a) could be interpreted in any of the several ways indicated there. In such a context where there is no explicit reference to time, the most logical interpretation is simple past, or perfect, as in 150b. Example 150c forces a past perfect interpretation because of the past time phrase iteira rā (‘on the day in the past’), and example 150d forces a future perfect interpretation because of the sentence adverbial of time āpōpō (‘tomorrow’).

(150) a. Kua aere rātou ki ta’atai.
   PFV go 3PL  GOAL  beach
   ‘They went to the beach.’
   ‘They have gone to the beach.’
   ‘They had gone to the beach.’
   ‘They will have gone to the beach’
4.4. VERBAL PARTICLES AND TAM

b. **Kua 'aere** rātou ki ta'atai.  
   PFV go 3PL GOAL beach

   ‘They have gone to the beach.’ or ‘They went to the beach.’

c. **I** te-reira rā **kua 'aere** rātou ki ta'atai.  
   LOC.PST that day PFV go 3PL GOAL beach

   ‘On that day they had gone to the beach.’

d. **Āpōpō** **kua 'aere** rātou ki ta'atai.  
   Tomorrow PFV go 3PL GOAL beach

   ‘Tomorrow they will have gone to the beach.’

(151) **Kua** tae mai te rongo ē **kua mate** te ariki.  
   PFV arrive DIR1 DET news COMP PFV dead DET king

   ‘News has come that the king has died.’ (Buse et al., 1995:398: rongo)

Kua is commonly used in narratives for successive events, as in example 152 from the story of Māui.

(152) **Kua** rave ake ra a Tangaroa i te tamaiti, **kua** 'apai, e 'aere atura; **kua** tuku atura ki a Te 'Īrī ē Te Rārama. **Kua** rave mai ra rāua i taua tamaiti ra; kāre rā ē rāua ū i te 'āngai, **kua** 'apai atura rāua i te tamaiti, **kua** tuku atura ki roto i tēta'ī ana, kia inuinu 'ua i te vai e taeta'e mai i roto i te mato, va'o 'ua atura i reira taua tamaiti ra kia inuinu 'ua i te vai. (Tara'are, 2000:5)

   ‘Tangaroa took the child, carrying it, and went away; he gave it to 'Īrī and Te Rārama. They took [charge of] the child; but they had no milk to feed it with, so they carried it off and placed it in a certain cave, so that it might drink of the water that flowed out of a rock, and left the child there to drink the water.’ (Tara'are, 2000:121)

Kua can co-occur with the postposed verbal particle **ana**, as it does in example 153. Exactly what extra work this particle does in this sentence is not entirely clear to me nor to my consultants and would be worthy of further investigation (cf. section 4.4.8).

(153) **Kua** kite **ana** te aronga pakari o tēia tuātau i a Bond James  
   PFV know PFV DET group old of this time ACC PERLS Bond James

   ‘Older people of this time know about Bond James.’ (Rere, 1975:58)
4.4.2 Ka

Ka marks inceptive or inchoative aspect and marks no specific time. Buse 1963c:154 says of ka: “This particle commonly occurs with future reference, but is also used prospectively with reference to past time”. Example 154a shows a typical simple future reference made explicitly future by the time adverbial āpōpō. Example 154b is taken from a passage that is exhorting the listener to behave in a certain way. The future reference of the ka clause in this example is the ‘then’ of an if/then conditional.

(154) a. Kua tuku te pa’i ki Ma’uke é ka tae āpōpō i te pōpongi.
   PFV leave DET ship GOAL Ma’uke CONJ INCEP reach tomorrow LOC DET morning
   ‘The ship has left for Ma’uke, it is due there tomorrow morning.’ (Buse et al., 1995:523: tuku)

b. Mē rave kōtou i te mea tikāi ra, ‘e ‘enua tō-kōtou; ē ka meitaki tō-kōtou
   COND do 2PL ACC DET thing EMP POS3 EXIST land yours CONJ INCHO well your
   au ‘uānga.
   PL descendant
   ‘If you do the right things, you will have land and your descendants will be well.’ (Tāra’are, 2000:2)

In example 155 ka occurs in clauses expressing habitual or simple present sense.

(155) a. Nā tēia ‘akairo ‘oki e ‘akakite mai ki a tātou ē, ē ka
   AGNT.POSS this sign also IPFV explain DIR1 GOAL PERS 1PLINC SUBR CONJ INCEP
   ‘aka-roa=’ia te ‘akatangi’anga i te võvera tei māka=’ia e tēia ‘akairo
   CAUS-long=PASS DET CAUS-sound-NIR ACC DET vowel REL.PST mark=PASS AGNT this sign
   nei.
   POS1
   ‘This symbol also informs us that the sound of the vowel that is marked by this symbol, is lengthened.’
   (Simiona, 1979:v)

b. I te au taimē rava rāi mē rere aia, ka topa ‘ua rāi aia ki raro.
   LOC DET PL time EMP EMP COND fly 3SG INCEP fall MERELY EMP 3SG GOAL down
   ‘Every single time he flew he would just fall down.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:10)

While ka is often used in narratives for successive events, as in example 156, it is not used as often as kua.
4.4. VERBAL PARTICLES AND TAM

(156) I tō-rāua no'o-'anga, e tākinga-meitaki ana tētaꞌi i tētaꞌi. Ka 'ākara e ka 'ākono
LOC their live-NR TAM care-well HABIT one ACC one INCEP look CONJ INCEP care
te tungāne i te tuaꞌine, ē ka pērā katoa 'oki te tuaꞌine i te tungāne.
DEM brother ACC DET sister CONJ TAM alike all EMP DET sister ACC DET brother

‘In their lives together, they care well for each other. The brother paid attention to, and cared for, the sister
and likewise the sister to the brother.’ (Simiona, 1979:1)

Ka can co-occur with the postposed verbal particle ana.

(157) Ka 'aere ana māua ka oriori nā taꞌatai.
INCEP go PFV IDEX INCEP stroll about along beach

‘We’ll be going for a stroll along the beach.’ (Buse et al., 1995:291: oriori)

Ka can also produce sentences with a subjunctive type of modal quality as in 158a.

(158) a. 'Ākara i te vaka. ‘E vaka tō Papa. Tei roto te vaka i te tai. Ka
look ACC DET boat EXIST boat DET.Poss father LOC inside DET boat LOC DET sea INCEP
kau tāua ki kō i te vaka.
swim IDINC GOAL there LOC DET boat

‘Look at the boat! Father has a boat. The boat is in the sea. Let’s swim to the boat.’ (Frienboe et al.,
1958:25)

b. Ka 'aere tātou!
INCEP go 1PLINC

‘Let’s go!’

In summary, the verbal particle ka is glossed as inceptive or inchoative. The only information it adds to the verb
phrase is the sense that the action has begun (inceptive), or that the state has at some point begun (inchoative). It
says nothing explicit about tense or about any degree of completeness, and it can be used for almost any purpose.

4.4.3 Tē ...POSITIONAL

The verbal particle tē marks progressive aspect. It is always biposed with one of the positional particles and those
particles may produce a tense marked interpretation. The 1st person positional particle nei usually indicates present
tense. The 3rd person positional particle ra may indicate past or future tense, but may also indicate that the event is
occurring at a physical distance from the speaker. So, these two positional particles can loosely be glossed as ‘near’
and ‘distant’. The interesting thing is that this ‘distance’ can be a distance in space or in time.

The pattern that occurs where tense is the factor at play (rather than location in space) is an unusual one cross-
linguistically. The tense distinction it marks is present time (tē ...nei) vs non-present time (tē ...ra). Payne (1997:236)
diagrams this pattern as:
He says about this pattern “Another possibility that is rumored (sic) to occur is a two-way distinction between present and non-present.”

I don’t think the CIM pattern fully qualifies as a proper example of such a present vs non-present tense system because tense is not explicitly coded by these particles. The present vs non-present distinction is merely one possible result of the presence of these particles. In addition, this is not the general tense distinction for the language as a whole. However, it is nevertheless an interesting phenomenon.

4.4.3.1  Tē ...nei

Tē...nei marks progressive aspect. While it strongly implies, it does not explicitly mark present tense. The positional particle nei places the verb phrase near to the speaker in space or time. The most basic interpretation is present tense progressive aspect. The examples in 159 all naturally produce a present tense progressive translation. 5

(159) a.  Tē  tū  nei  rātou.

PRDG  stand  POS1  3PL

‘They are standing.’

b.  Tē  tipū  raupā  nei  mātou  nō  te  maka’atu.

PRDG  cut  raupā  POS1  1PLEX  for  DET  fish-trap

‘We’re cutting leaves to make a raupā for the fish-trap.’ (Buse et al., 1995:385: raupā)

c.  E  kimi  ana  rātou  é  tē  pē’ea  nei  te  ora’anga  o  te  tangata  i  tēia  tuātau,

TAM  seek  HABIT  3PL  SUBR  PRDG  how  POS1  DET-XR  of  the  people  LOC  this  time

pērā  katoa  i  tō  te  tuātau  mua.

alike  also  LOC  DET-Poss  DET  time  front

‘They study how the lives of people of this time are as well as that of the past.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:5)

Sometimes, the strict present tense interpretation doesn’t apply from the point of view of the time of the telling, but from the point of view of the moment in the narrative. Example 160 is translated as past progressive by the author of the book, presumably for the purpose of a smooth narrative in the English translation. However, in the context of the narrative itself, the action can be seen as occurring proximately to the previous section of the discourse.

(160)  Ė  tēianei,  tē  ‘aere  nei  aia  ki  reira  ki-te  tiki  i  te  a’i.

CDMJ  now  PROD  go  POS1  3SG  GOAL  there  COMP  fetch  ACC  DET  fire

‘On this occasion, he was going there to fetch the fire.’ (Tara’a, 2000:124) LIT: ‘And now he is going there to collect the fire.’

5The term raupā in 159b is ‘A line of leaves or vines used as a barrier to divert fish into a trap.’ (Buse et al., 1995:385)
4.4. VERBAL PARTICLES AND TAM

4.4.3.2 Tē ...ra

Tē...ra or tē VERB ra, also denotes progressive aspect. However, its use indicates that the action is occurring at a location distant from the speaker, either in time or space. As such, the constructed example 161a is ambiguous without any context. It could either place the event in the present tense but physically located at a distance, or it could place the event at a distant point in time, that is, a non-present point in time. Example 161b occurs at the beginning of a narrative set in the distant past. Example 161c is also part of a narrative set in the distant past. Therefore, the tense is probably not significant in either of these examples, as in 160 above. However, in sentences with the verbal particle tē in narrative texts, the tē ...ra variant is about ten times as common (as tē ...nei) in the Vairanga Tuatua. This indicates that it is the unmarked form for narratives; possibly because it is more readily interpreted as past tense.

(161) a. Tē tū ra rātou.

They are standing (over there distant from the speaker and hearer).
They were standing.
They will be standing.

b. Tē no'o ra ki runga i te 'enua ko 'Avaiki tēta'i tangata tei karanga='ia PROG live POS3 LOC above LOC DET land SPEC Hawaiki DET.I.S person REL.PST call=PASS
ē ko Mariri tōna ingoa.
SUBR SPEC Marii DET.POSS 3SG name

A certain person called Mariri was living on the land of Hawaiki.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:1)

c. Kua 'aere atu ra rāua ma te 'enua i raro i a rāua e tae atu ra TAM go DIR2 POS3 3D COM DET island LOC below LOC PERS 3D TAM reach DIR2 POS3
rāua ki 'Avaiki, kua tūpā'u atu ra i tō-rāua 'enua ki tō Kae. Tē moe 3D GOAL Hawaiki TAM replace DIR2 POS3 ACC their island LOC DET.POSS Kae PROG sleep
'ua ra a Kae, tē 'eva ra. (Taraꞌare, 2000:12)
MERELY POS3 PERS Kae PROG lament POS3

They proceeded with the land beneath them and reached Avaiki and replaced the island alongside that of Kae. Kae was fast asleep whilst the dirge was going on.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:126)

4.4.3.3 Tē ...na

Tē ...na usually indicates present tense and places the event (loosely) near to the addressee. This construction is quite rare in texts but it is grammatical and used in conversation reasonably frequently. However, it is not obligatory for all events occurring near the addressee. So, for a simple question, as in 162a, the version with tē ...nei (162b) is also acceptable. Sentences with tē ...na are often questions, as in 162c.
(162) a. **Tē a’a na koe?**  
PROG what POS2 SG  
“What are you doing?”

b. **Tē a’a nei koe?**  
PROG what POS1 SG  
“What are you doing?”

c. **Tē auē na koe i te a’a?**  
PROG cry POS2 SG ACC DET what  
“What are you crying for?” (Buse et al., 1995:263: na2)

**Tē** does not co-occur with the postposed verbal particle **ana**, presumably because **tē** = ‘progressive’ and **ana** = ‘perfective’ so the result would be semantically incoherent.

4.4.4 **I**

The verbal particle **i** is the only verbal particle that explicitly indicates tense. It marks past tense. Sentences beginning with **i** are nearly always collocated with the postposed particle **ana**. **I**-initial sentences without **ana** are either not acceptable or marginally acceptable to most speakers (compare 163a to 163b).

(163) a. **I kai au i te poke.**  
PST eat 1SG ACC DET poke  
‘I ate the poke.’

b. **I kai ana au i te poke.**  
PST eat PFV 1SG ACC DET poke  
‘I ate the poke.’

Although sentence initial **i** is not particularly common it does occur. Example 164a comes from a narrative passage and example 164b is a dictionary example where the postposed particle **ana** is not present.

(164) a. **I pū‘āpi‘i ana a Tiakana Nuraanga, ē i pū‘āpi‘i katoa ana aia nō te tamariki**  
PST teach PFV PERS Tiakana Nuraanga CONJ PST teach also PFV 3SG for the children  
‘āpi‘i Tapati. school Sunday  
‘She taught (was a teacher) and she also taught for the Sunday School children.’ (Rere, 1975:65)
4.4. VERBAL PARTICLES AND TAM

b. I 'aere tāꞌākā 'ua mai Ø rāua ki konei, i 'oki rāua ma te ki.
   PST go bare MERELY DIR1 Ø 3D GOAL here PST return 3D COM DET full

'They came here with nothing and went away full.' (Buse et al., 1995:409: tāꞌākā)

4.4.4.1 Sentence medial i as a verbal particle.

In complex sentences, subordinate verb clauses which are either in the past or show perfective aspect are marked with i. Example 165 shows a negative complex sentence. Example 166 shows a past tense actor emphatic sentence. Example 167 shows a sentence with a fronted (past tense) time phrase. For this sentence to be acceptable, the anaphoric particle ei is required postverbally.

(165) Kāre aia i kai i te poke.
   NEG 3SG PST eat ACC DET poke

'She did not eat the poke.'

(166) Nāku i kai i te poke.
   AE.1SG PST eat ACC DET poke

'I ate the poke.'

(167) Inapō i kai ei rātou i te poke.
   Last-night PST eat ANA 3PL ACC DET poke

'Last night, they ate the poke.'

4.4.5 E ...ana

The verbal particle e codes imperfective aspect. The combination of sentence initial e and the positional particle ana codes habitual aspect. Example 168a has a succession of habitual clauses, followed by a more referential final sentence which is periphrastically marked as past tense by the time adverbial. Example 168b is from a narrative and in this context the e ...ana phrase can be interpreted as being in the past tense. Where the verbal particle e occurs in subordinate clauses, it marks non-past tense. However, this is not the case in main clauses with e ...ana, where they are always unspecified for tense.
138  CHAPTER 4. MORPHOLOGY 2: THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE PHRASE

(168) a. E ‘āpī’i ana au i te tamariki. E tauturu ana au i te pū‘āpī‘i. E tu’a IPFV teach HABIT 1SG ACC DET children IPFV help HABIT 1SG ACC DET teacher IPFV cook ana au i te kai. E ‘anga‘anga ana au i roto i te āpati. E reka HABIT 1SG ACC DET food IPFV work HABIT 1SG LOC inside LOC DET office IPFV like ana au i te tatau puka. Kāre au e reka ana i te ‘āpī‘i nūmero. Mataora HABIT 1SG ACC DET read book NEG 1SG IPFV like HABIT ACC DET study numbers happy au i te ‘āpī‘i nūmero i tēia pōpongi.

1SG SAGNT DET study numbers LOC this morning

‘I teach the children. I help the teacher. I cook the food. I work in the office. I like reading books. I don’t like maths. (But) I enjoyed the maths this morning’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:14)

b. E no‘o ana aia ko ia anake i roto i tōna ngutu‘are, i te ‘ōire ko IPFV live HABIT 3SG SPEC 3SG only LOC inside LOC his household LOC DET village SPEC Arorangi Arorangi

‘He lived alone in the village of Arorangi.’ (Tuatua Mai, 2014a)

c. E kite ana tātou i te satellite i te pō. IPFV see HABIT 1PLINC ACC DET satellite LOC DET night

‘We (can) see the satellite at night.’ (Rere, 1967:60)

4.4.6 Ø–E

Imperatives of active transitive (169a) and action intransitive verbs (169b) are marked by Ø–e. The variation between Ø and e is phonologically conditioned (cf. section 2.7.1.1). E is obligatory for phrases of less than three morae and optional for phrases of three or more, In the latter context Ø is available, as in 169c, which contains three zero marked imperative clauses.

(169) a. E ‘aka‘a‘ano i tēta‘i mānga i te ruru i tōku pona. IMP CAUSE-broad ACC DET.I.S piece LOC DET belt LOC my dress

‘Make the belt on my dress a bit wider.’ (Buse et al., 1995:13: ‘aka‘a‘ano)

b. E ‘oki mai koe āpōpō. IMP return DIR1 2SG tomorrow

‘Come back tomorrow.’ (Buse et al., 1995:212: mai1)
4.4. VERBAL PARTICLES AND TAM

4.4.7 Kia

In main clauses, the verbal particle **kia** marks optative mood. Kia can freely precede statives in main clauses, as in 170.

(170) a. **Kia manuia** koe, tō’ou rā ‘ānau-’anga!
    OPT fortunate 2SG your day birth-PR
    ‘Happy birthday!’ LIT: ‘May you be fortunate, your birthday.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:244)

b. **Kia ma’ana** te one ki runga i te ‘enua.
    OPT be-warm the earth LOC on LOC DET land
    ‘May the earth upon this land be warm.’ (Purea, 2013:5)

Main clauses expressing optative mood are much less common with other verb types, but they do occur. In example 171a the optative clause is passive (cf. section 6.4). It contains a suffixed transitive verb. In 171b the optative clause is an active (type 1) transitive, while in 171c, it is an action intransitive.

(171) a. **Kia ‘aka-meitaki=’ia** koe.
    OPT CAUSE-good=PASS 2SG
    ‘May you be blessed.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:398)

b. **Kia āru** tō-mātou aro’a i a koe.
    OPT follow our love ACC PERS 2SG
    ‘May our love follow you.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:398)

c. **Kia ‘ārāvei** viviki ‘aka’ou tātou kātoatoa.
    OPT meet quickly again 1PLINCL all
    ‘May we all meet again soon.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:398)

4.4.8 Ana

The particle **ana** occurs in the Positional slot of the postposed periphery of a verb phrase. Structurally then, it aligns with the positional particles and it cannot co-occur with any other positional particle. However, it is not semantically

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6In dependant clauses, **kia** can mark a range of clauses types; cf. chapter 10.
positional, but rather an aspect marker. In most conditions, ana marks perfective aspect, as in 172. However, when it is collocated with the imperfective verbal particle e, it marks habitual aspect (cf. section 4.4.5).

(172) a. I ‘ākara ana tātou i tēta’i imene.
PST look PFV 1PL INC ACC DET.I.S.SONG
‘We looked at one song.’ (Rere, 1975:23)

b. Kua ‘aere ana rātou ki te au ‘enua e manganui i te tuatau tā’ito.
PFV go PFV 3PL GOAL DET.PL land TAM many LOC DET time old
‘They had gone to many lands in ancient times.’ (Hutchin., 1904:175)

c. Ka ‘aere ana au ki va’o.
INCEP go PFV 1SG GOAL outside
‘I will go outside.’ LIT ‘I will have gone outside.’ (Tara’a’re, 2000:17)

d. Kia tae ‘ua ana tō’ou mata’iti ki te 18, ‘e mea umuumu ma’ata=‘ia kia
COND reach MERELY PFV your year GOAL DET 18 CLS thing desire much=PASS OPT
retita koe register 2SG
‘When you have reached the age of 18, it is highly desirable for you to be enrolled.’ (Electoral Enrolment Centre, 2011:5)

Exactly what the semantic distinction is between sentences such as those in 172, and the equivalent sentence without the particle ana is not yet clear, and warrants further investigation.

4.4.9 Teite

The complex verbal particle teite expresses present tense and continuous aspect. This verbal particle is more common with action intransitives, as in 173a and 173b, than any other verb type. However, there are transitive examples. Example 173c has a canonical transitive verb that is grammatically de-transitivised by the incorporated object, while 173d is grammatically transitive.

(173) a. Tei te kata te katoatao i aia.
PRD.PRS DET laugh DET all ACC 3SG
‘They are all laughing at him.’ (Gill, 1911a:124)
4.5. THE NOUN PHRASE/PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

b. Tei runga te ma’ata-’anga o tēia aronga i tō rātou au ro’i maki, tei te moe ē tei te puka.

‘Most of these people are on their sick beds sleeping or chatting.’ (Rere, 1967:39)

c. Tei te rama kaveu rāua.

‘They are out hunting coconut crabs with torches.’ (Buse et al., 1995:167: kaveu)

d. Tei te vāere ’oki aia i te pa’i taro.

‘She is weeding the taro patch.’ (Aiono-Iosefa et al., 2000:8)

It is likely that this verbal particle is derived from the locative particle tei (‘present tense location’) and the determiner te.

4.4.10 Verb phrases in dependent clauses

Dependent clauses are discussed fully in chapter 10, but there are notes to be made here about the preposed periphery of dependent verb phrases. The TAM markers available in dependent clauses are reduced compared to those of main clauses. Generally, a past tense clause takes i, and a non-past clause takes e.

4.5 The noun phrase/prepositional phrase

The key formal difference between a verb phrase and a noun phrase is realised in the preposed periphery. A NP cannot take a verbal particle but it must, apart from special exceptions, take a determiner. The minimal NP must have a base and a determiner. Most NPs occur in PPs in CIM. Consequently they will be discussed together.

The full prepositional phrase takes the form:

| PREPOSITION | DET | [NUM] | [PREP] | [NOUN] | [BASE MODIFIER] | [MANNER] | [DIRECTIONAL] | [POSITIONAL] | [EXTERNAL MODIFIER] | post-pP |

The preposed periphery (pre-pP) contains an preposition (P), a determiner (DET) and an optional number classifier (NUM) i.e. the grammatical information. The postposed periphery (post-pP) optionally contains a manner particle, a directional particle, and a positional particle. There is a set of particles that modify the whole phrase and occur phrase-finally. They are known as the external modifiers (MOD). Lastly, the nucleus may contain one or more modifying bases.

but not often more
In addition to these fixed slots, there is the nominalising clitic (=CANGA) which can affix to the noun or to any other internal postposed particle as discussed in section 3.10.2.

The examples in 174 show maximal postposed peripheries in noun phrases. Example 174a has a full post-pP in the predicate NP. Example 174b has a partially full post-pP, comprising a manner and a directional particle, but no positional or external modifier. It also has a base modifier, mânea, in the nucleus. This phrase is the subject NP. Manner particles do not occur in noun phrases as frequently as they do in verb phrases.

(174) a. ‘E nui ‘ua atu ra ‘oki te tourists e ‘aere mai ara ki Rapanui.

There are really a lot of tourists who travel to Rapanui.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:41:15-00:41:18) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

b. Oh tērā te Navy Base mânea roa atu i roto i

‘That is the finest navy base in all of France.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:41:59-00:42:03) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

There are three major categories of noun phrase: predicate noun phrases which are discussed in chapter 5, subject noun phrases, and prepositional phrases. Case is marked by prepositions in CIM so all NPs except the subject NP are introduced by an overt preposition and thus are technically prepositional phrases. I will use the shorthand NP to refer to all NPs/PPs unless otherwise specified.

4.6 Nominal particles

This section will cover the particles that occur in the preposed periphery of NPs, i.e. the set of particles that are unique to NPs. These include the particles ko and 'e, both of which primarily mark nominal predicates (cf. chapter 5), as well as the prepositions, determiners and number classifiers.

4.6.1 Nominal particles: ko and 'e

4.6.1.1 Ko

The nominal particle ko has two principal functions. It marks the predicate of equative nominal sentences, as in 175 (cf. section 5.2). Ko also marks NPs that occur in the pragmatically marked sentence initial position (cf. section 6.9.2).
4.6. NOMINAL PARTICLES

(175) * Ko te ingoa tēia a Karika Ariki.
   SPEC DET name PRO.DEM of Karika Ariki
   ‘This is the name of Karika Ariki.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

(176) * Ko te ‘anga‘anga mua tāna i rave ko ia ‘oki ko te tūtaka i te
   SPEC DET work first DET.REL.PATIENT TAM do SPEC 3SGX EMP SPEC DET inspect ACC DET
   enua.
   land
   ‘The first thing he did was to inspect the island.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:10)

In sentences like 176, the ko phrase marks either focus or topic. Bauer (1991) suggests that for the equivalent construction in NZM, the focus construction and the topic construction are structurally different. While that issue is outside the scope of this project, it would be interesting to have that investigated further for CIM.

The example in 177 shows a particular type of conjunction that uses ko to co-ordinate the specification of two or more referents of a non-singular pronoun (cf. section 9.3.6).

(177) Kua tātuātau’a e Chris rātou ko tōna au ‘oa rave ‘anga‘anga te
   TAM set-a-period-of-time=PASS AGNT Chris 3PL INCLUS.SPEC her PL friend do work DET
   au toetoenga o Mana.
   PL remains of Mana
   ‘Chris and her colleagues carbon dated Mana’s remains.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:7) LIT: ‘Mana’s remains were “timed” by Chris and his work friends.’

Very occasionally, NPs marked by ko occur in the unmarked subject position (following the VP) of verbal sentences, as in 178. This pattern is uncommon but it seems to focus the identity of the subject referent.

(178) a. Kua mou ko Paremoremo. Ko te toa ia o Tu-tapu.
   TAM caught SPEC Paremoremo SPEC DET warrior 3SG of Tu-tapu
   ‘Paremoremo was caught. He was Tu-tapu’s warrior.’ (Tara‘are, 2000:62)

The overriding property that ko carries is that of specificity, hence it is glossed throughout this work as SPEC. Ko could be categorised as a preposition on the grounds that it is always followed by a NP. However, I have categorised it as a separate nominal particle here because it is usually restricted to predicate phrases.

4.6.1.2 ‘E

The nominal particle ‘e marks indefinite or non-specific nominal predicates (cf. 5.3). This particle is cognate with the particle *se, which is reconstructed as the indefinite article for proto Nuclear Polynesian (Greenhill and Clark, 2011),
but it has undergone significant grammatical reanalysis in CIM. NPs introduced by 'e never co-occur with a determiner, and on this basis, 'e can be considered to to be a determiner itself. Buse and Savage both gloss it as the 'indefinite article'. However, NPs introduced by 'e are restricted to predicate NPs and cannot occur in any other type of phrase. A NP marked by 'e cannot occur in a PP (including one marked by 'ko') or in a Ø marked subject NP. This distribution is complementary with the distribution of the t-class determiners, and as such, 'e cannot contrastively mark a NP as indefinite. I will not retain the label 'indefinite article' here as it seems to be somewhat problematic. However, It is not unusual, cross-linguistically, for the syntactic behaviour of the indefinite article to differ significantly from that of the definite article (Dryer, 2007b).

4.6.2 Prepositions

There are more or less twenty prepositions in CIM, depending on how homophonous forms with different functions are treated. These are listed in table 4.3. Those in bold may mark predicates as well as adjunct NPs and the details of these nominal predicates are covered in chapter 5. The prepositions mark NPs for grammatical role in CIM. The details of this will be discussed in chapter 6 with respect to the major constituents of the various types of verbal sentences. At this juncture it can be proposed that the Ø marked NP in any sentence is the grammatical subject of that sentence. The details of the various adjunct phrases initiated by each preposition are discussed in chapter 8.

4.6.3 Determiners

Leaving aside NPs introduced by 'e, the determiner slot in the noun phrase can be filled by one of three major subcategories of determiner. While NPs must contain a determiner in most conditions, there are exceptions. These are NPs that have a locative base (cf. 3.6.3) as their head, and personal NPs in ko predicates (cf. 5.2).

4.6.3.1 Personal article

The personal article introduces names of humans (as in 179), pronouns in some contexts, and other types of names more irregularly. The personal article does not occur with names in phrases of address. The presence of the personal article in the determiner slot of a NP usually indicates that the noun belongs to the personal category, but it is not unequivocal (see section 3.6.4). The personal article is not specified for number and marks the NP as Definite-Specific.

(179) I tatau 'oki a Mere rāua ko 'Ina i tā-rāua 'īrava tāmou ngākau.

TAK read EXP PERS Mere 2D SPEC Ina ACC their verse memorise heart

‘Mere and Ina read their verses learnt by heart.’ (Aiono-Iosefa et al., 1999:4)

4.6.3.2 Particle of address

The particle of address e8 marks vocative case and introduces NPs that are addressees; that is, a second person referent. This referent is often a name, as in 180a, but may be a title as or categorical label, as in 180b, or a pronoun.

8The phonetic content of this particle alternates between e and Ø cf. section 2.7.1.2.
### Table 4.3: Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Major Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
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<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>stative agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>passive agent</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### Locative Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Major Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>past location</td>
<td>past location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ei</td>
<td>present location</td>
<td>present location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mei</td>
<td>future location</td>
<td>future location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>goal</td>
<td>goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>past time</td>
<td>past time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>generic locative</td>
<td>generic locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>generic locative</td>
<td>generic locative</td>
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<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>future time</td>
<td>future time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
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<td>trans locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>trans locative</td>
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#### Possessive Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Major Constituents</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>possessive ACAT</td>
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<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>possessive OCAT</td>
<td>possessive OCAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā</td>
<td>belong to ACAT</td>
<td>belong to ACAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>belong to OCAT</td>
<td>belong to OCAT</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### Other Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Major Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>instrument</td>
<td>instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā</td>
<td>fronted agent or cause</td>
<td>fronted agent or cause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

as in 180c. The particle of address is not specified for number and marks the NP as +Definite +Specific.

(180) a. *Kia ora* e *Mere*

> **TAM** well **VOC** Mere

‘Hello Mere.’
b. **E te ’Atu, e te ’Atu, kāre āinei mātou i toto’u i roto i tō’ou ingoa, ē**

VOC TAM Lord VOC TAM Lord NEG INT PLEX TAM prophesy LOC inside LOC your name CONJ kua tuaru atu i te au dēmoni i roto i tō’ou ingoa, ē kua rave i te au TAM repel DIR2 ACC DET PL demons LOC inside LOC your name CONJ TAM do ACC DET PL ‘akairo mana ‘e mānganui i roto i tō’ou ingoa?

sign authority CLS many LOC inside LOC your name

‘Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and in your name drive out demons, and in your name perform many miracles.’ (Bible Society of South Pacific, 2014: Matio, 7:21)

c. **”ꞌOro mai e koe! Ka ‘aere tāua ka ‘ākara,” i nā Rima el.**

run DIR1 VOC 2SG TAM go IDINIC TAM look TAM belong Rima ANA

‘You run here! Let’s go and look,” said Rima.’ (Heather et al., ndc:2)

### 4.6.3.3 The vocative exclamation ē

The particle of address has a companion particle, ē, that is associated with vocative phrases and acts as a vocative exclamation. When this particle precedes the NP, it takes the place of the vocative particle (181a), or it can follow the vocative phrase (181b), or it can be repeated in both positions (181c).

(181) a. **Ē Tīnai! ka ‘aere mai koe ki runga nei!**

VOC.EXCLAM Tīnai TAM go DIR 2SG GOAL up POS1

‘Tīnai! You come up here.’ (Tāraꞌare, 2000:6)

b. **Māui ē! Ka tū rā koe ki runga!**

Māui VOC.EXCLAM TAM go DIR 2SG GOAL up

‘Oh Māui you stand up!’ (Tāraꞌare, 2000:6)

c. **Ē Māui ē! Ka tū ra koe ki runga!**

VOC.EXCLAM Māui VOC.EXCLAM TAM go DIR 2SG GOAL up/

‘Oh Māui you stand up!’ (Tāraꞌare, 2000:6)

### 4.6.3.4 Determiner te

The determiner te is reconstructed for proto Polynesian and reflexes are found in most Polynesian languages. (Greenhill and Clark, 2011). Te is widely glossed as the ‘definite article’ or ‘definite article, singular’. In CIM the determiner te does not explicitly mark a NP as definite or specific, or as singular, but simply as nominal (cf. section 4.6.3.9).

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*This particle is always phonologically long and sometime involves addition lengthening cf. 2.9.3. So an alternative analysis could be that the exclamation combines with the vocative to produce a long vowel.*
4.6. NOMINAL PARTICLES

4.6.3.5 Te and the definite/specific distinction

The distinction between definite and specific is significant in Polynesian languages. Clark (1976:47) has said that,

...the distinction involved, in many PN languages and probably in PPN, is not the same as the definite-indefinite distinction in English. The PN “definite” article is used whenever the speaker has a particular individual in mind, whether or not the addressee is expected to be able to identify the individual. (The latter condition is necessary for the use of the English definite article.) The distinction thus corresponds more precisely to that between specific and non-specific as defined in recent discussion of English (e.g. Karttunen, 1971).

Broadly speaking, a NP is definite if its referent can be identified by both the speaker and the addressee, and a NP is specific if it can be identified by the speaker. Loosely following Ihsane and Puskás (2001), Table 4.4 shows the various possibilities for the combinations of the independent features of ‘definite’ and ‘specific’, and which determiners can be used for each combination in CIM.\(^{10}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+ Definite</th>
<th>- Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Specific</td>
<td>the dog bit me</td>
<td>a dog bit me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te</td>
<td>tētaꞌi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-specific</td>
<td>dogs bark</td>
<td>bring me a dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te, 'e</td>
<td>'e, tētaꞌi, te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here I am treating what is sometimes called ‘generic’ as having the features +definite and -specific.\(^{10}\)
The CIMP determiner te can express + Definite + Specific (‘definite’ proper), or + Definite - Specific (‘generic’), as well as - Definite - Specific. (‘indefinite’). Other determiners may, of course, also mark these categories. The only category that te does not express is -Definite + Specific, which is marked by the complex determiner tētaꞌi, and is discussed in section 4.6.3.14. This determiner is shown in example 182.

(182) Kua kake taua tangata ki runga i te vaka o Rata, ē kua 'aere mai tētaꞌi
   TAM climb DET.ANA person LOC on LOC DET canoe of Rata CONJ TAM go DIR1 DET.I.S
   tangata ma te ui rāi, “Ka 'aere ki 'ea te tere o Rata?”
   person COM DET ask EMP TAM go LOC where DET travelling-party of Rata
   ‘That person climbed onto Rata’s canoe and a (certain) person came along asking “Where is Rata’s travelling party going?” ’ (Tivini and More-taunga-o-te-tini, 1910:163)

4.6.3.6 + Definite + Specific: ‘definite’ te

The NPs in bold in both of the examples in 183 are + definite and + specific. That is, the NP refers to an entity that is identifiable by both the speaker and the addressee.

(183) a. Ko ia te pūꞌāpiꞌi Māori Nutireni, Māori Aotearoa.
   SPEC 3SG DET teacher Māori New-Zealand, Māori Aotearoa
   ‘He was the teacher of New Zealand Māori.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:58:19-00:58:22)
   https://goo.gl/xVFLpG
b. Ko Pepeꞌia te ‘orometua i tae mai ai te tuatua i te mataꞌiti 1822.
   SPEC Pepeꞌia DET missionary TAM reach DIR1 ANA DET story LOC DET year 1822
   (Taraꞌare, 2000:68)
   ‘Pepeꞌia was the (Tahitian) missionary who brought the gospel here in the year 1822.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:161)

This sense of te is close to ‘definite’ proper.

4.6.3.7 + Definite - Specific: ‘generic’ te

In the examples in 184, the referent of the te phrase is + definite but - specific. It is the general category of entities referred to by the NP that is known to both the speaker and the addressee. In 184a the subject refers to the category of birds that are kāveka (petrel birds), rather than to any individual kāveka bird/s. Likewise the pearls referred to in 184b are any of the members of the category of things known as pearls.
4.6. NOMINAL PARTICLES

(184) a. ‘E manu tangi turituri te kāveka.
  CLS bird sound loud DET kāveka-petrel
  ‘Kāveka petrels are noisy birds.’ (Tuatua Mai, 2014c)

b. Kua pātē mai te tangata ruku kōpūpū ē kua ki te pakete i te pārāu.
  TAM tug DET person dive diving-suit COMP TAM full the bucket SAGNT TAM oyster
  ‘The diver signalled (with a tug) that the rope basket was full of pearl-oysters.’ (Buse et al., 1995:327)

This sense of **te** could be considered to be generic.

4.6.3.8 - **Definite - Specific** ‘Indefinite’ **te**

Indefinite, - **Definite - Specific**, NPs can be marked by the nominal particle ‘e, but the distribution of ‘e is limited to nominal predicate phrases. This particle is discussed in section 5.3, but 185a is an example of an indefinite predicate with the nominal particle ‘e. However, te can also mark NPs that are interpreted as - **Definite - Specific**, as in 185b.

(185) a. Kāre ‘e tangata, ‘e tamariki, mōmē tai?
  NEG exist person exist children bathe sea
  ‘Weren’t there any people or children swimming?’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012:00:01:43-00:01:45) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

b. Tō-rātou manakoꞌanga ē ka kī te kōpū i te vi-puaka pī kua oro=ꞌia, pērā their thought-NIR COMP TAM full DET belly SAGNT DET pawpaw unripe TAM grate=PASS also te mario para ē te tiōpu vaivai.
  DET banana ripe CONJ DET soup watery
  ‘They thought our bellies would be filled with unripe grated pawpaw or ripe bananas and watery soup.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:03:09-00:03:10) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

There is no explicitly indefinite determiner available for non predicate NPs in CIM, but **te** can be be used for indefinite NPs of the type in 185b.

4.6.3.9 **Number and te**

Number marking of NPs is discussed in detail in section 4.6.4. At this point it is sufficient to say that **te** is not marked for number. In the absence of an overt number classifier in the phrase, **te** can have singular or plural interpretation. It is for this reason that **te** is simply glossed as DET for ‘generic determiner’ throughout this work.

The examples in 186 both show the generic (+**definite - specific**) **te** in the agent phrase of a stative sentence. Both these examples have nouns that could be categorised semantically as non-count nouns, thus rendering the notion of number semantically redundant.
(186) a. Kua tātīpokiꞌia te vaka kia kore e ki i te ua.

'The canoe was turned upside down to prevent it filling with rain.' (Buse et al., 1995:468: tātīpoki)

b. ‘E au karere ‘oki tā te Tipatimani o te vai e ‘apai mai nei ki EXIST PL message also DET.POSS DET department of DET water TAM take DIR1 POS1 LOC runga i tā-tātou ratio ē pērā te au nuti pepa ē te tv (sic) nō tēia au on LOC our radio CONJ also DET PL news paper CONJ DET TV for this PL ‘akamaro’iro’i’anga a te ‘i-ti-tangata kia tā’anga’anga meitaki i te vai e auraka encourage-NR of TAM people OPT operate well ACC DET water TAM NEG.IMP e kaimoumou ‘ua.

'The Department of Water also has notices put on our radio, as well as the newspaper and the TV, about their encouragement of the people to properly operate the water so that it isn’t wasted.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2009c)

However, example 187a has two instances of the phrase te tamariki. This first is -definite +specific (and plural as indicated by the irregular plural noun), while the second is putatively +definite +specific (and plural). Example 187b has a regular unmarked count noun (toka, ‘rock/stone’) that is interpreted as plural based on the semantics of the rest of the sentence, although the phrase it occurs in is not explicitly marked as plural.

(187) a. ‘E ma’ata te tamariki e ngatā ana i tēta’i o tēia au tū’anga e toru,

‘There are many children who are affected by one of these three issues but children who have ASD are affected by all three of these issues.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2010:1)

b. Tari-a mai kia ra’i te toka.

‘Bring a lot of stones over here.’ LIT ‘Bring here so that the stones may be many.’ (Buse et al., 1995:377: ra’i)

Example 188 has the phrase i te tiare, which is glossed by Buse here as plural. With more context it could be singular.
4.6. NOMINAL PARTICLES

(188) Kua takataki’a ia i te tiare.
TAM trample 3SG ACC DET flower

‘He trampled over the flowers.’ (Buse et al., 1995:424: takataki’i)

So, it can be seen that te is not inherently marked for number, despite sometimes being touted as ‘singular’. Therefore, te is a general determiner, and has coverage of +definite +specific, +definite -specific, and -definite -specific.

4.6.3.10 T-class determiners

There is a large class of determiners which are formed by affixing various particles to te (in some cases vowel assimilation also occurs). Following Biggs (Biggs, 1998), these are called the t-class determiners. Buse calls them “determinative complexes” (1963b:393) because they are multi-morphemic. This section will discuss the demonstrative and possessive determiners, as well as three more t-class determiners, tētaꞌi tauta and te reira.

4.6.3.11 Demonstratives

There are three demonstrative determiners which exhibit person deixis. Tē-nā (DEM2) and tē-rā (DEM3) are formed by te+positional particle (cf. section 4.8.3). The morphological composition of tēia is te + ia (3SGX). The demonstrative determiners are shown in table 4.5. These determiners also have explicitly plural forms where the initial /t/ is deleted. This pluralisation method is available for most definitive determiners but it is not the preferred method of pluralisation in most sentences (see section 3.9.2.2). All the demonstrative determiners can be used pronominally (cf. section 3.7.1).

Table 4.5: Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tēia</td>
<td>this (near speaker)</td>
<td>DEM1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēnā</td>
<td>that (near addressee)</td>
<td>DEM2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tērā</td>
<td>that (distant from addressee and speaker)</td>
<td>DEM3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>that (third person referent)</td>
<td>DEM.3X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēia</td>
<td>these</td>
<td>DEM.PL1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēnā</td>
<td>those (near addressee)</td>
<td>DEM.PL2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ērā</td>
<td>those (distant from addressee and speaker)</td>
<td>DEM.PL3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural forms via t-deletion

The examples in 189 contrasts the three main demonstrative determiners.

(189) a. Ka pēipē‘i ‘ua ‘oki koe i tēia mea.
TAM ~throw MERELY EMPH 2SG ACC DEM1 thing

‘You have to throw this thing twice.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:37:38-00:37:43)

https://goo.gl/xVFLpG
b. Tē kave nei koe i tēnā mea ki 'ea?
   TAM carry POS1 2SG ACC DEM2 thing LOC where

   'Where are you taking that thing?' (Buse et al., 1995:244: mea)

c. Tiki i reira i tērā mea nunui.
   fetch LOC LOC.ANA ACC DEM3 thing big

   'So fetch that big one.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012e:00:18:00-00:18:02 ) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

4.6.3.12 3SGX

There is another determiner that is not morphologically a t-class determiner. I will discuss it here because it has 
demonstrative type properties. This form is a variation of the 3SG pronoun ia, which is discussed in the personal 
pronouns section 3.6.2.3, and in the demonstrative pronouns section 3.7.1.1. In the examples in 190, ia is in the 
determiner position of the NP. It has an anaphoric reference to something or someone that is already present in the 
discourse, or to a referent with 3rd person deixis. This determiner is not common in modern texts.

(190) a. Mē motu ia taura, e tāmou 'ei taura 'ōu.
   COND snap DEM.3X rope TAM fasten COMP rope new

   'If that rope breaks, fasten a new one on.' (Buse et al., 1995:116: ia1)

b. Nā-na 'oki ia 'apinga,
   belong-3SG EMP DEM.3X thing

   'That thing belongs to him.' (Alono-Iosefa et al., 2000:7)

4.6.3.13 Three further t-class determiners

Before I discuss the large set of possessive determiners in the next section (4.6.3.17), there are three more high-
frequency t-class determiners, as shown in table 4.6. These three determiners do not share any particular properties 
with each other.

4.6.3.14 Tēta'i

Tēta'i marks a NP as -definite +specific. As no single word equivalent exists in English it is often glossed by the 
number-appropriate version of the English indefinite article. However it does not express indefiniteness proper, but 
rather the notion of ‘a particular’ or ‘a certain’. The form tēta'i is most likely composed of te + ta'i ('one') with the 
first vowel lengthened.
Table 4.6: Misc other determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tētaꞌi</td>
<td>a certain</td>
<td>DET.I.S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ētaꞌi</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>DET.PL.I.S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaphoric</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taua</td>
<td>that (aforementioned)</td>
<td>DET.ANA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aua</td>
<td>those (aforementioned)</td>
<td>DET.PL.ANA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te reira</td>
<td>that (aforementioned)</td>
<td>DET.ANA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(191) a. Ko tētaꞌi puka mānea te-reira i roto i te Tuatua Tapu Māori.
SPEC DET.I.S book beautiful PRO.ANA LOC inside LOC DET story sacred Māori

‘That is a (particular) beautiful book in the Māori Bible.’ (Rere, 1975:29)

b. Kua 'iki rātou i tētaꞌi 'akā'aere āou i te 'āpikē-ānga te manako o te
TAM choose 3PL ACC DET.I.S leader new LOC DET faint-hearted-IR DET thought of DET
'akā'aere mua.
leader first

‘They chose a (particular) new leader when the old one lost his drive.’ (Buse et al., 1995:68: )

Tētaꞌi can also be used pronominally (cf. section 3.7.3)

4.6.3.15 Taua

The determiner taua marks a NP as referring to an entity that has already been mentioned, hence its designation as anaphoric. The sentences in 192 are sequential from one narrative. The first use of the anaphoric pronoun is in the phrase taua tamaiti āna ra (‘that aforementioned child’), which refers to the son of the subject of this sentence (for whom he has been searching earlier in the narrative). The anaphoric determiner is used in 192b in the phrase tā taua mea tamaiti ra (‘of that aforementioned child’). The first mention of this child is in the phrase “tētaꞌi mea tamaiti” (‘a certain child’) from 192a.

(192) a. E kite atu ra aia i tētaꞌi mea tamaiti varevareā, kia 'ākara aia ko te
TAM see DIR2 POS3 3SG ACC DET.I.S thing child young TAM look 3SG SPEC DET
tūtū o taua tamaiti āna ra.
appearance of DET.ANA child PRO.POS3.3SG POS3

‘He, saw a certain young child and his, appearance was that of his child.’ (Pakoti, 1895:61)
b. *Kua ʻakavaitata atu ra aia ki tōna, pae, kua ui atu ra;* "Nā ʻai koe?“ Tērā TAM near DIR2 POS3 3SG LOC his side TAM ask DIR2 POS3 belong who 2SG DEM3 tā taua mea tamaiti ra; "Nā Moenau.” DET.POSS DET.ANA thing child POS3 belong Moenau

‘When he got close to his side (near to the child) he asked, “Whose (child) are you?” The answer of that child was; “Moenau’s.”’ (Pakoti, 1895:61)

Taua is quite common in older texts (pre 1980) in the Vairanga Tuatua, but quite rare in later texts. Some contemporary speakers don’t recognise it at all, indicating that it may be becoming obsolete. Unlike most of the t-class determiners, taua cannot act as a pronoun.

### 4.6.3.16 Te reira

The favoured anaphoric determiner in contemporary CIM is te reira, which combines the basic determiner te with the locative pronoun reira. In both examples in 193 the referent of the NP introduced by te-reira is already extant in the discourse.

(193) a. *Kua mataora tōna ngākau i te au vaʻine mānea o te-reira ʻenua ē kua ui TAM happy his guts SAGNT DET PL woman beautiful of DET-ANA island CONJ TAM ask atu aia ki te ariki i te vaʻine mānea rava atu. DET ANA ACC DET DET PL woman beautiful EMP DIR2 3SG LOC DET chief ACC DET PL woman beautiful EMP DIR2

‘His heart was pleased by the beautiful women of that land and he asked the chief for the most beautiful woman.’ (Simiona, 1979:67)

b. *ʻE a’a te au manako nō runga i te-reira ʻakakoro’anga te-ka tau kia CLS what DET PL idea for on LOC DET.ANA intention DET.REL-FUT proper TAM tāuru'ia ki roto i te imene? include=PASS LOC inside LOC DET song

‘What are the ideas regarding that intention that will be best to include in the song?’ (Rere, 1975)

Te reira can act as a pronoun (see section 3.7.5.1).

### 4.6.3.17 Possessive determiners

There is a basic possessive determiner tō–tā which is formed from te (DET ) + o (POSS.OCAT)–a (POSS.ACAT). In the final form, the vowel in te assimilates to that of the vowel in the possessive preposition resulting in a variation between tā and tō. The length quality of both vowels is retained, producing a long vowel.

The choice between tā and tō is based on the type of relationship between the possessor and the possessum. This system is discussed in detail in chapter 11. The possessive determiner can directly precede personal nouns (194a), locative nouns (194b), and the dual and plural pronouns (see section 4.6.3.18). However where the possessum is a
full NP, the possessive determiner precedes the original determiner, as in 194c. In this example, the determiner is tō te ta'unga. These very complex possessive determiners - with full NPs as possessors - are not very common, as the two-phrase possessive construction is preferred (cf. 11.4).

(194) a. Kua oti tētāi pae o tā Māui 'anga'anga ra, ē tē 'aere nei aia TAM finished DET.I.S part of DET.POSS.ACAT Māui work POS3 CONJ TAM go POS1 3SG ki-te rave i tētāi pae, ko ia ko te kimi i Te-Mokoroa-i-ata. INF do ACC DET.I.S side SPEC 3SG SPEC DET search ACC Te-Mokoroa-i-ata.

'One part of Maui’s work was done and he went to do another part, that is, to search for Te Mokoroa-i-ata (a monster).’ (’ara’are, 2000:8)

b. Ko tō runga tua tēnā, tēia tō raro.
SPEC DET.POSS.OCAT above side DEM2 DEM1 DET.POSS.OCAT underneath

'That is the top side you’ve got there, this is the bottom.’ (Buse et al., 1995:404: runga)

c. Kia oti tō te ta'unga pure-'anga ki tōna atua, kua 'akakite mai tōna atua TAM finished DET.POSS DET priest pray-NR GOAL his god TAM explain DIR his god i te tika ACC DET true

'When the priest’s prayer was finished his god explained the truth.’ (Purea, 2013:50)

4.6.3.18 Dual and plural pronoun possessive determiners

There is a large subset of determiners that are formed regularly from the dual and plural possessive pronouns (see table 4.7)\(^\text{11}\). The regular pattern simply juxtaposes tō–tā + PRO.

The complex determiners formed by this process specify the number and person of the possessor, as indicated by the form of the pronoun, as well as the category of the possessive relationship, as indicated by the tō–tā variation. The compound possessive determiners never co-occur with another determiner in the same phrase.

(195) a. ‘Akamāro’iro’i ‘ua rāi māua i tā māua ‘are mokopuna.
encourage MERELY EMP IDEX ACC DET.POSS.ACAT IDEX NUM.HUMAN grandchildren

'We encouraged our grandchildren.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:18:57-00:19:02) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

\(^{11}\)But irregularly for the singular possessive determiner (see table 4.8)
Table 4.7: Possessive determiners for dual and plural possessor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual Possessor Forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāua</td>
<td>we (1DINC)</td>
<td>tō-tāua</td>
<td>our DET.POSS.OCAT-1DINC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māua</td>
<td>we (1DEC)</td>
<td>tō-māua</td>
<td>our DET.POSS.OCAT-1DEX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōrua</td>
<td>you (2D)</td>
<td>tō-kōrua</td>
<td>your DET.POSS.OCAT-2D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rāua</td>
<td>they (3D)</td>
<td>tō-rāua</td>
<td>their DET.POSS.OCAT-3D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tā-rāua</td>
<td>their DET.POSS.ACAT-3D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural Possessor Forms</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tātou</td>
<td>we (1PLINC)</td>
<td>tō-tātou</td>
<td>our DET.POSS.OCAT-1PLINC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mātou</td>
<td>we (1PLEX)</td>
<td>tō-mātou</td>
<td>our DET.POSS.OCAT-1PLEX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōtou</td>
<td>you (2PL)</td>
<td>tō-kōtou</td>
<td>your DET.POSS.OCAT-2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rātou</td>
<td>they (3PL)</td>
<td>tō-rātou</td>
<td>their DET.POSS.OCAT-2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tā-rātou</td>
<td>their DET.POSS.ACAT-2PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Tō māua manako rāi i tērā ‘irinaki-’anga tērā e ‘aka-ora=’ia
   DET.POSS.OCAT INDEX thought EMP ACC DEM3 believe-XR DEM3 TAM CAUS-alive=PASS
   tō tātou reo.
   DET.POSS.OCAT 1PLINC language

   ‘That is our (DEX) fervent hope, our belief, that our (PLINC) language will be revived.’ (Nicholas. S. (collector) et al., 2012d:01:18:00-01:18:05) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

   They may also specify the number (as plural) of the possessum when they occur in their t-deleted form, as in 196.

   (196) E ono ā māua tamariki.
   TAM six DET.POSS.ACAT.PL INDEX children

   ‘We have six children.’ (Nicholas. S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:13:39-00:13:43) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

4.6.3.19 The singular possessors

The singular-possessor possessive-determiners have special allomorphs when they follow the possessive prepositions. They are shown in table 4.8. The expected form of the possessive determiners for singular-possessor possessors would take the ungrammatical forms shown in brackets in table 4.8. The singular possessive-determiners all contain the
same fossilised bound pronoun forms; -ku for 1SG, -ou~-au for 2SG, and -na for 3SG. These bound forms are also found in the n-class possessive pronouns, as discussed in section 3.6.2.6.

Table 4.8: Irregular forms for the singular possessors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au / å-ku</td>
<td>I (1SG)</td>
<td>tō-ku (*tō au)</td>
<td>my (DET.POSS.OCAT-1SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koe</td>
<td>you (2SG)</td>
<td>tō-ou (*tō koe)</td>
<td>your (DET.POSS.OCAT-2SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia / aia</td>
<td>s/he (3SG)</td>
<td>tō-na (*tō ia)</td>
<td>his/her (DET.POSS.OCAT-3SG)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(197) a. Tei roto ‘ua i tōna ‘are a Ngata-ariki.
LOC inside MERELY LOC DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG house PERS Ngata-ariki
‘Ngata-ariki is inside his house.’ (Tara’are, 2000:23)
b. E toru rái epetoma i muri mai kua mangió tikái tōku ūpoko.
TAM three EMP week LOC after DIR1 PVF itchy EMP DET.POSS.OCAT.1SG head
‘Exactly three weeks later my head became really itchy.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:08:03-00:08:07) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG
c. E kana koe i tā’au ‘akari ki roto i te kumete.
IMP grate 2SG ACC DET.POSS.ACAT.2SG coconut LOC inside DET DET bowl
‘Grate your coconut into the bowl.’ (Buse et al., 1995:202: kumete)

4.6.3.20 Neutral possessive determiners

There are three further possessive determiners which are not specified for the OCAT/ACAT distinction, and are thus known as the ‘neutral’ forms of the singular-possessor possessive-determiners. Only the singular-possessor possessive-determiners have neutral forms, and these neutral variations are not able to stand alone as pronouns, unlike the specified variants (see section 3.6.2.5). Table 4.9 lists the neutral forms.

Table 4.9: The neutral forms of the singular-possessor possessive-determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>taku</th>
<th>my (DET.POSS.N.1SG)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>your (DET.POSS.N.2SG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tana</td>
<td>his/her (DET.POSS.N.3SG)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The constructed examples in 198 contrast the three forms (OCAT, ACAT and NEUTRAL) of the singular-possessor possessive-determiners.

(198) a. Ko Rangi tōku ingoa
   SPEC Rangi DET.POSS.OCAT.1SG name
   'My name is Rangi.'

b. Ko Rangi taku ingoa
   SPEC Rangi DET.POSS.N.1SG name
   'My name is Rangi.'

c. *Ko Rangi tāku ingoa
   SPEC Rangi DET.POSS.ACAT.1SG name
   Intended: 'My name is Rangi.'

d. Kua tae mai tāꞌau tamāꞌine.
   TAM reach DIR1 DET.POSS.ACAT.2SG daughter
   'Your daughter has arrived.'

e. Kua tae mai to tamāꞌine.
   TAM reach DIR1 DET.POSS.N.2SG daughter
   'Your daughter has arrived.'

f. *Kua tae mai tōꞌou tamāꞌine.
   TAM reach DIR1 DET.POSS.OCAT.2SG daughter
   Intended: 'Your daughter has arrived.'

g. 'Ē meitaki tōna pātikara matini.
   CLS good DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG bicycle machine
   'His/her motorbike is great.'

h. 'Ē meitaki tana pātikara matini.
   CLS good DET.POSS.N.3SG bicycle machine
   'His/her motorbike is great.'

i. *'Ē meitaki tāna pātikara matini.
   CLS good DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG bicycle machine
   Intended: 'His/her motorbike is great.'
4.6. NOMINAL PARTICLES

4.6.3.21 The demonstrative interrogative tē’ea

There is an interrogative form which occurs in the determiner slot of a NP. It is formed from te + ‘ea (‘where’), with the initial vowel lengthened to produce tē’ea, which can be glossed as ‘which’.

(199) Nō roto mai i tē-ꞌea tuatua Papa ꞌ ā tā te Māori ingoa ko Tamati?

belong inside DIR1 LOC DET-which word English DET.POSS.ACAT DET Māori name SPEC Tāmati

‘Which English word does the Māori name Tāmati come from?’ (Rere, 1975:53)

Like most of the other complex determiners tē’ea can stand alone in a NP, as in 200.

(200) Ko tē’ea tā Ngā e ‘inangaro nei i-te kai nā muā - ko te puaka, mē ko

SPEC DET-which DET.REL Ngā TAM want POS1 INF eat via first - SPEC DET pig CONTR SPEC
tē-ꞌea DET te roto puaka?

DET entrails pig

‘Which (food) did Ngā want to eat first - the pork or the entrails?’ (Rere, 1967:48)

Or in both instances of tē’ea in 201.

(201) Kua ‘ēkōkō a Ruāriki mē ki tē’ea aia mē ki tē’ea.

TAM doubt PERS Ruāriki CONTR LOC DET-which 3SG CONTR LOC DET-which

‘Ruāriki is uncertain whether to do this or that.’ (Buse et al., 1995:99: ēkōkō)

4.6.3.22 Summary of the determiners

This concludes the discussion of the determiners; the set of particles (both mono and multi-morphemic) that occur in the first slot of a NP. The type of determiner associated with each type of NP for each type of noun is shown in table 4.10. The symbols used are: T - t-class determiner; PERS - the personal article; and Ø - no determiner. The phrase type is indicated by the type of initial particle.

4.6.4 Number classifiers

Number is most commonly marked in a NP by means of a number classifier (NUM). In terms of the phrase structure, the number classifier stands in the second slot of the preposed periphery of a NP directly following the determiner. Number classifiers co-occur with t-class determiners and the nominal particle ‘e. The two most common number classifiers are ngā and au, which are discussed in the following sections. There are also a number of other number classifiers that have more restricted use and these are briefly discussed in section 4.6.4.3.
### 4.6.4.1 The paucal number classifier ngā

Ngā marks dual or paucal number (‘a few’). It is often used for things that typically come in pairs such as human body parts or parents, as in 202a, or things that happen to constitute pairs, as in 202c and 202b.

(202) a. Kua ‘āpīi tōku ngā metua i āku ē ‘e anga’anga kino te keiā.  
TAM teach my PAUCAL parent ACC 1SG SUBR.CLS CLS work bad DET steal  
‘My parents have taught me that stealing is wrong.’ (Rere, 1967:37)

b. ‘Apai te tokoruā o Obama i tā-rāua ngā tamariki nō tēta’i epetoma ki Afrika,  
carry TAM partner of Obama ACC their PAUCAL children for DET.I.S week LOC Africa  
‘ei ‘akaāri i te ngari ē te ipukarea o tō-rāua metua ronganui.  
COMP show ACC DET homeland CONJ DET homeland of their parent famous  
‘Obama’s partner has taken their two children for a week in Africa to show (them) the homeland of their famous father.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

c. Kua karanga=ia ē, ‘e ngā toa-ʻurutumu ia o te ʻenua nei. Ko tō-rāua  
tAM call=PASS SUBR.CLS CLS PAUCAL hero 3PRD of DET land POS1 SPEC their  
ingoa, ko Ure’ia ē Ngātipa’aki.  
name SPEC Ure’ia CONJ Ngātipa’aki.  
‘It is said that they are great heroes of this land. Their names are Ure’ia and Ngātipa’aki.’ (Simiona, 1979:83)

However, ngā also occurs in NPs where more than two entities are referred to, hence the designation as ‘paucal’ rather than ‘dual’. Buse suggests that ngā often marks phrases that have a numeral modifier, as in 203a (Buse et al.,...
However, a numeral modifier does not have to be present for *ngā* to be used where the number of referents is more than two, as in (203b), where the gloss ‘a few years ago’ is the most natural.

(203) a. *Tuātau tē no'okō 'tāria tangata, ko ia 'oki ko Taratoa, e riro ana.*

Loc DET time front TAM livé POS1 this person SPEC 3SG EMP SPEC Taratoa TAM become PFV nā-na e tiaki ana i tēia ngā 'enua e toru, ko ia 'oki ko 'Atiu, AE-3SG TAM watch-over HABIT ACC this PAUCAL island TAM three SPEC 3SG EMP SPEC 'Atiu Mit'aro, ē Ma'uke.

Miti’aro CONJ Ma’uke

‘In the old days, this person was living, that is Taratoa. It came about that he watched over these three islands of ‘Atiu, Miti’aro and Ma’uke.’ (Purea, 2013:44)

b. *Tei Afghanistan, ‘e va'e'au aia. Tei roto aia i te Army but i tēia ngā mata’iti.*

Loc Afghanistan CLS soldier 3SG LOC inside 3SG LOC DET army but LOC this PAUCAL year ā nā roto mai ‘oki aia i reira i kite aia nā runga i te pākau ‘oki a te ah via inside DIRI EMP 3SG LOC there TAM see 3SG LOC on LOC DET thing ENPH of DET Papa’a nei ara internet.

Pākehā POS1 POS3 internet

‘In Afghanistan, he was a soldier in the army but a few years ago, ah, when he was in there, he saw (something) on that Pākehā thing, the internet.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Kairae, P. (speaker), 2013:00:04:33-00:04:51) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

Particularly in older texts, *ngā* sometimes occurs as a stand alone determiner, as in the examples in (204). This is reminiscent of NZM which does not have number classifiers and always uses *ngā* as the plural determiner.

(204) a. *Kua no'o aia ki raro kua tākave i te 'are ki ngā rima ē ngā.*

TAM sit 3SG LOC under TAM embrace ACC the house INSTR DET.PAUCAL arm CONJ DET.PAUCAL vaevea.

leg

‘He sat down and embraced the house with both legs and (both) arms.’ (Te Rei, 1917a:8)

b. *E ‘oki, kāre e rauka a Rori, kua mou ngā tāmaka o Rori.*

IMP return NEG TAM able PERS Rori TAM held DET.PAUCAL shoe of Rori

‘Go back, you can’t beat Rori; he wears his shoes. You can’t catch him.’ (Short, 1951:257)

### 4.6.4.2 Plural number classifier *au*

In contrast to *ngā*, the number classifier *au* marks a phrase as plural proper. The examples in (205) show generic (non countable) plurals that don’t imply any specific number. However, *au* can indicate a plural number of countable nouns
and the choice of au over ngā does not necessarily suggest ‘greater than paucal’. There are many situations where either ngā or au could be used, as can be seen in 206 (cf. 203a).

(205) a. Kua teretere aia nā roto i te Patipika, ē kua nenei ‘aere i te au ‘akairo TAM travel 3SG via inside LOC DET Pacific CONJ TAM photograph go ACC DET PL sign ē te au ‘apinga tei ma‘ani=i ia i te tuātau mua. CONJ TAM PL thing DET.REL make=PASS LOC DET time front ‘He travelled throughout the Pacific photographing the symbols and the artefacts (things made in the past).’ (Salesa et al., 2004:31)


(206) a. Mei te mea ‘e mānea tēia au mea e toru, ka riro mai i reira te-reira SOURCE DET thing CLS beautiful this PL thing TAM three TAM become DIR1 LOC that DET-ANA imene ‘ei imene mānea, ‘ei imene te-ka vai e roa ‘ua atu te tuātau. song COMP song beautiful COMP song DET.REL-FUT exist TAM long MERELY DIR2 DET time ‘Supposing that these three things are beautiful, these songs will thus become beautiful songs that last for ever.’ (Rere, 1975:7)

b. Kua ‘aka‘arāvei‘ia mai te au tamā‘ine e rima te-ka piri atu ki roto i te TAM introduce DIR1 DET PL girl TAM five DET.REL-FUT join DIR2 LOC inside LOC DET Tārērē Mā‘ine Tiare o tēia mata‘iti i te-reira rā katoa competition woman flower of this year LOC DET-ANA day also ‘The five women who will compete in this year’s Mā‘ine Tiare competition were also introduced on that day.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2009b)

As in 207 with au and in 202c with ngā, the number classifiers can occur in predicate phrases introduced by ‘e (cf. chapter 5).

(207) a. Ko te au ‘anga‘anga tāna i rave, ‘e au mea te-reira ka kata tāua; ‘e SPEC DET PL work DET.REL.POSS TAM do CLS PL thing PRO-ANA TAM laugh 1DIRN CLS ‘anga‘anga mei tā te nēneva rāi te ūi. work SOURCE DET.POSS DET silly EMP DET way ‘No matter what he did, they were things that we would laugh at. The actions were so ridiculous.’ (Simiona, 1979:64)
b. Mē kaikai kāpiti rāua i te au a'ia'i, 'e au kai mēmeitaki anake tā-rāua

COND eat together 3D LOC DET PL evening CLS PL food great only DET.REL.Poss

e kai ana

TAM eat HABIT

‘When they ate together in the evenings they only ate delicious food.’ (Tuatua Mai, 2014d)

Both of these number classifiers can co-occur with t-deleted determiners, as in 208, thus doubly marking the phrase.

(208) “E kai ana koe i ēnā ngā ika mā tēnā meika?”.

TAM eat TAM 1SG ACC DEM2.PL PAUCAL fish with DEM2 banana

‘Do you eat those fish with that banana?’ (Tara'are, 1899:80)

As mentioned in the earlier discussion of te (cf. section 4.6.3.4) a NP can be plural even if it is not overtly marked as such. While these number markers are sufficient to mark a phrase as plural or paucal, they are not necessary.

4.6.4.3 More number classifiers

There are several other particles or lexical items that indicate number and/or mark semantic noun categories. As these can co-occur with both ngā and au (the number classifiers proper) in most instances, they could perhaps more accurately be described as noun classifiers. Table 4.11 is taken from (Mose, 1961:101) and supplemented from (Buse et al., 1995). It lists a number these items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngā</td>
<td>paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>plural people, time, place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puke</td>
<td>dual/paucal: applies mostly but not exclusively to people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pā</td>
<td>a row of humans, land or landmarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'i</td>
<td>great (in amount, number, or diversity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tini</td>
<td>a large number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putunga</td>
<td>marked a group of people/ category of human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ai</td>
<td>plural of kinship terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ui</td>
<td>plural of superiorly ranked humans (e.g. tupuna, ariki, toa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aronga</td>
<td>“group” of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urupū</td>
<td>“group” of people (loan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.7 Structure of the nucleus

Both NPs and VPs can include one or more modifying bases in the nucleus of the phrase, but infrequently more than three. As discussed in 3.3, nearly any base can modify any other base. Statives are very common modifiers of other bases, as in 209a and 209b. Example 209c contains a NP where the head noun (ngāꞌi) is followed by three modifying bases (ꞌakatōꞌanga, paꞌī, rere);\(^{12}\) none of which are statives.

\[(209)\]

\[\text{a. Kua 'oki mārie atu aia ki te kāinga ma te 'apai meitaki atu i te vai.} \]
\[\text{TAM return slow DIR2 3SG LOC DET home COM DET carry good DIR2 ACC DET water} \]
\[\text{‘He went back home slowly, carefully carrying the water.’ (Simiona, 1979:62)} \]

\[\text{b. Kāre te tangata mako e 'aka'oro viviki ana?} \]
\[\text{NEG DET person proper TAM drive fast HABIT} \]
\[\text{‘Don’t proper people drive fast?’ (Rere, 1967:17)} \]

\[\text{c. Kua kereita=ꞌia te ngāꞌi 'akatōꞌanga paꞌī rere kia tika.} \]
\[\text{TAM grade=PASS TAM place land-NIR ship fly OPT straight} \]
\[\text{‘The landing strip was levelled with an excavator.’ (Buse et al., 1995:170: kereita)} \]

The usual internal structure of the type of nested modification in 209c is \([N [M1 [M2 M3]]]\) as illustrated in figure 4.1.

![Diagram of internal structure of a complex nucleus](image)

Figure 4.1: Internal structure of a complex nucleus

\(^{12}\)Paꞌī rere (Lit: flying ship - aeroplane) is a border case for being considered a compound noun, which would bring the number down to two modifiers.
4.8 Postposed particles

The particles that occur postposed to the nucleus are nearly identical in all phrase types.

The following sets of particles occur to the right of the nucleus of all phrase types in the following order:

1. Manner Particles

2. Directional Particles

3. Positional Particles

4. External Modifier Particles

The semantic effect of these particles is sometimes slightly different in verb phrases than it is in noun phrases. These particulars are discussed where applicable. In general, the postposed material adds modifying information to the phrase. This contrasts with the preposed material, which provides grammatical information.

4.8.1 Manner Particles/ Manner Adverbials

The set of particles that occurs in the first slot of the postposed periphery are sometimes referred to by Polynesianists as the manner particles (Mutu-Grigg, 1982; Biggs, 1998). Buse included ‘ua, roa, rava and tikāi in this slot and he called them ‘adverbial particles’ (Buse, 1963c:162). I have added kē and tākiri based on their distribution. The manner particles occur more frequently in VPs than in NPs which presumably explains their adverbial designation by earlier scholars. They are most frequently collocated with statives in the Vairanga Tuatua. As is the case in NZM (Mutu-Grigg, 1982), the precise semantic effects of these particles are very slippery to pin down as can be seen from Buse’s glosses, which are reproduced here in table 4.12. In particular, rava, tikāi, roa and tākiri appear to be interchangeable for some purposes. What follows will be a brief survey of their behaviour in CIM. However, further careful investigation of the semantics of these particles is required. As Bauer (Bauer et al., 1997:334) observed for NZM, the sense of a particular manner particle is driven significantly by the semantics of the base that it modifies. Furthermore, most of the manner particles have a homophonous base. In these cases, the semantic effect of the manner particle is often related to the sense of the base.

4.8.1.1 Rava

The base rava is glossed as ‘be sufficient, enough, adequate.’ (Buse et al., 1995:386). The general sense of the manner particle rava is ‘definitely’. The various examples in 210 illustrate some of the effects that rava can have. In 210a, rava modifies a stative verb and has a simple emphatic effect, as it does in 210b, where it is modifying an accusative NP. In 210c and 210d, rava is part of a superlative construction.
### Table 4.12: The ‘manner’ particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rava</td>
<td>certainly, definitely, wholly, quite, perfectly, completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikāi</td>
<td>really, real, actual, definitely, certainly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roa</td>
<td>a general intensive; definitely, certainly, completely, absolutely, quite, very, too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ua</td>
<td>just, merely, only, simply, without any real or special quality/reason/cause/point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kē</td>
<td>away, elsewhere, off, astray, different, other, wrong (different from the one required.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tākiri</td>
<td>Completely, altogether</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(210) a. **Kua pō‘itire rava a Teatuatima i tēia tū, ma te kore roa aia i manako**

TAM surprised MP.EMP PERS Teatuatima SAGNT DEM1 way COM DET NEG MP.EMP 3SG TAM think

*ana ē, ka tamaki te au va‘ine i a rātou*

PFV SUBR TAM fight DET PL women ACC PERS 3PL

‘Teatuatima was very surprised at this occurrence, he had never thought that the women would fight them.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:37)

b. **Kua ‘iki=ia ‘oki rāua ‘ei mata, ē ‘ei tauturu i te katoatoa rava i te-reira**

TAM elect-PASS EMP 3D COMP face CONJ COMP help ACC DET all MP.EMP LOC DET-ANA

Oire.

‘They have been elected as representatives and to help absolutely everyone in that village.’ (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:6)

c. **Ko ia te va‘ine pakari rava atu i te Kuki Airani kātoatoa.**

SPEC 3SG DET woman old MP.EMP DIR2 LOC DET Cook Islands all

‘She is the oldest woman in the whole Cook Islands.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

d. **Ko te mea mua meitaki rava atu tā-kōrua e rave, ko te komakoma**

SPEC DET thing first well MP.EMP DIR2 DET.REL.POSS-2D TAM do SPEC DET chat

*kāpiti i te manamanatā tei tupu.*

together ACC DET problem REL come-about

‘The first, most important thing you should always do is talk to each other about the problem.’ (Department of Building and Housing, 2011:21)
4.8. POSTPOSED PARTICLES

4.8.1.2 Tikāi

The manner particle tikāi is bi-morphemic, comprising the base tika (‘straight, correct’), and ai (anaphoric particle). Its most general sense is intensive and it can often be glossed as ‘really’, as it is in 211a. In 211b tikāi modifies a predicate NP, in 211c a locative NP, and in 211d, a subject NP.

(211) a. Ka ‘inangaro tikāi au i a koe kia tae koe ki te-reira taimē
   TAM want MP.EMP 1SG ACC PERS 2SG OPT reach 2SG GOAL DET-ANA time
   ‘I would really like you to reach that time.’ (Frisbie, 1999:8)

b. Ko te ‘enua pare-’au tikāi tēia nō te au ariki rava rāi, nō tēia nei ‘enua
   SPEC TAM land headress EMP DEM1 for DET FL chief MP.EMP EMP from this POS1 island
   mato’a ‘aere mai ei ki te pā ‘enua kātoatoa
   spread-out go DET ANA GOAL DET row island all
   ‘This was the land of splendid head-dresses of all the chiefs and it was from this land that [these customs] spread to all the islands.’ (Tara’are, 2000:29)

c. Nō Toko te vai pā’i i tuatua=’ia ai ē, ko Vai-o-toko, ko ia Vai-toko.
   belong Toko DET water TAM bathe say=PASS ANA SUBR SPEC Vai-o-toko CONJ 3SGX Vai-toko.
   Ė te Tū-o-Toko i tāi i te ava tikāi.
   CONJ DET way-of-Toko LOC PRO.LOC LOC DET harbour MP.EMP
   ‘The bathing place was named after Toko that is Vai-o-toko, that’s Vai-toko. And Tū-o-Toko right at the harbour.’ (Tara’are, 2000:75)

d. ‘E ma’ata ‘ua atu rāi te aronga - te tāne tikāi - e ‘akaputu ana i
   CLS many MERELY DIR2 EMP DET group - DET man MP.EMP - TAM CAUSIE-heap HABIT ACC
tō-rātou riri i te tuātau rangimarie, ē kia tae ki te tuātau ka’ianga
   their anger LOC DET time peace CONJ TAM reach GOAL DET time consume-IR
   kava, kua ‘akariro rātou.
   alcohol TAM CAUSE-angry 3PL
   ‘Many people, especially men, hang on to their anger during easy times, and when they drink they express their anger.’ (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2004:10)

4.8.1.3 ‘Ua

The manner particle ‘ua does not have a homophonic base. It is glossed in this work as merely, but it is often translated as ‘just’, or ‘only’. There are two instances of ‘ua in 212a. The first modifies an action intransitive, and the second occurs in a comitative adverbial clause with a transitive verb. In 212b, ‘ua modifies a stative verb. In 212c, it modifies a predicate NP, and in 212d an accusative NP.
(212) a. Kua ‘oe ‘ua atu rāi aia ma te ‘ākara tīka ‘ua ki mua.
   TAM paddle MERELY DIR2 EMP 3SG COM DET look straight MERELY GOAL front
   ‘He just paddled away while merely looking straight ahead.’ (Simiona, 1979)

b. Nō tōku ‘akamā, kua ‘ipana ngaro ‘ua=’ia atu tēia kutu ki va’o ake i
   belong my shame TAM flick hidden MERELY-PASS DIR3 DEM1 lice GOAL outside DIR3 LOC
   DET car
   ‘Because of my shame these lice were just secretly flicked out of the car.’ JTKM KUTU

c. Ko tēia ‘ua i reira tāna paꞌuꞌanga.
   SPEC DEM1 MERELY LOC PRO.LOC her answer
   ‘This was all she answered.’ (Huꞌakau et al., 1999:3)

d. Ka pāpā au i a koe mē ‘ārarau koe ki tēta’i ‘apinga ‘ua atu i rungā
   TAM beat 1SG ACC PERS 2SG CONF grab 2SG ACC DET.I.S thing MERELY DIR2 LOC on
   i tēia pā’ata.
   LOC DEM1 shelf
   ‘I’ll beat you if you touch any of the things on this shelf.’ (Buse et al., 1995:72: ꞌārarau)

4.8.1.4 Roa

There is a stative base roa which translates as ‘to be long’ and the various semantic results produced by the homophonous manner particle seem to be able to be connected to that basic sense.

In NPs, as in the sentences in 213, the manner particle roa often produces the superlative sense, especially in combination with a direction particle, usually atu.

(213) a. Ko te tuatua meitaki roa atu ko ia ‘oki kia ‘akariro’ia aia ‘ei tangata,
   SPEC DET talk good MP.EMP DIR2 SPEC 3SG EMP OPT establish-CIA 3SG COMP person
   auraka ki tōna tū pakipakitai.
   NEG.IMP GOAL DET.Poss.OCAT.3SG way disability
   ‘Effective communication makes the person the focus rather than their disability.’ (Luꞌi Ola, 2012b:28)
   LIT: ‘the best talk’

b. Nā rātou te ‘apinga māne’a roa atu i tōku manakoꞌanga.
   belong 3PL DET thing beautiful MP.EMP DIR2 LOC my think-NR
   ‘They have the most beautiful things in my opinion.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker),
   2012:00:33:04-00:33:07) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG
The examples in 214 show typical verbal instances of the manner particle *roa*. In 214a it modifies a stative and in 214b a transitive verb. In both cases the *roa* adds a broadly emphatic sense to the verb.

(214) a. Inārā, i te kite’anga o Akaina i tēia va’ine kua ‘ati *roa* tōna ngākau

i te ‘inangaro i tēia va’ine.

‘However, when Akaina saw this woman he was overwhelmed completely by his desire for this woman.’ (Purea, 2013:49)

b. Ka pati *roa* koe ki te ariki o tērā ‘ōire kia ‘akatika=’ia koe kia tomo atu ki TAM ask MP.EMP 2SG GOAL DET chief of that village DPT=PASS 2SG COMP enter DIR2 LOC roto i reira.

indside LOC there

‘You politely ask the chief of that village if you can have permission to enter that place.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:36:48-00:36:53) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

4.8.1.5 Kē

The manner particle *kē* indicates that the event or situation denoted by the base is somehow contrary to expectations or contrastive in some respect. There is a lexicalised form *tūkē*13 (*tū* ‘away or manner’; *kē* ‘contrary to expectations’), which is a stative and is translated as ‘different’. Most of the semantic results of the use of *kē* as a manner particle can be related to this underlying semantic concept. Example 215 shows some typical verbal uses of *kē*.

(215) a. I reira kua motu a Rarotonga, kua topa *kē*; ē nō reira i tuatua=’ia

LOC PRO.LOC TAM divided PERS Rarotonga TAM name CNTR CONJ from PRO.LOC TAM speak=PASS ko Rarotonga, nō-te-mea nō runga mai.

SPEC Rarotonga because from south DIR1

‘Thus, the land was divided, and Rarotonga was re-named and therefore is called Rarotonga because it is in the south.’ (Hutchin., 1904:175)

b. Kia pōpongi ake, kua ‘aere *kē* atu te au teina o Rū i-te kimi ‘enua nō

SUBR morning DIR3 TAM go CONTR DIR2 DET PL younger-sibling of Rū COMP seek land BEN rātou.

3FL

‘When it became morning, the younger siblings went elsewhere to search for a land for them.’ (Simiona, 1979:51)

---

13 and its variants *tūkēkē*, *tūkētūkē* and etc
Kē can be glossed as ‘another’ in NPs, as in 216.

(216) a. Tēia katoa tētaʻi au tūʻanga kē o tēia rorouira-ʻātuitui tei reira tētaʻi au tuatua
       DEM1 also DET.I.S PL section CONTR of DEM1 website LOC PRO.LOC DET.I.S PL talk
       ‘akakitekite kē i roto i te reio Māori Kuki Airani.
       explain CONTR LOC inside LOC DET language Māori Cook Islands

       ‘These are also some different sections of this website where there is some other information in the
       Cook Islands Māori language.’ (Human Rights Commission, 2000)

b. Kua 'aere atu rātou ki tētaʻi au ana kē atu.
       TAM go DIR2 3PL GOAL DET.I.S PL cave CONTR DIR2

       ‘They went to some other caves.’ (Simiona, 1979:23)

4.8.1.6 Tākiri

The manner particle tākiri is not as frequent in the Vairanga Tuatua as the other manner particles and was not
designated as belonging to this category by Buse. However, I hear it frequently in conversation, and based on this
anecdotal evidence, as well as its distribution in the Vairanga Tuatua, I have included it in the class of manner
particles. Tākiri is glossed as completely (COMPL) and expresses the idea of ‘completely’ or ‘altogether’ or ‘totally’.

There are no instances of tākiri in nominal contexts in the Vairanga Tuatua. Examples 217 shows the typical verbal
use.

(217) a. Kua māʻū tākiri aia i te ua.
       TAM wet COMPL 3SG SAGNT DET rain

       ‘He was wet through with the rain.’ (Buse et al., 1995:429: tākiri)

b. Kāre i-reira te reo Tahiti i te reo ʻou tākiri ki a Tapairu-ariki.
       NEG therefore DET language Tahiti LOC DET language new COMPL LOC PERS Tapairu-ariki

       ‘Therefore the Tahitian language was not at all something new to Tapairu-ariki.’ (Rere, 1983:31)

4.8.1.7 Comment on distribution

Although they only rarely occur in the same phrase, the manner particles are not strictly mutually exclusive. Example
218a has a phrase with both rava and roa. Example 218b has both kē and tākiri in the same phrase. This combination
occurs three times in the Vairanga Tuatua. The combination of kē 'ua, as in 218c, occurs nine times in the Vairanga
Tuatua and is the most frequent combination.
4.8. POSTPOSED PARTICLES

a. Kua 'aka'un-ga'ungā-tī tōna nuku va'e-au.
   TAM annihilate MP.EMP MP.EMP=PASS his group soldier
   ‘His army was totally annihilated.’ (Buse et al., 1995:49: 'aka'un-ga'ungā-tī)

b. Kāre nō kōtou taua au tuatua ra, nō tēta'i aronga kē tākiri.
   NEG belong 2PL DET.ANA PL talk POS3 belong DET.I.S group CONTR.COMPL
   ‘That is not yours, it’s for another group (person) altogether.’ (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:18)

c. ‘E tūmatetenga ma'ata tō Tapairu-ariki ē Mata i-te-mea tei tēta'i 'enua
   EXIST sad large DET.POSS Tapairu-ariki CONJ Mata because LOC.PRS DET.I.S land
   kē 'ua rāua i teiane.
   CONTR.MERELY 3D LOC now

   ‘Tapairu-ariki and Mata were really sad because they were now on quite a different island.’ (Rere, 1983:17)

4.8.2 Directional particles

The second postposed slot is filled by one of the class of particle called directional particles. The directional particles are mai, atu, ake, iꞌo and aꞌo. The directional particles mai, atu and ake are very common, while iꞌo is less common. Aꞌo the least common and is confined to older texts in the Vairanga Tuatua.

I consider the basic senses of the directional particles to be as follows in table 4.13. The particular effects of any directional particle that doesn’t fit clearly into the basic sense will be discussed on a case by case basis.

Table 4.13: The basic senses of the directional particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>General Gloss</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>towards the speaker in space or time</td>
<td>DIR1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atu</td>
<td>away from the speaker in space or time</td>
<td>DIR2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ake</td>
<td>away upward from the speaker in space or time</td>
<td>DIR3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aꞌo</td>
<td>away at a distance from the speaker in space or time</td>
<td>DIR4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iꞌo</td>
<td>downwards towards the speaker in space or time</td>
<td>DIR5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.8.2.1 Directional particles with verbs of motion

The effect of these particles is clearest in verb phrases with verbs of motion, as in the examples in 219. In these phrases the directional particle indicates the direction of the movement with respect to the speaker or the narrative point of view. Mai and atu are very common in verb phrases while the other directional particles are less common.

In 219d and 219e with iꞌo, the movement is being viewed from a point of view that is below the place where the
movement originates. That is the movement is downward towards the target. In 219f, the implication is that the box of the example is located off to the side of the person.

(219) a. Kua auē rānunui aia, e oti, rere atu ei ki runga i te pū i'i. TAM cry big 3SG TAM finish fly DIR2 ANA LOC on-top LOC DET tree chestnut

‘He cried loudly and then flew onto the chestnut tree.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:51)

b. I ‘ākarakara rātou i te manu e rere mai ra mei uta ki-te kimi ika. TAM look 3PL ACC DET bird TAM fly DIR1 POS3 SOURCE landward COMP seek fish

‘They looked carefully at the birds that flew towards them from land to search for fish.’ (Salesa et al., 2004:23)

c. Mē reira, kua ‘aere ki ‘Avaiki-runga, ē ki te pā ‘enua kātoatoa e pini ‘ua COND there TAM go GOAL ‘Avaiki-runga COND GOAL DET row island all TAM encirle MERELY ake. (Taraꞌare, 2000:43)

DIR3

‘From there they sailed to ‘Avaiki-runga and all the islands near there.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:144)

d. Kua tupu ‘o ra te tamaki i reira; kua rere mai a Muꞌu-tokerau, ē Muꞌu-tonga TAM grow DIR4 POS3 TAM battle LOC that TAM fly DIR1 PERS Muꞌu-tokerau, CONJ Muꞌu-tonga kua rere ‘o ra i te ‘oko-īitu, ka tamaki nō te ‘aup; TAM fly DIR3 POS3 X DET twenty-seven TAM battle for TAM peace

‘So battle commenced and Muꞌu-tokerau and Muꞌu-tonga came and invaded, the party of 27 invaded (down) and fought for peace.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:52)

e. Kua ‘eke ‘i o ra te au tangata tei piri mai ki a Pā. TAM descend DIR4 POS3 TAM PL person REL.PST attached DIR1 ACC PERS Pā

‘The people who supported Pā went down (were wounded).’ (Gill, 1911b:199)

f. Kua tuku ‘ua aꞌo aia i tauli ‘apinga ki roto i te piꞌa i ‘aruru ei. TAM put MERELY DIR5 3SG ACC DET.ANA thing GOAL inside LOC TAM BOX TAM explode ANA

‘He had only just put the thing into the box when it exploded.’ (Buse et al., 1995:62: aꞌo3)

4.8.2.2 Directional particles with non-motion verbs

In verb phrases with non-motion verbs, the semantic effect of the directional particles is a little less clear. With verbs that can be 'oriented', the directional particles orient that action or state in space in relation to the speaker or the narrative point of view, as in 220a. Here the act of sitting is oriented, probably physically, but perhaps metaphorically, towards Tinirau’s house. Directional particles can also orient the verb phrases in a more abstract way, in relation to
the narrative point of view. However, they always convey some sense of movement, or orientation, towards the main point of view of the narrative, as in 220b.

(220) a. Kua no'o mai ra aia ki ō-Tinirau, e ngātata ake pa'a te no'o'anga kua TAM stay DIR1 POS3 3SG LOC DET.POSS-Tinirau TAM long? DIR3 perhaps DET stay-NR TAM ‘āriuriungatā aia nō te roa o te no'o'anga; (Tara'are, 2000:11)
   restless 3SG for DET long of DET stay-NR

‘He stayed at Tinirau's (place) until he was perhaps a long time (there), and had become restless from the length of his stay.’ (Tara'are, 2000:125)

b. I tēta'i tuātau i muri mai, kua riro mai aia 'ei pū'āpi'i ma'aata, ē 'ei LOC DET.I.S time LOC after DIR1 TAM become DIR1 3SG COMP teacher big CONJ COMP 'aka-'aere nō tēta'i 'are vai-ranga 'apinga ma'aata i Vai'. (Salesa et al., 2004:31)
   CAUSE-go for DET.I.S house exist-NR thing important LOC Hawai'i

‘He later became a professor and the director of a large museum in Hawai‘i.’ (Salesa, 2004:31)

c. Kua 'akatū i'o ra mātou ko Makea Tekao i te 'are.
   TAM build DIR4 POS3 IPLEX SPEC Makea Tekao ACC DET house

‘We and Makea Teako built the house.’ (Rere, 1983:42)

4.8.2.3 Some specific verbal effects of particular directional particles

The directional particle mai can indicate “progression of time towards the present” (Buse et al., 1995:212) in verb phrases, as in 221.

(221) Kua kino-kino mai te tai.
   TAM bad-FR DIR1 DET sea

‘The sea has been getting rougher.’ (Buse et al., 1995:212: mai1)

The particle atu conveys the sense ‘more’ to some verb phrases, as in 222.

(222) Mē ka kino atu tō'ou au tū-ranga 'akairo maki, kāpikiia atu te numero a te Healthline CONJ TAM bad DIR2 you PL way-NR sign illness call DIR2 DET number of DET Healthline 0800 611 116.
   0800 611 116

‘If your symptoms worsen call the health line on the number 0800 611 116.’ (National Influenza Specialist Group, 2009a:2)
[4.8.2.4] Direction Particles in NPs

The various directional particles have a range of effects on NPs.

[4.8.2.5] In locative phrases

All five directional particles occur in the postposed periphery of locative phrases where they modify that phrase in the same way that they do verbs of motion. In 223a the directional particle mai emphasises that the man has come from the ship towards the position of the narrative point of view. In example 223b atu conveys the sense of ‘more than’. In 223c ake places the sticks above another object rather than merely on it. In 223d the dogs are located at a place ‘along’ from the cave. In 223e iꞌo is indicating that the power of the chiefs comes onto the people from above, albeit metaphorically.

(223) a. Kua noꞌo tētaꞌi tangata ki uta nei nō runga mai i tuaa paꞌi ra ko  
   Tupe  te  ingoa.
   ‘A man from that ship named Tupe lived inland here.’ (Gill, 1911b:191)

   b. Tei runga atu i te 100 au basileia15 e tāꞌangaꞌanga nei i tēia vairakau  
   vekisini, ě kua kite-aꞌia mai  te tū-ranga meitaki  
   ‘More than 100 countries run this immunisation programme and it is seen to be excellent.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2013b:2)

   c. Kua pāꞌataꞌia te rākau ki runga ake i te taramu ‘ei ngā i taurakiꞌanga  
   copra.  
   ‘He laid sticks across the top of the drums as a staging to dry the copra on.’ (Buse et al., 1995:299: pāꞌata)

15Basileia is a loan from Greek introduced by the missionaries that has come to mean ‘country’ or ‘nation state’ in contemporary CIM. It is sometimes written and pronounced as it is in 223b. Alternatively it is written and pronounced as patireira conforming to the CIM phonology.
4.8. POSTPOSED PARTICLES

4.8.2.6 Comparative

Both atu and ake are used in comparative and superlative constructions, as in 224.

(224) a. ‘E iti ake te au tū manu ē te rākau i reira

CLS few DIR3 DET PL type animal CONJ DET plant LOC there

‘There were fewer types of animals and plants there.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:9)

b. Tērā katao ‘oki, ‘e ma’ata atu rāi te mamao i rotopū i a rātou, i tō

DEM3 also EMP CLS big DIR2 EMP DET distance LOC between LOC PERS 3PL LOC DET.POSS

te au ‘enua i Otitania Vaitata

DET PL island LOC Oceania near

‘The distances between (these islands) are also much further than the islands in Near Oceania.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:9)
4.8.2.7 Additional

The directional particle aitu adds the sense ‘additional’ or ‘more’ to NPs. For this sense, it can immediately follow the determiner, as in (225a). However, it usually occurs in the postposed periphery as it does in (225b).

(225) a. I muri rava mai i te 1980s, kua ‘ānau te Jehovah’s Witness, è te Assembly of God è tētaꞌi aitu au evangelia Keresitiano mei Marike mai. 

‘After the 1980s the Jehovah’s Witness and the Assembly of God were introduced, as well as other Christian denominations from America.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Pēnei, ‘e au mea aitu tētaꞌi ka ‘inangaro koe i-te uiui mai? 

‘Perhaps there are some other things you would like to ask about?’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:35:43-00:35:48) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

4.8.2.8 Reflexive

The directional particle aꞌo occurs in the somewhat lexicalised reflexive marker16 uaꞌorāi. This comprises the manner particle ua, the directional particle aꞌo and the external modifier rāi, as in (226).

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16 It is not entirely lexicalised as its constituent morphemes are still transparent to most speakers.
4.8. POSTPOSED PARTICLES

(226) Kua ‘ākara rāi au i-te tereini i tāku ‘ua’orāi au tamariki ē tāku ‘ua’orāi mokopuna.

TAM look EMP 1SG COMP train ACC my REFL PL children COMJ my REFL grandchildren

‘I’ve looked at training my own children and my own grandchildren.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:10:31-00:10:37) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

Reflexive constructions more generally are discussed in section 6.10.2.

4.8.2.9 Directional particles in the preposed-periphery

Directional particles occasionally occur in the preposed periphery of a NP, following the determiner, as in 227a and 227b, and as we saw earlier in 225b. This suggests that the strict ordering conditions of the internal structure of the phrase have some flexibility (cf. section 4.10). Or alternatively, that this particular combination has been lexicalised.

(227) a. ‘E a’a tērā a’o ‘apinga veru i runga i tō pona?

CLS what DEM DIR thing frayed LOC on LOC your dress

‘What is that tassel thing on your dress?’ (Buse et al., 1995:561: veru)

b. I tērā mai pōpongi kua ‘oki mai te au toa o Takitumu ki Avarua i-te tamaki

TAM DEM DIR morning TAM return DIR DET PL warrior of Takitumu GDAL Avarua COMP battle

‘On the next morning the warriors of Takitumu went back to Avarua to fight.’ (Rere, 1983:25)

4.8.3 Positional particles

The positional particles (listed in table 4.14) occur in the third slot of the postposed periphery.

Table 4.14: The positional particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>VP Gloss</th>
<th>NP Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nei</td>
<td>near the speaker in time or space</td>
<td>near the speaker</td>
<td>POS1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>near the addressee in time or space</td>
<td>near the addressee</td>
<td>POS2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>distant from the speaker and the hearer in time or space</td>
<td>distant from the speaker and the hearer</td>
<td>POS3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>perfective or habitual</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei~ai</td>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>ANA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āinei</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>INT1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āina</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>INT2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Buse groups these particles together on the basis of their distribution but they do not form a semantically cohesive set. I will discuss the members of this set separately.
4.8.3.1 The deictic particles, nei, na and ra

The three deictic particles nei, na and ra, position the phrase they modify in relation to the speaker or narrative point of view. Hence the designation of this entire set of particles as ‘positional’. In NPs the deictic particles position the referent of the NP in space on the basis of person deixis. In verb phrases they can position the phrase in time as well as space. The details of the effects of the positional particles nei, na, ra and ana, in verb phrases are covered in chapter 6.

Examples 228 shows some typical examples of the deictic particles in NPs.

(228) a. Kia pāpū tikāi ē, kua mārama kōtou i tēia au mea nei.
   OPT certain EMP COMP TAM undertand 2PL ACC DEM1 PL thing POS1
   ‘Make sure that you have understood these things.’ (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:20)

b. E no'o 'ua koe ki raro na.
   IMP site MERELY 2SG LOC under POS2
   ‘You just sit down there (where you are).’ (Buse et al., 1995:263: na2)

c. Tērā taua au mea ra.
   DEM3 DET.ANA PL thing POS3
   ‘There are those things.’ (Tara'are, 2000:43)

Person deixis of NPs can also be expressed with the demonstrative determiners (cf. section 4.6.3.11), as in 229a. The equivalent proposition using the postposed positional particle is shown in 229b. The postposed positional can also co-occur with a demonstrative determiner, as in 228a above. The difference between the two variants in 229 is not clear and they seem to be in free variation.

(229) a. Kua ta'i'to tēnā mea, kāre 'e pu'apinga 'aka'ou.
   TAM old DEM2 thing NEG EXIST valuable again
   ‘It’s got old, it’s no use any more.’ (Buse et al., 1995:420: ta'i'to) LIT: ‘That’s got old, it’s not useful anymore.’

b. Kua ta'i'to te mea na, kāre 'e pu'apinga 'aka'ou.
   TAM old DET thing POS2 NEG CLS valuable again
   ‘That’s got old, it’s not useful anymore.’

17This label follows Biggs’s system for NZM (Biggs, 1998:10).
4.8. POSTPOSED PARTICLES

4.8.3.2 Ei-ai

Ei-ai only occurs in verb phrases and “relates the verb preceding it to an adverbial (time, place, reason, cause, purpose, means) or nominal antecedent” (Buse et al., 1995:95). This morpheme has two allomorphs; ai after a word ending in [a], and ei elsewhere. In the examples in 230 both instances of phrases with ei-ai refer anaphorically to a reason adverbial.

(230) a. ‘E tūpito tōna maki i no’o ei aia ki te kāinga,
   CLS gastro intestinal stasis his illness TAM stay AIA 3SG LOC DET home

   ‘It was stomach-trouble that he stayed home with.’ (Buse et al., 1995:95: ei) LIT: ‘His illness was stomach-trouble when he stayed at home.’

b. Nō-reira au e karanga ai au i karanga ai tōku ‘enua ē kia songi ‘ua au therefore 1SG TAM say CDIJ 1SG TAM say AIA my island AIA OPT smell MERELY 1SG i tō’ou kakara.
   ACC your scent

   ‘That’s why I say it (like that) my island says “may your scent be smelt”.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:17: 40-00:17:47) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

4.8.3.3 The interrogative particles

There are two particles that occur in the positional slot which mark the phrase as interrogative, as in 231. These are bi-morphemic comprising āi- and -nei-~-na. The effect of the deictic particle is consistent with the general effect of the deictic particles. The morpheme āi is the morpheme that carries the interrogative content. This morpheme does not occur elsewhere. These particles are not obligatory in interrogative constructions and are more common in older texts than in contemporary texts in the Vairanga Tuatua.

(231) a. Ka ‘inangaro āi-nei kōtou i tā-kōtou au tamariki kia roko=’ia e te pongi,
   TAM want INT-POS1 2PL ACC your PL children OPT overcome=PASS AGRT DET starve
   ē kia mate rātou i tēia ‘enua?
   CDIJ OPT die 3PL LOC this island

   “Do you want your children to be overcome with starvation and die on this island?” (Simiona, 1979:46)

b. Kua papa āi-na tō-tātou au ravakai nō te ‘oko pa’i tautai?
   TAM ready INT-POS2 our PL fishers for DET trade ship fishing

   “Are our fishers ready for trading (the fruits of) the fishing boats?” (Tongaia, 2013)
4.8.4 External modifier particles

Once again this set of particles is grouped together on the basis of distribution. I have designated them the external modifier particles because they modify the whole phrase as opposed to modifying the preceding element of the phrase.

Table 4.15: External modifier particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>VP Gloss</th>
<th>NP Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rāi</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>emphatic / reflexive</td>
<td>EMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʻoki</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>EMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rā</td>
<td>adversative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>CONTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'a</td>
<td>perhaps</td>
<td>perhaps</td>
<td>'perhaps'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Buse includes the non-human referent pronoun ia (cf. to somewhere where it is) in this group, presumably because it is phonologically attached to the end of the phrase that precedes it. However, it does not belong in the grammatical category as it is a pronoun, and as such is grammatically, if not phonologically, a separate phrase.

Like the manner particles, the precise differences between some of these particles are a little obtuse with the much maligned ‘emphatic’ gloss offering a broad cover.

4.8.4.1 Rāi

Buse glosses post-nominal rāi as “just, exactly, really actual, real, very.” (Buse et al., 1995:377) and post-verbal rāi as “certainly, surely, undoubtedly, really, quite, fairly, rather, only.” These senses can all be covered by the umbrella sense of ‘emphatic’. Example 232a with rāi in a nominal predicate shows this emphatic sense. Rāi can also mark a phrase as reflexive, as in 232b. Example 232c contains both an emphatic rāi and a reflexive rāi.

(232) a. Ko te vā meitaki rāi tēia nō tāua i-te ʻaere, ko ia i mao ei te ua.  
SPEC TAM time good EMP DEM1 for IDINC COMP go SPEC 3SGX TAM cease ANA TAM rain

'This is the best time for us to go, now, while the rain has stopped.' (Buse et al., 1995:550: vā)

b. I tō Varopana kite-ʻanga i te tū o tāna tāne, kua pāpū meitaki i aia  
LOC DET.POSS Varopana see-nr ACC DET way of her husband TAM sure well SAGNT 3SG ē, nāna rāi i tā i tāna manu.  
SUBR AE REFL TAM kill ACC his animal

'When Varopana saw how her husband was, she was sure the he had killed his animal himself.' (Simiona, 1979:62)

c. ʻEiaʻa koe e ʻakamaʻore i te paka! E vaoʻo rāi ē nāna rāi e topa.  
NEG.IMP 2SG TAM CAUSE-peel ACC DET scab IMP leave EMP CONJ AE REFL TAM fall

'Don’t you peel off the scab! Let it drop off of its own accord.' (Buse et al., 1995:26: ‘akamaʻore) LIT: ‘Don’t you peel off the scab! Just leave it, it will drop off by itself.'
4.8. POSTPOSED PARTICLES

4.8.4.2 ꞌOki

There is a base ꞌoki glossed as ‘to return’. The external modifier ꞌoki has the following senses (Buse et al., 1995:281):

1. Also, as well
2. But, in that case, as a matter of fact
3. Certainly, indeed, of course
4. Namely, that is to say, as follows (in the sequence Koia ꞌoki)

This particle occurs very frequently in the spoken sub corpus of the Vairanga Tuatua. Most of these occurrences are of the general ‘emphatic’ or ‘intensive’ type which can be difficult to incorporate into the English translation, as in 233a and 233b. ꞌOki is frequently collocated with kāre where the emphatic sense results in ‘definitely not’, as in 234.

(233) a. Ko te-reira ꞌoki ‘e kutu.
SPEC PRO.ANA EMP CLS lice
‘It was actually lice.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:07:59-00:08:02) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG
b. ‘Aka-mataku mai ꞌoki aia i a māua.
CAUSE-afraid DIR3 EMP 3SG ACC PERS 1DEX
‘He really warned/frightened us.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012f:00:07:19-00:07:22) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

(234) a. Mē tae mai te manuꞌiri i mua ake i te ora i ‘aka-kite=i,a, kāre ꞌoki
COND arrive DIR1 DET visitor LOC before DIR3 LOC DET hour TAM cause-know=PASS NEG EMP
te pū-ngutuꞌare i teꞌateꞌanamao meitaki, kāre ꞌoki te-reira i te mea meitaki.
DET head-household TAM prepared well NEG EMP PRO.ANA LOC DET thing good
‘If the visitor arrives earlier than expected the householder (definitely) won’t be properly prepared and this is not a good thing at all.’ (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:11)
b. Kāre au i piri mai nō-te-mea kāre ꞌoki i tōku ‘irinakiꞌanga kāre i mako roa
NEG 1SG TAM join DIR1 because NEG EMP LOC my believe-NK NEG TAM proper MP.EMP
te au ‘akateretereꞌanga kia kimi mai i ātou.
DET PL organise COMP seek DIR1 ACC 1PLINC
‘I didn’t join in because they aren’t... I really don’t believe that the organisers are good enough at seeking us out.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:28:41-00:28:51) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG
4.8.4.3 Pa’a

Pa’a marks the proposition it modifies as ‘uncertain’. It is often translated as ‘perhaps’ or ‘maybe’, as in 235.

(235) a. Kua tae-a pa’a e te au tangata o Poripētia te Pā ‘Enua Mākēsā
   PPV reach-CIA perhaps AGNT DET PL person of Polynesia DET row island Marquesas
   ‘Perhaps the Marquesas islands were reached by the Polynesian people.’ (Salesa et al., 2004:8)

b. Ka ‘inangaro pa’a ‘oki i-te kata.
   TAM want perhaps EMP COMP laugh
   ‘Perhaps (he) wants to laugh.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:42:48-00:42:50)

https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

c. Kāre pa’a ‘e ‘are meangiti tei tērā ngāi.
   NEG perhaps EXIST house small LOC DEM3 place
   ‘Maybe there weren’t any toilets in that place.’
   (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:13:33-00:13:36) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

d. Ko te tumu pa’a te reira i ‘akamā ei tātou.
   SPEC DET reason perhaps DET PRO.LOC TAM ashamed ANA 1PLINC
   ‘Perhaps that is the reason we are ashamed.’ (Rere, 1967:21)

4.8.4.4 Rā

Adversative rā is discussed in the section on adversative coordination (9.5.1).

4.9 Preposed modifiers

There are two forms that are somewhat grammaticalised as modifiers and occur as the initial base in the nucleus, modifying the base that follows. The first is mānga which is also a common noun that means ‘a portion of something’, as in 236a. As a preposed modifier, mānga adds the sense ‘a bit X’ to a noun that it precedes, where the noun need not be a physical entity, as in 236b and 236c. The second is ākā which occurs only in predicate NPs initiated by ‘e, and translates as ‘a great big X’ or ‘plenty’ or ‘lots’, as in 236d.

(236) a. Nō te ‘oko mānga tuka mai au nā-ku.
   LOC DET buy portion sugar DIR1 1SG BEN-1SG
   ‘I’ve been buying myself a bit of sugar.’ (Buse et al., 1995:210: mānga2)
4.10. NOT SO STRICT?

b. Pēnei ē ko te tik’a’anga tikāi te reira o te tuatua, nō-te-mea ‘e mā nga tūkē tō-rātou reo mei tō-tātou. different their language SOURCE ours.

‘Maybe, that’s the best story because their language is slightly different to ours.’ (Rere, 1967:67)

c. ‘E mā nga kino rāi te reva i teia pōpongi.

‘The weather is not so good this morning.’ (Buse et al., 1995:393: reva1) LIT: ‘The weather is a bit bad this morning.’

d. ‘E ākā ‘anga’anga nā te pū’āpí’i i te ‘akatana’anga te ’akatika’anga.

‘It is a lot of work for teachers, the marking and correcting.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:12:17-00:2:21) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

4.10 Not so strict?

Although Buse’s assertions about the strict structuring of the internal components of the phrase are usually correct, there are examples that contravene both the ordering restrictions and the restriction on more than one particle of each class occurring in the same phrase.

Example 237 is an example of a common lexicalised exception, where the directional particle atu and the manner particle ‘ua directly follow the determiner in a NP, i.e. in the preposed periphery. This combination of tēta’i + (manner)+ atu produces the translation ‘another’ as mentioned in section 4.8.2.9.

(237) Nō-reira kua manako te au tangata Niu Tirenī, ‘e tika’anga tō-rātou kia pati tauturu therefore TAM think DET.PL.person New Zealand exist correct-ANO PRO.DET.POSS OPT ask help

ki tēta’i ‘ua atu Tipatimani.

LOC DET.I.S MERELY DIR2 department

‘Therefore, New Zealanders believe that they have a right to ask another department for help.’ (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:8)

There are also examples of manner, directional, and positional particles co-occurring in the same phrase but these are not common. However, they are not quite rare enough to be considered outright errors. Example 238a has nei and ra co-occurring in the verb phrase. It also has the external modifier rāi occurring in the preposed periphery. Example 238b has two directional particles in a verb phrase.
(238) a. Tē mate nei ra tōna rāi tangata i tēia au pomu a te kavamani.
   TAM dead POS1 POS3 DET.POSS.3SG EMP people SAGNT DEM1 PL bomb of DET government
   ‘Their own people are being killed by the Government’s bombs.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Kāre e mou-runga atu mai te rā e pou ei rātou
   NEG TAM fast-above DIR2 DIR1 DET sun TAM gone ANA 3PL
   ‘The sun won’t have reached noon and they’ll all be gone.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:96)

It is likely that some, or even most, of these examples might contain lexicalised elements that convey specific things, but the detail of this matter are outside the scope of this project.

4.11 Semi external particle mē

The conditional marker mē may occur inside a phrase in the verbal particle position, as in 239a. It also occurs outside the phrase, preceding the verbal particle, as in 239b; or preceding the nominal predicate marker, as in 239c. So, it is difficult to categorise this particle based on its distribution. It will be discussed further in section 10.6.

(239) a. E ono ngaꞌuru rāi 6-māua mataꞌiti i te-reira taim e mē Ø ’aere ei mātou.
   TAM six ten EMP our years LOC DET-ANA time COND Ø go ANA 1PLEX
   ‘We were sixty years old at that time when we went.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:26:46-00:26:50) https://goo.gl/xVFLpG

b. Ė nō-reira, e ‘akakoromaki mārie mai kōtou mē kua ‘ākara-’anga tūkē tākiri
   CONJ therefore IMP patient careful DIR1 ZPL COND TAM look-NR different EMP
   tō-tātou reo Māori i te tātā=’ia-’anga i roto i tēia puka nei.
   our language Māori LOC DET write=PASS-NR LOC inside LOC this book POS1
   ‘Therefore please be understanding if the appearance of the writing of our Māorilanguage is different in this book.’ (Simiona, 1979:vi)

c. Ko tēꞌea te tika, mē ko tāna, mē ko tāꞌau?
   SPEC which DET correct COND SPEC his COND SPEC yours
   ‘Which is the truth, what he says or what you say?’ (Buse et al., 1995:481: tēꞌea)

4.12 Summary

This chapter described the CIM syntactic phrase (4.2), and provided a survey of the syntax and semantics of the various sets of particles that make up the syntactic phrase in CIM. This included: the features of the verb phrase (4.3) and the verbal particles (4.4), the noun phrase (4.5) and the nominal particles (4.6), the structure of the nucleus (4.7),
and the postposed particles (4.8). The last three sections dealt with some features that do not fit the usual patterns for the internal structure of the phrase: the preposed modifiers (4.9), instances of unusual ordering (4.10), and the semi-external particle mé (4.11).
Chapter 5

Nominal Sentences

5.1 Introduction

Many Austronesian languages allow non-verbal predicates (Blust, 2013; Lynch et al., 2002), and CIM is an example of a language that allows many types of nominal predicates.

This chapter discusses the various types of nominal predicates in the context of simple (single clause) sentences in CIM. All nominal sentences are formed by NP NP juxtaposition which is common cross linguistically (Payne, 1997:114). The pragmatically unmarked constituent order in CIM is predicate phrase initial, followed by the grammatical subject, followed by any other prepositional phrases in relatively free order. The second phrase is considered the grammatical subject because it in the unmarked NP and because it is available for processes that are restricted to grammatical subjects (cf. section 6.9).

PREDICATE SUBJECT (PPs)

The minimal structure of most nominal sentences comprises two phrases: the predicate NP and the subject NP. Only the locative sentences encode TAM information, while all other nominal sentences are unmarked for tense.

Nine types of nominal predicates are specified here: equative (5.2), classifying (5.3.1 and 5.3.2), possessive-ꞌE (5.3.3), existential (5.3.4), bare predicate existential (section 5.4), locative (5.5), specific possessive (5.6), presentative (5.7) and exclamatory (5.8). These sections are organised by the type of particle that introduces the predicate phrase, apart from section 5.8.1

5.2 Equative sentences with ko

Equative sentences equate the subject referent with that of the predicate; that is, both phrases refer to the same entity. In this section I will discuss equative sentences that have a predicate marked by the specifying particle ko.

1The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info/5_5.html
Ko marks a phrase as nominal and specific. Its principal role is to mark the predicate phrase of a specific equational sentence, but ko can also mark a focused NP or a topic. The NP that ko precedes must either be a personal noun (a name) in which case it is Ø marked, or it must be a NP introduced by a t-class determiner. The examples in 240 and 241 are typical of a basic equative-ko sentence. The examples in 240 have personal nouns in the predicate phrase, while those in 241 have NPs introduced by a t-class determiner in the predicate. Equative sentences with ko are not marked for tense.

(240) a. Ko Mere Pamatatau tēia.
   SPEC Mere Pamatatau PR0.DEM1
   ‘This is Mere Pamatatau.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:67)

      SPEC Pamatatau their name family
      ‘Their family name is Pamatatau.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:66)

(241) a. Ko tāku va‘ine rāi pa’a tēnā?
   SPEC my wife EMP perhaps PR0.DEM2
   ‘Is that indeed my wife perhaps?’ (Tara‘are, 2000:18)

   b. Ko tā te metua va‘ine pe‘e tēia;
      SPEC DET.POSS DET parent woman chant PR0.DEM1
      ‘This is the mother’s chant.’ (GILL, 1912:56)

   c. Ko te ‘orometua tēia ko Papehia.
      SPEC DET missionary PR0.DEM1 SPEC Papehia
      ‘This is the missionary, Papehia.’ (Rere, 1983:38)

The grammatical categorisation of the NPs in the sentences in 240 and 241 are shown in table 5.1. Example 241c has a discontinuous complex predicate comprising two ko phrases in apposition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko + NP</td>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Mere Pamatatau</td>
<td>tēia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko Pamatatau</td>
<td>tō-rātou ingoa kōpū tangata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko tāku va‘ine rāi pa’a</td>
<td>tēnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko tā te metua va‘ine pe‘e</td>
<td>tēia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te ‘orometua (Ko Papehia)</td>
<td>tēia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both the predicate and the subject can be complex; that is, they can include a modifying phrase, as in the examples in 242. In both 242b and 242c (as in 241c) the subject phrase intervenes between the two parts of the predicate. This tendency for the subject phrase to immediately follow the first phrase of the predicate is common in many types of constructions, especially with phonologically light subject phrases. In fact, this tendency has been observed in all Polynesian languages (Clark, 1976:119). Table 5.2 lists the grammatical roles of the phrases in the sentences in 242. All of these examples contain discontinuous complex predicates, with the subject phrase intervening between the two parts of the predicate.

(242) a. Ko tēia tētaꞌi o te-reira au 'akano'ono'o-’anga:
   SPEC PRO.DEM1 DET.I.S of DET-ANA PL arrange-NR
   ‘This is one of the arrangements.’ (Department of Building and Housing, 2011:38)

b. Ko te ‘āite’anga tērā o tōku ingoa.
   SPEC DET meaning PRO.DEM3 of my name
   ‘That’s the meaning of my name.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:11:25-00:11:26) https://goo.gl/75tKGV

c. Ko te 6 tēia o te marama a te karena Māori.
   SPEC DET 6 PRO.DEM1 of the month of the calendar Māori
   ‘This is the sixth month of the Māori calendar.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE ...</th>
<th>SUBJECT ...</th>
<th>...PREDICATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko tēia</td>
<td>tētaꞌi [o te-reira au 'akano'ono'o-’anga]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te ‘āite’anga</td>
<td>tērā</td>
<td>o tōku ingoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te 6</td>
<td>tēia</td>
<td>[o te marama [a te karena Māori]].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.3.1 Summary

Simple two-phrase nominal sentences initiated by ko are equational, specifying the identity of the subject NP. Based on its distribution, the particle ko is a preposition. It always introduces a NP.

### 5.3 Predicates with 'e

There are four categories of nominal sentence with predicates marked by 'e. The classifying (5.3.1), stative-classifying (5.3.2), possessive-'e (5.3.3), and existential (5.3.4). These all take the same basic form shown in table 5.3 but the semantics are quite distinct.

The unifying property of the various types of 'e predicates is that of non specific-ness, or possibly indefiniteness.
Table 5.3: Generic structure of nominal sentence with ‘e predicates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘E + (NOUN) Noun</td>
<td>Ø DET Noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1 Classifying

The classifying construction expresses proper inclusion (Payne, 1997:114); that is, it assigns the referent of the subject phrase to the particular class or category specified by the predicate phrase. Some typical classifying sentences are shown in 243, and the grammatical roles of the phrases are shown in table 5.4.

(243) a. ‘E toa rāi aia.
   CLS warrior EMP 3SG
   ‘He was a warrior’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Kairae, P. (speaker), 2013:00:29:20-00:29:21)
   https://goo.gl/75tKGV

b. ‘E ‘apinga mou-kore te karaponi ta’i-ngā’uru-ma-ā.
   CLS thing fixed-not DET carbon fourteen
   ‘C14 carbon is an unstable thing.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:6)

c. ‘E au ‘iku’iku ika ‘ua te toe.
   CLS PL tail fish MERELY DET remains
   ‘Only the tails of the fish are left.’ (Buse et al., 1995:122: ‘iku’iku2) LIT ‘The remains are merely fish tails.’

d. ‘E au araara ‘ōu tēia, inē.
   CLS PL talk new PRO.DEM1 TAG
   ‘These are new sayings eh.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:51:34-00:51:37)

e. ‘E ngā tāngata taumārō tikāi kōrau.
   CLS PAUCAL person argue EMP 2d
   ‘You two are always arguing.’ (Buse et al., 1995:472: taumārō) LIT ‘You two are a pair of argumentative people.’

5.3.2 Stative-Classifying

As we saw in section 3.4.3 there is no grammatical category of adjectives in CIM and many concepts that are expressed by adjectives in English are expressed by statives in CIM. The predicate phrases of all the examples in 244
contain statives, but no other nouns or nominal particles. This type of sentence functions much like predicate adjective constructions in English.

(244)  

a. ‘E meitaki te tai.
    CLS good DET sea
    ‘The sea is good.’ (Frienboe et al., 1958:23)

b. ‘E maki aia.
    CLS sick 3SG
    ‘She is ill.’ (Buse et al., 1995:92: ‘e)

c. ‘E teatea tōku pona.
    CLS white my dress
    ‘My dress is white.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:391)

d. ‘E mou-kore te karaponi ta‘i-ngā‘uru-ma‘ā.
    CLS fixed-not DET carbon 14
    ‘C14 carbon is unstable.’ (Constructed example)
Table 5.5 shows the constituent structure for the sentences in 244. However, the analysis of these stative-classifying sentences is problematic. Although the particle ‘e is a determiner, and as such designates the phrase it introduces as nominal, these stative ‘e-predicates are not unequivocally nominal. The formal irregularity is their inability to take a number classifier\(^2\). In addition, there is a semantic difference, in that the stative bases in stative-classifying sentences are not actually nominalised. Example 244c does not translate to ‘My dress is whiteness’ but rather, ‘My dress is white’. The paraphrase for the stative-classifying sentences of 244 is ‘the subject referent belongs to the category of entities that have the quality specified in the predicate- (at some period of time)’

One explanation for this grammatical uncertainty is that these sentences are derived from a structure that includes some sort of generic noun as the lexical head of the predicate phrase that is modified by the stative. This element is then deleted in co-reference with the noun in the subject phrase. Table 5.6 shows the sentences of 244 with their notional generic head nouns in place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘E + N Stative</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘E mea meitaki</td>
<td>te tai</td>
<td>The sea is a good thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘E tangata maki</td>
<td>aia</td>
<td>She is a sick person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘E mea teatea</td>
<td>tōku pona.</td>
<td>My dress is a white one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘E ‘apinga mou-kore</td>
<td>te karapōni ta‘i-ngā ‘uru-ma-ā.</td>
<td>Carbon 14 is an unstable thing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the classifying sentence of 243b the predicate is a full NP, where the noun ‘apinga (‘thing’) is modified by the stative compound mou-kore (‘not fixed’). The message of this sentence could be expressed without the head noun, as in 244d. That is, both of these sentences convey the same information.

However, this is not always, or even usually, the case. In the pair of sentences in 245 there is a semantic difference. The variant without the notional head noun (245a) is a “stage level predicate” relating to a particular time, while example 245b (the variant with the notional head noun) is an “individual level predicate” indicating a fixed property (Carlson, 1977).

(245) a. ‘E meitaki te tai.
CLS good DET sea

‘The sea is good.’ (at the moment or the time of reference)

b. ‘E mea meitaki te tai.
CLS thing good DET sea

‘The sea is a good thing.’

\(^2\)Unlike the predicate phrases of the classifying sentences in 243, which are clearly nominal. Examples 243c, 243d and 243e all have number classifiers, unequivocally designating the base as the head of a nominal phrase. Examples 243a and 243b could grammatically take a number classifier and as such are also nominal.
So even if the stative classifying sentence type shown in 244 is derived from the classifying sentence type of 243, it would seem to have undergone a semantic change towards the stage level attributive interpretation. As such, the stative classifying sentence-type is distinct from the classifying sentence-type.

Returning to the issue of the atypical nominal quality of these predicates, it is notable that the type of ideas expressed by stative-classifying nominal sentences can readily be expressed by verbal sentences, as in 246. Any of the sentences in 246 could potentially answer the question “How is the sea?” or “What is the sea like?” The nominal example 246a is unspecified for TAM. However, the verbal 246b is perfective and implies a change of state. Example 246c is explicitly present-tense, and continuous-aspect. In 246d there is no TAM or preposed nominal particle, and it is not possible to determine whether this is a nominal or verbal structure. The deletion of TAM markers and preposed nominal particles is quite common in spoken CIM.

(246)  
a. ‘E meitaki te tai.  
   CLS  good  DET sea  
   ‘The sea is/was/will be good ’ Stative-Classifying nominal  
b. Kua meitaki te tai.  
   PFV  good  DET sea  
   ‘The sea has become good.’ Stative-Verbal  
c. Tē meitaki nei te tai.  
   PROG  good  PBZ  DET sea  
   ‘The sea is good.’ Stative-Verbal  
d. Ø meitaki te tai.  
   Ø  good  DET sea  
   ‘The sea is/was/will be good ’ Unclear

The most common variant of the negative stative-classifying sentence (247c) provides partial evidence that there is some notion of an underlying head noun in this construction because the negative sentence contains such a head noun. Example 247a shows the notional affirmative sentence that 247c negates. The example in 247b which would be analogous to a (non stative) negative classifying sentence is only marginally acceptable (cf. section 12.7.2.1 for further discussion of the negation of this construction).

(247)  
a. ‘E ūmere tēia.  
   CLS  amazing  PRO.DEM1
   ‘This is surprising.’
b. Kāre tēia i te ūmere.
NEG PRO.DEM LOC DET amazing

Intended: ‘This is not surprising.’

c. Kāre tēia i te mea ūmere.
NEG this LOC DET thing amazing

‘This is not a surprising thing.’ or ‘This is not surprising’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:10)

5.3.3 Possessive ‘e sentences

There is a construction with a predicate marked by ‘e that has the form shown in table 5.7.

Table 5.7: The -DEF - SPEC possessive construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSUM</td>
<td>POSSESSOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘e-NP</td>
<td>POSSESSIVE PRONOUN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘That of the POSSESSOR is a/some POSSESSUM’
‘The POSSESSOR has a/some POSSESSUM’

This construction expresses the idea that the possessor (referred to by the subject NP) has (possesses) some possessum (referred to by the predicate). More literally: ‘That of the POSSESSOR is a/some POSSESSUM’, as exemplified in 248. The possessum is either -definite, -specific (248a), or -definite + specific (248b, 248c).

(248)

a. ‘E ‘ua rikiriki tō te pipi.
CLS seed small DET.Poss DET pipi-vine

‘The pipi has small seeds.’ (Buse et al., 1995:345: pipi3)

b. ‘E ‘are tō Tā.
CLS house DET.Poss Tā

‘Tā has a house.’ Lit: Tā’s is a house (Frienboe et al., 1958:13)

c. ‘E piri muna ngaro tā tāua, e ‘ine.
CLS secret hidden lost DET.Poss 1DINC VOC darling

‘Ours is a very deep secret, darling.’ (Buse et al., 1995:261: muna)
The sentences in 248 are formally very reminiscent of the construction in 243d, where the subject phrase is a t-class determiner pronoun. In the classifying construction of 243d, the subject is a demonstrative determiner pronoun (cf. 3.7.1). In the possessive-'e construction of 248, it is a t-class possessive pronoun (cf. 3.7.2).  

### 5.3.4 Existential/Extant at a location

In the existential construction, the predicate refers to some entity that exists at the location referred to by a locative adjunct phrase. The subject phrase consists of the indefinite-specific pronoun tētaꞌi, as in 250b. This construction expresses the idea that ‘SOMETHING exists (at a location).’ Table 5.8 diagrams this construction and shows the grammatical relations of the constituents of the sentences in 250.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>LOCATIVE ADJUNCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'E-NP</td>
<td>tētaꞌi</td>
<td>i-PP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There exists SOMETHING (at a location)

- 'E peka peka tētaꞌi i kō, (nō-reira te 'akavā i pū ei).
  
  EXIST trouble PRO.EXIST LOC there therefore DET police TAM gather ANA
  
  ‘There is some trouble over there, that is why the police are gathering.’ (Buse et al., 1995:363: pū1)

- 'E tangata tiaki tētaꞌi i reira.
  
  EXIST person guard PRO.EXIST LOC there
  
  ‘There is a guard over there.’ (Simiona, 1979:55: )

---

3The neutral singular possessive determiners cannot stand as the subject of this type of sentence, as in 249a, which would have to be expressed with the correctly marked form, as in 249b.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(249) a.</th>
<th>‘E pono teatea tāku.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLS dress white PRO.POSS.N.3SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intended: ‘I have a white dress.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(250) a.</th>
<th>‘E peka peka tētaꞌi i kō, (nō-reira te ‘akavā i pū ei).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXIST trouble PRO.EXIST LOC there therefore DET police TAM gather ANA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘There is some trouble over there, that is why the police are gathering.’ (Buse et al., 1995:363: pū1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.4.1 Subjectless variations of existential sentence

There is a a type of sentence that expresses the concept of ‘extant at a location’, much like the construction in the previous section, but appears to occur without an overt subject, as in the examples in 251. The place in the sentence where the subject NP, comprising the indefinite-specific pronoun tēta'i, would be expected, is marked by Ø.

(251) a. ‘E mea mānea Ø i konei?
EXIST thing beautiful Ø LOC here

‘Are there any beautiful things here?’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:25:38-00:25:39 ) https://goo.gl/75tKGV

b. ‘E mea nēneva ‘aere Ø i kō.
EXIST thing foolish PL Ø LOC PRO.LOC

‘There are some foolish things there’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012e:00:22:00-00:22:01)

https://goo.gl/75tKGV

There are two possible analyses for this construction. The first is that the type of construction in 251 is the same as those in 250, but the subject NP (tēta'i) is not phonetically realised.

The second analysis is that the sentences in 251 are actually locative nominal sentences, where the subject phrase has been fronted and marked with ‘e. This analysis seems quite viable for the examples in 252, where the locative phrase retains the tense-marked locative particle, as the tensed locative particle is usually neutralised to i in non sentence initial position.

(252) a. ‘E enemi Ø tei va’o i te ‘are.
EXIST enemy Ø LOC.PRS outside LOC DET house

‘There is an enemy outside the house.’ (Purea, 2013:21)

b. ‘E tangata Ø tei va’o.
EXIST person Ø LOC.PRS outside

‘There is a person outside.’ (Tara’are, 2000:61)
5.4. BARE PREDICATE EXISTENTIAL

There is another type of existential sentence in CIM that consists of just one nominal predicate phrase. These sentences may specify something about some subject already present in the discourse, as in 255a, which is something likely to be said in response to the completion of a maiden over in the context of a game of cricket. Alternatively, sentences of

---

4For readers who are not cricket-literate, this is a specific period of activity (an 'over') in which noruns (points) are scored. This achievement by is usually remarked upon by players and spectators.
this form may also be purely existential in nature, as in 255b, which either contains four such single-phrase subjectless clauses, or two subjectless clauses with two appositional predicate phrases.\footnote{Yet another alternative analysis for 255b is that it consists of two complete clauses, both of which have fronted subjects marked by ‘e. The notional construction from which 255b would have been derived is shown in 254.}

“Titles” are an examples of this type of existential construction and occur both with (255c) and without (255d) the specifying particle ko, or the non-specific/ indefinite determiner ‘e (255e).

(255) a. ‘E ‘ōva kai kore.
   CLS over points NEG
   ‘(It) was a maiden over.’ (Buse et al., 1995:296: ‘ōva)

b. ‘E ‘enua ko Tuā-rangi; ‘e ariki ko Tangaroa, (Tara’are, 2000:15)
   EXIST land SPEC Tuā-rangi EXIST chief SPEC Tangaroa
   ‘There was an island, it was Tuā-rangi, there was a chief, it was Tangaroa.’

c. Ko lēsū e Āberahāma
   SPEC Jesus CONJ Abraham
   ‘Jesus and Abraham.’ (Bible Society of South Pacific, 2014: Ioane, 8:48)

d. Ø Te tangata mua ki Enuamanu
   Ø DET person first GOAL ’Atiu
   ‘The first person on ’Atiu.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:9)

e. ‘E tuatua nō Tangi’ia-nui
   CLS talk about Tangi’ia-nui
   ‘A story about Tangi’ia-nui.’ (Tara’are, 2000:27)

According to Bauer (1997:34), in NZM, this type of subjectless existential sentence asserts the existence of some object. The ko variation asserts the existence of a specific object while the he variation (cognate with CIM ‘e) asserts the existence of a “class of objects”. This analysis would seem to work for CIM as well.

5.5 Locative/Locational predicates

Locative phrases introduced by one of the locative prepositions (with the exception of ki) can form the predicate of a locative nominal sentence or locational sentence. The locative prepositions are listed again in table 5.10. The

(254) Ko Tuā-rangi te ‘enua, ko Tangaroa te ariki.
   SPEC Tuā-rangi DET land SPEC Tangaroa DET chief
   ‘The land was Tuā-rangi the chief was Tangaroa.’

The entity whose existence is being asserted is the “work” to which the title refers.
prepositions in bold readily combine with a locative base to form the predicate of a two-phrase locative sentence. Since the locative prepositions tei, i and 'ei are marked for tense, locative nominal sentences with one of these prepositions as the predicate marker are also marked for tense, as in 256. Each of these sentences contains two NPs: the predicate marked by the locative preposition, referring to a location; and the subject NP referring to the entity that is at the location. Table 5.11 specifies the constituent structure of locative sentences generally, and that of the specific examples in 256. Locative predicates frequently contain a NP with a locative base (see section 3.6.3), as in 256a, 256d, but can also contain a place name, as in 256c, or a full NP that refers to a location, as in 256b.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative Preposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>past location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tei</td>
<td>present location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ei</td>
<td>future location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mei</td>
<td>source (from a location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>future time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>â</td>
<td>trans locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā</td>
<td>trans locative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(256) a. Tei muri te matangi.
LOC.PRES behind DET wind
'The wind is behind.' (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Tei te ipukarea nei te kakara.
LOC.PRES DET homeland POS1 DET fragrance
'The fragrance is in (at) the homeland here.' (Tongaia, 2013)

c. Tei Aitutaki a Tepaeru Ariki
LOC.PRES Aitutaki PERS Tepaeru Ariki
'Tepaeru Ariki is in Aitutaki.' (George, 2010)

d. 'Ei runga tēnā tua, 'ei raro tēia.
LOC.FUT above DEM2 side LOC.FUT under PRO.DEM1
'Your end wants to go on top, mine should be underneath.' (Buse et al., 1995:97: 'ei2) LIT: 'That end will be on top, this will be below.'

e. I mua rāua, i muri te vai.
LOC.PST front 3D LOC.PST behind DET water
'They were in front, the water was behind.' (Tara'are, 2000:55)
f.  Mei ‘ea mai aia?

Where has s/he come from?’ (Buse et al., 1995:94: ‘ea,)

Table 5.11: Two-phrase locative sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOCATION SUBJ</td>
<td>SUBJECT NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC NP</td>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The SUBJECT is/was/will be at the location</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mei ꞌeamai aia</td>
<td>aia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.1 Complex locative predicates

Although the two-phrase sentences in 256 are grammatical, locative sentences more often consist of three phrases; two locative phrases and the subject phrase, as in 257 and 258. These two-phrase locative predicates are initiated by the main locative phrase, which is introduced with the tense appropriate preposition. A second modifying locative phrase then completes the predicate, and this modifying phrase is always introduced by ꞌ. This phrase can directly follow the first phrase, as in 257, or it can follow the subject phrase, as in 258. The second pattern is more common than the first and is another example of the tendency for the subject phrase to occur directly after the initial predicate phrase, rendering the predicate discontinuous (cf. section 5.2). The phrases that make up the predicate of each example in 257 are bolded.

(257) a.  Tei roto i te one o Vanuatù tētaꞌi au mero minera puꞌapinga

‘Some valuable minerals are in Vanuatu’s soil.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

(258) a.  Tei roto te-reira au imene i tā-tātou puka imene

‘Those hymns are in our hymn book.’ (Rere, 1975:53)
5.6. SPECIFIC POSSESSIVE

b. E ‘o’ora i te moenga ma’ata ki roto i te ‘are, kāreka te mea meangiti
   IMP spread ACC DET mat big GOAL inside LOC DET house CONTR DET thing small
   ‘Ei runga te-reira i te poroitito.
   LOC.FUT on-top PRO-ANA LOC DET veranda
   ‘Spread the large mat in the house and the small one on the verandah.’ (Buse et al., 1995:359: porotito)
   LIT ‘The small one will go on top of the veranda’

Tables 5.12 and 5.13 diagrams the constituents of the three phrase locative sentences.

Table 5.12: Three phrase locative sentences: discontinuous complex predicate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE …</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>…PREDICATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>MODIFIER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC NP</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>PP (i NP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The SUBJECT is/was/will be at the location</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Tei roto    | te reira au imene | i tā tātou puka imene |
| ‘Ei runga   | te reira          | i te poroitito       |

Table 5.13: Three phrase locative sentences: continuous complex predicate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE …</th>
<th>…PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tei roto</td>
<td>i te one o Vanuatu</td>
<td>tētā’i au mero minera pu’apinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tei runga</td>
<td>i tā mātou rorouira ‘ātuītu <a href="http://www.dbh.govt.nz">www.dbh.govt.nz</a></td>
<td>tētā’i au tuatua ‘akakitekite ‘aka’ou mai nō te ‘anga’anga tāra’u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6 Specific possessive

The specific possessive (in contrast with the possessive-‘E (- Definite ± Specific) of section 5.3.3) expresses the message that the possessor (referred to in the predicate) possesses, or will possess, a specific possessum (referred to in the subject). There is no distinction between realised and unrealised possession in this type of sentence in CIM. The predicate is introduced by one of the n-class possessive prepositions nā or nō, or by the applicable n-class possessive pronoun (cf. section 3.7.4). The choice between the ACAT-form and the OCAT-form depends on the nature of the possessive relationship. This ACAT/OCAT distinction is discussed in detail in section 11.2. The examples in 259 are diagrammed in table 5.14. Example 259a has the personal interrogative in the predicate NP and 259b has a personal noun. Examples 259c, 259d and 259e all have n-class possessive pronouns, and example 259f has a full NP in the predicate phrase.
(259)  a. Nō ‘ai ‘oki te moenga?  
Belong.OCAT who EMP TAM mat  
‘Who is the mat for?’ or ‘Who does the mat belong to?’ (Hu’akau et al., 1999:6)

b. Nā Mare tēnā one tōmāti.  
belong.ACAT Mare DEM2 soil tomato  
‘That is Mare’s tomato plot (the one he works).’ (Buse et al., 1995:263: nā3) LIT: ‘That tomato plot is Mata’s’.

c. Nā-na te punua puaka parākava, nāku te mea kerekere.  
Belong.ACAT-3SG the young pig brown Belong-ACAT-2SG the thing black  
‘His hers is the brown piglet, mine is the black one.’ (Buse et al., 1995:318: parākava)

Belong.OCAT-1SG the necklace flower Māori Belong-OCAT-2SG the necklace pandanus samoa  
‘Mine is the gardenia necklace, yours is the pandanus one.’ (Buse et al., 1995:97: ‘ei1)

e. Nō mātou tēia ‘enua.  
belong-OCAT 1PLEX DEM1 land  
‘This land belongs to us.’ (Rere, 1967:75)

f. Nō te aronga kai toto tēia tuatua.  
belong-OCAT DET group eat blood DEM1 saying  
‘This saying is about the people who are blood suckers.’ LIT who eat blood (Tongaia, 2013)

Table 5.14: The specific possessive construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSOR</td>
<td>POSSESSUM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-Class</td>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SUBJECT belong to/is for the PREDICATE

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nō ‘ai ‘oki</td>
<td>te moenga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāna</td>
<td>te punua puaka parākava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāku</td>
<td>te mea kerekere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nōku</td>
<td>te ‘ei tiare māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō‘ou</td>
<td>te ‘ei ‘ara ‘āmoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō mātou</td>
<td>tēia ‘enua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō te aronga kai toto</td>
<td>tēia tuatua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The precise translation of this type of sentence with respect to tense and/or the realised/unrealised distinction is only possible with contextual information.
This possessive construction can convey quite a wide semantic range. In 259f the translation is based on the semantic connection between ‘belongs’, ‘will belong’, and ‘pertaining to’ or ‘about’. With the nō- variant, this sense of ‘pertaining to’ is a third possible interpretation. The examples in 260 show a very common type of question and answer pair, which is likely to be heard whenever two people meet for the first time.

(260) a. Nō 'ea mai koe?
   belong.OCAT where DIR 2SG
   ‘Where are you from?’ LIT ‘To where do you belong?’

   b. Nō Rarotonga mai au.
   belong.OCAT Rarotonga DIR 1SG
   ‘I am from Rarotonga.’ LIT ‘I belong to Rarotonga.’

Another possessive construction that is related to the specific-possessive construction discussed here is the actor emphatic construction (shown in 261). The actor emphatic has an initial n-class (ACAT) possessive preposition (cf. section 8.7), which refers to the agent of a verbal clause. This construction will be covered in detail in chapter 7.

(261) Nā Tongaiti i ‘apai te Kō‘iti
   AE Tongaiti TAM carry DET fiddler-crab
   ‘Tongaiti brought the Fiddler Crab.’ (Tara‘are, 2000:100)

5.6.1 Summary

The specific possessive construction can be used to express all of the following ideas:

1. belongs to (realised possession)
2. pertains to
3. will belong to / is for (unrealised possession)
4. was done by (in the actor emphatic construction)

5.7 Presentative

Presentative constructions introduce a referent into the discourse, drawing attention to its location, either in space, as in 262a and 262b, or with discourse deixis, as in 262c and 262d. Both 262c and 262d are concluding remarks in a narrative, where the addressee has their attention drawn to the preceding discourse. Conversely, in examples 262a and 262b, the addressee has their attention drawn to the physical location of the subject referent. The grammatical relations for 262 are shown in table 5.15.
(262) a. Tēia te puka.
DEM DET book
‘Here’s the book.’

b. Tēia a Pēpē.
PRO.DEM1 PERS Pēpē
‘Here is Pēpē.’ (Heather et al., ndf:7)

c. Tēnā te au tuatua ‘akakite ē tēta‘i au tuatua ‘akakitekite ‘aka‘ou mai.
PRO.DEM2 TAM PL speech explain CONJ DET I.S PL talk explain again DIR1
‘That’s the explanations and some of the other explanations.’ (New Zealand Electoral Commision, 2011:2)

d. Tērā te autara a te metua
PRO.DEM3 DET speech of DET parent.
‘That is what the parent said.’ (Pakoti, 1895:61)

Table 5.15: Presentative constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø PRO.DEM</td>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēia</td>
<td>te puka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēia</td>
<td>a Pēpē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēnā</td>
<td>te au tuatua ‘akakite ē tēta‘i au tuatua ‘akakitekite ‘aka‘ou mai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tērā</td>
<td>te autara a te metua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8 Exclamatory

There are a number of nominal sentences that are formally sentence fragments or ‘minor constructions’. These are designated here as ‘exclamatory sentences’. Exclamatory constructions (or exclamatives) are said to be used “for speech acts expressing a state of belief and making a claim about the world” (König and Siemund, 2007:316). In CIM these constructions are nominal in nature, which is common for exclamatory constructions cross-linguistically, and in Oceanic languages in particular (Moyse-Faurie, 2011).

Example 263 shows a highly productive exclamatory construction. This construction has a noun phrase introduced by the generic determiner te, specifying the quality, and an oblique phrase of some sort (introduced by i) that marks either a location, as in 263a, or possibly the stative agent, as in 263b. Sentences of this type contain no overt subject phrase, but the notional subject is usually the speaker, as in clear in 263b, and slightly less clear in 263a.
(263)  a. *Te 'akā'ie i tō'ou rākei!*
   DET beautiful LOC your costume
   ‘What a beautiful costume you are wearing!’ Jean Tekura Mason, September 26 2015
   b. *Te ro'i i a koe!*
   DET/TAM tired SAGNT? PERS 2SG
   ‘You make me tired!’ (Buse et al., 1995:480: te1) LIT: ‘The tired at you!’

Another highly productive exclamatory construction is shown in 264. These sentences have the exclamation *auē*, and a NP introduced by *te*, which specifies a quality, and can be paraphrased as ‘*Oh how QUALITY!*’. Example 264b ends with the emphatic vocative particle *ē*. Emphatic or focus particles of this nature are a common features of exclamatives in Oceanic languages (Moyse-Faurie, 2011:152).

(264)  a. *Auē te repo!*
   alas DET dirty
   ‘Oh the filth!’
   b. *Auē te mataora ē.*
   alas DET happy EXCLAM
   ‘Oh the happiness!’ (Heather et al., nde:6)

Example 265 combines all the elements of 263 and 264, and yet is still formally incomplete, in that it lacks an overt subject.

(265)  *Auē te aumani i a koe ē*
   alas DET noisy LOC PERS 2SG EXCLAM
   ‘Crikey you’re being noisy!’ Tauraki Raea Rongo, September 25 2015

The examples in 266 are both bare NPs reminiscent of the examples in 5.4, except that they lack a predicate-marking preposition.

(266)  a. *Te 'uki'uki!*
   DET unpleasant
   ‘How disgusting!’ Ma'ara Maeva, September 25 2015
   b. *Te 'aunga pirau!*
   DET odour rotten
   ‘How smelly!’ Tauraki Raea Rongo, September 25 2015

Example 267 is reduced even further, lacking any preposed particles.
Example 268 similarly has no preposed morphology in the NP, but does have a vocative subject NP.

In 269 the initial NP is marked by a possessive determiner, and the second NP is also a vocative subject NP.
5.9 Summary of nominal sentence types

Table 5.16 summarises the types of nominal sentences covered in this chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ko (not marked for tense)</td>
<td>Ko Mere tēia.</td>
<td>This is Mere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'E (not marked for tense)</td>
<td>'E toate a Mere.</td>
<td>Mere is a doctor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'E ma'ata tēia toka.</td>
<td>This rock is big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'E puka tā Mere.</td>
<td>Mere has a doctor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'E nū tēta'i i kō.</td>
<td>There are some drinking nuts over there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bare predicate existential (section 5.4)</td>
<td>'E mea pu'apia!</td>
<td>(It's ) A treasure!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locational (section 5.5)</td>
<td>Tei va'o te kioengiao.</td>
<td>The cat is outside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-class possessive (not marked for tense)</td>
<td>Nāku te reira kioengiao.</td>
<td>That cat is mine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative (not marked for tense)</td>
<td>Tēia te kioengiao.</td>
<td>Here’s the cat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclamatory (section 5.8)</td>
<td>Auē te kakara!</td>
<td>Oh how fragrant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 6

Simple Verbal Sentences

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will describe the following simple verbal sentence types: the action intransitive (section 6.2), the active transitive (section 6.3), the passive (section 6.4), and the stative (section 6.5). Three-participant constructions are discussed in section 6.6, and zero intransitive constructions are discussed in section 6.7. The actancy system is treated in section 6.8, followed by the system of grammatical relations in section 6.9. Valence-adjusting operations are addressed in section 6.10.¹

6.2 Action intransitive

The action intransitive construction has a minimal structure of two phrases: a verbal predicate phrase and a subject NP. The verb phrase denotes an action or event. CIM does not exhibit split intransitivity² and the S phrase may either be an agent, as in 270a, or a theme, as in 270b. Example 270 shows some typical action intransitive sentences and the constituent structure of these sentences is in shown in table 6.1.

(270) a. Tē 'aere atu nei au.
   TAM go   DIR2 POS1 1SG
   'I am going away.' Nū 'E a’a tā Mere e ma’ani ra? (Heather et al., ndf:10)

b. Kua makuru mai tēta'i 'akari.
   TAM fall   DIR1 DET.I.S coconut
   'A coconut has fallen.'

¹The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info5_6.html
²Unless one wants to analyse the stative sentence as a type of unaccusative intransitive.


### 6.3 Active transitive sentences or type I sentences

The minimal active transitive sentence, more neutrally designated as the type I construction (cf. section 6.8), contains three phrases: the verbal predicate, the zero-marked subject phrase, which is the semantic agent, and the patient phrase, which is marked by the preposition i, and is notionally the direct object. The grammatical relations of the three-participant constructions will be discussed in detail in section 6.9.

Table 6.2 shows the constituent structure for the examples in 271. Polynesianists generally proceed as if the patient phrase is not part of the verb phrase and that the predicate of a verbal sentence comprises the verb phrase without any of its notional complements (Clark, 1976; Chung, 1978; Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012).

(271) a. *Kua ’opu atu ra aia i te ika.*

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{TAM} & \text{catch} & \text{DIR} & \text{POS} & \text{3RQ ACC DET fish} \\
\text{‘He caught the fish.’} & (\text{Tara’are, 2000:3})
\end{array}
\]

b. *Kua tunu rātou i tā rātou kai.*

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{TAM} & \text{cook} & \text{3PL ACC DET.POSS 3PL food} \\
\text{‘They cooked their food.’} & (\text{Gill, 1911a:118})
\end{array}
\]

The type I construction designates a transitive two-participant event but one which is lower on the discourse transitivity scale than the type III construction, traditionally analysed as the passive (see below).
6.4 Passive or type III

The passive construction is intransitive in the sense that it only has one core argument. However, passive sentences in CIM are associated with events that are high on the discourse transitivity scale, especially with respect to the affectedness of the patient and to perfective aspect (Hopper and Thompson, 1980). As such, if the analysis of passive is correct, it is an atypical passive construction. This issue is discussed further in section 6.8. For the purposes of this discussion I will retain the terminology pertaining to the passive analysis.

The minimal passive/type III construction contains two phrases: the verb phrase, in which the verb is morphologically marked by the passive suffix (CIA), or the passive clitic (PASS) (cf. section 3.9.1), and the grammatical subject phrase, which has the semantic role of patient.

6.4.1 Agent-less passive: VP

Example 272 gives examples of two-phrase passive constructions comprising a VP and a subject NP that has the semantic role of patient. Example 272c also contains two locative adjunct phrases but note that the sentence would be grammatically complete without them.

(272) a. Kua kai-nga te taro.
   TAM eat-CIA DET taro
   ‘The taro has been eaten.’ (Buse et al., 1995:92: e2)

b. Kua pāpā-ia rava=’ia aia.
   TAM beat-CIA EMP=PASS 3SG
   ‘He was given a good thrashing.’ (Buse et al., 1995:117: ‘anga4)

c. Ka rave-a te tu’epōro ki Avatiu ā teia Ma’anākai.
   TAM do-CIA DET rugby LOC Avatiu LOC.FUT this Saturday
   ‘The rugby match will be held at Avatiu this coming Saturday.’ (Buse et al., 1995:387: rave)

Table 6.3 shows the constituent structure of the sentence in 272.

| Table 6.3: Grammatical roles for 272 |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| PREDICATE | SUBJECT |
| VP | Ø NP |
| Kua ’opu-kia | aia |
| Kua pāpā-ia rava=’ia | aia |
| Ka rave-a | te tu’epōro |

3 Other kinds of valency adjusting operations are discussed in section 6.10
6.4.2 Passive constructions with overt agents

Passive sentences may optionally (and frequently do) include a phrase with the semantic role of agent. This phrase is marked by the preposition e. Because the roles of the two NPs are clearly marked, the order of the two NPs is essentially free. There is a slight tendency to put the shorter of the two phrases in the position immediately after the verb. Both 273a and 273b have the order verb → subject (patient) → agent while 273c is verb → agent → subject (patient).

(273) a. Kua ˈopu-kia aia e te toa.
   TAM catch-CIA 3SG AGNT DET warrior
   ‘He was caught by the warrior.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:45)

b. Kua ˈkana=ˈia te ˈakari e Tere (ˈei maˈani tai).
   TAM grate=PASS DET coconut AGNT Tere COMP make coconut-sauce
   ‘Tere grated up the coconuts (to make coconut sauce).’ (Buse et al., 1995:147: kana1)

c. Kua kavekave=ˈia e te tamariki te ˈāuri tī-tiˈa.
   TAM carry-FR=PASS AGNT DET children DET spear underwater-fishing
   ‘The children carried the harpoon about.’ (Buse et al., 1995:167: kavekave)

Table 6.4 shows the constituent structure for the examples in 273.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.4: Grammatical roles for 273</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V P A Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREDICATE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kua ˈopu-kia aia e te toa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kua ˈkana=ˈia te ˈakari e Tere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kua kavekave=ˈia e te tamariki te ˈāuri tī-tiˈa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.3 Non-animate agent

The agent phrase usually refers to a prototypical agent that is both animate and volitional but non-animate agents are also permissible, as in 274.
6.4. PASSIVE OR TYPE III

(274) 'Ākara, ka topa=ꞌia koe e te 'akari.
look TAM fall=PASS 2SG AGNT DET coconut

'Watch out, the coconut will fall on you.' (Buse et al., 1995:508: topa1)

6.4.4 Action intransitive verbs in passive constructions

Action intransitive verbs also occur in passive (type III) constructions as shown in 275. When an action intransitive is passivised it entails the existence of a patient. As a result, the verb often semantically changes to a more transitive sense. The passive suffix is partially derived from a marker of transitivity that can be reconstructed for Proto Eastern Oceanic (Clark, 1973; Pawley et al., 2001), and this sense is still retained to some extent in the modern type III construction in CIM.

(275) a. Kua noꞌo=ꞌia tēia repo taro e te patapata.
TAM stay=PASS this swamp taro AGNT DET blight

'This taro swamp is infested with blight.' (Buse et al., 1995:274: noꞌo)

b. Ka 'aere=ꞌia tēia 'ura e te tangata mē reka tā kōtou 'aka-tangi.
TAM go=PASS this house dance AGNT DET person COND pleasant DET.POSS 2PL CAUSE-sound

'This dance-hall will be well-attended if you play well.' (Buse et al., 1995:6: 'aere)

c. Kua 'oeꞌoe-a te au vaka e te tamariki ki runga i te akau.
TAM paddle-FR-CIA DET PL canoe AGNT DET children LOC on LOC DET reef

'The children paddled the canoes onto the reef.' (Buse et al., 1995:278: 'oeꞌoe)

6.4.5 No overt patient

Although the presence of the passive suffix/clitic entails the existence of a patient entity, it is possible for a passive sentence to contain no overt patient phrase, as in 276. In examples like this the subject has been deleted because it is coreferential with something that is already on stage in the discourse.

(276) Kua 'akaunga=ꞌia e au ki runga i Maketu
TAM order=PASS AGNT 1SG GOAL on LOC Maketu

'I have sent (him) to Maketu.' (Pakoti, 1895:61)

6.4.6 Passive imperative

A particularly un-passive-like feature of the passive construction is the passive imperative, shown in 277, which is used for transitive imperatives in CIM. In passive imperatives the verb always occurs without a verbal particle. As with
imperatives generally, the agent phrase or addressee is often unrealised, but when one is expressed, it is marked by e. It is not always clear if this phrase is a passive agent or a vocative phrase, but when it occurs clause-medially, as in 277c, it is probably an agent phrase. Passive imperatives also can occur without an overt patient phrase, as in 277d. In these cases some patient referent is understood, often because it is present in the environment.

(277) a. Kai-nga tāꞌau potonga puakaniꞌo!
    eat-CIA your piece goat
    ‘Eat up your piece of goat meat!’ (Buse et al., 1995:365: puakaniꞌo)

b. ‘Oe-a te vaka nei!
   paddle-CIA DET canoe POS1
   ‘Paddle this canoe!’ (Simiona, 1979:51)

c. ‘Apai-na mai e koe te-reira pākau.
   bring-CIA DIR1 AGNT 2SG DET.ANA thing
   ‘You get me that thing!’ Jane Taurarii, October 15 2015

d. Kai-nga!
   eat-CIA
   ‘Eat it.’

The passive imperative is not obligatory for transitive imperatives. The type I construction is also grammatical, as in 278. Both variations are used freely and speakers will often employ both variations together, to encourage the outcome they’re looking for. The passive (type III) variation is considered by speakers to be more forceful than the type I. This is another example of the passive suffix/clitic increasing the transitivity of a clause. Imperative constructions generally are discussed in section 3.8.

(278) E kai i te au kai mēmeitaki!
   IMP eat ACC DET PL food PR-good
   ‘Eat the good foods!’ (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2000:3)

6.5 Stative sentences

Stative sentences are a type of unaccusative (patient oriented) intransitive. By definition, they have a stative base in the VP and the subject NP refers to either the patient or the theme but never to an agent.

4Unlike in NZM, where the passive imperative is obligatory for transitive imperatives (Bauer et al., 1997).
5As was discussed in section 3.8.4 the label ‘stative’ is contentious in the literature but I retain it here in alignment with the terminology preferred by most Māori linguists.
6.5. STATIVE SENTENCES

6.5.1 Single participant stative sentences

The examples in 279 show typical single participant stative sentences which have their constituent structure diagrammed in table 6.5.

(279) a. Kua ‘ati te kakau toki.
   TAM snapped DET handle axe
   ‘The handle of the axe has snapped.’ (Buse et al., 1995:505: toki)

b. I maki ana au.
   TAM sick PFV 1SG
   ‘I was sick.’ (Bible Society of South Pacific, 2014:Matio, 26:36)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Ø NP (Patient/Theme)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kua ‘ati</td>
<td>te kakau toki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I maki ana</td>
<td>au.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.2 Two participant stative sentences with agent phrases

Stative sentences may optionally have a second ‘core’ phrase (cf. section 6.9.5) marked by the preposition i, as in 280. This phrase has a grammatical role I will designate as the stative-agent. The ability to take a stative-agent phrase marked by i is indicative of a stative verb. Semantically this phrase may refer to an agent (280a), an experiencer (280b) or an inanimate cause (280c).

(280) a. Kua riro atu ra taua rākau ra i a Maru-mamao.
   TAM be-taken DIR2 POS3 DET.AIA tree POS3 SAGNT PERS Maru-mamao
   ‘That tree was taken by Maru-mamao.’ (Tara’are, 2000:41)

b. Kua ngaro i āku tēta’i a’o ki.
   TAM lost SAGNT 1SG DET.I.S DIR5 key
   ‘I’ve lost the other key.’ (Buse et al., 1995:173: ki3)

c. Kua mamae tikāi aia i te tuatua kino a te tāne.
   TAM hurt EMP 3SG SAGNT DET word bad of DET man
   ‘She was hurt by the man’s harsh words.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006h)

The I marked constituent can also be a clause, as in 281 (cf. section 10.3.1.1).
6.5.3 Loan words as statives

Statives are generally considered to be a closed (or largely closed) class of verb in East Polynesian languages largely on the basis that NZM loan words are never analysed as stative. On that assumption many authors have provided ‘lists of statives’, intended to be exhaustive, none of which match entirely (Bauer et al., 1997:75). It seems likely that the class of stative verbs is largely closed in CIN but, interestingly, there are some examples of loan words that have been analysed as stative. One example is the English word miss which can produce a sentence that is marked as stative, as in (282a). However this particular loan word but can also be used in the type I construction, as in (282b), and it is by no means common for loan words to be analysed as stative.

(282) a. Missi koe i āku.
    miss 2SG AGNT 1SG
    ‘I miss you.’

b. Missi au i a koe.
    miss 1SG ACC PERS 2SG
    ‘I miss you.’

6.6 Three-participant constructions

As was stated in section 3.8.5.2, there are no grammatically inherently ditransitive verbs in CIN. Three-participant constructions mark the recipient or beneficiary in the same way that goals are marked, with the preposition ki. Example (283a) shows a type I three-participant construction. The accusative phrase, marked by i, is the theme (underlined). The recipient phrase is marked by ki (bold). In example (283b), which is a passive/type I III construction, the theme is the grammatical subject, the agent is marked by e and the recipient/goal phrase is marked by ki.

(283) a. Ka tuku Ø aia i tēia manamanatā ki te tangata ōronga tauturu kia kimi
    TAM send SUB 3SG ACC this problem GOAL DET person provide help OPT search
    rāvenga mai.
    method DIR1
    ‘He may send the complaint to the provider to sort out.’ (Health and Disability Commissioner, 2015:1)
6.7 Zero Intransitives

Zero intransitive constructions contain no arguments. They are common cross-linguistically for statements relating to environmental conditions and slightly less common for statements relating to time (Dryer, 2007a:270). CIM permits zero argument construction for both of these semantic areas. Example 284a refers to the weather and example 284b is an expression of time.  

(284) a. Ka **ua**
   TAM rain
   ‘It’s going to rain.’

   b. E **tū** **kua** **pōpongi**.
   IMP stand TAM morning
   ‘Get up, it’s morning.’ (Buse et al., 1995:357: pōpongi)

6.8 The issue of the actancy systems of the Polynesian Languages

Non East Polynesian languages, both Nuclear Polynesian such as Samoan; or Tongic such as Tongan and Niuean have an ergative (Type II) construction as their unmarked transitive construction. As such they are often considered to be “ergative-absolutive languages”. By contrast, East Polynesian languages are traditionally considered to considered to be nominative-accusative, with an accusative (Type I cf. section 6.3) construction as the unmarked transitive, and a corresponding passive construction (Type III cf. section 6.4). However, this analysis for East Polynesian languages is problematic, primarily because of the atypical nature of the passive (Type III) construction (Milner, 1976; Clark, 1973; 1976; Chung, 1978).

6.8.1 Systems in non East Polynesian languages

Non East Polynesian languages, in the main, have three major two-participant sentence types. For maximally transitive verbs they have an ergative construction, as in 285. In this construction the verb has no suffix, the patient occurs

---

Example 284b has a subjectless imperative in the first clause but of course subjectless imperatives are not at all unusual.

It is generally considered more accurate to talk about ergative constructions rather than ergative languages but this short categorisation is common and can be both helpful and unhelpful.

That is, Polynesian languages of the Tongic subgroup and those of the Nuclear Polynesian subgroup that are not part of the East Polynesian subgroup.

In the discourse transitivity sense of Hopper and Thompson (1980).
in the absolutive NP (marked by Ø in Samoan and ‘a in Tongan) and the agent occurs in the ergative NP marked in all languages by e~‘e. This sentence type is designated as type II.

(285) a. Sā inu e le tagata Ø le vai.  
    TAM drink ERG the man ABS the water  
    ‘The man drank the water.’ (Clark, 1976) Samoan  

b. Na’e tō ‘e Sione ‘a e manioko.  
    TAM plant ERG Sione ABS DET cassava  
    ‘Sione planted the cassava.’ (Ball, 2007:132) Tongan

Conversely, verbs that are lower on the discourse transitivity scale, generally called middle verbs (Chung, 1978; Clark, 1976), occur in a construction where the agent is marked in the same way as the absolutive phrase of the type II construction and the patient is marked by i, ‘i or ki, as in 286. The choice between these two sentence types is lexically conditioned in non-EP languages. This construction is designated as type I.

(286) a. Sā alofa Ø le tagata ‘i le teine  
    TAM love ABS the man ACC the girl  
    ‘The man loved the girl.’ (Clark, 1976:68) Samoan  

b. Na’e tokoni ‘a Sione ki he faiako.  
    TAM help ABS Sione to DET teacher  
    ‘Sione helped the teacher.’ LIT: ‘Sione helped to the teacher.’ (Otsuka, 2000:256) Tongan

c. Na alolofa te kaiga kia te au  
    PST love DET family to DET 3SG  
    ‘The family loved me.’ (Ball, 2007:132) Tokelauan

The third type of construction is a derived ergative where a middle verb takes the ~CI(A) suffix, and the NPs take the ergative case marking pattern, as in 287. This construction is designated as type III.

In these constructions, the transitivity of the event is increased\(^\text{10}\) from that of the the type I (middle) construction via the ~CI(A) suffix. Compare the type I construction in 286c to the type III construction with the same verb in 287b.

---
\(^{10}\)The patient NP of the non-EP middle or type I construction is considered to be an oblique (Chung, 1978; Otsuka, 2000). As such the type I construction is grammatically intransitive. So, in the derived ergative (type III) construction, the grammatical transitivity is increased. The exact semantic change in the verb varies somewhat and sometimes in quite a tricky way (compare 286a to 287a) but the general pattern is that of increased semantic transitivity, in the sense of higher agency/volitionality and/or more affected patients.
6.8. The Issue of the Actancy Systems of the Polynesian Languages

(287) a. Sā alofa-gia e le tagata Ø le teine.
   TAM love-CIA AGNT the man ABS the girl
   ‘The girl was loved by the man.’ (Clark, 1976:68) Samoan

b. Na alofa-gia Ø au e te kaiga.
   PST love-CIA.TR ABS 1SG ERG DET family
   ‘The family cared for me.’ (Ball, 2007:132) Tokelauan

Table 6.6 summarises the patterns of sentence types for the non eastern Polynesian (non EP) "ergative" languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>‘Middle’</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Ø ABS/NOM</td>
<td>i OBLQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>‘Ergative’</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>e ERG</td>
<td>Ø ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>‘Derived ergative’</td>
<td>V-CIA</td>
<td>e ERG</td>
<td>Ø/ABS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.8.2 East Polynesian System

The East Polynesian languages have a noticeably different system to that of the non-EP languages. The type II sentence is rare or marginal in most EP languages whereas all canonical transitive verbs can occur in either type I, as in 288, or type III, as in 289.11

(288) a. Ka patu Ø te tama kino i tāku tamahīhei.
   TAM hit SUB DET boy bad ACC my rooster
   ‘The bad boy will hit my rooster’ NZM

b. ‘Ua hohoni Ø te ‘uri i te tamaiti
   TAM bite SUB DET dog ACC DET boy
   ‘The dog bit the boy.’ (Lynch, 1998:143) Tahitian

c. Tē ‘orei nei Ø te au tamariki i te au merike repo.
   TAM wash POS1 SUB the PL children ACC the PL dish dirty
   ‘The children are washing the dirty dishes.’ CIM

11The examples taken from other sources have been re-glossed according to the conventions used in this thesis.
(289) a. *Kua īnua-mia te wai ē Tiki.*
   \[
   \text{TAM \ drink-CIA \ SUB \ the \ AGNT \ Tiki}
   \]
   ‘Tiki has drunk the water’ or ‘The water has been drunk by Tiki.’ **NZM**

b. ‘*Ua hohonihia te tamaiti te uri.*
   \[
   \text{TAM \ bite-CIA \ SUB \ DET \ boy \ AGNT \ DET \ dog.}
   \]
   ‘The boy was bitten by the dog.’ ([Lynch, 1998:143]) **Tahitian**

c. *Kua 'oreia te au mereki repo te au tamariki.*
   \[
   \text{TAM \ wash-CIA \ SUB \ the \ PL \ dish \ dirty \ AGNT \ the \ PL \ children}
   \]
   ‘The dirty dishes have been washed by the children.’ **CIM**

NZM has a number of type II constructions where the verb is un-suffixed and the agent is marked by ē ([Bauer et al., 1997; Harlow, 2007]) but CIM does not have any productive type II constructions.

Table 6.7 shows the general pattern for East Polynesian two-participant sentences.

### Table 6.7: Paradigm of two argument constructions in EP languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>‘Accusative’/‘Active’</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Ø NOM</td>
<td>i ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>‘Ergative’ (rare)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>e ERG</td>
<td>Ø ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>‘Transitive’/‘Passive’</td>
<td>V-CIA</td>
<td>e AGNT</td>
<td>Ø SUB/NOM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.8.3 Various analyses for East Polynesian

There has been significant disagreement amongst scholars about the analysis of the EP system.

Under the accusative analysis, the type I construction is the unmarked construction and is analysed as an active nominative-accusative construction. The type III construction is analysed as a passive that is derived from the type I. This analysis represents the majority view but even amongst supporters of this analysis there is general agreement that there is something amiss with the EP type III/passive construction ([Clark, 1973; 1976; Hohepa, 1969; Chung, 1978; Ota, 2000; Elbert and Pukui, 2001]). This amiss-ness, and the formal similarity of the EP type III construction to the non-EP types II and III, has led some scholars to suggest that the EP type III construction is ergative.

Under the ‘ergative’ analysis, the type III construction is considered to be the basic construction, while the type I construction is variously considered to be an anti-passive ([Gibson and Starosta, 1990]) or some sort of intransitive sentence with the patient in an oblique NP ([Sinclair, 1976; Pucilowski, 2008]).

Otsuka ([2011]) proposes a third analysis for EP languages. She contends that when comparing the type I to the type III, “neither construction is more basic than the other” (2011:310), and that the distinction between these two types of construction is not one of voice, but rather one of focus. The type I focuses the agent and the type III...
6.8. THE ISSUE OF THE ACTANCY SYSTEMS OF THE POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

focuses the patient. Otuka suggests that the EP pattern has developed from the non-EP pattern via the following two rules:

1. In EP languages all transitive verbs are permitted in the type I (middle) construction.
2. In EP languages all verbs in the type II construction must be suffixed rendering a type III construction

She does not consider the type III construction in East Polynesian languages to be a proper ergative construction because the e marked agent phrase is not a core syntactic argument (2011:305). Nor does she consider the type III construction to be a proper active transitive construction because it is dis-preferred for highly transitive events.

6.8.4 Ergative traces in NZM

NZM is considered to have a number of traces of ergativity in its grammar. For the purpose of comparison I will briefly discuss these here. The features that are considered to be ergative traces in NZM are:

1. Ø marked patient phrase
2. Overtly marked agent phrase: typically with e
3. Patient phrase that allows the determiner he

The NZM passive (type III) construction has all of the above ergative features. It is a very high frequency construction and frequently occurs in contexts where a typical passive would not be expected (Nicholas, 2010), and for this reason has been regarded as an ‘ergative trace’ in NZM (Bauer et al., 1997:536). For examples of the ‘ergative trace’ constructions in NZM, see appendix C.

6.8.5 Ergative traces in CIM

CIM does not show as many ergative traces as NZM. CIM does not have a construction comparable to the NZM me-imperative or pseudo passive. Stative constructions never take an e marked agent and are probably more correctly considered to be a separate type of intransitive construction. The ergative relic verbs are very marginal but are attested, as in 290. Example 290a has an unmarked verb and a Ø marked patient phrase, and example 290b additionally has an e marked agent phrase.

(290) a. Kua ‘ōake Ø tā-mātou ‘apina aro’a nō tōna rā ʻānau-ʻanga.
   TAM give SUB our thing love for his day birth-RR
   ‘We’ve given him our birthday presents.’ (Buse et al., 1995:278: ‘ōake) Lit. ‘Our presents have been given for his birthday.’

12This is marginally acceptable in NZM.
b. Kua ʻāake ə tā-mātou ʻapinga aroa e au nō tōna rā ʻānauʻanga.

\textit{TAM} give \textit{SUB} our \textit{thing} love \textit{AGNT 1SG} for \textit{his} \textit{day} \textit{birth-IR}

‘I gave our gifts to him for his birthday.’

The passive imperative, analogous with the NZM passive imperative, exists in CIM. This construction exhibits the ergative features of a zero marked patient and high transitivity, but, as discussed in section 6.4.6, it is not obligatory for transitive imperatives, which it is in NZM. Similarly, the case marking in the actor emphatic is variable. One variation has a zero marked patient (291a) which shows the ‘ergative trace’ of having a zero marked patient and an overtly marked agent phrase. The other variation (291b) marks the patient with i and is more like the accusative pattern (cf. chapter 7).

(291) a. Nā te Kavamani ə mātou i ʻākōno i reira.

\textit{AE DET government PATIENT 1PLEX TAM care} \textit{LOC LOC.PRO}

‘The government supported us there.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:31:31-00:31:33) https://goo.gl/sG00YH

b. Nā ‘ai i kai i te tōmāti?

\textit{AE who LOC eat ACC DET tomato}

‘Who ate the tomatoes?’ (Heather et al., nda:1)

The passive/type III construction in CIM does appear (anecdotally) to be associated with highly transitive events which suggests that it has developed from the EP type II construction via the process suggested by Otsuka (2011). However it does not appear to be as frequent compared to the type I construction\(^\text{13}\) as its NZM counterpart. This, along with the fact that CIM has fewer ergative traces, all of which are less clearly ergative traces, suggests that CIM has moved further toward\(^\text{14}\) a fully nominative-accusative system. Table 6.8 summarises the ‘ergative trace’ constructions in CIM\(^\text{15}\).

6.9 Grammatical relations and case

In this section I will discuss the ‘argument’, ‘core’, and ‘non core’ grammatical relations of NPs in CIM (Andrews, 2007a:152). I contend that there are two argument grammatical relations, that of subject and direct object. There is then a second tier of grammatical relations that I consider to be more than just oblique and as such designate them as ‘core’. These are the three types of overtly marked agent phrases. Then there are the oblique NPs which are those of all other types and are non core adjuncts.

\(^{13}\) A thorough statistical analysis of this issue would be interesting but is outside the scope of this project.

\(^{14}\) I am assuming the analysis of Clark (1976) and others (Ota, 2000; Ball, 2007; Otsuka, 2011) with respect to the direction of the change, from ergative to accusative, to be correct but the direction of the change is somewhat immaterial to this issue anyway.

\(^{15}\) In NZM the distribution of the nominal particle \textit{he} is restricted to NPs that would be considered notional absolutive under an ergative analysis, and as such, this distribution is considered to be a trace of ergativity. However, in CIM, the nominal particle \textit{ʻe} (cognate with NZM \textit{he}) is restricted to predicate NPs and non-specific or indefinite fronted subjects and as such provides no evidence with respect to traces of ergativity.
Table 6.8: CIM: ‘ergative trace’ constructions compared to the type I construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern Type</th>
<th>Agent NP marker</th>
<th>P NP marker</th>
<th>‘E (NZM he)</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>i or ki</td>
<td>*A *P</td>
<td>Active transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I*/-</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>*P A</td>
<td>Actor Emphatic-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>voc-e or n/a</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>*P A</td>
<td>Active Transitive imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?II</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>*P A</td>
<td>Ergative relic verbs ‘ōake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?II* or n/a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>*P A</td>
<td>Stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?II* or n/a</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>*P A</td>
<td>Actor Emphatic-b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>*P A</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>*P A</td>
<td>Passive Transitive imperative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Constituent ordering is not a reliable basis for determining the grammatical relation of a NP, but the unmarked order is predicate initial followed directly by the grammatical subject.

6.9.1 Subject: nominative case

Grammatical subjects can be identified by certain syntactic properties which will be discussed in the following sections. However, there is a strong morphological correlational whereby the grammatical subject of a sentence in CIM is usually the unmarked NP, that is the NP with no preposition.\(^{16}\) The subject phrase of the various sentence types is marked in bold in example (292).

\[(292)\] (a) Kua koꞌu a Mere i te tiare māori ki te rau kuru.

\[\text{TAM} \text{wrap PERS Mere ACC DET flower ordinary INS DET leaf breadfruit} \]

‘Mere wrapped breadfruit leaves around the gardenia flowers.’ (Buse et al., 1995; koꞌu)

(b) Kua kamo=ꞌia mai a Mere e Tā.

\[\text{TAM} \text{wave=PASS DIR1 PERS Mere AGNT Tā} \]

‘Mere had been waved at by Tā.’ (Buse et al., 1995:198: kamo)

(c) Kua roꞌiroꞌi aia i te ‘aere.

\[\text{TAM} \text{tired 3SG SAGNT DET go} \]

‘He is tired of walking’ (Buse et al., 1995:6: ‘aere)

d. Ko Mere tōku māmā

\[\text{SPEC Mere my mother} \]

‘Mere is my mother.’

\(^{16}\)Two exceptions are the zero marked patient NP of an actor emphatic sentence, which may not be the subject (cf. section 7.9) and the zero marked ‘C-COMP’ phrase of a stative, which is definitely not the subject, as in 431.
e. ‘E ‘orometua a Mere
CLS pastor PERS Mere

‘Mere is a pastor.’

f. Tei ‘ea a Mereana rāua ko Viriamu?
LOC where PERS Mereana CONJ SPEC Viriamu

‘Where are Maryanne and William?’ (Robati and Outkina, 2010:3)

g. Nō-na tēnā pare.
belong:OCAT:3SG DEM 2 hat

‘That hat belongs to him.’ (Buse et al., 1995:273: nōna)

A detailed syntactic argument for the definition of the subject in CIM is outside the scope of this project but I will offer a few examples of subject targeting rules which strongly suggest that the unmarked NP “is a structural primitive.” (Andrews, 2007a:166) in CIM.

6.9.2 Simple fronting

Subjects of many simple verbal sentences can be fronted from their unmarked post-verbal position to the sentence-initial position (introduced by ko) to mark focus or topic. This type of fronting is more common in nominal sentences than in verbal sentences. In verbal sentences it is most common in action intransitive sentences, as in 293a. It is actually quite rare for active transitive (type I) sentences as the actor emphatic construction is the usual choice for focusing an agent (cf. chapter 7), but 293b is an example. Likewise passive or type III transitives, (as in 293c) do not occur that frequently with fronted subjects. However, the salient point is that only subjects can be fronted in this manner. In passive and stative sentences the grammatical subject (the unmarked NP) has the semantic role of patient. This confirms that the important feature for simple fronting is grammatical category, rather than semantic role.

(293) a. Ko rāua ko Pitimani i ‘aere mai ei i taua pai’i ra.
SPEC CONJ:3D SPEC Pitimani TAM go DIR:1 ANA LOC that ship POS:3

‘He and Charles Pittman came on that ship.’ (Rere, 1975:18)

b. Ko ia i ‘akakitekite Ø i te tuatua i aia ki a Tāne ra.
SPEC 3SG TAM cause-know Ø ACC DET talk ACC 3SG GOAL PERS Tāne POS:3

‘He had disclosed the story about him to Tane.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:107)

c. Tērā te tuatua i ‘akataka’-ia Ø e Tama-kake ki a rāua.
DEM:3 DET word TAM cause-certain=PASS Ø AGNT Tama-kake GOAL PERS 3D

‘These were the words instructed to them by Tama-kake.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:75)
6.9.2.1 Equi NP deletion for coreferential subjects/zero pronominalisation

There are a number of constructions that either allow or make obligatory, the deletion of a subject of a second or dependent clause if it is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. **Kia** complements (cf. section 10.2.3) allow the deletion of a coreferential subject, as in 294a. Contrast this with 294b where the subject is not coreferential and as such is overtly stated. **I-te** complements, as in 295a, are only grammatical for coreferential subjects that are also agents and the subject of the dependent clause is obligatorily deleted. Coordinated clauses with coreferential subjects allow subjection deletion, as in 295b.

(294) a. Ka tuku=ꞌia aia kia aere Ø-ss ma te kore e tā-mananatā=ꞌia.
   TAM allowed=PASS 3SG COMP go Ø-SS COM DET NEG TAM CAUSE-problem=PASS
   ‘S/he will be allowed to go without being punished.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2010:14)

   b. Ka turuturu te ASD Plus i te au kōpū-tangata, kia kite rātou i te tū
   TAM support DET ASD Plus ACC DET PL family COMP.OPT? know 3PL LOC DET manner
   o te Autism Spectrum Disorder
   of DET Autism Spectrum Disorder
   ‘ASD Plus supports families so that they know about the symptoms of Autism Spectrum Disorder.’ (Le Va, 2014:22)

(295) a. Ka 'inangaro a Mama i-te kite Ø i te tū o te ‘are i Rarotonga nei.
   TAM desire PERS Mum COMP see Ø ACC DET manner of DET house LOC Rarotonga POS1
   ‘Mum wants to know about how the house in Rarotonga is.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:340)

   b. Kua ‘aere mai te vaꞌine, kua kāpiki rāi Ø ‘e mamae ‘ua ake tōna va’a.
   TAM go DIR1 DET woman TAM call EMP Ø CLS sore MERELY DIR3 her mouth
   ‘The woman came (and) called out (until) her mouth was hoarse.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:55)

   NPs that are not grammatical subjects are not generally able to be deleted. Complex sentences are discussed in detail in chapter 10.

6.9.2.2 Negation

Negation (discussed in detail in chapter 12) is another syntactic process that targets grammatical subjects. When sentences are negated there is a very strong tendency for the subject of the dependent clause to be “raised” into the subject position of the matrix (negative) clause. However non-subject NPs are not able to occur in the matrix clause. Once again this rule targets the grammatical subject of the dependent clause rather any semantic role. In example 296a the sentence that is negated is a type I clause and the subject is an agent. In both 296b with a passive dependent clause and 296c with a stative dependent clause the subject is a patient.
6.9.3 Direct object: accusative case

In this thesis the i marked patient phrase is considered to be the direct object of that sentence type. In this section I will illustrate some direct-object targeting grammatical-processes in support of this designation.

The direct object is the only phrase that can be "promoted" to (or more neutrally, can be expressed in) the subject of a passive (type III) sentence. Example 297a shows a type I sentence with the direct object phrase in bold. In example 297b this NP is now the subject of the passive/type III. The ungrammatical example 297c has the instrument oblique NP in the subject position of a passive (type III) sentence.

\[(297)\]

a. Kāre a Aotearoa e āriki Ø i te tītā plastik a te ‘uriria mei Niue mai.
   NEG PERS New-Zealand TAM accept Ø ACC DET rubbish plastic of DET cyclone SOURCE Nuie DIR1
   ‘New Zealand will not accept the plastic rubbish from Niue that was produced by the cyclone.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Kāre ʻe ʻakairo e kite-a mai Ø
   NEG EXIST sign TAM see-CIA DIR1 Ø
   ‘No signs are seen.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2000:1)

c. Kāre te kai e pou Ø i te kai.
   NEG DET food TAM completed Ø SAGNT DET eat
   ‘The food won’t be finished being eaten.’ (Rere, 1983:20)

Similarly, only the direct object of a type I sentence can occur as the unmarked NP in an actor emphatic construction. Example 298a is the equivalent type I sentence for the actor emphatic sentence in 298b. In 298b the patient
phrase is unmarked. In the ungrammatical 298c the unmarked NP is a locative (cf. chapter 7 for a full discussion of the actor emphatic construction).

(298) a. E koꞌi ana rātou i te moni pakari meangiti rava atu i Niu Tireni
   TAM collect HABIT 3PL ACC DET money adult small MP.EMP DIR1 LOC New Zealand
   ‘They collect the smallest pension in New Zealand.’

   b. Nā rātou Ø te moni pakari meangiti rava atu e koꞌi nei i Niu Tireni.
   AE 3PL Ø DET money adult small EMP DIR2 TAM collect POS1 LOC New Zealand
   ‘They collect the smallest pension in New Zealand.’ (Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, Government of the Cook Islands, 2014a:80)

   c. *Nā rātou Ø Niu Tireni e koꞌi nei i te moni pakari meangiti rava atu.
   AE 3PL Ø New Zealand TAM collect POS1 ACC DET money adult small MP.EMP DIR2
   Intended: ‘They got New Zealand’s smallest collected pension money.’

Thirdly, when the NPrel of a relative clause is the direct object of a type I clause, the strategies that are available for subjects (299) or oblique NPs (300) are not available for the direct object NP, for most speakers (cf. section 10.7.4). Example 299a shows a relative clause where the NPrel is the subject of the relative clause. Example 299b shows an ungrammatical sentence where the same strategy that is used for an NPrel that is the subject is attempted for an NPrel that is the direct object. The examples in 300 show the strategy that is used for a NPrel that is an oblique NP in 300a, and one that is a direct object in 300b. Most speakers find this construction ungrammatical when the NPrel is a direct object, although some speakers produce it in elicitation, and others judge it acceptable.

(299) a. Te ‘ālēte’anga o te parole, ka tika=i’a te tangata, tei rave Ø, i te
   DET meaning of DET parole TAM permit=PASS DET person REL.PST do Ø ACC DET
   ‘anga’anga kino viꞌiviꞌi kia ōki mai ki roto i te oire
   action bad ugly OPT return DIR1 GOAL inside LOC DET village
   ‘The meaning of parole is that the person who committed the crime is permitted to return to the village.’
   (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2010:16)

   b. *Ko te ‘anga’anga kino viꞌiviꞌi tēia, tei rave te tangata Ø.
   SPEC DET work bad ugly PRO.DEM1 REL.PST do DET person
   Intended: ‘This is the crime the person committed,’
(300) a. Kāre rava aia e ‘akakite kī tāna va’ine i te ngāi, i ‘aere ei a Varokura
NEG MP.EMP 3SG TAM explain GOAL his wife ACC DET place PST go ANA PERS Varokura
Ø,
Ø
‘He has not yet explained the place where Varokura had been to his wife.’ (Simiona, 1979:68)

b. ?Ko tēia te taro, i kai ei aia Ø,
SPEC PRO.DEM DET DET PST eat ANA 3SG Ø

Intended: ‘This is the taro that she ate.’

Lastly, the notional direct object is the only NP that can undergo object incorporation (cf. section 6.10.3). Example 301a is typical of object incorporation. In the ungrammatical example 301b the NP that has unsuccessfully been incorporated is a locative PP. Example 301c shows that if the noun ‘āuri undergoes incorporation, the result is not an instrumental interpretation, but rather that of a patient (cf. 297). This indicates that the NP that ‘āuri ‘originated from’ was the a direct object NP.

TAM go 1SG TAM buy bit thing for DET Christmas

‘I’m going to buy a few things for Christmas.’ (Buse et al., 1995:282: ‘oko’oko)

b. *Ka ‘aere au ka ‘oko’oko toa (i) (te) mānga ‘apinga nō
TAM go 1SG TAM buy shop (ACC) (DET) bit thing for

Intended: ‘I’m going to shop-buy some things for Christmas.’

c. Kua ma’ani ‘āuri rātou.
TAM make iron 3PL

‘They made iron.’ LIT: ‘They iron-made.’

6.9.4 Indirect object

As has been noted in sections 3.8.5.2 and 6.6 there is no grammatical basis for a syntactic category of indirect object in CIM. The beneficiary or recipient occurs in an oblique NP with locative preposition ki marking a goal.
6.9.4.1 Object of comparison

The notional object of comparison is marked by the preposition i, as in 302.

(302) ‘E ‘anga’anga marū ake tēia i tā-mātou.
   CLS work easy DIR3 PRO.DEM1 LOC ours

‘This work is easier than ours.’ (Buse et al., 1995:232: marū)

6.9.5 Agent phrases: Agentive case

Bauer (1997:204) notes for NZM:

The agents in passive, neuter, state intransitive and actor-emphatic constructions fall on the border between syntactic and semantic functions. Since the same linguistic form is used in these constructions regardless of the animacy of the agent, this suggests that they are indeed syntactic rather than semantic functions.

In CIM too, the referent of the agent phrase of passives or statives need not be a semantic agent. The grammatical agent phrase in a passive (type III) sentence is marked by e. In example 303a the non-animate agent is marked in the same way as the actual semantic agent in 303b.

(303) a. Kua roko=ꞌia i/o ra rāua e te moe tinainai.
   TAM over taken=PASS DIR4 POS3 3D AGNT DET sleep deep-sleep
   ‘They were overcome with deep sleep.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:22)

b. Kua kite-a mai e ia tētaꞌi ngāꞌi.
   TAM see-CIA DIR1 AGNT 3SG DET.I.S place
   ‘A place was seen by him.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:10)

Likewise, stative agent phrases can refer to more semantically agent-like referents, as in 304a. However, they may also refer to causes, as in 304b, but in each case they are formally marked the same way, and behave the same way grammatically.

(304) a. Kua rauka mai i a rāua tētaꞌi mārama nō tēia mea ‘e pāꞌua.
   TAM obtained DIR1 SAGNT PERS 3D DET.I.S understanding about DEM1 thing CLS clam
   ‘They had acquired some knowledge about this thing the clam.’ (Simiona, 1979:12)

b. Kua pōꞌitire re rātou i te ‘akarongoꞌanga i tētaꞌi reo tamariki.
   TAM startled 3SG SAGNT DET listen-NR ACC DET.I.S voice children
   ‘They were startled at hearing some children’s voices.’ (Simiona, 1979:7)
The agent phrase of an actor emphatic sentence is marked by nā, as in 305a. In an actor emphatic sentence this phrase almost always refers to a proper semantic agent, as it does in 305a, but nā occasionally marks a non-animate 'agent' in an actor emphatic construction, as in 305b. Nā marks agent-like phrases in other sentence types such as the fronted cause adverbial in 305c.

(305) a. Nā te Kavamani tēia i 'apai mai.
AE DET government PRO.DEM1 TAM carry DIR1

'The government brought these here.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:01:08:50-01:08:52)
https://goo.gl/sG00YH

b. Nā te 'akairo o te reta topa (') e 'aka-pāpū mai ki a tātou i te
AE DET sign of the letter drop (') TAM CAUSE-certain DIR1 GOAL PERS 1PL ACC DET
tika'anga tikāi i te 'aka-tangi-'anga o te-reira tuatua.
correct-NR EMP LOC DET CAUSE-sound-NR of DET-ANA word

'The sign of the glottal stop clarifies to us the correct pronunciation of that word.' (Simiona, 1979:iv)

c. Nā tō-rātou kite i te au 'akapuku'anga o te tai, ngō'i e 'ua te kite
CAUSE/AGNT their see ACC DET PL swell-of-waves-NR of the sea with-ease MERELY DET know
mē tē āru ra i te kaveinga. (Salesa et al., 2004:22)
COND TAM follow POS3 ACC DET course

'By sensing ocean swells, an experienced navigator could literally feel whether the canoe was on course.' (Salesa, 2004:22)

All three of these types of agent phrases are case marked as agentive.

6.9.6 Oblique NPs

All the other NPs occur in oblique PPs where the preposition is the case marker (cf. section 8.8). These PPs are not core grammatical functions and are discussed in chapter 8.

6.10 Valence adjusting operations

In this section I will discuss a number of valence adjusting operations in CIM. In general terms, valence is a property of a verb which relates to the number and type of arguments required for a construction with that verb to be well formed. The sense of valence I am using here is that of Payne (1997:169) who considers that “Valence can be thought of as a semantic notion, a syntactic notion or a combination of the two.” CIM has one type of valence increasing operation which is causative (6.10.1) and three kinds of valence reducing operations which are reflexivisation (6.10.2), object incorporation (6.10.3) and “passivisation” (6.10.4).
6.10. VALENCE ADJUSTING OPERATIONS

6.10.1 Causatives

Causatives “are the linguistic instantiation of the conceptual notion of causation” (Payne, 1997:175). They are a valence increasing operation. CIM has two productive morphological causatives and some examples of lexical and analytic causatives.

6.10.1.1 Morphological causatives

The causative prefixes 'aka- and tā- were first introduced in section 3.10.1. Both these prefixes:

1. Derive a verb from a noun
2. Derive a transitive verb from an intransitive verb (both action intransitives and statives)
3. Derive a causative verb from a transitive verb (cf. table 3.24)

Example 306a contains a stative with the tā- prefix and a transitive verb with the 'aka- prefix (which also happens to have been nominalised). Example 306b has a noun with the tā- prefix. Example 306c has an action intransitive with the 'aka- prefix.

(306) a. Tā-mate te basileia i tō rātou mōri i te pō Ma’anākai, nō tēta’i ora
    CAUSE-die the nation ACC DET.POSS.OCAT 3PL light LOC the night Saturday for DET hour
    ‘okota’i, ‘ei rāvenga tauturu i te rā ‘aka-ma’ara’anga\(^\text{18}\) nō tēia nei ao kia
    COMP means support ACC the day CAUSE-remember-NR for this POS1 world TAM
    tāporoporo i te pou o te ‘īnu ki runga i te uira.
    conserve ACC the total of the oil LOC on LOC the electricity
    ‘The nation turned off their lights for an hour on Saturday to support Earth hour, a global response to encourage the reduction of fuel emissions from fossil fuel based electricity.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Nā ‘ai koe i tā-utunga?
    AE who 2SG PST CAUSE-punish
    ‘Who caused you to be punished?’ (Buse et al., 1995:475: tāutunga)

c. Kua ‘aka-no’o aia i te au va’ine ki runga ake.
    TAM CAUSE-sit 3SG ACC DET PL women GOAL on DIR3
    ‘He put the women above.’ (Tuatua Mai, 2014b)

The morphological causatives, particularly those with ‘aka-’, are the most productive type of causative deriving process in CIM. As was discussed in section 3.10.1 some of the semantic results of the causative prefixes are predictable and result in a word that translates as ‘to cause to X’. However, some forms have been lexicalised and can result in

\(^{18}\) ‘Aka-ma’ara’anga literally translates as ‘commemoration’ so the phrase te rā ‘akama’ara’anga o tēia nei ao which is glossed in the translation as ‘Earth Hour’ would more literally be glossed as ‘the day of commemoration of this world’.
some wonderfully specific causative verbs such as 'akapā (shown in 307), which is formed from cause-to strike, and translates as; to make someone play a game involving a ball that is struck with a stick or of some sort such as cricket or tennis.

(307) ‘Aere mai koe ākōnei, ka ‘aka-pā mātou i a koe.
come DIRL 2SG later TAM CAUSE-bat 1PLEX ACC PERS 2SG
‘Come later on, we’ll make you play (tennis, cricket or any game with a bat and ball).’ (Buse et al., 1995:32: 'akapā)

6.10.1.2 Analytic causatives

CIM has a small number of verbs that occur in analytic (two clause) causative constructions. In these constructions the causative verb occurs in the matrix clause and the predicate of effect is expressed in the dependent clause. In 308a both the causer (the agent of the predicate of cause) and the causee (the agent of the caused event) occur in the matrix clause. In example 308b no overt causer is expressed and the causee occurs in the dependent clause. The dependent clauses in these constructions are a type of complement clause and they are discussed in detail in section 10.2.3.

(308) a. Kua mea au i aia kia 'oki mai ki te 'āpī.
TAM make 1SG ACC 3SG TAM.X return DIRL GOAL DET school
‘I made him come back to school.’ (Buse et al., 1995:244: mea)

b. Mē pou te kava, e tono=ia ana tēta′i aronga kia 'oko kava 'aka′ou mai.
COND gone DET alcohol TAM send=PASS HABIT DET.I.S group COMP buy alcohol again DIR1
‘When the alcohol has run out some people are sent to buy more.’ (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, 2004:6)

6.10.1.3 Lexical causatives

CIM has lexical causatives of the type where the verb has a particular causative meaning, as in 309. Compare 309a which contains the verb kai, to eat, with 309b which has the verb 'āngai, to feed i.e. to cause to eat.

(309) a. Kua kai aia i te tangata
TAM eat 3SG ACC DET person
‘He ate the person.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006d)
b. I mua ake ‘oki ka ‘aere ei a Tangi ki te ‘āpili i te pōpongi, ka
LOC before DIR3 EMP TAM go ANA PERS Tangi GOAL DET school LOC DET morning TAM
nā mua ‘oki aia i-te āngai i te puaka.
LOC.TRANS before EMP 3SG COMP feed ACC DET pig

‘Before Tangi went to school in the mornings first she fed the pigs.’ (Scheel and Kunzle, 1996:6)

CIM also has causative constructions which involve no change in the verb but merely the addition of a PP that
marks cause, thereby adding a participant to the stage. Most statives can become lexical causatives without any
change to the verb simply by adding a stative agent phrase (cf. section 6.5.2), as in 310b. The sentence in 310a has
one participant while the sentence in 310b has two participants and is a lexical causative of the type described by

(310)

a. Kua motu taua rākau ra.
TAM be-severed DET.ANA stick POS3

‘The stick snapped.’

b. Kua motu taua rākau ra, i a ‘Ui-te-rangiora.
TAM be-severed DET.ANA stick POS3 SAGNT PERS ‘Ui-te-rangiora

‘That stick was severed/caused to be severed by ‘Ui-te-rangiora.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:41)

6.10.1.4 Direct vs indirect causatives

The category of causation actually incorporates a range of meanings, as illustrated by the words used in recent ex-
amples. The morphological causative tā-mate (‘to deliberately kill’), as in 306a, is an example of the most agent-like
direct type of causative. The construction with the bare stative motu (‘to be severed’), as in the analytic causative
construction in 310b, is slightly less directly causative, and the lexical causative āngai (‘to feed’), as in 309b), is even
less direct.

6.10.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are usually valence decreasing operations, at least in the semantic sense of
reducing the number of participants. In CIM, as in many languages, there is no structural difference between reflexives,
where the notional agent and patient are the same entity, and reciprocals where there are two participants, both of
whom are acting equally on each other (Payne, 1997:201). Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are either lexical or
“morphological” in CIM. There are no reflexive or reciprocal pro-forms in CIM.
6.10.2.1 Lexical reflexives and reciprocals

Lexical reflexives/reciprocals include some of the usual types of verbs that are associated with reflexive/reciprocal events cross-linguistically. The examples in (311) demonstrate lexical reflexive and reciprocal constructions (311a), with the verb tāmā (to wash) (311b), with the verb varu (to shave), and with the verb tāvare (to embrace), as in (311c).

(311) a. ø Tāmā i tā māua kapu tā māua mērekī e otī, ø 'aere
   TAM clean ACC DET.POSS.ACAT IDEX cup DET.POSS.ACAT IDEX plate TAM finish TAM go
   māua ø mōmē.
   IDEX TAM wash
   'We would clean our cups and our plates then we went and washed.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2014c:00:02:01-00:02:07) https://goo.gl/sG00YH

b. E 'akaꞌuka koe i te vai nā mua, ka varu ei koe.
   TAM CAUSE-foam 2SG ACC the water LOC front TAM shave ANA 2SG
   'Make the water foaming first before you shave.' (Buse et al., 1995:50: ōkaꞌuka)

c. Kua tākavekave rātou ma te avaava.
   TAM embrace 3PL and the shout
   'They embraced one another and cheered.' (Buse et al., 1995:425: tākavekave)

These verbs all take a reflexive interpretation when there is no explicit patient and as such reduce the semantic valence of the clause but they may also occur in ordinary transitive two-participant constructions, as in (312).

(312) Tē varū ra tōku pāpā i tōna 'uruꞌuru va’a.
   TAM shave POS3 my father ACC his hair mouth
   'My father is shaving his beard.' (Buse et al., 1995:557: varu2)

6.10.2.2 Morphological reflexives and reciprocals

Morphologically speaking, reflexives and reciprocals (which are isomorphic) are (optionally) marked by various combinations of some particular postposed particles. The orthographic form ⟨ꞌuāꞌo rāi⟩ is a multi-morphemic item comprising the manner particle 'ua, the archaic directional particle aꞌo and the postposed modifier rāi. This form is the most explicitly reflexive however the form 'uāꞌo or just the post particle rāi can also indicate reflexivity (with the help of context).

Reflexives are usually expressed grammatically as typical two-participant constructions, with the addition of the overt reflexive marker 'uāꞌo(rāi), as in example (313a). They may also occur without the overt marker, as in example (313b). If the identity of the referent is potentially ambiguous, then the overt marker will disambiguate it. Thus this type of construction does not reduce the syntactic valence, but the semantic valence is decreased from that of a non reflexive type I clause.
6.10. VALENCE ADJUSTING OPERATIONS

(313) a. Kua 'aka-tapu aia i aia 'uā'orāi 'ei ariki tikāi ki taua 'enua.
TAM CAUSE-sacred 3SG ACC 3SG REFL COMP chief EMPH LOC that land

‘He made himself sacred in order to become a high chief of this land.’ (Te Rei, 1917b:51)

b. Kua 'aka-ꞌōpuku aia i aia mei te 'onu rāi i te pae tāi.
TAM CAUSE-crouch 3SG ACC 3SG like DET turtle EMP LOC DET side sea

‘He doubled himself up like a turtle at the beach side.’ (Buse et al., 1995:32: 'aka-ꞌōpuku)

6.10.3 Object incorporation

A very common syntactic valence reducing operation is that of object incorporation (cf. sections 3.11.1 and 6.9.3) where the (notional) direct object of a transitive (type I) sentence is incorporated into the verb phrase thus rendering the sentence intransitive. The first example in each of these pairs of sentences in 314 and 315 shows the notional transitive sentence that the incorporated object version, shown in the second part of each example, is derived from. The semantic effect of this process is to make the patient referent less specific. This is the usual pattern for object incorporation cross-linguistically; as Aikhenvald (2007:13) puts it, “Incorporation usually takes place when the head noun of a noun phrase is neither specific nor referential.” Object incorporation in CIM is of the ‘lexical compounding’ type (Aikhenvald, 2007:15) whereby a lexically complex item is derived from “a combination of two or more stems”.

(314) a. Kua tāpae atu aia ki Mitiꞌāro i-te tiki i tētaꞌi kai ē tētaꞌi vai nō-na,
TAM turn DIR2 3SG GOAL Mitiꞌaro COMP fetch ACC DET food and some water for.OCAT-3SG
‘ōu aia i 'aere atu ei ki 'Atiu.
new 3SG TAM go DIR2 ANA GOAL 'Atiu

‘He changed course towards Mitiꞌaro to collect some food and some water for himself, before he went to 'Atiu.’

b. Kua tāpae atu aia ki Mitiꞌāro i-te tiki kai ē tētaꞌi vai nō-na, 'ōu aia i TAM turn DIR2 3SG GOAL Mitiꞌaro COMP fetch food and some water for.OCAT-3SG new 3SG TAM
'aere atu ei ki 'Atiu.
go DIR2 ANA GOAL 'Atiu

‘He changed course towards Mitiꞌaro to collect food and some water for himself, before he went to 'Atiu.’ (Simiona, 1979:23)

(315)

a. Tē tunu nei au i tētaꞌi tiōpu tōmāti
TAM cook TAM 1SG ACC DET soup tomato

‘I am cooking some tomato soup.’
b. Tē tunu tiōpu tōmāti nei au.
   TAM cook soup tomato TAM 1SG
   ‘I’m cooking some tomato soup.’ (Buse et al., 1995:494: tōmāti)

Most object incorporation in CIM involves the bare noun of the object phrase resulting in a simple intransitive
verb-modifier compound but example 314b is interesting in that the verb phrase with the incorporated object also
contains a conjoined NP (ē tētaꞌi vai ‘and some water’) and a possessive NP (nōna for him). The viability of this
type of construction in Polynesian languages has drawn the attention of some scholars (Massam, 2001; Ball, 2004) as
it is not typical of noun incorporation cross-linguistically. A more precise analysis of this process in CIM would be an
interesting avenue for further examination.

6.10.4 Passive

Prototypical passive constructions are generally considered to be grammatically intransitive because they only have
one obligatory argument and as such are considered to be valence reducing operations derived from the active tran-
sitive sentence. The grammar of the passive/type III construction is discussed at length in section 6.4 and again in
relation to the ergativity issue in section 6.8. In the context of valence it should be noted that the CIM passive can occur
with only one participant, as in 316a, in which case the valence is clearly reduced from a notional type I counterpart.
However, passives also frequently have two overt participants, as in 316b, in which case the semantic valence is not
reduced at all.

(316) a. Kua tanu-mia a Tapairu-ariki ki te pae te toka
   TAM bury-cia PERS Tapairu-ariki LOC DET row DET stone
   ‘Tapairu-ariki was buried at the row of stones.’ (Rere, 1983:53)

b. Kua ‘aka-mārō=ꞌia koe e au.
   TAM CAUSE-persistent=PASS 2SG AGNT 1SG
   ‘I have encouraged you.’ (Purea, 2013:46)

6.11 Summary

The first half of this chapter covered the basic structure of four categories of simple verbal clauses in CIM. These are
shown in table 6.9.

The second half of this chapter addressed some theoretical issues in CIM verbal sentences. It was concluded that
the actancy system of CIM is mostly nominative-accusative with some ergative traces (6.8), and that the active (type I)
and passive (type III) are both basic transitive constructions. In terms of grammatical relations (6.9), there is strong
evidence for a category of subject in CIM, and reasonable evidence for a category of direct object. There is a second
important category of grammatical relations comprising the agent phrases of both the passive (type III) and the
6.11. SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action intransitive (section 6.2)</td>
<td>Kua ‘aere atu rātou.</td>
<td>They have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active transitive - Type I (section 6.3)</td>
<td>Tē kai nei tātou i te tātou</td>
<td>We are eating taro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive - Type III (section 6.4)</td>
<td>Tē kainga nei te tātou e tātou</td>
<td>The taro is being eaten by us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative (section 6.5)</td>
<td>Kua pou te tātou i a tātou</td>
<td>The taro has been consumed by us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-participant constructions (section 6.6)</td>
<td>Kua tuku au i te reta ki a rātou</td>
<td>I've sent the letter to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero Intransitive (section 6.7)</td>
<td>Kua pō</td>
<td>Night has fallen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stative constructions, while all other NPs are oblique. The last section (6.10) addressed the various valence-adjusting operations available in CIM, including causatives, reflexives, object incorporation and passivisation.
Chapter 7

The ‘actor emphatic’ construction

7.1 Introduction

The East Polynesian languages possess a peculiar type of construction favoured for dynamic transitive events generally called the actor (or agent) emphatic construction. This is shown in example 317a. Perhaps the most striking feature of this construction is that the notional predicate, the sentence initial phrase referring to the agent, is a possessive nominal phrase. So, the sentence type which could be considered the most transitive, in the sense of Hopper and Thompson (1980), is syntactically a nominal construction. Also, in contrast to the unmarked constituent order, which is verb-initial, as in 317b, the actor emphatic construction has the agent phrase in the sentence-initial position, as in 317a. The construction came to be known as the actor emphatic because constituents are often emphasised by fronting (left dislocation) in East Polynesian languages (Bauer et al., 1997:665).

(317) a. Nā Mere i tāmā i te 'are.
   Of Mere TAM clean ACC the house
   AGENT PHRASE VERB PHRASE PATIENT PHRASE
   ‘Mere cleaned the house.’
   Or possibly
   ‘It was Mere who cleaned the house.’

b. Kua tāmā a Mere i te 'are.
   TAM clean PERS Mere ACC the house
   VERB PHRASE AGENT PHRASE PATIENT PHRASE
   ‘Mere cleaned the house.’

As to the syntactic analysis of this construction, there is not yet consensus among scholars. This uncertainty is aggravated by the fact that within the East Polynesian languages that have this construction, there is a great deal of variation with regard to the ordering of constituents, as well as the marking (or non marking) of the patient noun phrase (See table 7.2).
CHAPTER 7. THE ‘ACTOR EMPHATIC’ CONSTRUCTION

In this chapter, the features of the CIM actor emphatic will be described in sections 7.2 to 7.8, the competing analyses of the construction in various East Polynesian languages will be treated in section 7.9, and an analysis for the CIM actor emphatic will be proposed in section 7.10.\(^1\)

7.2 Actor emphatic in Cook Islands Māori

The actor emphatic is typically used when the agent of a dynamic transitive event is being emphasised or questioned; that is, when the agent is in focus. In fact this construction is the only totally acceptable way of questioning the identity of the agent of a transitive event (see section 7.7). The agent occurs in the sentence initial phrase, which is always marked by the possessive preposition nā (never nō). The verb phrase only permits two verbal particles: i for past tense and e for non past. The verb phrase may also be further modified by the postposed verbal particle ana, as in example 323. The fact that the range of verbal particles available for this construction is reduced from the full range is used to support the analysis of this construction as bi-clausal (Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012; Clark, 1976).

7.3 Constituent order and “case marking” variation

There are three variants for the actor emphatic in CIM. To illustrate these variants I will follow the labelling system of Potsdam and Polinsky (2012) and call these three variants AE1, AE2 and AE3. Example 318a shows the type I equivalent sentence for comparison. Example 318b shows the AE1 type of actor emphatic with the patient NP following the verb phrase and marked by the accusative marker i. AE1 is the most common variant of the actor emphatic construction in CIM. Example 318c shows an AE2 where the patient NP follows the verb phrase, but unlike the patient phrase in the AE1, it is zero marked. AE2 is not acceptable to all contemporary speakers but plentiful examples can be found in older texts in the Vairanga Tuatua.

Example 318d shows an AE3 where the zero marked patient NP precedes the verb phrase. This variant is preferred when the zero marked NP is a pronoun. Example 318e shows the final logical possibility where the patient NP precedes the verb phrase and is marked with the accusative marker. This variant is unattested in the Vairanga Tuatua and rejected by all my consultants, and as such can be considered ungrammatical. The agent phrases are marked in bold in 318.

(318) a. Kua keiā a Temu i te au kaivenevene.
   TAM steal PERS Temu ACC DET PL lollies
   ‘Temu stole the lollies.’  \textbf{Active Type I}

   b. Nā Temu i keiā i te au kaivenevene.
      AE Temu TAM steal ACC DET PL lollies
      ‘Temu stole the lollies.’ or It was Temu who stole the lollies.’ \textbf{AE1}

\(^1\)The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info/5_7.html
7.4 Features of the agent phrase

The particle nā that initiates the agent phrase is either closely related to, or the very same as, the possessive preposition nā (cf. sections 4.6.2, 5.6, and 8.7). The agent phrase in the actor emphatic is formed in the same way as any other nā possessive phrase would be formed with respect to names, pronouns and full noun phrases (cf. section 3.7.4).

7.4.1 Grammatical types of agents

7.4.1.1 Pronouns

When the agent is expressed by a pronoun, the n-class possessive pronouns are used (cf. sections 3.6.2.6 and 3.7.4).

Example 319a has a singular, n-class, possessive pronoun (cf. 3.6.2.6). Example 319b has a plural pronoun (kōtou which, as with the dual the pronouns are merely juxtaposed to the particle nā to form the n-class possessives (cf. section 3.7.4).

(319) a. I te maꞌataꞌanga o te taimē, nāna te maꞌataꞌanga o te ika e rauka mai  
LOC the big-NR of the time AE.ACAT3SG the big-NR of the fish IPPFV obtain DIR1  
ana!  
PFVF  
‘Most of the time, she caught most of the fish!’ (Aiono-Iosefa et al., 2000:16)

b. Nā kōtou e tāpararaua atu i te tuatua.  
AE 2PL TAM spread DIR2 ACC the word  
‘You will spread the word around.’ (Buse et al., 1995:446: tāpararaua)
7.4.1.2 With names

Where the agent is expressed by a personal noun (name) there is no personal article.

(320) a. Ko te au tutū i roto i tēia puka, nā John Brown i torō i te reira.  
SPEC the PL drawing LOC inside LOC this book AE John Brown PST draw ACC the those  
'As for the drawings, John Brown drew them.' (Simiona, 1979:iii)

b. Nā Raumea rāua ko Te-Uanuku e tā i a Akatara.  
AE Raumea CONJ SPEC Te-Uanuku TAM kill ACC PL Akatara  
'Raumea and Te-Uanuku will kill Akatara.' (Short, 1951:84)

7.4.1.3 With full noun phrases

Where the agent is expressed by a full common noun phrase, that phrase simply follows the particle nā.

(321) a. Nā tāꞌau puakāoa i katikati i te vaevaevae o taku puaka.  
AE your dog TAM bite ACC the leg of my pig  
'Your dog bit my pig on the legs' (Buse et al., 1995:365: puakaoa)

b. Nā te au metua e ‘āpiꞌi ana i te tamariki i roto i tō-rātou ‘uaꞌorāi ngutuꞌare.  
AE DET PL parent TAM teach HABIT ACC DET children LOC inside LOC their REFLECT home  
The parents teach the children in their own homes.' (Rere, 1967:11)

7.4.2 Semantic types of agents

Although the typical agent of an actor emphatic construction is animate and volitional, there are examples where the degree of animacy and or volitionality is somewhat reduced and/or questionable, as in 322. However, many non-human referents that would seem on first glance to have inherently reduced animacy, may indeed be imbued with animacy and volition in the context of the discourse.

(322) a. Nā te rākau e mou ana i te one.  
AE the tree TAM fix TAM ACC the soil  
'The trees fix the soil.' (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Nā te excavator e ‘uri ana i te paꞌi.  
AE the excavator TAM turn TAM ACC the patch  
'Vet is the excavator that turns the taro beds.' (Tongaia, 2013)
7.5 Features of the verb phrase

The verb phrase in an actor emphatic construction has the following features:

1. The TAM marker is restricted to i for past or e for non-past
2. The verb may not take the passive suffix/clitic
3. The verb must be transitive

The verb phrase must minimally include: one of the two viable TAMs, and an unsuffixed base. The VP can also contain any type of postposed modifier (cf. section 4.8) including ana which marks aspect, but it is more common for the verb to be un-modified.

The examples in 323 contain the postposed verbal particle ana where it marks habitual aspect. The context for these examples can be seen in appendix D.

(323) a. Nā rāua e ‘akangaropaina ana i tā’au au ‘anga’anga.
   AE 3D TAM forget HABIT ACC your PL action
   ‘They make you forget your actions.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Nā te excavator e ‘uri ana i te pa’i.
   AE the excavator TAM turn HABIT ACC the patch
   ‘It is the excavator that turns the taro beds’ (Tongaia, 2013)

The postposed verbal particle ana very rarely occurs with verbs marked by i but in these cases it marks perfective aspect.

(324) Ko tēta’i aronga tei mate ana, nā tō-rātou au idolo i ‘aka-tū ana i a
   SPEC DET.I.3 group DET.REL.PST dead PFV AE 3PL PL idols TAM CAUSE-stand PFV ACC PERS
   rātou ki runga. (Te Rei, 1917b:176)
   3PL GOAL up
   ‘Some people who were dead were brought to life by their gods.’ (Te Rei, 1917b:174)

7.5.1 Actor emphatic-like sentences with stative verbs

It is not possible for a stative verb to occur in a true actor emphatic construction. However, there is a kind of sentence which is reminiscent of an actor emphatic that is used to focus the agent phrase of a stative sentence. These sentences require the anaphoric particle ei~ai in the verb phrase, as in 325a.

---

2In most other languages that have the actor emphatic construction, statives are either prohibited strongly dis-preferred.
CHAPTER 7. THE 'ACTOR EMPHATIC' CONSTRUCTION

(325) a. Nā Tinirau i mate ei a Kae.
   AE Tinirau PST dead ANA PERS Kae
   'It was because of Tinirau that Kae died.'

b. Kua mate a Kae i a Tinirau.
   TAM dead PERS Kae SAGNT PERS Tinirau
   'Tinirau killed Kae.'

This type of construction is discussed again in section 7.10.3.1. Reason adverbials in general are discussed in section 10.5.

7.6 Features of the patient phrase

As was discussed in section 7.3, the patient phrase shows some variation with respect to its case marking and this variation is linked to its position in relation to the verb phrase.

The most common variant is for the patient phrase to be marked with the accusative marker i and occur in the postverbal position. This usage is available for patient phrases with pronouns (326a), names (326b) or full NPs (326c).

(326) a. Nā-āu e arataki i a tāua.
   AE-2SG TAM lead ACC PERS 1DINC
   'You will lead us.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:31:31-00:31:33)
   https://goo.gl/dDEO1x

b. Nā 'ai e tiki i a Tuamuri?
   AE who TAM fetch ACC PERS Tuamuri
   'Who will fetch Tuamuri?' (Tanga et al., 1984:24)

c. Nā-na i 'iki i tāua tama 'ūā rā.
   AE-3SG TAM select ACC DET.ANA boy lap POS3
   'He chose that adopted son.' (Te Rei, 1917b:51)

The second most common variant is for the patient NP to occur preverbally and be zero-marked (AE3). This form is fully acceptable for pronouns (327a) but is less acceptable to some speakers for patients expressed by names (327b) or full NPs (327c). Some speakers want to 'correct' this variant to the V IP (AE1) variant.

(327) a. Nā 'ai ō kōrua i 'akano'o ki kōna?
   AE who ō 2D TAM care LOC here
   'Who cared for you two here?' (Tara'are, 2000:55)
7.6. FEATURES OF THE PATIENT PHRASE

b. %Nā Tiki Ø a Temu i pāpā.
   AE Tiki Ø PERS Temu TAM hit
   ‘Tiki hit Temu.’

c. %Nā rātou Ø te moni pakari meangiti rava atu e ko‘i nei i Niu Tireni.
   AE 3PL Ø DET mony adult small EMP DIR2 TAM collect POS1 LOC New Zealand
   ‘They collect the smallest pension in New Zealand.’ (Ministry of Finance and Economic Management, Government of the Cook Islands, 2014a:80)

The third variation, the AE2, where the patient NP is post verbal and zero marked, is borderline in its acceptability with modern speakers, although there are enough speakers who do accept it to suggest that it should not be considered ungrammatical. Examples in 328b and 328c both come from older texts while 328a was judged as acceptable by some of my consultants. The AE2 variant appears to be the most acceptable for patient phrases that are full NPs and the least acceptable for pronouns.

(328) a. ?Nā mātou e tūrou Ø rātou.
   AE 1PLEX TAM welcome Ø 3PL
   ‘We will welcome them.’

b. Nā-na i tiaki Ø a Makatea.
   AE-3SG TAM guard Ø PERS Makatea
   ‘He guarded Makatea.’ (Gill, 1911b:212)

c. Nā-na i keri Ø te ava i Avaiki.
   AE-3SG TAM dig Ø DET harbour LOC Hawaiki
   ‘He dug the harbour in Hawaiki.’ (Pakoti, 1895:60)

Table 7.1 shows the acceptability of the variants of the actor emphatic construction. Where a variant was judged unacceptable, the suggested correction is shown.

7.6.1 Prohibited patient-phrase marking

The patient phrase cannot take ‘e as the the determiner (as in 329) nor can it be marked by ko (as in 330). I make note of this briefly for the purposes of comparison to CIM’s two closest relatives. In NZM the patient phrase may be be marked by the determiner he (cognate with CIM ‘e). In Tahitian the particle ‘o (cognate with CIM and NZM ko) is obligatory when the patient referent is a name (Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012).
Table 7.1: The acceptability of the notional variants of the actor emphatic construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Constituent Order</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Acceptable</th>
<th>Corrected to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AE1</td>
<td>V iP</td>
<td>Nā Tikī i pāpā i a Temu</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE1</td>
<td>V iP</td>
<td>Nā Tikī i pāpā i aia.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE3</td>
<td>ØP V</td>
<td>Nā Tikī a Temu i pāpā.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE3</td>
<td>ØP V</td>
<td>Nā Tikī aia i pāpā.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE2</td>
<td>V ØP</td>
<td>Nā Tikī i pāpā a Temu.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>AE1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE2</td>
<td>V ØP</td>
<td>Nā Tikī i pāpā aia.</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>AE1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE4</td>
<td>iP V</td>
<td>Nā Tikī i a Temu i pāpā.</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>AE1 or AE3?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE4</td>
<td>iP V</td>
<td>Nā Tikī i aia i pāpā.</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>AE1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Tiki hit Temu.’ or ‘Tiki hit him.’

(329) a. Nā Mere i ‘oko i tēta’i motoka.
AE Mere TAM buy ACC DET.I.S car
‘Mere bought a car.’

b. *Nā Mere ‘e motoka i ‘oko.

c. *Nā Mere i ‘oko ‘e motoka.

(330) a. Nā Mere i moto i a Temu.
AE Mere TAM punch ACC PERS Temu
‘Mere punched Temu.’

b. *Nā Mere ko Temu i moto

c. *Nā Mere i moto ko Temu.

7.7 Questions and the actor emphatic

The actor emphatic construction fulfills an important discourse role in that it is the most acceptable strategy for questioning the identity of the agent of a transitive event. That is, to ask the question; ‘who did X to Y?’ or ‘who will do X to Y?’.

Intransitive (one-participant) sentences can have the S phrase questioned via the construction in example 331a. A potential corresponding declarative sentence might be something like example 331b.
7.7. QUESTIONS AND THE ACTOR EMPHATIC

(331) a. Ko ‘ai i ‘aere?
   SPEC who PST go
   ‘Who went?’

   b. Kua ‘aere a Mere.
      TAM go PERS Mere
      ‘Mere went.’

Transitive agents cannot be questioned using this strategy. This can be seen in the ungrammatical example 332b, which shows a question formed using the structure of the intransitive question in 332a. The preferred strategy for questioning a transitive agent is to use an actor emphatic construction, as in 332c, or 332d. This would generate the pro-sentence response in 332e, which in turn refers to the full sentence in 332f.

(332) a. Kua kai a Mere i te taro.
   TAM eat PERS Mere ACC DET taro
   ‘Mere ate the taro.’

   b. *Ko ‘ai i kai i te taro?
      SPEC who PST eat ACC DET taro
      Intended: ‘Who ate the taro?’

   c. Nā ‘ai i kai i te taro?
      AE who PST eat ACC DET taro
      ‘Who ate the taro?’

   d. Nā ‘ai te taro i kai?
      AE who DET taro PST eat
      ‘Who ate the taro?’

   e. Nā Mere.
      AE Mere
      ‘Mere.’

   f. Nā Mere i kai i te taro.
      AE Mere PST eat ACC DET taro
      ‘Mere ate the taro.’
CHAPTER 7. THE 'ACTOR EMPHATIC' CONSTRUCTION

7.8 Negation

The actoremphatic construction is negated using the subordinating conjunction ē, (cf. sections 10.2.4 and 12.8), as in example 333.

(333) Kāre ē nā te puaka i kai i te taro.

NEG CONJ AE the pig PST eat ACC the taro

‘It wasn’t the pig that ate the taro.’

7.9 Competing analyses of the East Polynesian actoremphatic constructions

The analysis of actoremphatic construction in the various forms it is found the East Polynesian languages has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention (Bauer, 2004; Chung, 1978; Clark, 1976; Elbert and Pukui, 2001; Harlow, 1986; Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012; Waite, 1990). Despite this, no consensus has been reached as to its syntactic analysis. Most of this attention has been directed towards NZM (Bauer, 2004; Chung, 1978; Harlow, 1986; Waite, 1990) but Clark’s (1976) early investigation of the Proto East Polynesian and Potsdam and Polinsky’s (2012) more recent investigation of the Tahitian actoremphatic provide some insight into the situation in other East Polynesian languages.

Table 7.2 shows the variants of the actoremphatic construction as they occur in a sample of East Polynesian languages. CIM patterns with the majority of the languages in this sample in that it allows (or even prefers) the patient phrase to be marked as accusative (the AE1 variation) while NZM is distinctive because, at least for older speakers, this variation is ungrammatical.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>AE1 V IP</th>
<th>AE2 V ØP</th>
<th>AE3 ØP V</th>
<th>AE4 IP V</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NZM</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(Bauer, 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIM</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>This Thesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahitian</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(Elbert and Pukui, 2001:147) (Harlow, 1986:300)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.9.1 Some previous analyses of the structure of the actor emphatic

As many authors before me have done I will outline a summary of the various analyses that have been proposed for the structure of the actoremphatic construction. As we know, most of the attention has been oriented towards the AE2 and AE3 variants, which are the only variants that are completely acceptable in NZM. Following Clark (Clark, 1976), many authors have used the rather gruesome NZM (AE2) example sentence shown in 334 and I will honour that tradition in my examples.
I will discuss four analyses of the actor emphatic construction.

1. Complex predicate #1 - Predicate includes the VP- (figure 7.1)
2. Complex subject - Subject includes the VP and the Patient (figure 7.2)
3. Complex predicate #2 - Predicate includes the patient NP (figure 7.4)
4. Mono-clausal (figure 7.5)

7.9.1.1 Complex predicate 1 - Clark/Harlow

Clark (1976) and Harlow (Harlow, 1986) both propose the following analysis for the AE2/3 variations (see figure 7.1).

This is a bi-clausal construction where the predicate comprises the agent phrase and the verb phrase while the patient phrase is the subject of that complex predicate. Clark proposed this analysis for Proto East Polynesian but suggested that the AE1 variation is the result of a reanalysis of this construction (see section 7.9.1.2). Harlow (1986:299) agrees with Clark’s analysis with the caveat that “The exact structure of the predicate remains obscure.”

Under this analysis the AE3 variant (where the patient NP precedes the VP) is the result of the widely attested pattern in Polynesian languages whereby a short or phonetically light subject phrase usually intervenes between the two parts of a complex predicate (Clark, 1976:119).³

³This rule will henceforth be referred to as the short subject rule.
7.9.1.2 Sentential "subject"- Chung/Bauer/Clark Potsdam (for AE1)

A second analysis is shown below and in figure 7.2.

\[
[S [PRED Nā Pita] [PRED [SUBJECT i tihore te hipi]]]_{SUBJECT S}
\]

This analysis was proposed by Clark (1976:122) for the AE1 variation and also assumed by Chung (1978) and Bauer 1997. This construction is bi-clausal. The agent phrase is the matrix predicate and the subject of that predicate is a dependent clause comprising the VP and the patient NP.

Under Chung’s analysis, the AE3 variation is derived from the AE2 variation by ‘raising’ the subject into the matrix clause. Clark (1976) and Bauer (2004) both posit that the AE3 variant is merely the result of the short subject rule.

Potsdam and Polinsky (2012) have recently discussed the Tahitian actor emphatic construction and come to a similar conclusion regarding the structure of the AE1 variant. The Tahitian actor emphatic patterns like the CIM one, allowing the AE1 and AE3 for all patient types and AE2 for full NPs but not names or pronouns. In CIM, as we recall, the AE2 variation with names or pronouns in the unmarked patient phrase are only acceptable to some speakers.
7.9. COMPETING ANALYSES OF THE EAST POLYNESIAN ACTOR EMPHATIC CONSTRUCTIONS

7.9.1.3 Complex predicate 2 - Patient in Matrix clause

Potsdam and Polinsky analyse the Tahitian AE3 variant, which they consider to be structurally distinct from the AE1/AE2 variants, as having a matrix clause that comprises the agent phrase and the patient phrase, while the dependent clause comprises the verb phrase. This structure is shown below:

\[
(S \left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{PRED} \\
\text{AGENT} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{PP}
\end{array} \right]
\left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{SUBJECT} \\
\text{PATIENT} \\
\text{PP}
\end{array} \right]
\left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{SUBJECT} \\
\text{DEPENDENT} \\
\text{CLAUSE}
\end{array} \right]
\left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{S}
\end{array} \right])
\]

In this analysis the patient phrase is the subject of the matrix clause. This analysis is shown in figure 7.4. Example 335 shows the Tahitian AE1 variant of the AE3 sentence shown in figure 7.4 for comparison.

(335) Nā Peter i horehore i te ‘iri (pu’a’a)māmoe.

AE Peter TAM skin ACC DET skin sheep

ʼIt was Peter who skinned the sheep.ʼ

7.9.1.4 Mono-Clausal

Waite (1990), working in a generative framework that assumes an underlying SVO order from which the surface VSO is derived, has proposed the following mono-clausal model for the NZM actor emphatic.

\[
(S \left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{PP} \\
\text{NĀ AGENT} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{NP}
\end{array} \right] \text{PRED} \left[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{VP} \\
\text{NP}
\end{array} \right])_{\text{PRED}}
\]

\[^{5}\text{This Tahitian translation of the sheep skinning sentence of 335 was provided upon request by several of my (CIM speaking) consultants. My apologies if it is not in fact a good translation.}\]

\[^{6}\text{For further explanation of this analysis see (1990).}\]
Here the structure is mono-clausal and the agent phrase is an oblique NP. See figure 7.5 for the tree diagram of Waite’s analysis.

Hohepa (1967) and Reedy (1979) have also proposed a mono-clausal analysis for the NZM actor emphatic where

Figure 7.4: Potsdam and Polinsky’s take on the AE3 construction (2012)

Figure 7.5: Waite’s analysis of the AE2/3 for NZM (Waite, 1990:399)
the predicate is the VP.

7.10 A suggested analysis for the CIM actor emphatic

I will now turn to analysis of the CIM actor emphatic. In this discussion I will make particular reference to Bauer’s (2004) work on NZM and Potsdam and Polinsky’s (2012) on Tahitian. The examples in 336 reiterate the three grammatical patterns for the actor emphatic in CIM.

(336) a. Nā Pīta i ‘o’re i te māmoe. **AE1**
   AE Peter TAM skin ACC DET sheep
   ‘Peter skinned the sheep.’ or ‘It was Peter who skinned the sheep.’

b. Nā Pīta i ‘o’re Ø te māmoe. **AE2**
   AE Peter TAM skin Ø DET sheep
   ‘Peter skinned the sheep.’ or ‘It was Peter who skinned the sheep.’

c. Nā Pīta Ø te māmoe i ‘o’re. **AE3**
   AE Peter Ø DET sheep TAM skin
   ‘Peter skinned the sheep.’ or ‘It was Peter who skinned the sheep.’

It is important to note that the AE1 variant is the most frequent and the most widely accepted variant of the three. The AE3 variant is the second most acceptable while the AE2, although it is well attested, is often rejected by native speakers. Alternatively, rather than rejecting this variation they often assert that ‘dropping the i’ is acceptable when speaking but not when writing, or something of that ilk, alluding to the notion that this variant is not totally ‘correct’. This perception, that the AE2 variant is merely an AE1 without the accusative marker, is supported by the behaviour of the first person singular pronoun.

The first person singular personal pronoun has two forms: au after Ø, ko and the passive agent marker e but ăku elsewhere. The distribution of the allomorphs of the first person singular pronoun in the variants of the actor emphatic construction are shown in table 7.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>au</th>
<th>ăku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AE3 (Pre Verbal)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE1 (i Post Verbal)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE2 (Ø Post Verbal)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the sentence in 337a with the au form of the pronoun in the AE2 variant is presented to a native speaker, they will almost always correct it to 337b. That is, to an AE1 variant with the ăku form of the pronoun.
a. Nā Mere i motu Ø au.
   AE Mere TAM punch Ø 1SG
   Intended: ‘Mere punched me.’

b. Nā Mere i motu i āku.
   AE Mere TAM punch ACC 1SG
   ‘Mere punched me.’

However in the AE3 variation the au form of the pronoun is perfectly acceptable, as in 338.

(338) Nāꞌau au i rutu mai?
   AE-2SG 1SG TAM hit DIR1
   ‘Was it you that hit me?’ (Buse et al., 1995:264: nāꞌau)

This lends support to the analysis that the AE2 variant has the same basic structure as the AE1 variation but has an “unpronounced accusative marker” as Potsdam and Polinsky suggest for Tahitian (2012:63). This also leads me to agree with their contention that the structure of AE3 is distinct from that of AE1/AE2.

7.10.1 The subject-hood of the patient-NP

Bauer (2004) has provided substantial evidence that, in NZM, the patient NP is treated as the subject of the actor emphatic construction in grammatical operations. However, when the same tests are applied to CIM the results do not support the analysis of the patient NP as the subject. Her arguments for the subject-hood of the patient NP involve:

1. The distribution of the determiner he.\(^7\)

2. Topicalisation (via fronting) of the patient NP.

3. The actor emphatic relativisation strategy.

As was discussed in sections 4.6.1.2 and 6.9, the distribution of ‘e\(^8\) is irrelevant in CIM because it can only occur in predicate or indefinite fronted NPs.

As we saw in section 6.9.2, only grammatical subjects can undergo simple fronting in CIM. The sentence in 339a has the patient NP fronted with ko (cf. 10.7.4.2). The acceptability of this construction varies between speakers. For many speakers the patient NP of an actor emphatic construction cannot be fronted in this way. They consider the example in 339a to be ungrammatical and correct it to either a straightforward actor emphatic, as in 339b, or to a construction involving one of the more common strategies for the relativisation of non subjects NPs, as in 339c.\(^9\)

\(^7\)He can cannot occur following a preposition in NZM (Bauer et al., 1997:147) therefore it cannot occur in accusative NPs and as such its occurrence in the zero marked NP of the NZM actor emphatic supports the analysis of that NP as the subject.

\(^8\)Cognate with NZM he.

\(^9\)Example 339c uses the TĀ-strategy or possessive relative construction cf. section 10.7.4.
However, many other speakers do find this construction acceptable and produce this construction spontaneously as a translation for the English sentence *These are the books that I wrote.*

This would suggest that the speakers who do not find 339a acceptable do not analyse the patient NP of an actor emphatic as the subject. On the other hand, those speakers who do find 339a acceptable are analysing the patient phrase as the subject.

(339) a. %Ko tēia au puka nāku i tātā.  
SPEC PRO.DEM1 PL book AE-1SG TAM write  
*Intended: ‘These are the books that I wrote.’*

b. Nāku i tātā i tēia au puka.  
AE-1SG TAM write ACC DEM1 PL book  
‘I wrote these books.’

c. Ko tēia te au puka tāku i tātā.  
SPEC PRO.DEM1 DET PL book REL.POS TAM write  
‘These are the books that I wrote.’

NZM has a very productive relativisation strategy that uses the actor emphatic construction when the NP_rel is a patient. In this construction the relative clause is juxtaposed to the matrix clause without any further marking. This so-called zero strategy is only available for an NP_rel that is a grammatical subject, and as such this strategy is considered evidence that the patient NP of an actor emphatic construction is the grammatical subject.

In CIM however, this relativisation strategy (which 339a is an example of) is not fully productive and is not acceptable to many speakers. The examples in 340 use this relativisation strategy.

(340) a. %Kua pē te tav na te kurī i kai.  
TAM rotten DET tav AE DET dog TAM eat  
*Intended: ‘The taro that the dog ate was rotten.’*

b. %Tē kite nei au i te puka nā Pita i tātā.  
TAM see POS1 ISG ACC DET book AE Pita TAM write  
*Intended: ‘I see the book that was written by Pita.’*

c. %ꞌE tav te mea nā tātou e kai.  
CLS tav DET thing AE 1PL INC TAM eat  
*Intended: ‘Taro is what we are going to eat.’*

d. %ꞌE reka ana au i te au imene nā Apiti Nicholas i ‘atu.  
TAM like HABIT ISG ACC DET PL song AE Apiti Nicholas TAM compose  
*Intended: ‘I like the songs that Apiti Nicholas composed.’*
As with example 339a, the marginal acceptability of these constructions stands as evidence that, in CIM, the patient NP of the actor emphatic is not treated as the grammatical subject by some or perhaps most speakers.

I suggest that, for most speakers, the AE1 variant is analysed as the basic variant and is analogous to the active (type I) construction. As the patient NP is in the accusative case in this variation it is not surprising that it is not available for subject oriented processes. The separation of the AE1/2 analysis from the AE3 analysis could explain why some speakers do allow the patient NP to be treated like a subject. That is, they have the AE3 variant in mind in these cases. According to both Bauer (2004) and Potsdam and Polinsky (2012) the patient NP of the AE3 variant is the subject.

7.10.2 Arguments for a complex construction

Most scholars consider the actor emphatic construction to be bi-clausal or complex. At the most simple level, the presence of both a verb phrase, and the n-class possessive form that is able to form a nominal predicate, is prima facie evidence that the actor emphatic construction is bi-clausal. Good evidence has been proposed for this analysis for NZM (Bauer, 2004) and Tahitian (Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012). In this section I will apply these tests to the CIM construction.

7.10.2.1 The verbal particles

The fact that the verbal particles are restricted to i for past and e for non-past supports the position that the construction is complex because this restriction of verbal particles to these two is a feature of most subordinate clauses in CIM. Matrix clauses, on the other hand, have a wide array of TAM particles to choose from (cf. section 4.4).

7.10.2.2 Emphatic stress

As a general rule, the predicate phrase is where emphatic stress occurs in a sentence. The fact that the agent phrase of an actor emphatic is able to draw stress indicates that it is the predicate.

7.10.2.3 Negation

In both NZM and Tahitian the actor emphatic construction is negated with a negator that is restricted to nominal predicates. CIM does not have a separate negator for nominal predicates so this test is not available.

However, it is notable that, in CIM, actor emphatic sentences do not follow the usual pattern for negation of simple verbal sentences (cf. chapter 12). Simple verbal (341a) and some types of nominal (341b) sentences are negated with the following pattern:

Kāre → Subordinate Subject → Subordinate Predicate → PPs

In this pattern the subject of the sentence that is being negated is ‘raised’ into the matrix clause (of which the negator is the predicate). This subject phrase is in bold in the examples in 341.
7.10. A SUGGESTED ANALYSIS FOR THE CIM ACTOR EMPHATIC

(341) a. Kāre au e kite ana i a Aitutaki.
   NEG 1SG TAM know HABIT ACC PERS Aitutaki
   ‘I don’t know Aitutaki.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:28:21-00:28:23) https://goo.gl/dDEO1x

b. Kāre te ‘beer’ ē tētaꞌi atu kava Papaꞌā i mua ake i te taeꞌanga mai
   NEG DET beer CONJ DET.I.S DIR2 intoxicant Pākehā LOC before DIR3 LOC DET reach-XR DIR1
   o te Papaꞌā.
   of DET Pākehā
   ‘There was no beer or other (Pākehā) alcohol before the arrival of the Pākehā.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:101)

Actor emphatic sentences require the subordinating conjunction ē, as in 342a, and as such there is never a NP in the matrix subject position. That is, no constituent of an actor emphatic is eligible for ‘raising’ in negation.

(342) a. Kāre ē nāku i ‘ui i aia ki te vai.
   NEG CONJ AE-1SG TAM splash ACC 3SG INS DET water
   ‘It wasn’t me that splashed water over him.’ (Buse et al., 1995:539: ‘ui3)

b. *Kāre aia nāku i ‘ui ki te vai.
   NEG 3SG AE-1SG TAM splash INS DET water
   Intended: ‘It wasn’t me that splashed water over him.’

This more complicated negation process weakly suggests that the actor emphatic is a complex construction. However, there are some simple sentence types that favour the negation pattern with ē (cf. section 12.8). Therefore, the fact that this pattern is obligatory for the actor emphatic is not definitive evidence that the construction is complex. Although it does support the analysis that the predicate is nominal.

7.10.3 Arguments about the predicate-hood of A (Nā NP)

Scholars of both NZM (Bauer, 2004) and Tahitian (Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012) make the argument that the choice of the nominal negator for the actor emphatic construction means that the agent phrase is the main predicate of the sentence, because in those languages, the choice of negator is determined by the predicate type. However, this test is not available for CIM (see above).

For Tahitian, Potsdam and Polinsky (2012) use the distribution of question particles and the modifier pouroa as evidence that the agent phrase is a predicate. In Tahitian both of these particles only modify predicate phrases and their occurrence in the agent phrase of the actor emphatic provides evidence that this phrase is the predicate. Although both of these particles have cognates in CIM there are no examples of them in actor emphatic constructions in the Vairanga Tuatua, so this line of argument is not available in CIM.
CHAPTER 7. THE 'ACTOR EMPHATIC' CONSTRUCTION

7.10.3.1 Fronted adverbials and the anaphoric particle ei~ai

The behaviour of the anaphoric particle ei~ai provides evidence for the predicate status of the agent phrase. In sentences where some constituent has been fronted, the anaphoric particle ei~ai (optionally 10) occurs in the verb phrase, marking a trace, as in all the examples in 343.

(343) a. Nā Tinirau i mate ei a Kae.
AE Tinirau TAM dead ANA PERS Kae

'It was because of Tinirau that Kae died.'

b. I tōꞌou manako, 'e aꞌa te tumu e imene putuputu ei ra te tangata i téia LOC your thought CLS what DET reason TAM sing together ANA PDS3 DET people ACC this imene i te ngāꞌi 'uipāꞌanga? song LOC DET place meeting

'In your opinion, why do people sing this song together in meeting places?' (Rere, 1975:64)

c. Ko rātou ana te-ka kave i te ‘āngai-tiritiri o te ‘eva ki runga i te aꞌu, SPEC 3PL X REL-FUT carry ACC DET offerings of DET mourning GOAL on LOC DET altar è kia ‘oki mai e ‘aꞌao ei te pare-Eva-tipa. CONJ OPT return DIR1 TAM wear ANA DET Eva-headress

'The bearers will have to deliver the mourning offerings onto the altar first and upon returning then shall the eva tipa hat be won.' (Taraꞌare, 2000:100)

However, when an adverbial has been fronted from a sentence with a nominal predicate, ei~ai does not occur in the predicate phrase as it is restricted to verb phrases. Example 344a shows a locative (nominal) sentence with a fronted adverbial of time and 344b is an actor emphatic which cannot take ei~ai in the verb phrase indicating that the verb phrase is not the predicate.

(344) a. Kia pōpongi ake tei te maunga *ai tō-rātou kāinga kua kai ‘uāorāi rātou i te TAM morning DIR3 LOC.PRES DET mountain *ai their home TAM eat REFL 3PL ACC DET kuru. (Taraꞌare, 1899:79)

breadfruit

'In the morning—their dwelling being in the mountains—they all ate of the bread-fruit.' (Taraꞌare, 1899:66)

b. Nāku e rave *ei i tēnā ‘angaꞌanga.
AE-1SG TAM do *ei ACC DEM2 work

'I will do that work.' (Purea, 2013:50)

This suggests that the actor emphatic contains a nominal predicate.

10This argument is slightly stronger for NZM where the anaphoric particle is obligatory in these cases.
7.10.3.2 Relativisation of the agent NP

In both NZM and CIM there is a specific relativisation strategy for an NP$_{REL}$ that is the agent phrase of an actor emphatic construction. This is shown in 345.

(345) Tē kimi nei te ʻakavā i te tangata nāna i rave tēia ʻangaʻanga.

TAM search TAM the police ACC the person REL.AE PST do this work

‘The police are seeking the person who committed this crime.’ (Tongaia, 2011)

Bauer (2004:33) says, “The fact that the actor phrase of the actor-emphatic uses the pronoun strategy exclusively argues that it is not oblique, and not a Subject, and is compatible with it being a predicate.” This argument also holds for CIM.

I conclude that the agent phrase is the predicate in CIM, on the basis of the evidence reviewed for CIM plus certain evidence from closely related languages whose analog is not available in CIM

7.10.4 Summary of claims

In this discussion I have made the following claims about the structure of the actor emphatic construction:

1. There are two distinct constructions:
   a) The AE1/AE2 where the patient NP is the direct object (marked as accusative)
   b) The AE3 where the patient NP is the subject (of which clause I am not sure)

2. For most speakers the patient NP is not treated as the grammatical subject

3. For some speakers the patient NP can be treated as the grammatical subject

4. Which constituent is the subject of the AE1 is not known (cf. (Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012))

5. It is a complex (bi-clausal) construction

6. The nā phrase is the predicate

7.11 Doubts

Despite all the attention it has been paid, there is still a wide range of opinions with respect to both the synchronic and diachronic analysis of the East Polynesian actor emphatic construction. Furthermore, many of the scholars who have written about the construction have expressed doubt about their own analyses. Bauer (2004:36) described the construction as “problematic” and summarised her discussion of the literature thusly: “none of these analyses offers an entirely satisfactory analysis of this construction.” Potsdam and Polinsky conclude their article by calling the construction “recalcitrant” (2012:82). I will join my colleagues in offering my own equivocality about the conclusions I have reached here.
7.12 Summary

This chapter discussed the features of the actor emphatic construction. This included: a general overview of the function of the actor emphatic CIM (7.2), case marking and constituent ordering (7.3), the features of the agent (7.4), patient (7.6), verb phrases (7.5), question formation (7.7), and negation (7.8). The syntactic structure of the actor emphatic construction was discussed in the context of the literature about this construction in other East Polynesian languages (7.9). Lastly, an analysis was proposed for the CIM actor emphatic (7.10).
Chapter 8

Adjunct Phrases

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the various adjunct NPs that occur in CIM sentences. I am using the term ‘adjunct’ here to mean any NP that is not part of the argument structure of a sentence. In CIM, the subject is an argument of any sentence type, as is the direct object NP for the active (type I) construction. The other two-participant verbal sentences each have a second ‘core’ NP: the agent phrase for both the stative and the passive (type III) constructions (cf. 6.9). For the purpose of this discussion, I consider any PP that is not one of the NPs mentioned above to be a type of adjunct, regardless of whether that PP modifies the proposition as a whole, or modifies a specific element of that sentence. Noun clauses or adverbials are discussed in sections 10.3 to 10.5. In this chapter I will discuss the following simple adjunct PP types: locative phrases of space (8.2), locative phrases of time (8.3), instrument phrases (8.4), comitative phrases (8.5) and possessive phrases (8.6 and 8.7).\(^1\)

Table 8.1 lists the prepositions that introduce adjunct phrases. Those in bold are able to mark the predicate phrase of a nominal sentence, but may also mark adjunct NPs.

8.2 Locative phrases of place

As discussed in section 5.5, locative noun phrases can form the predicate of a locative nominal sentence, as in example 346.

(346) Tei \(\text{roto}\) a Tāraro \(\text{ē}\) Kairae \(\text{lo}\) te-reira \(\text{ana}\).

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{LOC.PRES inside PERS Tāraro and Kairae LOC that cave}
\end{array}
\]

‘Tāraro and Kairae are inside that cave.’ (Simiona, 1979:ch4)

However, locative phrases also occur as adjunct NPs in any type of sentence. The unmarked position for locative adjuncts is sentence-final, as in the examples in 347. When locative phrases occur in non sentence-initial positions,

\(^1\)The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-information5_8.html
Table 8.1: Prepositions associated with adjunct NPs

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<tr>
<td><em>i</em></td>
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<td><em>tei</em></td>
<td>present location</td>
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<td><em>ā</em></td>
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<td><em>ki</em></td>
<td>instrument</td>
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<td><em>ma</em></td>
<td>comitative</td>
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The tensed locative prepositions *tei* (LOC. PRES) and *'ei* (LOC. FUT) are usually neutralised to the unspecified locative *i* or *ki*. In example 347a, the sentence is explicitly marked as future by the time adjunct phrase āpōpō, but the locative phrase *i runga* is not marked for tense. Likewise in 347b, the sentence is explicitly marked as present tense and continuous aspect, but the locative phrase *i te Pati Kuki Airani* is not marked for tense. Example 347a also contains a goal phrase *ki te pā 'enua*, and example 347b contains a source phrase *mei roto atu*.

(347) a. Āpōpō e 'aere ei te pai *ki* te pā 'enua i *runga*.

 tomorrow TAM go AKA DET ship GOAL DET row island LOC windward

‘Tomorrow the ship will be going up to the islands of the east.’ (Buse et al., 1995:404: runga)
8.2. LOCATIVE PHRASES OF PLACE

b. Tē 'akakite nei tētaꞌi karere mei roto atu i te Pati Kuki Airani ō
   TAM explain POSS DET.I.S messenger SOURCE inside DIRL LOC DET party Cook Islands CONJ
   ‘The messenger is explaining on behalf of the Cook Islands Party that … ’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2010a)

c. Āpōpō ka ‘ura mātou i te ‘are karioi
   tomorrow TAM dance 1PLEX LOC DET house performing-arts
   ‘Tomorrow we will dance at the performing arts house.’

8.2.0.1 Sentence final locative phrases with tei and ‘ei

Although most non sentence-initial locative phrases occur with the neutral locative particle, there are some instances of such phrases with the particles tei and ‘ei, as in 348. Sentences like 348a and 348b could be considered to be examples of locative predicates with fronted subjects (cf. section 5.3.4.1) and if that analysis holds, the presence of the particle tei could be accounted for. However, example 348c is a presentative sentence with a fully realised subject while the locative phrase in 348d is locating the proposition of an action intransitive clause. So that explanation, even if it is accurate, cannot explain away all instances of non sentence-initial tei and ‘ei. I suggest that the tense-marked locative particles are retained in conditions where overt tense marking is called for. However, this issue warrants further careful investigation.

(348) a. ‘E toretore muramura pa’a tei runga i te ‘iku o taua ika ra.
   EXIST stripe red maybe LOC.PRES on LOC DET tail of DET.ANA fish POSS
   ‘I think perhaps that fish has got red stripes on its tail.’ (Buse et al., 1995:511: toretore)

b. Kareka tō-rātou tū- Ranga mana ‘enua ē te mana tangata, tei roto rāi i
   CONJ their status authority land CONJ DET authority people LOC.PRES inside EMP LOC
   tō-rātou rima.
   their hand
   ‘But for their authority of the land and the people, it is in their own hands.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

c. Tērā tētaꞌi ‘apinga tei vaꞌo.
   DEM3 DET.I.S thing LOC.PRES outside
   “There’s something outside.” (Te Rei, 1917a:8)

d. Ka aitamu tātou ‘ei mua i tō-tātou huts ‘eā
   TAM perform 1PLINCl LOC.FUT front LOC our huts eh
   ‘We will perform in front of our huts eh.’ Jane Taurarii, November 26 2015

3 I am specifically talking about the locative particle ‘ei here, rather than the complementiser ‘ei cf. section 10.2.2.
8.2.1 Two-phrase locative constructions

Locative adjunct phrases frequently collocate with a second modifying locative phrase, as in (349). In these two-phrase locative constructions, the first phrase contains a locative base (cf. section 3.6.3 and appendix ??). The second phrase either modifies that phrase by providing more specific information about the location, as in (349a); or it merely stands in apposition as it seems to do in (349b). This is the case in most instances where the first locative phrase contains the generic locative pronoun kō, as it does in (349b).

\[(349)\] a. Ko te nono mua i te marae te-ka ko'i-a e te Papa'ā
   SPEC DET nono LOC front LOC DET marae DET.REL-FUT collect-CIA AGNT DET Pākehā
   ‘The nono (fruit) in front of the marae are the ones that will be collected by the Pākehā.’ (Gill, 1911b:189)

b. Te tāime tēia e rave=ia ei te ōronga-anga pākau aro'a i kō i te kāinga o te tāne.
   DET time this TAM do=PASS ANA TAM give-NR thing affection LOC PRO.LOC LOC DET
   ‘This is the time when the gifts are given at the home of the man (groom).’ (Kauta et al., 1993:118)

Sequences may contain more than two locative phrases as in (350), which is a stative verbal sentence with a complement clause, which includes a goal phrase (ki te 'akavā'anga) and two locative phrases, (i kō and i te Piꞌa 'Akavā'anga Kimi) that locate the proposition of the complement clause, or perhaps more specifically the goal phrase itself.

\[(350)\] Ka rauka i a koe ē tō'ou kōpu-tangata i-te 'aere ki te 'akavā'anga i kō
   TAM be-able SAGNT PERS 2SG COMP your family COMP go GOAL DET judge-NR LOC PRO.LOC
   i te Piꞌa 'Akavā'anga Kimi i tei Tupu (Coroner’s Court hearing)
   LOC PRO.LOC judge-NR seek ACC DET.REL happen (Coroner’s Court hearing)
   ‘You and your family are able to attend the hearing at the Coroner’s Court.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2010:20)

Example (351) contains four nested locative phrases with the structure: [i raro [i te 'enua [i roto [i te moana ma'ata]]]] where each subsequent locative phrase modifies the preceding one and the entire locative construction (in this example) is modifying the proposition of the core of the sentence.

\[(351)\] E no'o ana aia i raro i te 'enua i roto i te moana ma'ata.
   TAM live HABIT 3SG LOC under LOC DET island LOC inside LOC DET ocean large
   ‘She lived underneath the island in the large ocean.’ (Simiona, 1979:56)

Infinite iteration is logically possible but sequences of more than four phrases are rare in the wild.
8.2. LOCATIVE PHRASES OF PLACE

8.2.2 Neutral locative phrases

The neutral locative prepositions i, ki, and o mark unspecified locative phrases. These phrases may express the location of the proposition of any type of sentence or they may modify a construction (usually a NP) within the sentence. It can often be difficult to unequivocally distinguish between a locative construction that is modifying a clause versus one that is modifying an element within the clause but I will return to this question in section 8.2.2.4.

8.2.2.1 Unspecified locative i

The neutral or unspecified variant of the locative-preposition i is more frequent than unspecified ki or unspecified o and the examples in 353 all contain locative phrases marked by i. Example 353a is an action intransitive sentence with a locative NP that expresses the place at which the event occurs. In example 353b, the locative NPs express the location of the proposition of the nominal sentence but in this case it is a metaphorical hierarchical location. Example 353c is a stative-classifying nominal sentence and example 353d is an actor emphatic sentence.

(353) a. E kangakanga ana te au tamariki i te kainga.
   TAM play HABIT the PL children LOC the home

   ‘The children play at home.’ Piri Mareara, February 20 2012

b. Ko Tongaiti te ariki i runga i a rātou.
   SPEC Tongaiti DET chief LOC above LOC PERS 3PL

   ‘Tongaiti was the chief above them.’ (Smith and Te-Aia, 1893:274)

c. ‘E maꞌata te toketoke i raro i tēia putunga tītā.
   CLS many DET worm LOC under LOC this heap rubbish

   ‘There are a lot of worms under this heap of rubbish’ (Buse et al., 1995:505: toketoke1)

The preposition nō also occasionally occurs in unspecified locative phrases, as in 352a, as does a, as in 352b.

(352) a. Tē 'oko mai ra rātou i tētaꞌi varaoa nō kō mai i te toa i tēia taim nei.
   TAM buy DIR1 POS1 3PL ACC DET I S bread LOC PRO LOC DIR1 LOC DET shop LOC this time POS1

   ‘They are buying bread at the shop right now.’ Violet Tisim, November 10 2015

b. ‘E 'angaꞌanga mātau nā te 'ui-tupuna i te tūtāu mua i-te kāpiti i ngā vaka
   CLS work customary belong DET ancestors LOC DET time first COMP combine LOC DET PAUCAL canoe
   e rua ki te ngāi 'okota'i, e ka pāꞌata=ꞌia a runga i te vaka 'ei
   TAM two LOC DET place one CONJ TAM make a raised framework=PASS LOC on LOC DET canoe COMP
   ngāi mōꞌanga nō te pāte=te.
   place sleep-INF for DET passenger

   ‘It was customary for the ancestors in the old days to gather two canoes together in one place and a raised framework is placed on top of the canoe as a sleeping place for the passengers.’ (Simiona, 1979:19)
d. Nāꞌau i 'aka-parangi i te pēni i tēia ngā'i?
AE-2SG TAM CAUSE-run(of-paint) ACC DET paint LOC this place

‘Did you make the paint run at this place?’ (Buse et al., 1995:34: ‘akaparangi)

8.2.2.2 Unspecified locative o

The possessive preposition o frequently acts as a neutral locative marker, both in the initial locative NP, as in 354), as well as in the second modifying NP, as in 355. These constructions are grammatically possessive but semantically locative.

(354) a. Keiā=i nei te ingoa tangata o runga i te au mēnema.
steal=PASS POS1 TAM name person LOC on LOC DET PL grave-stone

‘Names of people are stolen (identity theft) from people’s names on gravestones.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Kāre ō-rātou taine nō te kimi atu i te mūna o vaꞌo ake i tēia nei āo.
NEG their time for DET seek DIR2 ACC DET secret LOC outside DIR3 LOC this POS1 world

‘They don’t have time to look into the secrets outside this world.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

c. Ko ia te au mataꞌapo o raro i a Rongomātane.
spec 3SG DET PL sub-chief LOC under LOC PERS Rongomātane

‘Those are the lower ranked chiefs, (who are) under Rongomātane.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:28)

(355) a. E tīpū i te potonga i toro ki vaꞌo o te rākau.
IMP cut ACC DET section TAM stretch LOC outside LOC DET wood

‘Cut off the piece of wood sticking out.’ (Buse et al., 1995:511: toro) LIT: ‘Cut off the piece that’s sticking out of the wood.’

b. Kua taka ‘ua ngā uira i muri o te torōka nō te vari.
TAM spin MERELY DET.PAUCAL wheel LOC behind LOC DET truck because DET mud

‘It was so muddy the truck’s rear wheels just spun round and round.’ (Buse et al., 1995:421: taka1) LIT: ‘The wheels at the back of the truck just spun because of the mud.’

8.2.2.3 Unspecified locative ki

The examples in 356 contain locative phrases marked by the neutral or unspecified locative ki. This is distinct from the goal marking sense of ki (cf. section 8.2.3).
8.2. LOCATIVE PHRASES OF PLACE

(356) a. Nā rātou te tui maro ariki ki Rutaki

They were the holders of authority in Rutaki (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Kua rave=‘ia atu tētaꞌi i‘iriꞌiri kāpua nā te aronga e ‘anga’anga nei i roto

‘A meeting was held for the people working in tourism at the Edgewater Hotel in Arorangi.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2010b)

c. Ka mārama ana au nō-te-mea i rave au i te ‘anga’anga ‘akavā’anga ki roto

‘I understand because I did the Island admin work in all the islands.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:25:25:48) https://goo.gl/1xS5XY

d. I mate a Tioni Wiriamu ki ‘ea?

‘Where did Tony Williams die?’ (Rere, 1975:34)

It is a little unclear what motivates the choice of ki over i in these contexts, but ki seems to occur more frequently (but not exclusively) with place names and with the locative pronoun kō. However, ki is not obligatory with place names, as can be seen in 357 where the place name is introduced by i.

(357) Mei te mataꞌiti 1850’s te ‘akamata-nga o te Tumu Nū i ‘Atiu.

Since the 1850’s when the Tumu Nū (bush beer school) began in ‘Atiu ...’ (Kauta et al., 1993:102)

Generic ki is collocated with the verb noꞌo ‘to sit, stay or live’, as in 358. If this verb is considered a verb of motion the ki could be analysed as the goal marker but this seems to be a bit of a stretch.

(358) a. Mē tē noꞌo ra koe ki te Eastern Bay of Plenty, tēia tōꞌou LACs.

If you live in the Eastern Bay of Plenty these are your Local Area Coordinators.’ (Le Va, 2014:18)

b. Kua noꞌo rātou ki te ngāi ‘okotaꞌi.

‘They lived in the same place.’ (Rere, 1983:29)
8.2.2.4 Location of the proposition versus the location of a particular element of a sentence

While locative constructions can modify either the clause, or some constituent of that clause, there is no formal difference between these two conditions, and it can be difficult to tell which is which.

The examples in 359 are fairly clear examples of neutral locative phrases that are expressing the location of a particular constituent of a sentence. In 359a, the locative phrases express the location of the patient phrase (ki te 'apinga). In 359b, the locative construction is modifying the subject of the adverbial clause, which is a fronted time adverbial (cf. section 10.3.1).

(359) a. Kua 'ī i o ra tāna matau ki tēta'i 'apinga i raro i te moana.
   TAM line-fish DIR4 POS his hook AOC DET.I.S thing LOC under LOC DET sea
   ‘His hook fished up something (that was) under the sea.’ (Tara'are, 2000:8)

b. I te pūkaoa'anga te va'ine i roto i te 'are, kua 'oro mai te 'akavā kua LOC DET scream-NR DET women LOC inside LOC DET house TAM run DIR1 TAM police TAM 'ākara.
   look
   ‘When the women in the house screamed, the policeman ran to investigate. (Buse et al., 1995:370: pūkaoa)

The examples in 360 on the other hand, clearly show examples where the whole clause is being modified by the locative construction.

(360) a. I mate a Tioni Wiriamu ki 'ea?
   TAM die PERS Tony Williams LOC where
   ‘Where did Tony Williams die?’ (Rere, 1975:34)

b. E kangakanga ana te au tamariki i te kainga.
   TAM play HABIT the PL children LOC the home
   ‘The children play at home.’ Piri Marearal, February 20 2012

However, there can be some ambiguity, as in 361. In 361b, it is not clear whether the locative construction (in bold) is modifying the whole clause, as represented by the first gloss; or the subject NP as represented by the second gloss. The locative phrase in example 361b is similarly ambiguous with respect to exactly which element is being modified.

(361) a. Tē 'akakite nei tēta'i karere mei roto atu i te Pati Kuki Airani ē . . .
   TAM explain POS1 DET.I.S messenger SOURCE inside DIR1 LOC DET party Cook Islands CONJ
   ‘The messenger is explaining on behalf of the Cook Islands Party that . . .’ OR:
   ‘The messenger from the Cook Islands Party is explaining that . . .’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2010a)
8.2. LOCATIVE PHRASES OF PLACE

b. Nāʻau i ʻaka-parangi i te pēni i tēia ngāi?
   AE-2SG TAM CAUSE-run(of-paint) ACC DET paint LOC this place
   ‘Did you make the paint run at this place?’ OR:
   ‘Did you make the paint at this place run?’ (Buse et al., 1995: 34: ‘akaparangi)

8.2.3 Goal phrases

Goal, beneficiary and recipient phrases are all marked by the particle ki. These are most often collocated with action intransitives or three-participant constructions.

Two-phrase goal constructions are common and, as in other two-phrase locative constructions, the first phrase includes a locative base and the second phrases modifies the first.

(362) a. Kua kake aia ki runga i tōna pātkara.
   TAM climb 3SG GOAL on LOC his bicycle
   ‘He got on his bicycle.’ (Buse et al., 1995:144: kake)

b. Kua rere aia ki roto i te tai
   TAM flee 3SG GOAL inside LOC DET sea
   ‘He escaped into the sea.’ (ileemia, 1990:5)

In goal constructions, two-phrase constructions involving the generic locative pronoun kō also occur, producing a construction which would be literally glossed as ‘at there at SPECIFIC LOCATION’.

The type of location that the goal refers to is not decisive as can be seen in 363 where both examples have te ‘aremaki (‘the hospital’) as the goal.

(363) a. I te tae ake ‘anga a Mami ki kō i te ‘aremaki, kāre rāi aia i
   LOC DET reach DIR3 NR of Mum GOAL PRO.LOC LOC DET hospital NEG EMPH 3SG TAM
   tuatua ana.
   speak PFV
   ‘When Mum arrived at the hospital she hadn’t spoken at all.’ (Aiono-Iosefa et al., 1999)

b. I ‘ano atu pa’a aia ki te ‘aremaki i Ma’uke kāre e rauka i-te treat.
   TAM go DIR2 maybe 3SG GOAL DET hospital LOC Ma’uke NEG TAM able COMP treat
   ‘Maybe he went to the hospital in Ma’uke (but) was not able to be treated (there).’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:57:11-00:57:14) https://goo.gl/1xS5XY
8.2.4 Source phrases

The locative preposition mei marks the source of a motion verb.

(364) a. Ka ‘aere kāpiti tātou ē tēta‘i au ‘ai-tūpuna mei ‘Avalki - ki Vai‘i, ki Tam go together IPLINC CONJ DET.I.S PL ancestors SOURCE Hawai‘i GOAL Hawai‘i GOAL Marike i te Tonga, ki Aotearoa, ē tē vai atu ra. America LOC DET south GOAL New-Zealand CONJ TAM exist DIR2 POS3

‘We journey with our ancestors from Hawai‘i to South America, to New Zealand and elsewhere.’ (Salesa, 2004:1)

b. Kua tae atu ana ‘oki tēta‘i au arataki mei Aitutaki mai. TAM reach DIR2 PFV EMP DET.I.S PL leader SOURCE Aitutaki DIR1

‘Some leaders have arrived from Aitutaki.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2010f)

8.2.5 Similitative mei

In a metaphorical expansion from the ‘source’ sense, the preposition mei can also express the notion of “like, as, about the same size (amount etc.)” (Buse et al., 1995:246) the following NP, as in 365.

(365) a. Tē ‘aka’apa=’ia nei te au basileia nunui mei a Marike ē Tinito nō tēia TAM blame=PASS POS1 DET PL country large COMPARE? PERS America CONJ China for this tau‘anga reva ē te kake‘anga tai. change-NR weather CONJ DET climb-NR sea

‘Large countries such as America and China are being blamed for climate change and rising sea levels.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Kua no‘o rātou ki roto i tō-rātou ‘oire, ē kua tā‘okota‘i rātou i-te rāveanga i TAM live 3PL LOC inside LOC their village CONJ TAM together 3PL COMP method ACC te ‘anga‘anga kia meitaki tō-rātou ora‘anga mei a tātou rāi i tēia tuātau. DET work OPT good their live-NR COMPARE? PERS IPLINC EMP LOC this time

‘They lived in their villages and worked together to do what was done to make their lives healthy, just like we do now.’ (Rere, 1967:3)

8.2.6 Trans locative phrases

The locative preposition nā marks either the means by which a referent travels, as in 366a, or the route by which a referent travels, as in 366b. In example 366c, the mei phrase refers an abstract route.
(366) a. I mua ake ka ‘oki mai ei ki te kāinga nā runga i te mōtokā.
LOC before DIR3 DET return DIR1 ANA GOAL DET home LDC.TRANS on LDC DET car
kua tauturu au i aia i-te tuaki i te ika
TAM help 1SG ACC 3SG COMP gut ACC DET fish
‘Before (we) went home in the car I helped him to gut the fish.’ (Aiono-Iosefa et al., 2000:16)

b. Kua aavaava=la rātou i tō-rātou māt'anga nā roto i te ‘ōire.
TAM cheer=PASS 3PL LOC their march-IR LDC.TRANS inside LDC DET village
‘They were cheered as they marched through the town.’ (Buse et al., 1995:63: aoaoa)

c. Nō-reira a John Williams, nā roto i tāna ‘anga’anga tutu evangera pērā
therefore PERS John Williams LDC.TRANS inside LOC his work spread gospel alike
katoa tōna ‘inangaro kia kite-a a Rarotonga e ia, kua tauturu ma'ata=la aia
also his desire OPT find-CIA PERS Rarotonga AGNT 3SG TAM help alike
e te ariki o ‘Atiu, ko Rongomatāne.
AGNT DET chief of ‘Atiu SPEC Rongomatāne
‘Thus, through his evangelical work and his desire to find Rarotonga, he was greatly assisted by the Chief
of ‘Atiu, Rongomatane.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:199)

8.2.6.1 Trans locative ā
The particle ā that precedes locative bases is a little mysterious as to its provenance and function. In some ways, it
acts much like the trans locative nā, as in 367. In others it acts more like the neutral locative i, as in 368.

(367) a. Nāringa kāre ‘e vā, kua nga’ā ā runga ake.
CONTR NEG EXIST space TAM break LOC on DIR3
‘If there were no gaps (the canoe) could get broken above (the netting).’ (Salesa et al., 2004:17)

b. Tē tamaki nei ā roto i te mata o te rā, i tana ‘uri'a
TAM battle POS1 LDC.TRANS inside LDC DET face of DET sun LDC DET.POSS.ACAT-3SG storm
e ‘aka-tupu nei.
TAM CAUSE-arise POS1
‘The sun is waging war from inside its surface with its solar flares that are firing.’ (Tongaia, 2013)
c. Kua kite-na=ꞌia mai à roto i te nuti i tēia au rā ē te no'o TAM know-CIA=PASS DIR LOC.TRANS inside LOC DET news LOC this PL day COMP TAM stay tāꞌokotaꞌi kore nei te tāꞌokotaꞌiꞌanga pati Temo i tēia tuātau nō te kamakura together NEG POS1 DET conference part DEMO LOC this time because DET careless i te aronga arataki i roto i te pati. LOC DET people lead LOC inside LOC DET party

‘Via today’s news it’s known that the Demo Party’s conference is disharmonious because of the carelessness of the leaders in the party.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2010e)

(368) a. Ka tae-ria e te rangorangi i-te ‘ākara a raro i te takere moana ē tē TAM reach-CIA AGNT TAM internet COMP look LOC under LOC DET bottom ocean CONJ TAM ‘apai mai i te au tūtū ki roto i tāꞌau mouri-nga foun. convey DIR1 ACC DET PL picture GOAL inside LOC your hold-NR phone

‘The internet is going to reach the deep ocean to see and convey the picture to your mobile phone.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. ‘E ‘angaꞌanga mātau nā te ‘ui-tupuna i te tuātau mua i-te kāpiti i CLS work customary belong DET ancestors LOC DET time first COMP combine LOC ngā vaka e rua ki te ngāꞌi ‘okotaꞌi, ē ka pāꞌata=ꞌia DET.PAUCAL canoe TAM TWO LOC DET place one CONJ TAM make a raised framework=PASS a runga i te vaka ‘ei ngāꞌi moeꞌanga nō te pātete. LOC on LOC DET canoe COMP place sleep-NR for DET passenger

‘It was customary for the ancestors in the old days to gather two canoes together in one place and a raised framework is placed on top of the canoe as a sleeping place for the passengers.’ (Simiona, 1979:19)

As was first noted in section 3.6.3.1, there are some constructions where it is possible that the subject of that sentence is a locative base marked by the personal article. Examples of this type of construction are shown in 369.

(369) a. Kua ki à roto i tōna rūmu i tōna au tūtū. TAM full LOC? inside LOC her room SAGNT her PL pictures

‘The Inside of her room was full of her pictures.’ (Aiono-Iosefa et al., 2000:5)

b. ’e toka te turuturu, ’e toka te oka, ’e vai a roto i taua ‘are CLS stones DET posts CLS stones DET rafters EXIST water LOC inside LOC DET.ANA house ra. POS3

‘Stones were the posts, stones were the rafters and there was water inside that house.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:11)
The alternative analysis for this type of construction is that the particle ā is the trans locative and these are existential sentences with an unrealised generic subject as was discussed in section 5.3.4.1.

8.3 Locative phrases of time

Time adjunct NPs usually function as sentence adverbials, modifying the whole proposition, and the locative phrase of time may occur nearly anywhere in the sentence. Table 8.2 lists the prepositions that mark locative NPs of time.

Table 8.2: Locative prepositions of time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>unspecified time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>past time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>past time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>future time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ei</td>
<td>future time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with the locative phrases of space, the neutral preposition i is common but there is an explicitly tensed (past) variant of i as well as the past tense nō and the future tense ā and ‘ei.

8.3.1 Future

Locatives of time a marked explicitly as future by either ā or less commonly ‘ei.

(370) a. Ā **tēia epetoma rava ki mu`a ʻoki** kōtu e ʻakaruke ei.
    LOC.FUT this week EMP LOC front EMP 2PL TAM depart ANA
    ‘You are leaving next week.’ (Hu‘akau et al., 1999:8)

b. Ka **rave=‘ia te tūtaka ʻōire ā** **tēia marama ki mu`a.**
    TAM do=PASS DET inspection village LOC.FUT this month LOC front
    ‘The village inspections will be held next month.’ (Buse et al., 1995:531: tūtaka)

c. **I tōku manako, ‘ei te pō Varaire tāua ka ʻaere ei ki te teata,**
    TAM my thought LOC.FUT DET night Friday 1DINC TAM go ANA GOAL DET cinema
    ‘I think that on Friday night we should go to the cinema.’ (Buse et al., 1995:96: ‘ei2)

8.3.2 Past time

The locative particle i marks past time when the time phrase occurs in sentence-initial position, as in 371a, or when it occurs as part of one of the past time lexicalised time phrases, as in 371b with inapō (‘last night’) and 371c with ā nākonei (‘earlier today’).
8.3.3 Unspecified time

As with the locatives of space, locatives of time can be neutral or unspecified for tense and merely refer to some particular time. In example 372a, the sentence is unmarked for tense but expresses habitual aspect, and as such, the two locative phrases of time are both unmarked for tense as well. In example 372b, the whole sentence is marked as future by the initial āpōpō. However, the second locative phrase I te pōpongi is not explicitly marked as future but instead is marked by the neutral i.

(372) a. E 'akamata ana te 'anga'anga i te ora 'itu ē e 'akamutu ana i te ora 'ā.
   TAM begin HABIT DET work LOC DET hour seven CONJ TAM finish HABIT LOC DET hour four
   'The work starts at seven o’clock and finishes at four.' (Rere, 1967:46)
8.3. LOCATIVE PHRASES OF TIME

b. Āpōpō i te pōponi e ‘uipā te tangata ‘ei mātakitaki i te pa’i.

tomorrow LOC DET morning TAM meet DET people COMP spectate ACC DET canoe

(GILL, 1912:46)

‘Tomorrow morning let the people gather there to admire the canoe’ (GILL, 1912:54)

Like the two-phrase locative constructions for the locatives of space, two-phrase locative constructions for time occur. Here too the the second phrase modifies the first phrase. In these cases, the second phrase is usually but not always marked by i, as in 373b. Alternatively, the tensed particles can be repeated, as in 373a. However, it is more common for the second phrase to be marked by the neutral i.

(373) a. Ka aitamu mātou āpōpō ā te ora ‘itu ki kō i te ‘Are Karioi

TAM perform 1PLEX tomorrow LOC.FUT DET hour seven LOC PRO.LOC LOC DET house performance

Nui.

main

‘We will perform at the National Stadium tomorrow at seven.’

b. Ka aitamu mātou āpōpō i te ora ‘itu ki kō i te ‘Are Karioi

TAM perform 1PLEX tomorrow LOC DET hour seven LOC PRO.LOC LOC DET house performance

Nui.

main

‘We will perform at the national stadium tomorrow at 7.’

Depending on the context, most locative prepositions of time can refer to a generic time rather than one that indicates a tense in relation to the time of speaking. Example 374 has the particle ‘ei, which normally express future time, expressing neutral time. However. the particle i would be more common in this type of context.

(374) ‘Ei tēia taime kua tae te vaka ki runga i te moana i ‘Avaiki.

LOC this time TAM reach DET canoe GOAL on LOC DET ocean LOC Hawaiki

‘At that time the canoe arrived onto the ocean at Hawaiki.’ (reached the ocean at Hawaiki) (Moetaua, 2013:3)

8.3.3.1  Kimua

As in 370a and 370b the modifying phrase ki mua can be used to indicate future time. This is interesting as it is also used in some contexts to indicate past tense, as in 375.6

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5The repetition of the tensed prepositions in this manner is not grammatical in two-phrase locatives of space.

6Example 375b contains a verbal use of the the unintegrated loan ‘deputy prime minister. See section 3.4.2.1 for the earlier discussion of unusual verbs.
(375)  

a. *I te tuātau mua, i te tuātau o te etene, kua 'aere mai te 'aere mai-'anga  
   LOC DET time first LOC DET time of DET heathen TAM go DIRL DET go DIRL-XR  
   mei 'Atiu mai.  
   SOURCE 'Atiu DIRL  
   'In the old days, in heathen times, they came from 'Atiu.' (Tamaeu o te rangi, 2013:1) 

b. *I deputy prime minister ana aia nō te Cook Islands Party i te tuātau mua.  
   TAM deputy prime minister PFV SG for DET Cook Islands Party LOC DET time first.  
   'He was the previous Deputy Prime Minister for the Cook Islands Party.' (Tongaia, 2013) 

c. Mei te rā mua mai kāre 'e  toilet peapa i 'apai-na='ia mai, kāre 'e  
   SOURCE DET day first DIRL NEG EXIST toilet paper TAM bring-CIA=PASS DIRL PFV NEG EXIST  
   urunga āpoko, ē pērā kāre 'e au kāka'u tāpoki ro'i i apai-na='ia mai.  
   head platform head CONJ also NEG EXIST PL blanket cover bed TAM bring-CIA=PASS DIRL  
   'Right from the first day, there was no toilet paper brought in, no pillows nor any blankets were brought in.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:03:15-00:03:26) https://goo.gl/1xS5XY

8.3.4 Position in the sentence

The locative phrases of time can occur in most positions in the sentence although the position between the verb phrase and the subject phrase is not considered grammatical (376d). Consultants have not consistently explained any differences in meaning between these variations.

(376)  

a. Āpōpō ka 'aere tātou ki ta'atai.  
   tomorrow TAM go 1PLINC GOAL beach  
   'Tomorrow we will go to the beach.' 

b. Ka 'aere tātou ki ta'atai āpōpō.  
   TAM go 1PLINC GOAL beach tomorrow  
   'Tomorrow we will go to the beach.' 

c. Ka 'aere tātou āpōpō ki ta'atai.  
   TAM go 1PLINC tomorrow GOAL beach  
   'Tomorrow we will go to the beach.' 

d. *Ka 'aere āpōpō tātou ki ta'atai.  
   TAM go tomorrow 1PLINC GOAL beach  
   Intended: 'Tomorrow we will go to the beach.'
Adverbial clauses of time are discussed in section 10.3.

### 8.3.5 Some common time adjuncts

Table 8.3 lists a few common locative expressions of time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āpōpō</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ānana'i</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inana'i</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inapō</td>
<td>last night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ākōnei</td>
<td>later today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nākonei</td>
<td>earlier today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the words in table 8.3 contain an initial morpheme that is recognisable as a preposition that marks a locative phrase of time (cf. 4.6.2). However there is some variation with respect to how lexicalised each of these words are. Take the pair, nakōnei, ‘earlier today’ and ākōnei ‘later today’. Nakōnei usually functions as the main base in an ordinary locative phrase introduced by i, as in 377a. This would indicate that it is a fully lexicalised form and that the initial morpheme nā is no longer being analysed as a preposition. Ākōnei, on the other hand does not occur with an independent preposition indicating that the morpheme ā is still being analysed as the ‘future locative of time’ preposition, as in 377b.

(377)  

a. Inā, kāre ‘ua koe i kite ana i nakōnei i te pōpongi ē kua ora ‘itu.  
CONTR NEG ‘merely 2SG TAM know PFV LOC earlier  LOC DET morning COMP TAM hour seven  
‘However, earlier this morning you didn’t know that it was 7 o’clock.’ (Rere, 1967:46)

b. Kia matakite i a koe; ka roko=’ia mai koe ākōnei e Moto. (Tara’are, 2000:17)  
TAM careful LOC PERS 2SG TAM overtake=PASS DIR 2SG later AGENT Moto  
‘Look after yourself, you will be overtaken presently by Moto’ (Tara’are, 2000:130). LIT: ‘You be careful, you will soon be overtaken by Moto.’

### 8.4 Instrument

The preposition ki introduces phrases that express the instrument or the material with which an action is performed. The examples in 378 contain instrument phrases that refer to actual instruments or tools while those in 379 refer to the material with which the state or event is achieved. In example 379c, the instrument phrase refers to the material with which the action is performed.
### 8.5 Ma- comitative

The preposition ma marks comitative case. In the examples in 380, the comitative NPs have human referents.

(380) a. Kua pari mai ra a Maru-mamao i nga mata o Kuru ki te toki: mate i’o ra aia.

‘Maru-mamao struck Kuru’s face with an axe and then he died.’ (Tara’are, 2000:41)

b. Auraka e tāpetu i te tai ki te ‘oe. ka ‘oro te ika.

‘Don’t flick the sea with the paddle, the fish will swim off’ (Buse et al., 1995:449: tāpetu)

c. Āe tūkētūkē te mea e raranga=’ia ana ki te kikau.

‘Yes, the one that’s made with coconut leaves, it’s different.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Kairae, P. (speaker), 2013:00:46:53-00:4656) https://goo.gl/1xS5XY
Example 381a has a common NP while 381b has a zero derived de-verbal NP referring to an action and 381c has a stative in the comitative phrasal.

(381) a. ‘E taro takataka ‘ua nei tā-mātou i kai ei ma te ika.
   \text{CLS} taro \text{plain} \text{MERELY POS1 REL} \text{TAM eat ANA COM DET fish}
   \text{‘We just ate plain taro with the fish.’ (Buse et al., 1995:424: takataka3)}

b. Kua nanave ‘ua rātou i-te no'o ki tōku kāinga ma te ‘anga’anga kore.
   \text{TAM delight MERELY 3PL COMP stay LOC my home COM te work not}
   \text{‘They were simply delighted to stay at my home and not do any work.’ (Buse et al., 1995:268: nanave)}\text{LIT: ‘They were simply delighted to stay at my home with without work.’}

c. Tuatua ‘akamaro’iro’i tēia i te au ‘anga’anga kia oti ma te meitaki tikāi.
   \text{story exhort this LOC the PL work TAM completed COM the good EMPH}
   \text{‘This is an exhortation which refers to work well done and most satisfying.’ (Tongaia, 2011)}

8.6 A–O possessive

The possessive prepositions a and o mark the possessor phrase of a two-phrase possessive construction (cf. section 11.4). The choice between a and o is determined by a semantic system discussed in detail in section 11.2. Possessive constructions with a–o always take the form below and can be formulaically glossed as ‘the possessum of the possessor’.

\text{DET POSSESSUM a–o DET POSSESSOR}

The two-phrase possessive construction is preferred for possessors that are common nouns (382a) or personals (382b and 382c), but dis-preferred for pronouns. Plural pronouns can marginally occur in this construction (382d) but singular and dual pronouns are not attested; they must either use the incorporated possessor construction (cf. 11.4.1), or the n-class possessives (cf. 8.7).

(382) a. Kua tāmou ki runga i te au ara pou o te ‘are.
   \text{TAM affix GOAL on LOC DET PL row post POSS.OCAT DET house}
   \text{‘(They) were affixed upon the row of posts of the house.’ (Purea, 2013:20)}

b. Nā roto aia i te kōpū o Te ‘Akatauira
   \text{belong inside 3SG LOC DET family POSS.OCAT Te ‘Akatauira}
   \text{‘He was from the Te ‘Akatauira clan.’ (Reilly, 1993:76)}
c. Kua rave mai a Rairi i te mōmore a Tenu ʻei amo i te tam take dir1 pers Rairi acc det spear poss.acat Tenu comp carry-on-shoulders acc det noʻoʻanga.

‘Rairi took Tenu’s spear to carry the chair on his shoulder.’ (Tonga et al., 1984:23)

d. Kāre te naea e kīte putuputu=ʻia ana ki tēia ʻenua o tātou.

NEG DET dolphin TAM see frequently=PASS HABIT LOC this island poss.ocat 1plinc

‘Dolphins are not often seen in this island of ours.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

Possessor phrases with pronouns prefer the incorporated possessor construction (cf. section 11.4.1) which uses the possessive determiners (cf. section 4.6.3.17), as in 383.

(383) Ko ‘Ētūrere tā-rātou ingoa.

spec ‘Ētūrere DET.Poss.acat-3pl name

‘Ētūrere is their name (for her).’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Kairae, P. (speaker), 2013:00:28:31-00:28:32)

https://goo.gl/1xS5XY

8.7 N-class possessive prepositions

The possessive prepositions nā and nō can form the predicate of a specific-possessor nominal sentence, as in 384, but they can also occur as adjuncts in other types of sentences.

(384) Nā-ku te vai tapu ē!

belong-1sg det water sacred exclam

‘The sacred pool belongs to me!’ (Tara‘are, 2000:56)

The n-class possessive prepositions are specified for the possessive category of the possessive relationship (cf. 11.2). NPs introduced by these prepositions can form benefactive phrases, as in 385, or simple possessive phrases, as in 386. All the examples in 385 have benefactive phrases with n-class possessive pronouns, while 386 has a full NP marked by the preposition nō (cf. sections 3.7.4) that expresses a possessive relationship between the main clause and the referent of the n-class PP.

(385) a. E ‘oko mai koe i tētaʻi kirīpa nōku.

imp buy dir1 2sg acc det.1.s clippers belong.ocat-1sg

‘Buy me a pair of hair-clippers.’ (Buse et al., 1995:179“ kirīpa)
8.7. N-CLASS POSSESSIVE PREPOSITIONS

b. Kua mate au i te pongi, e ‘aere kōrua ki tēta’i kai nā-ku.
   TAM die 1SG SAGR DET hunger IMP go 2D ACC DET.I.S food belong.ACAT-1SG
   ‘I am very hungry, you two go (and get) some food for me.’ (Tara’are, 2000:88)

c. Kua ‘inangaro a Mariri te ‘aere ki te moatai kia rauka tēta’i ika ‘ei
   TAM want PERS Mariri DET go GOAL DET sea fishing DPT obtain DET.I.S fish COMP
   kai nā rātou.
   food belong.ACAT 3PL
   ‘Mariri wanted to go fishing at sea to get some food for them to eat.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:9)

(386) Ko te ‘enua pare ‘au tikāi tēia nō te au ariki rava rāi. (Tara’are, 2000:29)
   SPEC DET land hat authority EMP PRO.DEM1 belong-ACAT DET PL chief EMP EMP
   ‘This was the land of splendid head-dresses of all the chiefs.’ (Tara’are, 2000:137)

8.7.0.1 Nō phrases expressing ‘about’

The OCAT n-class possessive preposition nō can also introduce an adjunct phrase that expresses the idea of ‘pertaining to’ or ‘about’, as in 387. This looks to be a semantic expansion from ‘belongs to’ to ‘pertaining to’.

(387) a. Kua taumārō rātou nō runga i te kai.
    TAM argue 3PL about on LOC DET food
    ‘They argued about the food.’ (Buse et al., 1995:472: taumārō)

b. Kua tua-ia tēia e tēta’i tangata nō runga i te ‘akaipoipo o tōna
    TAM tell-CIA PRO.DEM1 AGNT DET.I.S person about on LOC DET wedding of his
    vouvou tei tua-ia ki aia e tōna papa.
    (grand)father DET.REL.PST tell-CIA GOAL 3SG AGNT his (grand)father
    ‘This (story) was told by a person (a story) which was told to him by his father about his grandfather’s wedding.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:119)

8.7.0.2 Summary of the possessive prepositions

The types of relationships that can be expressed by possessive constructions range from a prototypical ownership type relationship, as in 382c to benefactive relationships, as in 385b, or location relationships, as in 354. However all of these constructions are grammatically possessive (or genitive).
8.8 The prepositions as case markers

The broad case categories and their markers are shown in table 8.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative (subject)</td>
<td>Ø, ko, ‘e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive</td>
<td>i, e, nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>‘e, ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>i, tei, ‘ei, ki, mei, nā, ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>a, o, nā, nō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.9 Summary

This chapter surveyed the various types on adjunct NPs; that is non-core NPs, that occur in CIM. Such phrases are: locative phrases of space (8.2), locative phrases of time (8.3), instrument phrases (8.4), comitative phrases (8.5), simple possessive phrases (8.6), and benefactive/ownership possessive phrases (8.7). Table 8.5 shows examples of all of these adjunct types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjunct type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative of space</td>
<td>Kua tunu kai rātou i va’o i te ‘are.</td>
<td>They cooked food outside the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative of time</td>
<td>Inapō, kua tunu kai rātou i va’o i te ‘āre.</td>
<td>Last night they cooked food outside the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Kua tunu rātou i te kai ki te ‘inu.</td>
<td>They cooked the food with oil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>Kua tunu a Tere mā te au tamariki i te kai.</td>
<td>Tere cooked the food with the children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple possessive</td>
<td>Kua tunu rātou i te kai a te pepe.</td>
<td>They cooked the baby’s food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>Kua tunu rātou i te kai nā te pepe.</td>
<td>They cooked the food for the baby.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 9

Coordination

9.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss three types of coordination commonly translated by the English terms and/with, or, and but; that is, conjunction (section 9.3), disjunction (section 9.4), and adversative coordination (section 9.5). However we will start with a brief survey of the morphology of the coordinators (section 9.2).¹

Haspelmath (2007:1) provides the following semantically weighted definition of coordination. “The term coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements.”

The issue of formally identifying coordinating constructions is notoriously fraught with difficulty. Coordination is not always explicitly marked, grammatically speaking (asynthetic coordination). Payne (1997:337) suggests that coordination can be “difficult to distinguish from mere juxtaposition of clauses in discourse.” Secondly, coordination is not always clearly distinguishable from subordination. Givon (2001b:328) goes so far as to say “…an absolute binary distinction between subordinate (‘dependent’) and coordinate (‘independent’) clauses is woefully untenable.” The cross-linguistic difficulty in formal distinction is further aggravated by the relative paucity of morphology in CIM, where, as in Polynesian languages generally, a wide range of functional work is done by a fairly small body of morphological entities. This equivocality notwithstanding, this chapter attempts to deal with the topic of coordination, whereas the following chapter (10) deals with notional subordination.

9.2 The morphology of the coordinators / overview of the coordinators

CIM has both asynthetic coordination (entirely unmarked juxtaposition) and syndetic coordination (overtly marked) (Haspelmath, 2007). The syndetic coordination is monosynthetic, of the form A co-B. The particles associated with coordination that are described in this chapter include; ē, mā, inārā and mē. ē is glossed as ‘conjunction’ and marks conjunction between phrases, as well as clauses/sentences.² Mā has two special functions; coordinating numbers and

¹The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info/5_9.html

²Particle ē is associated with both coordination conjunction and subordinating conduction, The latter is discussed in chapter 10.
a lexical sense glossed as ‘and others’. The coordinator inārā marks ‘contrastive coordination’. The particle mē is a conditional marker (cf. sections 10.3.2 and 10.6), but it is discussed in this chapter in relation to ‘disjunction’. There are also a number of verb phrases that are pseudo grammaticalised as coordinators and thus seem to warrant inclusion in the discussion of coordination. These are discussed in section 9.3.7.

9.3 Conjunction

CIM can coordinate phrases or clauses resulting in the logical form of (A and B) or (neither A nor B). That is to say, ‘grammatical conjunction’ or ‘AND-coordination’.

9.3.1 Asyndetic

Both clauses and phrases may be coordinated via simple juxtaposition, which Haspelmath (2007) calls asyndetic conjunction.

9.3.1.1 Asyndetic (verbal) clause coordinands

On the most basic level, one verbal clause may simply follow another clause without any overt coordination marking, as in 388.

(388) Ka ʻapai au i teia ka tāʻua.
TAM carry 1SG ACC PRD.DEM1 TAM bear-fruit

‘I’ll take this and get it to bear (more) fruit.’ (Buse et al., 1995:470: tāʻua) LIT: ‘I’ll take this, (it) will bear fruit.’

However, the difficulty of determining whether a construction is coordinating or subordinating rears itself once again here. There is a particular difficulty distinguishing between the simple coordination of two verbal clauses, and a construction where two verbal-clauses express sequential events. The juxtaposition of sentences or verbal clauses is a common pattern for sequential events. Sequential events are further along the cline towards subordination than mere coordination and as such are discussed in more detail in section 10.3.3. In general, where the coordinands both involve stative verbs, as in 389, the sequential sense is less viable, and these make better candidates for coordinations proper.

(389) Kua mou te pereteki, kua mate a Parau.
TAM be-held DET pereteki TAM dead PERS Parau

‘The pereteki has been held, Parau had died’ (Tara’are, 2000:61)

Constructions that clearly express either ‘A and B’ (as in 390) or ‘neither A or B’ (as in 391a) usually have coreferential subjects. In these constructions the subject of the second clause (or latter clauses) maybe deleted, as

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The meaning of this term is not known but it is assumed to refer to some type of ceremony or ritual. This phrase is glossed in the original translation as: “The pereteki has been made. [This seems a contradiction for pereteki means peace.] Parau has been killed.” (Tara’are, 1920:344).
in 388 above. Example 390 could have a sequential reading to it, and is thus slightly different to 391a, where the coordinands are more prototypically equal. In (391a) the verb is coreferential, and is not repeated in the second clause.

(390) Nō te kinokino i aia, kua ‘aere aia kua ‘ārāvei Ø i te taote.
from the bad LOC 3SG PFV go 3SG PFV meet Ø ACC the doctor

‘Because he’d been feeling poorly he went and saw the doctor.’ (Buse et al., 1995:117: kinokino)

(391) a. Kāre a Mana i kaikai, kāre ‘oki a Tere.
not PERS Mana PST eat not EMP PERS Tere

‘Mana didn’t have his dinner, nor did Tere.’ (Buse et al., 1995:158: kāre)

b. Kāre a Mana kāre ‘oki a Tere i kaikai.
NEG PERS Mana NEG EMP PERS Tere PST eat

‘Neither Mana nor Tere ate.’ Ma’ara Maeva, February 17 2015

The three verb phrases with kia (marked in bold in example 392), don’t naturally read as sequential, and this sentence is a clearer example of asyndetic coordination.

(392) Tauatini tauatini tamariki i roto i tō-rātou costume tē tāpapa nei tō-rātou taime thousand thousand children LOC inside LOC their costume TAM get-ready POS1 their time
kia ‘apaina=’ia mai ki rotopū ‘oki i te stadium ‘eā, kia ‘ura kia aitamu kia COMP take=PASS DIR1 GOAL middle EMP LOC the stadium TAG COMP dance COMP perfom-item COMP rave mai ra tā-rātou au mea.
do DIR1 POS3 their PL thing

‘There were thousands of children in their costumes getting ready for the time when they would be taken into the stadium to dance and perform and do all their things.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:19:46-00:19:58) https://goo.gl/35PWj

9.3.1.2 Nominal clause/predicate coordinands

Nominal predicate phrases may be asyndetically coordinated, as in the examples in 393 where the coordinands are predicates marked by ‘e, and in the examples in 394 where the coordinands are predicates marked by ko.
(393) a. ‘E ‘otu tēia arāpō, ‘e mārangi āpōpō.

‘It is ‘otu moon now, it’ll be full tomorrow’ (Buse et al., 1995:295: ‘otu1)


‘Yeah what else, those things from Rapanui were paddles (and) spears.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:39:29-00:39:35)

c. Ė kua riro mai ‘oki tātou i tēia tuātau ‘ei au tūpaꞌupaꞌu tuātau, ‘e

‘Today, we have become the links to past times, a messenger, an eye, a hand, the teachers for strengthening and teaching our culture and Maori traditions.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2012a)

(394) a. Tērā tō-raua ingoa ko Tepuaaranui ko Te-Makana ia ē Tevaaranginui ko te

‘These are their names, Tepuaaranui (and) she’s Te-Makana, and Tevaaranginui, she’s the younger sister’ (Hutchin et al., 2006b)

9.3.2 Syndetic conjunction

Most coordination in CIM is, in fact, overtly marked. In this section the various markers will be discussed. (cf. 9.2).

9.3.3 Conjunction Ė

The most common marker of conjunction is the conjunction Ė, designated by Buse as the ‘coordinating conjunction’ (1995:93).4

9.3.3.1 NPs

Simple coordination of NPs is most commonly marked by the coordinator Ė introducing the second coordinand, as in 395.

4Ē also has subordinating sense which is discussed in section 10.2.4.
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(395) a. Kua pakari rava mai te ngaru ē te matangi.
   TAM strong EMP DIR1 te wave CONJ the wind
   ‘The waves and the wind became very rough.’ (Simiona, 1979:46)

b. ‘E pare re'ure'u ē te pereue kerekere, tōku kāka'u 'āpi'i.
   CLS hat CONJ DET coat black my clothes school
   ‘My school uniform is a grey hat and a black coat.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:379)

c. Kua aro'a mai aia i āku ki te moni ē te ‘apinga.
   TAM empathy DIR1 3SG ACC INST DET money CONJ DET thing
   ‘He gave me presents of money and goods.’ (Buse et al., 1995:76: aro'a) LT: ‘He showed kindness to me
by means of money and goods.’

d. Ė tei reira ‘oki tētā'i kāōa ma'ata ē te 'ō'onu ki raro.
   CONJ LOC PRO.LOC EMP DET I.S coral large CONJ DET deep LOC below
   ‘And there was also some coral that was large and deep below.’ (Simiona, 1979:38)

9.3.3.2 Clauses/sentences

Ē is also the most frequent conjunction for co-ordinating clauses, as in 396.

(396) a. Ko Ruatapu te tangata mua tei oti tōna vaka, ē kua kake atu aia ki
   SPEC Ruatapu the person front REL.PST finish his boat CONJ TAM climb DIR2 3SG GOAL
   roto i te vaka ē kua 'akatere atu i te reira nā roto i te ava i
   inside LOC the boat CONJ TAM sail DIR2 ACC the that PATH inside LOC the harbour LOC
   Aitutaki.
   Aitutaki
   ‘Ruatapu was the first person to finish his boat and he climbed into the boat and then sailed inside the
Aitutaki harbour.’ (Simiona, 1979:78)

b. Kua rave mai rāua i tā-rāua lao ē kua tipū tētā'i i te tumu i katau,
   TAM take DIR1 3D ACC their clam-tool CONJ TAM cut one ACC DET main-muscle LOC right
   ē tētā'i i te kau'i.
   CONJ one LOC DET left
   ‘They took their tool for obtaining clams and one cut the right side of the main muscle and one the left.’
   (Simiona, 1979:13)
c. Ko tēia te ‘iti-tangata mātakitaki roa=’ia atu e te kātoatoa nō te ‘aka’ie’ie i SPEC this DET People spectate long=PASS DIR DET all from DET beautiful LOC tō-rātou tū mata, pērā te kite i te ‘ura paniora, ē te mataora i their way face alike-POS DET see LOC DET dance Spain CONJ DET DET happy SAGNt tā-rātou imene ē te ‘akatangi kitā.
Their song AGNT DET play guitar

‘This was the People who the all the people watched the most because of their beautiful faces as well as that they knew how to do Spanish dancing and the happiness of their songs and guitar playing.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:06:50-00:07:05) https://goo.gl/35PtWj

9.3.4 Multiple coordinands

In coordinating constructions with multiple (rather than binary) coordinands, there are several possible patterns. Generally, in the most formal mode for CIM, each coordinand NP should retain its full complement of preposed morphological material (prepositions, determiners, number classifiers).

The most common pattern when listing multiple coordinands is to repeat the full PP with no overt coordinator before any coordinand except, optionally, the final coordinand, as in all the examples in 397. Example 397a follows this pattern. It is a nominal sentence with the three ‘e- phrases asyntetically coordinated. The final phrase is introduced by the conjunction ē and a different determiner, te. This list follows the pattern designated by Haspelmath as: A B ...co-N (2007:13). He analyses this pattern as involving coordinator omission.

In example 397a, the coordinands are NPs but they are nominal predicate NPs, so this sentence contains a complex nominal predicate. Examples 397b and 397c have multiple NPs which are Ø marked producing a complex subject. The coordination of nominal predicates is discussed further in section 9.3.1.2.

(397) a. ‘E au tā-peka karaponga, ‘e au ruru kōpū, ‘e au kākāꞌu ma’ana’ana, ē EXIST PL CAUSE-tie neck EXIST PL fasten stomach EXIST PL clothing warm CONJ te au piripou tei roto i te kaparata kākāꞌu.
DET.DEF PL trousers LOC inside LOC the cupboard clothes

‘There are ties, belts, shirts, and pants in the wardrobe.’ Jean Tekura Mason, March 6 2014.

b. Nō roto ana ngā tā-peka karaponga, ngā ruru, ngā kākāꞌu, form inside HABIT? DET.PAUCAL CAUSE-tie neck DET.PAUCAL fasten DET.PAUCAL clothes ngā pereue, ē ngā piripou i te kaparata kākāꞌu.
DET.PAUCAL coat CONJ DET.PAUCAL trousers LOC DET cupboard clothes

‘There are ties, belts shirts and pants in the wardrobe.’ Ma’ara Maeva, March 6 2015
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There are ties, belts shirts and pants in the wardrobe.’ Ngametua Tuara, March 6 2015

However, in informal speech, (as in example 398a), some or all of the preposed morphology can be omitted. Example 398a has a coordinated construction, which is the nominal predicate of the sentence, and contains three coordinands. The first two are fully formed, but the final one is missing the specifier ko, which it would need if it was the only phrase in the predicate. Example 398b has a coordinated construction consisting of three coordinands as the subject of a passive verb. The second coordinand in this example is lacking the determiner which would not be possible if it was the only phrase in the subject. The examples in 398 show coordinator omission with the [AB…coN] or [1,2,3 and 4] schema (Haspelmath, 2007:13).

(398) a. Ko tātou ko te Taꞌiti ē Ø te Rapanui te au pupu popular roa atu. 
SPEC 1PLINC SPEC DET Tahiti CONJ Ø DET Rapanui DET PL group popular EMP DIR2

‘Us, Tahiti and Rapanui were the most popular groups.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:31:10-00:31:14) https://goo.gl/35PtWj

b. Tē ‘akakite katoa mai nei rāua ē ko rātou te ‘i‘i-tangata tei ‘āpī’i=‘ia (mei TAM explain also DIR1 POS1 3O SUBJ SPEC 3PL the people REL.PST teach=PASS SOURCE te tuātau o Ruatoka) [te ‘imene tuki, Ø ‘imene ekaresia ē te ‘imene peroveta].

the time of Ruatoka the hymn beat Ø hymn religious CONJ the hymn prophet

‘They explained that they were the people who taught the ‘imene-tuki hymns and the christian hymns and the prophet hymns from Ruatoka’s time.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2012b)

9.3.4.1 Summary

Multiple coordinands can be expressed by repeating the full complement of preposed morphology of each coordinand. This could be considered the most formal variation. However, in one or more non-initial coordinands, the preposed material may be reduced. If an overt coordinator is used, it most frequently occurs before the final coordinand. But it may occur before any non-initial coordinand. It is common for the final coordinand (where it is a NP) to be introduced by ē te (CONJ DET), regardless of the way the earlier NPs are marked. The number/definiteness/specificity of this final coordinand is indicated by that of the preceding coordinands.

Example 399 demonstrates some of these interesting features. It has a nominal predicate with multiple but discontinuous coordinands (indicated by the |). The final coordinand in both parts of the predicate is marked by ē te. This example comes from a play, so it could be considered an example of ‘written speech’.
9.3.5 Conjunction with mā

Mā is a coordinator in two specific semantic contexts. It coordinates numerals (9.3.5.1) and it coordinates ‘persons’ (9.3.5.2).

9.3.5.1 Mā with numerals

Mā coordinates the ‘ones’ to the ‘tens’ in numerals. So, in example 400a the number is literally expressed by ‘nine tens and nine’. In 400b the number is ‘one two-hundred and nine twenties’.

(400) a. E iva ngaꞌuru mā iva ōna mataꞌiti.

‘She’s ninety-nine.’ (Buse et al., 1995:136: iva)

b. Te kātoatoa o te tangata i runga i te vaka o Uke Ariki e taꞌi te rau

The total number of people on Uke Ariki’s boat were one 200 and 9 (20s), that is 380.’ (Purea, 2013:10)

9.3.5.2 Mā with ‘persons’

Mā also performs a slightly different but related role in relation to persons. When mā occurs after a third person referent, (as in 401a), it is comfortably glossed as ‘and others’ or more informally ‘and them’.

When mā modifies a second person referent the translation is more difficult, as in 401b. What exactly the mā does in second person referents is a little slippery. It is not obligatory, and this sentence would make sense and be glossed the same way without the mā. However, the version with mā is preferred over the version without. In 401c the addressee is ‘modified’ by mā indicating some vague sense of inclusiveness. This is a commonly produced utterance by CIM speakers in New Zealand. However it should be noted that many Cook Islands-based speakers consider this particular expression to be

5The word takau. (‘twenty’) is deleted here but that is what there are nine units of in this expression.
6cf. ‘I can’t wait for Uncle Jim and them to get here tomorrow.’.
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a loan from New Zealand Māori. As such, they do not consider it ‘proper’ CIM and prefer the pattern in 401d. I have observed that the greeting in 401c is never used to address groups of children in Mā'uke where there is arguably less NZM influence than in Rarotonga (where I do hear it) or New Zealand (where it is common).

(401) a. Tērā a Mina mā e titiri 'etuke mai ra.
   DEM3 PERS Mina ADDITIONAL TAM throw sea-urchin DIR1 POS3
   ‘There are Mina and the others collecting sea-urchins.’ (i.e. throwing them up on to the reef, to be collected later) (Buse et al., 1995:103: ‘etuke)

b. E kōtou mā. ‘e a’a kōtou i ‘aka-pātekateka ai i te mataara?
   VOC 2PL ADDITIONAL CLS what 2PL PST CAUSE-slippery ANA ACC the road
   ‘Eh you people, why did you make the pathway slippery? (Buse et al., 1995:35: ‘akapātekake)

c. Kia-orana e tamariki má.
   hello VOC children CONJ
   ‘Hello children.’

d. Kia-orana e te au Tamariki.
   hello VOC DET PL children
   ‘Hello children.’

9.3.5.3 Comment on comitative ma

Comitative particles are popular sources for coordinators cross-linguistically, and in CIM the comitative particle ma produces some examples where it is hard to tell if the construction is comitative or coordinating. 402 is a good example of a sentence where there isn’t much semantic difference between a comitative gloss (‘with’) and a coordinate gloss (‘and’). However none of Haspelmath’s syntactic tests (2007:29) for coordination suggest that this construction is formally an example of coordination, rather than a comitative construction, so further discussion of comitative ma is left for section 10.4.

(402) Tē ‘akameitaki nei au ma te ‘akangāteitei i aia, nō tēia au tūranga mēmeitaki ē te TAM thank POS1 1SG COM DET congratulate ACC 3SG for this PL way great CONJ DET pu‘apinga tei rauka i aia, tei riro ‘ei rekareka’anga nō te precious-thing DET.REL.PST able SAGNT 3SG DET.REL.PST become SUBR pleasure for the ‘iti-tangata kātoatoa, pērā katoa ki āku.
   people all like also GOAL 1SG
   ‘I would like to acknowledge and congratulate her, on all her great achievements in her life that has touched many, many people including myself.’ (Tuatua Mai, 2014e)
9.3.6 Inclusory conjunction

The term *inclusory conjunction* is based on Lichtenberk (2000).\(^8\) It refers to a construction where the number and person referent of the pronoun in the construction includes both or all of the coordinands. The pronoun in such a construction is called the *inclusory pronoun*. This contrasts with the English type pattern in 403a where the pronoun shows the appropriate number and person for each individual coordinand while the verb shows plural agreement. In example 403b, the two coordinands in the English gloss are *Mere* and *first person singular* where each coordinand is specified for 'its own' number.

(403) a. *Mere and I are hungry.*

b. *Kua 'aere māua ko Mere ki te toa.*

\[\text{TAM go IDEX SPEC Mere GOAL the shop}\]

‘*Mere and I went to the shop.*’

By contrast in the CIM example in 403b, the coordinands are *Mere* and *1st person dual exclusive*, where that pronoun (*māua*) is specified for the number of the coordinated construction as a whole. As CIM personal pronouns are specified for singular, dual and plural as well as inclusive and exclusive (for first person), the possibilities are quite complicated for inclusory conjunction.

Bauer (2012:127) offers the following schema for inclusory conjunction in New Zealand Māori:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{name} + \text{appropriate pronoun} + [\text{ko + name}]
\end{array}
\]

This description works equally well for CIM, except that coordinands do not have to be names (although they usually are). They can be full NPs, as in 404c. This is cross-linguistically quite unusual, but it is common in Polynesian languages (Haspelmath, 2007:33), including New Zealand Māori. The examples in 404 show the various possibilities for the inclusory pronouns.

(404) a. *Kua karanga mai aia kia a'ao viviki māua ko Mere i tō-māua kāka'u.*

\[\text{TAM say DIRL 3SG OPT clothe fast IDEX SPEC Mere ACC our clothes.}\]

‘*She told Mere and me to put our clothes on quickly.*’ (Aiono-Iosefa et al., 1999:10)

b. *‘Aere mai mātou [ko tōku māmā] [ko tōku tungāne].*  

\[\text{go DIRL 1PLEX SPEC my mother SPEC my brother}\]

‘*My mother, my brother and I came.*’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:48:40-00:48:43)

[https://goo.gl/35PtWj](https:// goo.gl/35PtWj)

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\(^8\)It should be noted that Lichtenberk does not analyse this construction as coordination in Topabaqita but rather a head/dependent relation with the pronoun as the head. For the sake of expediency I am including this construction under coordination for the purposes of this thesis but it is certainly an issue that warrants further investigation.
9.3. CONJUNCTION

c. Kua ‘aere rāua ko tāna tamaiti nā te pae tai ē kua kite atu rāua i taua va’ine
   TAM go 3D SPEC his son by the side sea CONJ TAM see DIR2 3D ACC that woman
   i te no’o tū ‘ua’anga i te tapatapa o te tai.
   LOC DET sit stand MERELY-NR DET DET beach of the seas

   ‘He and his son went beside the sea and they saw that woman sitting at the beach.’ (Simiona, 1979:39)

d. Tē manako nei au ē ‘ano atu [kōrua ko Teariki Teau] e tā i a Koitai rāua
   TAM think POS1 1SG SUBR go DIR2 2D SPEC Teariki Teau TAM kill ACC PERS Koitai 3D
   ko Maitu.
   SPEC Maitu

   ‘I think that you and Teariki Teau should go and kill Koitai and Maitu.’ (Purea, 2013:54)

e. E ‘aere’aere koe ko koe anake ‘ua, mē-kore ra, ko kōtou ko tēta’i pupu tangata.
   TAM walk 2SG SPEC 2SG only MERELY or POS3 SPEC 2PL SPEC a group
   person

   ‘Walk by yourself or with (you and) a group of people.’ (Spark, 2011:1)

Example 404e appears to have an example of a second person singular pronoun as an inclusory pronoun. This could be considered to be a reflexive-inclusory construction.

9.3.7 Coordinating phrases

There are two further coordinators that are, formally, full verbs, or full verb phrases. They are eoti and pērā katoa and they occur so frequently that they could be considered to have been grammaticalised as conjunctions (cf. 3.13). There is another phrase, ā muri, which is a locative phrase of time and is more transparent in meaning than the former two.

9.3.7.1 Eoti - then

The verb phrase eoti literally translates as ‘be finished’ but it frequently occurs as a coordinator of clauses, as in 405, where it is translated as ‘then’. As such, eoti commonly marks sequential events.

(405) a. Ø Pōpongi mē kai tī ‘oki rātou ah pure nā-mua, kai tī e oti kua mōmē ‘aere
   TAM morning COND eat tea EMP 3PL ah pray first eat tea TAM completed TAM wash go
   e oti kua ‘aere kua aitamu practice ‘oki ‘eā.
   TAM completed TAM go TAM item practice EMP TAG

   ‘In the mornings, if they had breakfast, they prayed first, then ate, then bathed, then went and rehearsed eh.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:16:49-00:16:58) https://goo.gl/35PtWj
b.  *E 'aere koe e tiki i tēta'ī rau meika māne', e oti, e rere koe*  
IMPF go 2SG IMP collect ACC DET.I.S leaf beautiful TAM completed IMP jumo 2SG  
ki runga kia 'apai te rau meika i a koe ki Rangi'u'ra.  
GOAL above COMP carry the leaf banana ACC PEBS 2SG GOAL Rangi'u'ra  

'You go and collect some beautiful banana leaves, then you jump up so that the banana leaves take you  
to Rangi'u'ra.' (Simiona, 1979:09)

### 9.3.7.2 Pērā katoa - as well as

The phrase *pērā katoa* can coordinate phrases and clauses, and can be glossed as ‘*as well as*’. This form could  
be categorised as the marker of emphatic conjunction (cf. (Haspelmath, 2007:15). *Pērā* is a verb and *katoa* is a  
postposed modifier. The sequence, *pērā katoa* can occur alone (406a). Or it can be preceded by an overt verbal  
particle (406b), or by the conjunction *ē* (406b and 406c). In example 406a, two complex noun phrases are coordinated  
with *pērā katoa* and a clause is coordinated at the end with *ē* as well. *Pērā* could be analysed as an anaphoric verb  
or modifier. However, the form *pērā katoa* shows some signs of having been grammaticalised as a conjunction of  
sorts.

(406)  
a.  *Ē kia oti te-reira i te rave, kua rave mai rātou i ngā rape o*  
CONJ TAM finished that SAGNT the do TAM do DIRI 3PL ACC DET.PAUCAL wall-plate o  
te tua o te 'are pē-rā katoa ki ngā rape o te tara o te 'are  
the side o the house alike-POS3 also ACC DET.PAUCAL wall-plate o the gable o the house  
ē kua tāmou ki runga i te au ara pou o te 'are.  
CONJ TAM fix LOC above LOC the PL path post o the house  

'And when that is done, they do the wall plates of the end of the house as well as the wall plates of the  
gable end, and affix them on the rows of posts of the house.'

b.  *I tō-rāua no'o-‘anga, e tākinga-meitaki ana tēta’ī i tēta’ī. Ka ‘ākara ē ka ‘ākono*  
LOC their live-NR TAM care-well HABIT one ACC one TAM look CONJ TAM care-for  
te tūngāne i te tua’ine, ē ka pē-rā katoa ‘oki te tua’ine i te tūngāne.  
the brother ACC the sister CONJ TAM alike also EMP the sister ACC the brother  

'During their lives, they cared well for each other. The brother looked out for and looked after the sister;  
and the sister also for the brother.' (Simiona, 1979:1)
9.4 Disjunction

9.4.1 Ā Muri - after

The locative phrase ā muri literally means either ‘afterwards’ or ‘located behind’. This phrase can be used to overtly link sequential events, although it is less common than ē oti. In example 407, the conjunction phrase includes the directional particle ake. This adds a comparative sense and is optional.

(407) Ko te Avarua ia, ka riro te-reira ‘ei ngā tapere ariki ā muri ake kāre
SPEC DET Avarua 3SG TAM become that SUBR DET.PAUCAL village chiefly LOC after DIR3 NEG
ra ‘e ariki i tupu ake i te-reira tuatau.
POS3 EXIST chief TAM arise DIR3 LOC that time

‘It was Avarua, this particular district became the regal district after which there were no chiefs appointed at this time.’ (Pakoti, 1895:61)

9.4 Disjunction

Disjunction of the form ‘A or B’, uses the conditional marker mē, with either the negative verb kore (408a) or the negator kāre (408b). The two negatives seem to be interchangeable, with no discernible change in meaning. Both the examples in 408 show disjunction of NPs.

(408) a. E tāmata koe i-te ‘aere mai āpōpō, mē kore, ā te Varaire.
TAM try 2SG COMP go DIR1 tomorrow COMP not LOC the Friday

‘Try to come tomorrow, or else on Friday.’ (Buse et al., 1995:244: mē1) LIT: ‘You try to come tomorrow, if not on Friday’

9The conditional marker mē is covered in more detail in section 10.6.
'They know how long it’s been since the death of the animal or the plant.' (Salesa and Nikora, 2004)

Example 409 shows the disjunction of two ko marked predicate NPs, where the disjunction is marked by the particle mē, but the negator is absent.

(409) Ko ‘ai tikāi rā ‘oki tō Tapairu-ariki ingoa - ko Tapairu-ariki, mē ko Tapaeeru-ariki?

'That what is Tapairu-ariki’s correct name, Tapairu-ariki or Tapaeeru-ariki?' (Rere, 1983:1)

Disjunction between clauses can also be expressed with the conditional marker mē alone, (as in 410a), or with mē + NEG, as in 410b. Example 410b has (from left to right): an example of a disjunction between two NPs with mē kāre, a conjunction between two partial NPs via mere concatenation (Ø), and finally, a disjunction between two clauses marked by the second instance of mē kāre.

(410) a. Ka varaipani au i te tirāpia, mē ka tunutunu ‘ua au?
    TAM fry 1SG ACC the tilapia COND TAM grill MERELY 1SG
    ‘Shall I fry the tilapia or just grill them?’ (Buse et al., 1995:497: tirāpia)

b. ...kia inu koe i tēta‘i ‘āpa karāti vai tāvene, mei te remeneti, mē kāre vai OPT drink 2SG ACC DET.I.S half glass water sweet SOURCE the lemonade COND NEG water anani, Ø vai ‘ara mē kāre kia kai koe mei te 6 ki te 8 jelly bean.
    orange Ø water pineapple COND NEG OPT eat 2SG SOURCE the 6 GOAL the 8 jelly bean
    ‘You should drink half a glass of a sweet drink like lemonade or orange juice (or) pineapple juice; or you should eat 6 to 8 jelly beans.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2000:9)

9.4.1 Exclusion: A and not B

Logical exclusion: (A and not B), is not formally distinguished from coordinating conjunction. It is expressed using the conjunction ē and the negator kāre, as in the examples in 411.
9.5. ADVERSATIVE COORDINATION

(411) a. ‘E a’a kōtou i ‘aka’ei ‘ua ai i tēta’i pae, è käre tēta’i
   EXIST what 2PL TAM bedeck-with-garlands MERELY ANA ACC DET.I.S side CONJ NEG DET.I.S
   side
   ‘Why did you put garlands on some and not the others?’ (Buse et al., 1995:18: ‘aka’ei)

b. Kua rūrū-nga’oro’ia taua ‘ōire ra è käre rava ‘e ‘are i toe.
   TAM be completely demolished that village POS3 CONJ NEG EMP EXIST house TAM? remain
   ‘The village was completely devastated and not a single house was left standing.’ (Buse et al., 1995:407: rūrū1)

As with disjunction of the form ‘A or B’, I have not been able to establish any semantic difference between mē kore and mē käre.

9.5 Adversative coordination

CIM has specific markers for adversative coordination, the most productive of which is the conjunction inā-rā. This is glossed as ‘but’ or ‘however’. All of the adversative markers appear to include the morpheme rā.

9.5.1 Rā - the original adversative morpheme

Buse lists a morpheme rā that he glosses as ‘but’ which occurs in the external modifier slot of the phrase (cf. section 4.8.4). This adversative rā occurs frequently in the 1888 edition of the Bible, and other older texts. Example 412a is a quote from the 1888 Bible cited by Buse (1995:295). Example 412b shows a more modern context, but examples of this type are rare in contemporary texts, and are not readily produced or comprehended by contemporary speakers. This suggests that adversative rā is becoming obsolete.10

(412) a. Kia ‘aere rā Jesu, ototitoti=iia mai ra aia e te tangata.
   TAM go CNTR Jesus press-together=PASS DIR3 POS3 AGNT DET person
   ‘(And there came a man named Jairus, who had for a long time] been a director of the synagogue; and falling at the feet of Jesus, he begged Him to come to his house, For he had an only daughter, about twelve years of age, and she was dying.) But as he went, the crowd thronged around him.’ (The Bible Society, 1888:Luke, 8:42)

b. Kāre koe i tātomo ki raro, kua tātomo rā koe ki runga.
   NEG 2SG TAM tackle LOC below TAM tackle CNTR 2SG LOC above
   ‘You tackled high instead of tackling low.’ (Buse et al., 1995:468: tātomo1) LIT: ‘You didn’t tackle low you instead tackled high.’

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10A possible exception to this is in the CIM of native speakers of Pukapukan whose variety of CIM still seems to have a productive version of adversative rā, possibly because such a particle exists in Pukapukan.
This ‘adversative’ rā still occurs in three specific lexicalised contexts; tērā rā (413), kāre rā (414) and inārā

9.5.2. Inārā is the most productive adversative form in contemporary CIM.

9.5.1.1 Tērā rā

Tērā rā (DET.POS 3+ CNTR), is less common than inārā but is readily understood by contemporary speakers, even if it is not produced that frequently. Tērā rā can occur clause medially (413a and 413b) or clause initially (413c). It adversatively coordinates clauses.

(413) a. Ka no'o au, tērā-rā, mē ka mārō aia, ka ‘akatika au mē nāna e tūtaki i tōku TAM stay 1SG CNTR COND TAM hard 3SG TAM agree 1SG COND AE.3SG TAM pay ACC my pātete. passage
   'I mean to stay here, but if he insists (on my going), I'll agree provided he pays my passage.' (Buse et al., 1995:484: tērā)

b. Tēia tamaiti ko REDACTED ‘e tamaiti Paratane tērā-rā ‘oki mē ‘ārāvei koe i te āia this child SPEC REDACTED CLS child English CNTR EMP COND meet 2SG ACC this tamaiti e kore ake rāi tōna TAM NEG DIR3 EMP DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG LOC inside LOC 3SG LOC his spirit his ngākau ē ngā ē ‘e tangata Māori tikāi tēia tangata. heart CONJ DET.PAUCAL CONJ CLS person Māori EMP this person
   'The boy, REDACTED, is English but if you met this guy, no doubt what he has inside is spirit, his heart and that, you know, this person is really a Māori person.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:59:07-00:58:21) https://goo.gl/35PtWj

c. Tērā-rā, ‘ua atu ē kāre te BCG e rauka i-te ārai i te tūranga12 kino CONTR MERELY DIR3 EXCLAM NEG DET BCG TAM able COMP prevent ACC DET place bad o te maki TB, kua tinamou ē, nā te BCG e pāruru ana kia kore e tupu te of the illness TB TAM certain SUBR AE DET BCG TAM shield HABIT COMP not TAM arise DET au tū maki TB kino o te tamariki. (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2011a) PL type illness TB bad of the children
   '(The effectiveness of BCG vaccination against TB is not clear) However, while BCG does not prevent TB infection, it is agreed that BCG protects against development of severe forms of childhood TB.' (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2011b)

12I suspect a NZM influence in the use of this term where tūꞌanga would be more likely in CIM
9.5. ADVERSATIVE COORDINATION

9.5.1.2 Kāre rā

Kāre rā (NEG + CNTR) occurs quite frequently, and the negative sense of kāre is always maintained, so it could be glossed as ‘emphatic negative adversative coordination’. Example 414 demonstrates the use of kāre rā.

(414) a. Kua ‘akatika rava aia ki-te pūꞌākapa pāꞌi ē kua ārai mai ngā tangata tiaki
   TAM agree EMP 3SG COMP tent bathe CONJ TAM protect DIR1 DET.PAUCAL person guard
   i aia. Kāre rā e rauka i tēia ngā tāngata i-te ārai mai i tēia tamaiti.
   NEG 3SG NEG CNTR TAM able SAGNT this PAUCAL person COMP prevent DIR1 ACC this child

   'He agreed to set up camp, and the guards protected him. However, these people were not able to prevent
   this child (from attacking)' (Simiona, 1979:73)

b. Kua tīmata rāi rātou i tētaꞌi au rāvenga. Kāre rā i manuia, nō-te-mea, kāre
   TAM test EMP 3PL DET.I.S PL method NEG CNTR TAM fortunate because NEG
   ō rātou tūranga meitaki e rauka i-te moana nō te tā atu i aia.
   DET.POSS.PL 3PL location good TAM able COMP ocean for DET kill DIR2 ACC 3SG

   'They tried a few methods, but they were not successful because, they didn’t have a good platform on
   the ocean by which to kill it.' (Simiona, 1979:12)

c. I tēia epetoma ake nei, kua tuku te ‘akavāꞌanga maꞌata i tāna
   LOC DEM1 week DIR3 POS1 PFV set-down DET judge-NR big ACC DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG
   tika, ē, ko Somare te ūpoko o te basileia. Kāre rā a Peter O’neil i aniki
   agree SUBR SPEC Somare DET head DET country NEG CNTR PERS Peter O’neil TAM invite
   i tēia ē kua ‘opu atu i te Chief Justice nō te tāpepeꞌanga ‘akanauru
   DET.ACAT DET.NR PFV catch DIR2 ACC the chief justice because DET accuse-NR incite
   ē te ‘akatū pekapeka.
   CONJ DET set-up trouble

   'Last week the Chief Justice had given their approval for Somare as the head legitimate prime minister.
   However Peter O’neil did not agree with this, and had captured the Chief Justice for the accusation of
   inciting and setting up trouble (sedition).’ (Tongaia, 2013)

In relation to the fact that that bare adversative rā is no longer recognised easily by modern speakers, it is interesting to note that none of the consultants who I have discussed these sentences with used any adversative markers in their English translation of these sentences. I suspect these speakers are re-analysing the rā as the positional particle ra (PO3). This theory is further supported by their pronunciation. When they read these sentences, the ‘ra’ is pronounced short.
9.5.2 Inārā- but, however

Inārā is the most common adversative marker in contemporary CIM. It contains two morphemes; inā, which is an exclamation, and adversative rā, and can be glossed as ‘but’, ‘however’, ‘nevertheless’ or ‘so’. The examples in 415 are both clause medial and clearly contrast the inārā marked clause with the preceding clause.

(415) a. Kua pūma‘ana tōku ngākau i te kite atu =’anga i tēia tei rave=’ia
   TAM warm my heart SAGNT te DIR XR ACC this DETREL.PST do=PASS
   nō-te-mea ‘e ‘anga’anga nō tērā taimē ‘ua rāi i manako=’ia aī, inārā ‘e
   because CLS work from that time MERELY EMP TAM think=PASS ANA CNTR CLS
   ‘anga’anga mānea ē te tau tikāi tei rave=’ia.
   work beautiful CONJ the proper EMP DETREL.PST do=PASS

   ‘I was heart warmed to see what was done, because it was a spontaneous decision, but nevertheless it was beautiful work, and really appropriately done.’ 13 (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:04:57-00:05:12) https://goo.gl/35PtWj

b. I tētaꞌi taimē e ‘ākara=’ia nā te pakipakitai ē, ‘e paruparu, inārā e
   LOC DET.I.S time TAM look=PASS belong-ACAT the disabled CONJ CLS weak CNTR TAM
   ‘ōronga ana rātou ki te ‘ōire tangata i tētaꞌi au tauturu pu‘apinga tikāi.
   give PFV 3PL IO the village person ACC DET.I.S PL help precious EMP

   ‘Disabled people are seen as weaker sometimes, but they also make important contributions to our communities.’ (Lu’i Ola, 2012b:15)

When inārā occurs in sentence initial position, it can mark the sentence it introduces as adversative with respect to an earlier sentence, as in 416a. However, inārā can also function as a relatively neutral narrative discourse marker, as in 416b.

(416) a. I te tuātau mua, ‘E ngā taeake piri mou tikāi, te kiore toka, ē te ‘eke.
   LOC DET time before CLS PAUCAL friend attach hold EMP the rat rock CONJ the octopus
   Ka kanga ‘ua rāua ki te pae ta‘atal. Inārā, i tētaꞌi rā, kua pekapecta rāua.
   TAM play MERELY 3D LOC DET side beach CNTR LOC DET.I.S day TAM argue 3D

   ‘In the olden days the rat and the octopus were best friends. They played at the beach. However, one day they argued.’ (Ielemia, 1990:1)

13 The context of this example is that a member of the group from New Zealand had unexpectedly passed way and “what was done” was the spontaneous performance of the ritual farewell by the members of the group.
The short needle has a spike/barb, this needle enables the thatching of the thatches onto the leaves, and the long needle has a hole in the front but it doesn’t have a barb. So the sennit fibre is threaded into the needle.” (Purea, 2013:21)

9.6 Summary

This chapter covered three categories of coordination in CIM: conjunction (section 9.3), disjunction (section 9.4), and adversative coordination (section 9.5). Conjunction is most strongly associated with the particle ē. Disjunction is associated with mē NEG, and adversative conjunction is usually marked by some form containing the adversative marker rā, even though the independent particle rā appears to be obsolete in contemporary CIM.
Chapter 10

Complex Sentences with Dependent Clauses

10.1 Introduction

This chapter will describe multi-clause constructions or complex sentences, including those containing complement clauses (10.2), adverbial clauses (sections 10.3 to 10.5), conditional clauses (10.6), and relative clauses (10.7).

10.2 Complement clauses

In this section I will discuss a number of constructions organised by the particular morphological marking, or complementiser, that introduces the notionally dependent clause. In approximate order of decreasing complement status, these are i-te/ki-te, ‘ei, kia, and ē. Predicates that take notional complements are known as ‘complement taking predicates’ or CTPs (Noonan, 2007).

10.2.1 “I-te” infinitive complements

Certain verbs of volition, ability, and motion can take a complement clause introduced by the form i-te. This complementiser appears to consist of two morphemes: the preposition i (or sometimes ki), followed by the determiner te. However, the exact analysis is not clear and, as such, I will treat the form i-te as a single unit here. Clauses marked by i-te display the typical characteristics of dependent clauses, as listed in Givón (2001b:327); The i-te clause is intonationally integrated with the matrix clause. The verb has reduced finiteness, in that no TAM particle is permitted other than the complementiser i-te itself, which, being ‘infinitive’ contains no TAM information. Finally, the i-te clause must have a coreferential subject that is obligatorily deleted, thus satisfying Givón’s relational government criteria. The i-te clauses are the most prototypically complement-like of the constructions to be discussed. I analyse these as infinitive complement clauses.

1
1The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info/5_10.html
The *i-te* complements fill the notional object slot of an active matrix clause in examples 417a and 417b. In example 417c, which has an action intransitive verb in the matrix clause, the grammatical relation of the complement clause would be a locative phrase.

   if desire 3SG COMP go LOC DET.I.S land SPEC his land REL-FUT travel
   ‘If he desires to go to a certain land it is his island that will travel.’ (Tara’are, 2000:11)

b. Kua manako aia *i-te* ‘aere atu ki Ma’uke.
   TAM think 3SG COMP go DIR2 GOAL Ma’uke.
   ‘He decided to go to Ma’uke.’ (Simiona, 1979:19)

c. Kua ‘aere rātou *i-te* tautai ē kua pakari mai te matangi.
   TAM go 3PL COMP fish CONJ TAM strong DIR1 the wind
   ‘They went fishing (went to fish) and the winds got strong.’ (Tongaia, 2011)

The verb in the *i-te* clause must be an un-suffixed (active) transitive or action intransitive. This follows from the requirement that the subjects be coreferential.

10.2.1.1 Some examples with *ki-te*

Although they are quite rare, and seem at this stage to be confined to historical texts, there are some examples of this type of infinitive complement that are introduced by *ki-te* rather than *i-te* (418).

(418) a. Kua ‘aere ngā pupu ‘imene *ki-te* āpare i tōna tūmatetenga.
   TAM go DET.PAUCAL group sing COMP comfort-via-singing ACC DET.POSS.2SG distress
   ‘Two groups of hymn-singers went to the ceremony that was held to comfort her in her distress.’ (Buse et al., 1995:65: āpare LIT: Two groups of hymn-singers went to comfort her in her distress by singing.

b. Kua tae mai aia ki Rarotonga nei [*ki-te* kimi i te ara ki ’Avaiki.]
   TAM reach DIR1 3SG GOAL Rarotonga POS1 COMP seek ACC DET path GOAL Hawaiki
   ‘He arrived at Rarotonga to look for the path to Hawaiki.’ (Tara’are, 2000:10)

c. Kua ui mai ra aia *ki-te* kave atu i te kura ki aia.
   TAM ask DIR1 POS3 3SG COMP take DIR2 ACC the gift GOAL 3SG
   ‘S/he asked to take the gift to her/him.’ (Tara’are, 2000:81)

NZM always has *ki-te* rather than *i-te* in its equivalent construction. Both Chung (1978:107) and Clark (1976) consider that the origin of this complementiser in NZM is the locative preposition *ki*, combined with the determiner *te*. They are both of the view that the contemporary form is not grammatically nominal.
Following Chung and Clark, I propose that the *i-te* and *ki-te* forms in CIM are derived from a locative preposition, combined with the determiner *te*. The locative particle *ki* indicates the goal, which is a cross-linguistically popular origin for infinitive clauses (e.g. English "to"). It is possible the *i-te* developed from *ki-te* via phonological reduction, although the locative preposition *i* is another reasonably likely source.

*i-te* complements can express clauses of purpose, as in the case of example 418b. Adverbial purpose clauses are discussed in section 10.5.

### 10.2.2 ‘Ei clauses

Clauses introduced by *‘ei*, which are not locative phrases (see sections 5.5 and 8.2), are somewhat difficult to analyse. Bauer calls the NZM cognate *hei* “the problem form” (1997:156). The most significant problem is that *‘ei* can introduce both verbal and nominal adverbial clauses. However, in the context of the sentences in 419 and 420, it is reasonable to suggest that the particle *‘ei* is a subordinating particle of some kind. Semantically, *‘ei* clauses are often a kind of purpose clause, where *‘ei* is glossed as ‘in order that’, ‘so that’, or ‘for the purpose of’, as in 419. The more nominal *‘ei* clauses may also produce a result clause, typically glossed by ‘as a’, as in 420. I have glossed the particle *‘ei* as COMP. The verbal clauses with *‘ei* are particularly complement-like. The particle *‘ei* replaces the verbal particle (that is, it is the only available v.p.), and the deleted subject is always coreferential with the element of the main clause that is being modified.

The examples in 419 all contain an *‘ei* clause where *‘ei* takes the place of the verbal particle, and introduces a complete VP (minus the coreferential subject NP). In example 419a the complement clause is intransitive, and modifies the direct object of the main clause. The complement clause in example 419b is a full active transitive (type I) clause that modifies the direct object of the main clause. In example 419c, the complement clause modifies the subject of the stative main clause. In 419d, the *‘ei* clause is intransitive, and modifies the whole proposition of the main clause. The notional subject of the *‘ei* clause would be the object NP of the main clause.

(419) a. Kua *‘akaputu te* tamaiti i te moni *‘ei* ‘oko pātikara nōna.

TAM pile the boy ACC the money COMP buy bike BEN.3SG

‘The boysaved up the money to buy himself a bike.’ (Buse et al., 1995:255; moni)

b. Ko *tēia te* au rau *‘ei* tāpoki i te umu.

SPEC this the PL leaves COMP cover ACC the oven

‘These are the leaves for covering the earth oven.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2014b:00:05:28-00:05:30) https://goo.gl/nECUKd

c. Ka *meitaki taua rākau ra* *‘ei* ma‘ani dye.

TAM good DET.ANA plant POS3 COMP make dye

‘That plant is good for making dye.’ (Rere, 1983:14)
d. Kua unga atu ra te ariki i te tangata ‘ei kimi ‘aere.
   TAM order DIR2 POS3 DET chief ACC DET person COMP seek go
   ‘The chief ordered the person to go searching.’ (Tara'are, 2000:3)

The examples in 420 have nominal ‘ei clauses in which ‘ei takes the place of the determiner. It is common for these nominal ‘ei complements to include a beneficiary phrase, as they do in 420a and 420b. Example 420d is interesting in that it contrasts an ordinary classifying ‘e predicate with one marked by ‘ei.

(420) a. Inārā, kua rekareka tikāi aia nō te ngā kuete poi ranuinui tei tuku-na mai
   CONJ TAM pleased EMP 3SG for the PAUCAL bowl pudding big REL.PST place-CIA DIR1
   e tana ngā va‘ine ki mua i tōna aroaro ‘ei kai nāna.
   AGNT his PAUCAL woman GOAL front LOC his attention COMP food BEN.3SG
   ‘However he was really happy about the big bowl of pudding that his wives had placed in front of him as a feed\(^2\) for him.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:20)

b. Kua ‘āriki aia i a Ruatapu ‘ei taeake tikai nōna.
   TAM invite 3SG ACC PERS Ruatapu COMP friend EMP BEN.OCAT-3SG
   ‘He invited Ruatapu to be a close friend for him.’ (Simiona, 1979:78)

c. ‘Apai-na mai ara e te agriculture te-reira vi ‘ei mea tanu.
   bring-CIA DIR1 POS3 AGNT DET agriculture DET-ANA mango COMP thing plant
   ‘Those mangos were brought here by the department of agriculture as a planting crop.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012:e00:22:33-00:22:36) https://goo.gl/nECUKd

d. ‘Okota’i ‘e ngāi pā’anga vai; ‘okota’i, ‘e ngāi vairanga i te au pa’u ‘akatangi, one CLS place bathe-NR water one CLS place store ACC DET PL drum sound
   ē, ‘okota’i ‘ei ‘are karīoi.
   CONJ one COMP house performing-arts
   ‘One (tent) was a bathing place, one was a place where the drums are and one was for a performing arts house.’ (Simiona, 1979:73)

10.2.2.1 Riro + ‘ei

There is a restricted collocation with the stative verb riro, where an ‘ei complement triggers a specific lexical sense of riro: ‘to become’ or ‘to turn into’, as in the examples in 421.

\(^2\) ‘Feed’ can be used nominally to mean ‘a meal’ in New Zealand and Cook Island English.
10.2. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

(421) a. Kua riro aia ‘ei va‘ine nāna.
   TAM be-taken 3SG COMP woman for-3SG.
   ‘She became his wife’ or ‘She was taken as a wife for him.’

b. Tē ‘i-a ra e Māui, tē riro mai ra ki runga ‘ei ‘enua.
   TAM fish-CIA POS3 AGNT Māui TAM become DIR1 POS3 LOC above COMP land
   ‘It was fished up by Māui, and up above it became an island.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:9)

c. Kia mate te mērio, ka riro tōna kōpapa ‘ei ‘ukā tai.
   TAM dead the mermaid TAM become her body SUBR foam seas
   ‘When a mermaid dies, her body turns into sea-foam.’ (Buse et al., 1995:247: mērio)

d. I nā roto i tāna pikika’a i riro mai ei aia ‘ei ariki i runga i te LOC by inside LOC his lies TAM become DIR1 ANA 3SG SUBR leader LOC on LOC the ‘enua ko Aitutaki.
   land SPEC Aitutaki
   ‘From out of his lies he was able to become the leader on the Aitutaki Island.’ (Simiona, 1979:81)

However, example 422 shows that this particular riro-sense only applies to nominal ‘ei complements of riro. In this example, the verbal ‘ei complement is more like a typical purpose clause with ‘ei.

(422) ‘E tangata va’a-reka ‘oki a Ruatapu é kua riro te reira ‘ei ‘apai kē atu
   CLS person mouth-sweet EMP PERS Ruatapu CONJ TAM happen the there SUBR carry CONTR DIR2
   i te manako o Taurua.
   ACC the thought o Taurua
   ‘Ruatapu was a very sweet talker and this made it possible to mislead Taurua.’ (Simiona, 1979:78)

10.2.3 “Kia” clauses

Notionally dependent clauses introduced by kia are less prototypically complement-like than i-te clauses. They retain some finiteness, in that they are marked by a TAM marker (kia) that can introduce a main clause. However kia is the only TAM marker available. The most significant difference between this type of clause and the i-te complement is that kia ‘complements’ are available when the subjects of main and dependent clauses are not coreferential. This indicates that kia complements are not as strictly relationally governed by the main clause as i-te complements.

As a coreferential subject is not required in a kia complement, all verb types can occur in such clauses. In example 423 the subject NPs are underlined and the complementiser kia is in bold. In 423a the kia clause contains a stative, while that in 423b is a passive (type III), and that in 423c is an action intransitive.
(423) a. Tē ‘inangaro nei a Oscar Temaru kia riro mai a French Polynesia ē nā-na rāi e ‘akatere i aia rāi. ‘Oscar Temaru wishes that French Polynesia would become independent and that he will lead it.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Kua ‘akaunga aia kia ‘apaina=’ia mai te atua o te ‘anga’anga tamaki a Tutavake ki runga i tōna marae. ‘She ordered the god of war, Tuatake, to be brought onto her marae’ (Kauta et al., 1993:187)

c. Kua ‘inangaro aia kia ‘aere au ki Rarotonga ē ē muri ake ki Nu Tieni. ‘He wanted me to go to Rarotonga and after that to New Zealand.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:71)

Both coreferential (424) and non coreferential (425) subjects can occur in kia clauses that contain active transitive verbs.

(424) a. Kua manako aia kia tapa Ø i te ingoa o tōna ava i uru mai Tēa DET.Poss.2SG name Ø ACC the name of DET.Poss.2SG harbour TAM enter DET.Poss.2SG boat to land

‘S/he decided to place the name of their harbour by which their boat had come ashore.’ (Purea, 2013:59)

b. Mē ka anoano koe kia kite koe i te katoa’anga o te au tuatua ...

‘If you want to see all the information ...’ (Human Rights Commission, 2000)

(425) a. Kua ‘inangaro a Tioni i a Timi kia tā i te puaka.

‘John wanted Jim to kill the pig.’ Ngametua Tuara, January 13, 2016

3 This particular sense of riro is inferred from the preceding context.
10.2. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

b. Ka ‘inangaro koe kia tereni au i te pupu?
   TAM want 2SG COMP.OPT coach 1SG ACC DET team
   ‘Do you want me to coach the team?’ Ngametua Tuara, January 13 2016

Exactly what the difference is between an i-te complement and a kia clause with a coreferential subject is not clear, but this type of kia clause is relatively uncommon, the i-te complement being preferred for coreferential subjects.

Some complements introduced with kia are purpose clauses. Adverbial purpose clauses are discussed in section 10.5. Result clauses with kia are discussed in section 10.5.3.

10.2.4 ē clauses

The coordinating conjunction ē was covered in section 9.3.3, where the difficulty in unequivocally distinguishing between coordination and subordination was raised. Buse categorises this morpheme as a conjunction with two senses: “subordinating” and “coordinating” (1995:93). In the subordinating sense, this particle introduces clauses which are what Noonan calls “s-like” complements (2007:61). They retain the syntactic structure of an independent clause and do not display as many of the prototypical features of dependence as the i-te and kia complements. They are not as intonationally integrated with the main clause as i-te or kia complements, in that a pause is possible, and they are not as strictly governed by the subject of the main clause. In particular, like-subjects are not obligatorily deleted in the dependent clause. However, they do semantically link to the verb of the main clause more than the clear-cut cases of coordination do. Unlike the other types of complements that have been discussed, dependent clauses introduced by ē are not reduced in the range of TAM or nominal predicates that may occur in the ē clause.

This type of construction often occurs with verbs of perception and mental processes, as well as speech verbs, as in 426.

(426)

   a. Kua ‘akakite katoa aia ē tē tāpae ra tērā au aranui ki ‘ea.
      TAM explain also 3SG SUBJ.COMJ DET turn-aside POS3 DEM3 PL road GOAL where
      ‘He also explained where all those roads were turning to’ (Tanga et al., 1984:23)

   b. Tē mataku nei aia ē ka mate aia
      TAM afraid POS1 3SG SUBJ.COMJ TAM die 3SG
      ‘She was afraid that she would die.’ (Tuatua Mai, 2014a)

   c. I reira, kua tupu mai tōna manako ē ka tō aia i tōna tungâne.
      LOC there TAM grow DIR1 her thought SUBJ.COMJ TAM kill 3SG ACC her brother
      ‘So she decided that she would kill her brother.’ (Simiona, 1979:3)
CHAPTER 10. COMPLEX SENTENCES WITH DEPENDENT CLAUSES

10.2.4.1 Direct and indirect speech

Direct speech (in contrast with indirect speech) is done without any formal marking, the quoted speech directly following the speech verb, as in 427a, or the quotation is introduced by ē, as in 427b. Whether the particle ē is present or not, the quoted speech is treated as a separate sentence intonationally.

(427) a. Kua tuatua aia, Ŭ “Ei ‘are tōku i konei.”
   TAM speak 3SG Ŭ LOC.FUT house mine LOC here
   ‘He said, “I will have a house here.”’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:11)

b. Mē kāre tētaꞌi manuiri e pati=ꞌia kia noꞌo ki raro, ka pati atu rāi aia ē.
   COND NEG DET.I.S visitor TAM ask=PASS OPT sit LOC down TAM ask DIR2 EMP 3SG SUBR.CONJ
   “Ka noꞌo ana au ki raro, inē?” i mua ake ka pērā ai aia.
   TAM sit PFV 1SG LOC down please LOC before DIR3 TAM alike ANA 3SG
   ‘If a visitor is not invited to sit they (SG) should ask, “May I sit down” before doing so.’ (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:12)

Indirect speech can be expressed as a complement of the speech verb introduced by ē, as in 428. Where applicable, the pronouns and directional particles are changed to accord with those of the main clause.

(428) a. Kua tuatu=i aia ē, e ‘ā tangata e rauka ai i-te ‘apai i tēia ‘ve mē ki TAM say=PASS CONJ TAM four person TAM able ANA COMP carry ACC the calabash CONJ be-full i te vai.
   SAGNT the water
   ‘It is said (according to tradition) that it takes four people to carry this calabash if it’s full of water.’ (Simiona, 1979:8)

b. Kua araara mai aia ē kua peni=ꞌia e rātou te ‘are ki te kara kivakiva.
   TAM say DIR1 3SG CONJ TAM paint=PASS ANGNT 3PL DET house INS DET colour blue
   ‘He said that they had painted the house blue.’ Ma’ara 21 Jan 2016

Indirect imperatives take kia as the subordinator. They can occur without ē, as in the examples in 429, but they occasionally take both particles, as in 430.\(^4\)

\(^4\)The speech verbs and the pertinent particles are in bold.
10.2. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

(429) a. Kua mea mai aia ki āku kia āru i aia.
    TAM PRO DIRL 3SG GOAL 1SG OPT follow ACC 3SG
    ‘he made (told, asked, gestured to) me come with him.’ (Buse et al., 1995:245: mea)

b. Mē tam pati=ꞌia koe kia āe atu ‘e inuinu vai anani mē kāre kapu koape.
    COND TAM ask=PASS 2SG OPT go DIR2 EXIST drink water orange COND NEG cup coffee
    ‘if you are asked to go (to ‘tea’) there will be orange juice or a cup of coffee and food such as small
    sausages (saveloys) and cake, but it won’t be a proper meal.’ (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the
    Vocational Training Council, 1976:11)

c. Kua ‘aere a Maui-potiki, kua karanga atu kia tuku iʻo ‘e maunu māroro.
    TAM go PERS Maui-potiki TAM say DIR2 OPT put DIR4 CLS bait flying-fish
    ‘Maui-potiki went and he said to put down some flying fish bait.’ (Gill, 1915:140)

(430) Tē ‘akaꞌoki ‘ua mai nei rāi rātou i-te tuatua ē kia ‘a‘ao te tangata i
    TAM return MERELY DIR1 PDS1 EMP 3PL COMP say SUBR.COMJ OPT wear the person ACC
    tō-rātou au pare kumete mē ‘aka‘oro patikara ē pērā katoa te au ruru-kiri i roto i
    their PL hat wooden COND drive bike CONJ alike also the PL belt LOC inside LOC
    te au motoka.
    the PL car
    ‘They have returned to saying that people should wear their helmets when they ride motorbikes as well as
    wearing seat belts inside cars.’ (Cook Islands Herald, 2010d)

10.2.5 Cause complements in stative sentences

Stative sentences can take an interesting type of complement, which is marked by what appears to be the determiner
    te, followed by a lexical item that is semantically verbal, as in 431. Following Hooper (1984) I will call this particular
    complement the ‘C-COMP’ complement.

(431) a. Kua pou te taro i te puaka te kai.
    TAM be-consumed the taro SAGNT the pig COMP eat
    ‘The pigs ate the taro.’ or ‘The taro got got consumed by the pigs via eating.’ Taurereau Taurarri, November
    11 2013
b. Kua oti te ‘are i aia te ‘akatū.
   TAM completed DET house SAGNT 3SG COMP build

   ‘S/he completed building the house.’ Tauraki Raea Rongo, January 21 2016

c. Kua pou 6 te au pākau i a rātou te ‘akatomo.
   TAM be-finished DET PL thing SAGNT PERS 3PL COMP load

   ‘They have finished loading the stuff on.’ Tauraki Raea Rongo, January 21 2016

The C-COMP complement expresses the means of the execution of the state or event, or it adds emphasis to the finality or completeness of the state or event. This phrase is considered to be a verbal, dependent-clause, that is a complement of the stative main clause (Hooper, 1984; Bauer et al., 1997).

Although examples with this type of complement are rare in the Vairanga Tuatua, sentences like those in 431 are common in conversation, at least in Ma’uke. However, stative predicates with i-te complements, as in 432, are common in the Vairanga Tuatua. These are semantically very similar to the constructions in 431, but formally identical to a typical i-te complement with a stative CTP.

(432) Kua oti te reira i a rātou i-te ‘āmani.
   TAM finished DET LOC.ANA SAGNT PERS 3SG COMP make

   ‘They finished making that.’ LIT: ‘That was finished by them via making.’ (Simiona, 1979:85)

The pair of examples in 433 suggest an interesting re-analysis of the C-COMP complement might be occurring in contemporary CIM. Example 433b comes from a modern publication (Tara’are, 2000), which was a compilation and minor revision of the History and traditions of Raratonga series of articles that were originally published, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society, from 1899 to 1921. Example 433a comes from the original published version. It would appear that the editors of the 2000 compilation of History and traditions of Raratonga analysed this phrase as an i-te complement, and thus ‘corrected’ it. An alternative analysis is that the C-COMP variant in 433a is a reduced form of the i-te complement in 433b. Under this analysis, the editors are correct in their ‘correction’. Further investigation into this construction would be of interest.

(433) a. Kua oti ia ‘anga’anga i a Māui te rave.
   TAM completed DET.3SGX work SAGNT PERS Māui COMP do

   ‘Māui accomplished that feat.’ (Tara’are, 1899:83) LIT: ‘That work was finished by Māui by doing.’

b. Kua oti ia ‘anga’anga i a Māui i-te rave. (Tara’are, 2000:6)
   TAM completed DET.3SGX work SAGNT PERS Māui COMP do

   ‘After Māui had accomplished that feat ...’ (Tara’are, 2000:122) LIT: ‘That work was finished by Māui by doing.’

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6 The stative verbs oti and pou can both be translated as ‘to be completed’. For oti, this is the basic sense but for pou, the basic sense is ‘to be consumed, exhausted or gone’, and the sense in 431c is an extension of that.
10.3 Time Clauses

Thompson et al. (2007) classify adverbial clauses into those that can be substituted by a single word, and those that cannot. Time adverbials in CIM belong to the former category. Time may be expressed by a locative phrase of time, as in the examples (434) below, which are discussed in detail in section 8.3. Bear in mind that in CIM, the phrase is the smallest independent constituent, so we will treat the term ‘word’ here to mean minimal grammatical phrase where it applies to an adverbial modifier, as in the examples in (434).

(434) a. Āpōpō ka ‘aere tātou ki ta’atai.
   tomorrow TAM go 1PL INC GOAL beach
   ‘Tomorrow we will go to the beach.’

b. Kua ‘aere tātou ki ta’atai inana’i.
   TAM go 1PL INC GOAL beach yesterday
   ‘Yesterday we went to the beach.’

c. Ka ‘aere tātou ā-te-pō-nei ki ta’atai.
   TAM go 1PL INC tonight.FUT GOAL beach
   ‘Tonight we will go to the beach.’

However, time may also be expressed by means of an adverbial clause.

10.3.1 Time nominalisations

The first expansion on the simple locative phrase (cf. section 8.3) involves a nominalisation producing a gerund type of construction. Semantically speaking, this type of phrase refers to an event or moment in time. In the pair of examples in (435) the simple locative phrase ‘inana’i’ in (435a) is replaced by the gerund phrase ‘i te tae-nga mai o te au pātete’ in (435b).

(435) a. Kua ‘aere tātou ki ta’atai inana’i.
   TAM go 1PL INC GOAL beach yesterday
   ‘Yesterday we went to the beach.’

b. Kua ‘aere tātou ki ta’atai i te tae-nga mai o te au pātete.
   TAM go 1PL INC GOAL beach LOC DET arrive-PRG DIR of DET PL passenger
   ‘When the passengers (visitors) arrived we went to the beach.’

The gerund phrase can occur initially, as in (436), or finally, as in (437).
Chapter 10. Complex Sentences with Dependent Clauses

(436) a. I taua 'aere-anga o taua vaka ki te moana, 'okota'-nga'uru-mā-tai rātou LOC that go-NR of that boat GOAL the ocean eleven exactly 3PL i runga i te vaka. LOC on-top LOC the boat

'There were eleven of them on the boat when than boat went on that trip to sea.' (Tivini and More-taunga-o-te-tini, 1910:164)

b. I tōku tamariki-‘anga. e ‘aere ana mātou ki Ueringitini ‘orotē ei. LOC my child.NR TAM go HABIT 1PLEX GOAL Wellington holiday ANA.LOC

‘When I was a child we would go to Wellington for holidays.’ (Kingstone, 2008)

(437) a. Tēia te ‘anga'anga mau tā Tangiꞌia i rave i tōna tae-na-mai ki te this the work first DET.POSS Tangiꞌia TAM do LOC DET.POSS.3SG arrive-NR DIR1 LOC the ‘enua nei land POS1

‘This is the first thing that Tangiꞌia did when he arrived to this land:’ (Smith and Te-Aia, 1893:275)

b. Nō tōna kona, nō-reira i tāraperape ei ōna vaevae i te ‘aere-‘anga. Because his intoxication therefore TAM tripping ANA his-PL leg LOC DET go-NR

‘He was drunk, that’s why his legs kept getting tangled up;’ (when walking) (Buse et al., 1995:456: tāraperape)

In example 438, the time nominalisation is particularly complicated as it contains a patient phrase (i tētaꞌi reo tamariki), which in turn contains another nominalisation (i-tekāpiki-‘anga i a rātou). The last phrase in the sentence (i a rātou mei runga mai i te pū-‘utu), modifies the entire proposition, and is a simultaneous time phrase.

(438) Kua pōꞌitirere rātou i te ‘akarongo-‘anga i tētaꞌi reo tamariki i-te kāpiki-‘anga i a TAM be-startled 3PL LOC the listen-NR ACC voice children COMP summon-NR ACC PERS rātou mei runga mai i te pū-‘utu. 3PL SOURCE above DIR1 LOC the plantain-tree

‘They were startled when they heard the a child’s voice calling them from up the mountain plantain tree.’ (Simiona, 1979:6)

10.3.1.1 Cause nominalisations

Example 438 demonstrates that, as has been observed in other languages (Thompson et al., 2007:247), the same morphological form that can be used to indicate a time nominalisation, can also indicate cause. This is especially apparent in CIM when the main verb is stative, as in 438. Here there is no formal way of distinguishing whether the
i-te phrase should be interpreted as time or cause. This is, of course, further obfuscated by the semantic viability of inferring cause from simultaneous, or adjacent events. Therefore, example 438 could also be glossed as ‘they were startled by sound of child’s voice calling them from up the mountain plantain tree.’ The two glosses are essentially synonymous. However, in example 439 the agentive sense is clear from the context.

(439) Kua pō’itirere tikāi te tupuna i tēia tū riri nui o tāna mokopuna.
TAM be-startled EMP the ancestor SAGNT this way angry of DET.POSS.3SG grandchild

‘The elder was thoroughly surprised by this furious state of her grandchild.’ (Simiona, 1979:8)

10.3.2 Mē time clauses

As is cross-linguistically quite common, the conditional marker mē is associated both with time clauses and conditional clauses. Conditional clauses introduced by mē are discussed more fully section 10.6. In conditional constructions, the particle mē can precede any verbal or nominal particle. However, when the particle mē directly precedes the verb (with no overt verbal particle), the implication is usually ‘future time’, as in 440a and 440b, or merely ‘time’ in the context of a narrative, as in 440c and 440d (cf. 4.11). In these constructions the overt TAM information is neutralised.

(440) a. Mē ui mai te tamāꞌine mua i tō’ou ingoa, e ‘akakite atu koe i te ingoa o tangata vi’vi’i rava atu tā tēia au tamāꞌine i kite.
COND ask DIR1 DET daughter first ACC your name TAM explain DIR2 2SG ACC DET name of the person ugly EMP DIR2 DET.REL this PL daughter TAM know

‘When the eldest daughter asks for your name; you tell her the name of the horribly ugliest person that girl knows.’ (Simiona, 1979:67)

b. Mē tae mai ra te tuātau paroro, kāre au e ‘ēkākō ana ē, ka pou
COND reach DIR1 POS3 DET time barren NEG 1SG TAM doubt PFV CONJ TAM consumed tātou i te mate.
1PLINC SAGNT the death

‘When winter arrives I have no doubt that by then, we will have all succumbed to death.’ (Simiona, 1979:46)

c. Mē ‘aere a Maru’aka’ita i-te tautai, ka nā te pae aia i te kāinga o Raru.
When go PERS Maru’aka’ira COMP fishing TAM by the side 3SG LOC the home of Raru

‘When(ever) Maru’aka’ita went fishing he went past Raru’s place.’ (Simiona, 1979:1)

d. Mē topa aia, ka taui aia i te tū o tōna pē’au.
When fall 3SG TAM change 3SG ACC the way of his wings

‘When(ever) he fell he rearranged the attachment of his wings.’
(Tanga et al., 1984:10)
However, example 441 demonstrates the if/when coalescence.

(441) Nō-reira, mē motu tēia tumu i te tīpū=‘ia, kua topa mai=‘ia te pā’ua mei
Therefore COND cut this main-muscle SAGNT the cut=PASS TAM fall DIR1=PASS the clam SOURCE
runga i te kāoa.
on LOC the coral

‘Therefore, once the other part is cut, the clam falls open.’ or ‘if the muscle is cut ...
” (Simiona, 1979:14)

10.3.3 Sequential events

There are two common strategies for expressing sequential events. The first is via simple chaining of clauses. The second marks the more conditional-like clause with kia.

10.3.3.1 Unmarked sequences of clauses

Sequential events may be expressed by the simple juxtaposition of verbal clauses. The TAM of the first event is often repeated, as in example 442a with the TAM marker ka, or in 442b with the TAM marker kua. This strategy is not always formally distinguishable from asyndetic conjunction or mere juxtaposition. However, the full subject is not expressed after its initial mention in either of these examples, which semantically ties the later clauses to the initial one.

(442) a. Mē kite a Raru ē ka ‘aere a Maru’aka’ita ka tautai, ka te’ate’amamao
COND know PERS Raru CONJ INCEP go PERS Maru’aka’ita INCEP fish INCEP prepare
aia i tēta’i au kai meneitaki ‘ei kai nā Maru’aka’ita i te moana
3SG ACC DET.I.S PL food very-good SUBR food for Maru’aka’ita LOC DET ocean

‘When Raru knew that Maru’aka’ita was going to go fishing, she prepared some really good food for Maru’aka’ita to eat at sea.’ (Simiona, 1979:1)

b. I reira, kua ‘aere a ‘Ātonga kua ‘akaoti i te tarai i te vaka o ngā
LOC there PFV go PERS ‘Ātonga PFV CAUSE-finished ACC DET adze ACC DET boat of DET
teina.
siblings

‘Thus ‘Ātonga went and finished adzing his brothers’ boat.’ (Simiona, 1979:26)

10.3.3.2 Sequential events with kia

Sequential events can be more explicitly marked, as in 443, which follows the pattern shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kia</th>
<th>Dependent clause</th>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>Main clause (ei)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


10.3. TIME CLAUSES

(443) **Kia aere atu a Māꞌine-pou-tai ki vaꞌo, kua kite atu Ø a Varokura i te au manu** 

\(\text{TAM go DIR2 PERS Māꞌine-pou-tai LOC outside TAM see DIR2 PERS Varokura ACC the PL animal}
\)

\(\text{tāʻae o te moana è kua mataku tikāi aia.}
\)

beast of the ocean CONJ TAM afraid very 3SG

‘When Māꞌine-pou-tai went outside Varokura had seen the ocean monster and he’d become very afraid.’

(Simiona, 1979:59)

The anaphoric particle **ei~ai** often occurs in the main clause but it is not obligatory. Example 443 does not contain **ei~ai**, but examples 444a and 444b both do. I do not know if it is ever obligatory, or what semantic difference it might convey.

(444) a. **Kia ’aka-aꞌia’i mai, ka ‘aere ei tātou.**

\(\text{TAM CAUSE-evening DIR1 TAM go ANA IPL INC}
\)

‘When it gets towards evening, we’ll go.’ (Buse et al., 1995:15: ’akaaꞌia’i)

b. **Kua ‘ikuꞌiku mai ra aia ki a Kuru-mou-anaki, auraka aia e tatara, kia tae tika ki runga i te ’enua ka tata ra ai.**

\(\text{TAM when summon DIR1 POS3 3SG X?ID? PERS Kuru-mou-anaki, NEG.IMP 3SG TAM loosen}
\)

\(\text{TAM when reach straight GOAL on LOC the land TAM loosen ANA}
\)

‘ He instructed Kuru-mou-anaki not to open it until he (Kuru-mou-anaki) reached the islands, and then open it.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:11)

Sequential events are also often linked by a conjunction such as **ē** or conjunction phrase such as **e oti**, as was seen in section 9.3.7.

10.3.4 Simultaneous events

Simultaneous events can be expressed by using a gerund phrase to indicate a time, as in 445. This type of construction is structurally identical to the simple time gerund of section 10.3.1.

(445) **Kua mingimangi te naero [i tōna tukitukiꞌanga].**

\(\text{TAM bend the nail LOC his bang-ɪŋ}
\)

‘He bent the nails while (he was) driving them in’ (Buse et al., 1995:522: tukituki)

There is also a more explicit strategy that fronts, and thus focuses the subject of simultaneous action. This type of construction (shown in 446) has the form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DET</th>
<th>AGENT</th>
<th>CLAUSE 1</th>
<th>CLAUSE 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Bauer (1997:592), in reference to NZM, says of this construction,
I think it most likely that the introductory i is the locational preposition i, and that the remainder is a clause functioning as the complement of that preposition. The Subject of that clause ... is obligatorily raised to become the overt complement of the preposition (and requires the personal article, as normal when a pronoun follows a locative preposition).

This analysis seems to hold for CIM.

The most common determiner in this construction is the personal article a, as in 446a and 446c, but other determiners are possible as in 446b with te. In examples 446a and 446b, the DET phrase is sentence initial. This position is more common, although the simultaneous phrase can also occur in final position, as in example 446c. The original position of the fronted subject (underlined) is marked by Ø in these examples.

(446)

a. I-a aia e rave ra Ø i tēia ‘anga’anga, kua pāpū meitaki i aia ē, ‘e tangata tēta’i e kanga nei i aia.

‘While he was doing this work he became sure that there was somebody messing with him.’ (Simiona, 1979:63)

b. I-te tangata e tāmataora ra Ø kua ‘are i ‘toro mārie mai aia ki roto i te house COMP steal ACC DET food left over

‘While the people where celebrating he crept stealthily into the house to steal the leftover food.’ Jean Tekura Mason March 31 2017

c. Nō tei mataku a Varokura, kua pe’e a Mā’ine-pou-tai kia mútēki ‘ua tēia au Because LOC afraid PERS Varokura TAM chant PERS Mā’ine-pou-tai COMP quiet X this PL manu ē te ika I-a rūa e nō’o ra Ø i reira.

‘Because Varokura was afraid Mā’ine-pou-tai chanted so that these birds and fish would be quiet while they were sitting there.’ (Simiona, 1979:58)

There is one further construction that is used for simultaneous events but it is very rare in contemporary CIM. This uses a specifically ‘simultaneous’ TAM particle koi. This TAM particle can be reconstructed to proto Oceanic (Greenhill and Clark, 2011). Examples with this TAM are shown in 447.
10.4 Comitative clauses

Comitative clauses are a type of adverbial that can be substituted by a single grammatical phrase. The preposition ma marks comitative case and can introduce an adjunct NP, as in (448), or a comitative adverbial clause, as in (449). Ma is frequently collocated with verbs of motion.

(448) Kua ʻaere atu ra a Renga-ariki ma te vaʻine ki te kāinga.
  TAM go DIR2 POS3 PERS Renga-ariki COM the woman LOC the home

‘Renga-ariki went home with the woman.’ (Taraʻare, 2000:79)

The adverbial phrase introduced by ma can indicate comitative or near simultaneous action, as in (449a) and (449b). It can also indicate more clearly sequential events, as it does in (449c).

(449) a. Kua ooa aia ma te rere ki runga i te puta-ʻanga te māmāringa i te
  TAM shout 3SG COM DET jump LOC above LOC the puncture-NR the parrotfish SAGIT DET
  ʻāuri. iron-spear

  ‘He shouted and jumped up when the parrotfish was speared.’ (LIT: ‘punctured by the spear’) (Buse et al., 1995:219: māmāringa)
b. Kua ‘oake a Mana i te vaka ki a Tangapatoro ma te ‘akakite ki a Tangapatoro mana i acc canoe GOAL pers det explain GOAL pers Tauri kia āru ki ‘Enuamanu.
   Tauri opt follow GOAL ‘Enuamanu

‘Mana gave the canoe to Tangapatoro and told Tauri to follow to ‘Enuamanu (‘Atiu).’ (Tanga et al., 1984:31)

c. I reira, kua ‘oki viviki atu tēta’i i a rātou ma te ‘akakite atu ki a Tangapatoro ma te ‘akakite explain
   LOC pro.loc TAM return fast DIR1 det.i.s LOC pers 3PL COM det explain DIR2 GOAL pers Tauri
   Tauri

‘Then, some of them returned quickly and told Tenu.’ (Simiona, 1979:6)

10.5 Adverbial reason, purpose, and result clauses

As in most languages (Payne, 1997:318), purpose, reason and result clauses are formally similar, and often not formally distinguishable in CIM. Some types of purpose clauses were covered in section (10.2) in the discussion of i-te, kia and ‘ei complements. This section will cover adverbial purpose, reason, and result clauses. Formally, these adverbials cannot be substituted by a single grammatical phrase.

10.5.1 Reason

Unequivocality not withstanding, the phrase nō te (mea) marks clauses that are more reason-like than purpose-like. Nō te mea comprises the OCAT possessive preposition nō, and the NP te mea, ‘the thing’. Nō te (mea) is the equivalent of the English ‘because’. The form nō te mea acts as a conjunction, and can introduce any type of clause. In example 450 the reason clauses are nominal, in 451 they are verbal, and actor emphatic in 452. The clause marked by nō te mea can occur sentence initially (450a and 451a), or in any non-initial position (451b and 452).

(450) a. Nō-te-mea ko tā-rātou kai tēia e kai ana, kua riro rātou ‘ei aronga
   because SPEC their food pro.dem1 TAM eat habit TAM become 3PL comp group māro’iro’i tikāi.
   strong EMP

‘Because this was their food that they eat, they became a very strong people.’ (Simiona, 1979:83)

b. Kua kāpiki=la ē ko Oitiania Vaitata nō-te-mea, ‘e vaitata atu ki Atia
   TAM call=pass comp SPEC Oceania close because cls close DIR2 loc asia

‘It is called Near Oceania because it is closer to Asia.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:13)
10.5. ADVERBIAL REASON, PURPOSE, AND RESULT CLAUSES

(451) a. **Nō-te-mea** **kua** _pakari_ **alia,** _kua_ poroki **alia i tāna tamaiti kia ‘aere mai kia ‘ārāvei i_ because **Tam** _old_ **3SG Tam** _enjoin_ **3SG ACC his child OPT go DIR1 OPT meet ACC** _alia._

3SG

‘Because he was old, he enjoined his son to come to see him.’ (Buse et al., 1995:359: poroki)

b. **Kua** _Tam_ _taitaiā_ ma’ata _ma’ata_ **tōku** _my_ _papa_ _father_ **nō-te-mea** _because_ **kua** _Tam_ _‘inangaro_ **alia** _kia ‘aere au ki_ Rarotonga _ē ā muri ake ki_ Nu Tirenī._

**CONJ LOC.FUT after** **DIR3 GOAL New Zealand**

‘My father was very disappointed because he had wanted me to go to Rarotonga and after that to New Zealand.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:71)

(452) **Nārā** _kia_ _tae_ _atu_ _ra_ _alia ki te ngāi_ o _Moekiri_ _kua_ _kai tamaki mai ngā_ **CONTR TAM** _reach** **DIR2 POS3** _3SG GOAL DET place of Moekiri DET experience battle** **DIR1 DET.PAUCAL** _tiaki ko ia a_ Vāere _ē_ Tārū, _nō-te-mea_ **nā rāua i tiaki i tana au mea** _guardian SPEC 3SGX PERS Vāere CONJ Tārū because AE 3D TAM guard ACC his PL thing** _nei._ (Te Rei, 1917a:3)

POS1

‘But, when he came to where (the pig) Moe-kiri was kept, he met decided opposition from the two guardians—one named Vāere and one Tārū because it was them who kept constant guard over the pig and kava plant.’ (Te Rei, 1917a:12) LIT: ‘who guarded his things’

Example 453 shows a construction where the _nō te mea_ phrase has been reduced to just the bare preposition. It is clear that _nō_ is acting as a conjunction rather than a preposition, as it immediately precedes the verbal particle _tei-te_.

(453) **Nō** _tei_ _te mataku a_ Varokura, _kua pe’e a_ Mā’eine-pou-tai _kia_ mūtēkī _‘ua tēla_ **Because PROG.PRS DET afraid PERS Varokura TAM chant PERS Mā’eine-pou-tai COMP quiet** _X this au manu ē_ _te ika i-a rāua e no’o ra i reira:_ **PL bird and the fish while 3D TAM sit POS3 LOC there**

‘Because Varokura was afraid Mā’eine-pou-tai chanted so that these birds and fish would be quiet while they were sitting there.’ (Simiona, 1979:58)

10.5.1.1 Reason constructions other than ‘nō te mea’

The preposition _nō_ can introduce a phrase expressing reason. This construction takes the form _nō DET REASON_, (frequently _nō te REASON_), as in the examples in 454. Unlike _nō-te-mea_, which is a conjunction, these prepositional
phrases are clause internal. When this construction is used, if the nō phrase is sentence initial, as in 454a and 454b, then the anaphoric particle ei~ai occurs in the main clause. Conversely, when the nō phrase is non-sentence-initial, as in 454c, the anaphoric particle does not occur.

(454) a. Nō te matangi i kino ei te rākau.
   from DET wind TAM bad ANA DET tree
   'It is because of the wind that the plants have been damaged.' (Buse et al., 1995:272: nō)

b. Nō te taka 'aere i aia ma te pona kore, nō-reira i ōwai ai e te anu.
   from DET naked go LOC 3SG COM DET shirt NEG therefore TAM find=PASS ANA AGNT DET cold
   'He caught cold through going around half-naked without his shirt.' (Buse et al., 1995:421: taka3)

c. Kua manako rātou i-te kura i tētā'i tangata nō roto mai i te 'uānga
   TAM decide 3PL COMP order ACC DET.I.S person belong inside DIR1 LOC DET descendant
   of Puatara, ko ia ia Tapou, kia tā i a Moenau nō te kino i tana
   a Puatara, ko ia ia Tapou, kia tā i a Moenau nō te kino i tana
   of Puatara SPEC 3SGX DET Tapou DET kill ACC PL Moenu because DET bad LOC his
   'anga'anga ki runga i ngā 'iti-tangata e rua.
   work GOAL on LOC DET.PAUCAL People TAM two
   'They decided to instruct one of the people from the descendants of Puatara, namely, Tapou, to kill Moenau
   because of how bad what he did to these two people was.' (Purea, 2013:41)

This is also the pattern for questioning a reason, that is, asking 'why?'. This type of question takes the form:

[No te a'a v.p. VERB ei~ai]

In these constructions, the anaphoric particle occurs in the verb phrase linking it to the reason adverbial, as in 455.

(455) a. Nō-te-a'a i pērā ai?
   why TAM like-POS3 ANA
   'Why was it like that?' William Hakaoro 2015

b. Kia 'aere mai rāua kia 'ātoro ē, nō-te-a'a i kore ei e kā te a'i i
   TAM go DIR1 3D TAM investigate SUBJ.CONJ why TAM NEG ANA TAM burn DET fire LOC
   tō-rāua 'are ...
   their house
   'When they came to investigate why the fire was not burning in their house ...' (Tara'are, 2000:5)
10.5. ADVERBIAL REASON, PURPOSE, AND RESULT CLAUSES

10.5.1 Reason clauses

Reason clauses can either be introduced by the verbal particle **kia**, or the conjunction **nō reira**.

Reason clauses marked by **kia** are a type of complement clause that are formally quite similar to the complement clauses of purpose marked with **kia** (cf. section 10.2.3). More result-like **kia** clauses often consist of a verb phrase without any NPs, the notional subject having been equi-deleted with a NP in the main clause. This type of subject deletion is not common in purpose clauses with **kia**. However, the deletion of a given subject occurs freely in many contexts in CIM, and is not itself evidence for a formal distinction. These clauses with **kia** can cover the spectrum mere intention to actual achieved result and no clear formal distinction is possible between these senses.

c. **Nō-te-aꞌa koe i āpinaia 'ua ai?**
   why 2SG TAM worried MERELY ANA
   ‘What are you so worried about?’ (Buse et al., 1995:493: āpinaia1)

10.5.2 Purpose clauses

Three types of purpose clauses have already been discussed in the discussion of complement clauses: the **i-te** infinitive complement (10.2.1), the **kia** complement (10.2.3), and the **ei** complement (10.2.2). This section will cover adverbial purpose clauses.

The possessive preposition **nō** can mark a purpose adverbial clause, as in 456. There is no clear formal difference between a purpose and a reason clause marked by **nō te**. Purpose clauses with **nō** usually occur in the sentence final position, whereas the reason clauses with **nō** can freely occur in any position. However, this difference is not definitive, and the intended meaning must be disambiguated by context.

(456) a. **Kua ake'ate'amamao i ū-rāua āpinaia nō te 'aere atu ki-te karo pā'ua.**
   TAM prepare ACC their thing PURPOSE DET go DIR2 COMP look clam
   ‘(He) prepared their things for going out to inspect clams.’ (Simiona, 1979:38)

b. **Kua rua kaŋata nō te 'aere ki te 'ura ōkonei?**
   TAM able your road PURPOSE DET go GOAL DET dance later
   ‘Have you got transport to the dance tonight?’ (Buse et al., 1995:235: ōkonei)

c. **Kua kopi mai ngā metua ma te kōpū-tangata i te āpinaia nō te**
   TAM gather DIR1 DET PAUCAL parent with the family ACC the thing for the
   ‘akaipoipang a ū-rātu ngā tamariki
   wedding of their PAUCAL children
   ‘Parents and families got all the presents together for their children’s wedding.’ (Buse et al., 1995:191: kopi2)

10.5.3 Result clauses

Result clauses can either be introduced by the verbal particle **kia**, or the conjunction **nō reira**.

Result clauses marked by **kia** are a type of complement clause that are formally quite similar to the complement clauses of purpose marked with **kia** (cf. section 10.2.3). More result-like **kia** clauses often consist of a verb phrase without any NPs, the notional subject having been equi-deleted with a NP in the main clause. This type of subject deletion is not common in purpose clauses with **kia**. However, the deletion of a given subject occurs freely in many contexts in CIM, and is not itself evidence for a formal distinction. These clauses with **kia** can cover the spectrum mere intention to actual achieved result and no clear formal distinction is possible between these senses.
In 457a the deleted NP is the subject of the (passive) matrix clause, while in 457b and 457c and 457d the deleted NP is the object of the (active) matrix clause, indicating that the kia clause is modifying the object NP.

(457) a. E oti paraiapni=ꞌia te 'uāra'opuakanitu o kia paruparu rāi Ø.
   TAM finish fry=PASS the eggplant RESULT soft EMP Ø
   ‘Then fry the eggplant until it’s really soft.’

b. Kua pāpā a Tanga i te 'eke kia paruparu Ø è kua tunu Ø.
   TAM beat PERS Tanga ACC the octopus RESULT soft Ø CONJ TAM cook Ø
   ‘Tanga beat the octopus to soften it up and boiled it.’(Buse et al., 1995:314: pāpā1) LIT: ‘Tanga beat the octopus till it was soft and cooked it.’

c. Ka kō rātou i te au rua kia 'ō'ono Ø.
   TAM dig 3PL ACC DET PL hole RESULT deep Ø
   ‘They dig the holes until they’re deep.’ (Purea, 2013:20)

d. Kua toꞌu 'aka'ou aia i tētā'i amu, i-te 'akaketaketa-'anga i te rangi kia meitaki Ø, kia mou Ø.
   TAM intonate again 3SG ACC DET I.S chant COMP strengthen-NR ACC the heaven RESULT good Ø RESULT be-fast Ø
   ‘He then chanted that song so that heavens were secured properly and firmly in their place.’ (Pakoti, 1895:60)

The conjunction nō reira explicitly marks result clauses, as in 458. This phrase is loosely glossed as ‘therefore’, ‘thus’, or ‘so’, and comprises the possessive preposition nō, and the anaphoric locative pronoun reira. So, it is literally glossed as ‘belong that’.

(458) a. Tērā te mea i 'aka-pērā=ꞌia ai, nō-te-meat e 'oro'aro kino nō reira i DEM3 the thing TAM CAUSE=alike=PASS ANA because CLS messenger bad from that TAM 'aka-moupuku=ꞌia ai.
   CAUSE=spite=PASS ANA
   ‘That is the things that made it that way, because he was a bad messenger so he was begrudged.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006g)

b. Kua 'aere te vaꞌine a Vai-takere, a X ē te pae tuāꞌivi, e 'aka-mate atu; ko ia TAM go the woman o Vai-takere PERS X CONJ te side ridge TAM CAUSE-die DIR2 SPEC 3SG te iꞌi, nō reira i ngātata 'ua ana te ţi.'
   the chestnut by that TAM split MERELY PFV te chestnut
   ‘The wife of Vai-takere (name not given) went away to the far ridge to die; hence does the chestnut burst open.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:3)
There seems to be a semantic pattern suggesting a difference between the kia result clauses, and those marked by nō reira. The kia clauses tend to be more directly and concretely related to the events of the main clause. Results introduced by nō reira, on the other hand, tend to be more abstractly or less directly related to the main clause.

10.6 Conditionals

Clauses that refer to time, as distinct from clauses that are explicitly conditional are not always able to be disambiguated in CIM. This is not unusual. Indeed: “the distinction between English ‘when’ and ‘if’ clauses is simply one of degree of expectability, and is a distinction which many languages do not code” (Thompson et al., 2007:258).

Most types of conditionals in CIM mark the conditional, or if-clause, with the particle mē, as in 459. In verbal clauses mē usually precedes the verbal particle, in which case the meaning is explicitly conditional. However, it sometimes occurs in clauses with no overt verbal particle, which makes these clauses potentially indistinguishable from time referent clauses (cf. 440c). The conditional marker always precedes the initial marker in nominal clauses (460a). The most ambiguous context is where a verbal clause is introduced with mē, but without an overt verbal particle, as in 459.

(459) E ko’i ake koe i te kāka’u mē ua.
TAM collect DIR3 2SG ACC the clothes COND rain
‘Take in the clothes if (when) it rains.’ (Buse et al., 1995:52: ake1)

Thompson et al (2007:255), divide conditional constructions into two major semantic types: ‘real’, for conditionals that refer to ‘real’ present, ‘habitual/generic’, or past situations; and ‘unreal’ for hypothetical, or counterfactual conditionals. They also discuss ‘predictive conditionals’, which they say may be treated as real or unreal. In CIM all the ‘real’ conditional constructions are formally the same, as are hypothetical and predictive conditionals. It is only the counterfactual and the concessive which are formally distinguished.

In the following examples, conditional marker mē is in bold, and the conditional clause (or if-clause) is underlined. The examples in 460 show the various types of real conditionals under Thompson et al’s (2007:256) typology. These include real-present, real-past, and habitual. All of these are formally identical in CIM.

(460) a. Mē ’e puaka tō, nā Kaitanau. REAL-PRESENT
   COND CLS pig belong.ACAT Kaitanau
   ‘If it’s a pregnant sow, it’s Kaitanau’s.’ (Buse et al., 1995:502: tō7)

b. Tari-a mai te va’ie mē kua obi i te tapatapa’i. REAL-PAST
   convey-CIA DIR1 the firewood COND PFV finished SAGNT the chop
   ‘Bring in the kindling if it’s been chopped up.’ (Buse et al., 1995:447: tapatapa’i)
CHAPTER 10. COMPLEX SENTENCES WITH DEPENDENT CLAUSES

c. Kāre e tūtae ‘āuri mē i ma’anii=ia ki te kapa. REAL-HABITUAL
NEG TAM excrement iron COND TAM make=PASS INS the copper

'It won’t rust if it’s made of copper.' (Buse et al., 1995:150: kapa3)

Thompson et al (2007:255) identify a type of conditional they call ‘predictive’. They contend that these conditionals may be either real or unreal. In CIM, predictive conditionals pattern in the same way as the real conditionals (and as the the unreal-imaginative-hypothetical conditionals), as in 461. Both the examples here have a verbal conditional clause with no overt verbal particle and, as such, are formally more reminiscent of the time adverbials with mē (cf. section 10.3.2). Semantically however, they are predictive conditionals.

(461) a. Mē Ø mate tātou, kua mate! Mē Ø ora, kua ora!
COND Ø dead 1PLINC TAM dead COND Ø live TAM live
‘If we die we die if we live we live.’ (Simiona, 1979:45)
b. Mē Ø ruri kē tā’au tuatua, ka tīri-a koe ki roto i te ‘āuri.
COND Ø shift CONTR your story TAM throw-CIA 2SG GOAL inside LOC DET house jail
‘If you alter your story, you’ll be sent to gaol.’ (Buse et al., 1995:406: ruri)

In CIM, an overt distinction is made between Thompson et al’s (2007:256) two types of unreal conditionals, the hypothetical, and the counter-factual. Like the previous types of conditionals, unreal-imaginative-hypothetical conditionals are marked by mē, as in 462.

(462) a. Mē Ø va’ava’a koe ki a rātou, ka rekareka rātou ki a koe.
COND Ø chat 2SG IO PERS 3PL TAM like 3PL IO PERS 2SG
‘They would be delighted if you were to have a chat with them.’ (Buse et al., 1995:551: va’ava’a) LIT: ‘They would be delighted with you if you were to have a chat with them.’
b. Ka tano ‘ua mē ka ‘akatīroaroa mai kōtou ki kōnei.
TAM right MERELY COND TAM lay-lengthwise DIR1 2PL GOAL here
‘It would be alright if you were to lay them length-wise towards here.’ (Buse et al., 1995:46: ‘akatīroaroa)

10.6.1 Counterfactual

Counterfactual conditionals referring to matters that did not happen (e.g. 463a and 463b), or to matters that could not happen (e.g. 463c), are explicitly marked in CIM by the form nāringa. Nāringa is a conjunction, and can precede any kind of clause. In 463 the if-clauses are nominal, and in 464 they are verbal.
(463) a. **Nāringa** koe i kō i te pō tāmataora kua kite atu koe i a Wahoo Tane.

"If you had been at the Island Night, you would have seen Mr Wahoo." Ma’ara Maeva, December 11 2014

b. **Tē** TAM tārērē tētaꞌi DET.I.S nō te kopekope, ka puꞌi-a āina aia e tēia tangata pākiri teatea?

"Asking this question: Would he have been killed by a white person if he had been white." (Tongaia, 2011)

c. **Nāringa**‘e tārērē tētaꞌi nō te kopekope, ka peke te metera auro ki te Peritane nō tā-rātou kopeꞌanga i te ‘aka-pouꞌanga moni o te tārērē Britain for their grumble-NR ACC DET CAUSE-consumed-NR money of the competition Olimpia.

"Were grumbling ever to become an Olympic sport, the United Kingdom has to be a sure fire bet for gold because of their complaints about the cost of the Olympics." (Tongaia, 2011)

In 464a the subject of the conditional clause has been raised to immediately follow the conjunction phrase (cf. section 6.9.2). Although 464b looks from Buse’s translation like it might be real-present or real-habitual, the use of **nāringa** indicates that this is a counter factual conditional, i.e. ‘it’ must have already come loose.

(464) a. **Nāringa rāi** mātou i tāmāramarama meitakiꞌia mai na, kāre ‘e tārevakē e tupu.

‘Had things been explained properly to us, no errors would have arisen.’ (Buse et al., 1995:434: tāmāramarama)

b. **Nāringa** i mako te tākaiꞌanga, kāre rāi e matara.

‘It won’t come loose if it’s bound around properly.’ (Buse et al., 1995:422: tākai) Lit: ‘It wouldn’t have come loose if it had been bound around properly.’

### 10.6.2 Concessive constructions

Concessive clauses are morphologically marked by **noa atu** (post-posed particle) (ē), which comprises **noa atu** (‘freely DIR2’), and optionally - one or more postposed modifiers (cf. section 4.8), followed optionally by the subordinating conjunction ē. This form expresses the senses ‘even though’ or ‘even if’. **Noa atu** is glossed by Buse
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(1995:272) as: “no matter (that), not-with-standing, even though, in spite of”. Following Buse, I designate this form, and its variants, the ‘concessive conjunction phrase’.

Concessive conditionals proper, expressing ‘even if’, are marked by the concessive conjunction phrase, as in 465. In concessive conditionals the phrase takes the form noa atu (ē). However, this particular variant of the concessive conjunction is not definitive for a concessive conditional expressing ‘even if’. Concessive constructions expressing ‘even though’ (471b) also use this particular form, and the semantic difference between these two concepts is quite slim.

(465) a. Noa-atu ē ka ua ka pikiniki tātou.
   CONC CONJ TAM rain TAM picknick 1PLINC
   ‘Even if it rains, we’ll have our picnic.’ Maꞌara Maeva, December 11 2014
b. Noa-atu a Pā kia noꞌo, ka ‘autū rāi mātou.
   CONC PERS Pā TAM stay TAM win EMP 1PLEX
   ‘It makes no difference if Pā is out (of the team), we’ll still win.’ (Buse et al., 1995:272: noꞌo)

The concessive conjunction phrase can introduce any type of clause producing a concessive construction. The concessive clauses in 466 are verbal.

(466) a. Noa-atu ōki ē kua tae vave tātou e ngari ake e kimi vave tātou i tō-tātou noꞌoꞌanga.
   CONC EMP CONJ TAM reach early 1PLINC TAM better DIR3 TAM search early 1PLINC ACC
   our seat
   ‘Even though we’re early we’d better find our seats.’ Maꞌara Maeva, December 11 2014
b. Inārā, kāre ōki ‘e meitaki i te ‘akatu’era i te tāmaru o Māmā-Rūꞌau noa-atu
   But NEG EMP CLS good SAGINT the open ACC the umbrella of Grandmother CONC
   ōki ē ka mārū māua.
   EMP CONJ TAM wet 1DEX
   ‘But, it was not proper to open Grandmother’s umbrella even though we would get wet,’ (Scheel and Künzle, 1995:5)

The concessive clauses in 467 are nominal.

   CONC EXIST piece sick MERELY DET.POSS 3DEX go 3DEX
   ‘We went, even though we were a little ill.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012a:00:37:59-00:37:02)
https://goo.gl/neCUKd
b. Kua kite au i tōna tū tika, te māroꞌiroꞌi ē te matakukore i te au tū

TAM see 1SG ACC her stand straight DET strength CONJ DET fear-NEG SAGHT DET PL stands
timataꞌanga te-ka nā mua mai i aia, noa-atuꞌoki-ē. e vaꞌine 'ua aia,
challenge-NR REL-FUT LOC.TRANS front DIR1 LOC 3SG CONC CLS woman MERELY 3SG
i rotopū i te au tāne.
LOC middle LOC DET PL man

'I saw her straight-forwardness, strength and fearlessness at the challenges that will come ahead of her
despite that fact the she is a woman amongst the men.' (Tuatua Mai, 2014e)

In example 468, the concessive conjunction introduces a bare NP.

(468) Noa-atu 'oki te ua, ka 'aere rāi māua, ka 'apai 'oki māua i te tāmaru 'ōu o
CONC EMP the rain TAM go EMP 1DEX TAM carry EMP 1DEX ACC the umbrella new of
Mama-Rūꞌau.

Grandmother

'Despite the rain, we went and got Grandmother’s new umbrella.' (Scheel and Künzle, 1995:2)

In 469, the concessive conjunction refers to the previous (actor emphatic) clause, and includes the adversative rā
(cf. section 9.5.1). There is a semantic connection between concessive constructions and adversative conjunctions.
This is another example of the way that the difference between coordination and subordination can be difficult to
discern.

(469) ! Niu Tireni nei, nā te Kavamani te tauturu i te reira tū tangata, mei
LOC New Zealand POS1 AE DET government DET help ACC DET PRO.LOC.ANA type people ALIKE
te moni ruaꞌine, moni 'anaꞌanga-kore, moni takaꞌua, ē te vai atu ra Noa-atu-rāi
DET money elderly money work-NEG money widow CONJ DET exist DIR1 POS3 CONC
rā, ko te rāꞌi-nga o te Papaꞌā, kua 'irinaki rātou ē, kāre 'ua atu tētāꞌi kē
CONTR SPEC DET large-NR of DET Pākehā TAM believe 3PL SUBR NEG MERELY DIR2 PRO.1.S CONTR
e tauturu mai i a koe, māri ra, nāꞌau rāi.
TAM help DIR1 ACC PERS 2SG except POS1 AE-2SG REFLEX

'Here in New Zealand the government support those kinds of people, such as pensions, unemployment bene-
fits, widow’s benefits and so on. Nevertheless most Pākehā believe that no other person should support you
except for yourself.’ (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:4)

Example 470a shows an indefinite verbal concessive clause in the sense of Thompson et al (2007:262). CIM does
not formally distinguish between definite and indefinite concessive clauses.
a. Ka 'aere aia ka 'āravei i tōna Mema Paramani mē kāre i tona 
TAM go 3SG TAM meet ACC DET.POSS-3SG member parliament COND NEG ACC DET.POSS-3SG 
member council village CONC EMP NEG 3SG TAM vote PFV ACC PERS 3D

'They-SG go to see their Member of Parliament or their city councillor, no matter if they-SG didn’t vote for 
them.' (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:6)

b. 'E ma'ata 'oki te au tangata Polinesia e 'aere nei ki tēia au tangata, noa-atu 'e 
EXIST many EMP the PL person Polynesia TAM go POS1 GOAL this PL person CONC CLS 
a'a tō-rātou manamanatā.

INT their problem

'Very many Polynesian people go to these people no matter what their problems are.' (Polynesian Advisory 
Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:8)

Example 471a shows a negative verbal concessive clause, while 471b shows a negative nominal concessive clause.
Negative conditionals do not differ from the usual pattern for negative constructions.

(471) a. Noa-atu rāi è kāre e rauka i a Mana i-te tuatua mai ki a tātou, ka 
CONC EMP CONJ NEG TAM able SAGNT PERS Mana COMP speak DIR1 IG PERS 1PLINC TAM 
rauka i a tātou i-te kimi i te tū o tōna ora'anga 
able SAGNT PERS 1PLINC COMP seek ACC the way of his life

'Event though Mana wasn’t able to speak to us, we are able to seek for his way of living.' (Salesa and 
Nikora, 2004:4)

b. Te au Paniora, noa-atu è kāre rātou i te Varani, reka ra 'oki rātou te no'o 
the PL Spanish CONC CONJ NEG 3PL LOC DET France like PDS3 EMP 3PL the stay 
amongst te Varani.
amongst the French

'As for the Spanish (in this case the Rapanui) even though they aren’t French, they like living amongst the 
French you know.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:40:01-00:40:07) 
https://goo.gl/nECUKd

10.6.3 Negative conditional

Negative conditionals consist of the standard conditional marker mē in combination with the negator kāre, as in 472.

(472) Mē kāre e ua ka rave tā-tātou pikiniki. 
COND NEG TAM rain TAM do our picknick

'Unless it rains, we’ll have our picnic.’ Ma'ara Maeva, December 11 2014
10.6.4 Summary of conditional constructions

The conditional particle mē marks all types of conditional clauses, except counterfactuals, which are marked by nāringa, and concessive conditionals, which are marked by noa atu. When the conditional clause is nominal the particle mē precedes the initial nominal particle, but when the concessive clause is verbal the particle usually ‘replaces’ the verbal particle.

10.7 Relative clause formation

Under Andrews’ definition, “A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC.” (Andrews, 2007b:206). Also following Andrews (2007b), I will use the following terms in this discussion of relative clauses:

- **NP<sub>MAT</sub>** is the noun phrase in the matrix clause that is further defined by the relative clause.
- **S<sub>REL</sub>** is the relative clause itself.
- **NP<sub>REL</sub>** is the noun phrase in S<sub>REL</sub> that is coreferential to NP<sub>MAT</sub>

10.7.1 Basic typology of relative clauses in CIM

Relative clauses in CIM are post nominal, that is, the S<sub>REL</sub> follows the NP<sub>MAT</sub>. Some, but not all, types of relative clauses are introduced by a relativiser, which takes the form of a t-class determiner (sections 10.7.2 and 10.7.4). There is one type of relative clause that involves a type of relative pronoun (section 10.7.7). Relative clauses are usually externally headed (i.e. the NP<sub>MAT</sub> does not occur in the S<sub>REL</sub>), but there are also headless relative clauses (Payne, 1997:336). The range of verbal particles available in the S<sub>REL</sub> is reduced from those of verbal main clauses to i for past, and e or ka for non past, as is typical for dependent clauses in CIM.

In the following sections I will outline the various types of relativisation strategies with reference to how they apply to particular elements on the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy (NPAH) (Keenan and Comrie, 1977).

10.7.2 TE-Strategy: NP<sub>REL</sub> is the subject of S<sub>REL</sub>

Where the NP<sub>REL</sub> is the subject of S<sub>REL</sub>, the S<sub>REL</sub> is marked by a “relativising particle”.

The particles are tei for past tense and te-ka for future. The form tei is bi-morphemic comprising the determiner te, and the past tense TAM i. The future variant comprises te and the inceptive TAM article ka. I will henceforth refer to this type of relative clause formation strategy as the TE-Strategy.

Example 473 shows an equative nominal matrix sentence with an S<sub>REL</sub> that is an active (type I) clause where the NP<sub>REL</sub> is the semantic agent. The NP<sub>REL</sub> is deleted in the S<sub>REL</sub>. Example 473b shows the main clause as it would occur without the relative clause. Example 473c shows the notional clause that is embedded as the S<sub>REL</sub> in 473a.

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1 Constructions which do not delimit the referent of the NP, such as the so-called nonrestrictive relative clauses, are not generally considered to be relative clauses proper (2007b:207).
(473) a. Ko Temu [te tangata]\textsubscript{NP-MAT} [te-i pāpā \textsubscript{NP-REL} i te tamāroa.]\textsubscript{S-REL}.

   SPEC Temu the person REL=PST hit Ø ACC the boy.

   ‘Temu was the person who hit the boy.’

b. Ko Temu te tangata.

   ‘Temu is the person.’

c. Kua pāpā te tangata i te tamāroa.

   ‘The person hit the boy.’

Example 474 is the future-tense equivalent of 473, with the underlying sentences shown in 474b and 474c.

(474) a. Ko Temu [te tangata]\textsubscript{NP-MAT} [te-ka pāpā \textsubscript{NP-REL} i te tamāroa.]\textsubscript{S-REL}.

   SPEC Temu the person REL=NOPST hit Ø ACC the boy.

   ‘Temu is the person who will hit the boy.’

b. Ko Temu te tangata.

   ‘Temu is the person.’

c. Ka pāpā te tangata i te tamāroa.

   ‘The person will hit the boy.’

Only NP\textsubscript{REL}s that are grammatical subjects of the S\textsubscript{REL} are accessible for relativisation via the TE-Strategy. However, due to the large number of predicate types, both nominal and verbal, many NPs can occur in the subject position of a certain clause type, thus becoming viable for relativisation via the TE-Strategy.

Example 475 shows an active transitive matrix clause where the NP\textsubscript{REL} is the semantic patient. As the NP\textsubscript{REL} is the grammatical subject of the passive (type III) S\textsubscript{REL}, it is available for relativisation via the TE-strategy.

(475) a. Tē ‘akamārama katoa atu nei mātou i te ingoa o te au rākau i runga i [te TAM explain TAM all POS2 PLEX ACC DET name of DET PL wood LOC above LOC DET ‘are]\textsubscript{NP-MAT} [tei ‘akatū=’ia \textsubscript{NP-REL} ki Akatokamanava]\textsubscript{S-REL}.

   house REL=PST build=PASS Ø LOC Akatokamanava

   ‘We are explaining the names of the posts on the houses which were built in Akatokamanava’ (Purea, 2013)

b. Tē ‘akamārama katoa atu nei mātou i te ingoa o te au rākau i runga i te ‘are.

   ‘We are explaining the names of the posts on the houses.’

c. I ‘akatū’ia te ‘are ki Akatokamanava.

   ‘The houses were built on Akatokamanava’
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Example 476a shows a classifying matrix sentence with an action intransitive S_REL.8

(476) a. ‘E kāoa [te reira (ʻenua)]_NP-MAT [te-i tupu mai ōi_raro i te taʻua o te CLS coral the that land REL grow DIR1 Ø SOURCE under LOC the floor of the moana ki runga ake i te kiri-ā-tai]_S_REL.

ocean GOAL above DIR3 LOC the surface

‘Those (islands) that have grown up from the floor of the ocean to the surface are coral.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:8)

b. ‘E kāoa te reira ʻenua.

‘That island is coral.’

c. I tupu mai te reira ʻenua mei raro i te moana ki runga ake i te kiri-ā-tai

‘That island (or that coral)9 grew up from the floor of the ocean to the surface.’

Example 477 shows an equative-ko matrix sentence where the S_REL is stative. This is a headless relative clause.

(477) Ko ia ‘ua [Ø]_NP-MAT [tei ora ōi_roto i te pūnanga]_S_REL.

SPEC 3SG MERELY Ø REL.PST live Ø LOC inside LOC DET fort

‘He was the only one in the fort who survived.’ (Buse et al., 1995:289: ora1)

10.7.3 Zero juxtaposition strategy

There is a second strategy that targets subject NP_RELs, which will be referred to as the zero juxtaposition strategy. In this strategy the S_REL is simply juxtaposed to the NP_MAT with no additional marking. This is strategy that is usually used when the S_REL is a locative nominal clause, as in 478.

(478) a. Kua kai au i tērā_NP-MAT [i raro ōi_tumu-rākau]_S_REL

TAM eat 1SG ACC PRD.DEM3 LOC under Ø LOC DET tree

‘I ate the one that was under the tree.’

b. ‘E naʻo pāpati tērā_NP-MAT [i muri ōi_paʻi]_S_REL

CLS shoal porpoise PRD.DEM3 LOC behind Ø LOC DET ship

‘There is a school of porpoises behind the boat.’ (Buse et al., 1995:316: pāpati) LIT ‘Those (things) behind the boat are porpoises.’

8Where the matrix clause is nominal, it can sometimes be difficult to tell whether the S_REL is modifying the matrix predicate or the matrix subject. I have marked the subject NP as the NP_MAT in this thesis, but this is an issue that warrants further investigation.

9Due to the semantics of the construction in 476a, where the subject and the predicate have the same referent, it is not clear if the NP_MAT is the subject NP, as it is marked in 476a, or in fact the predicate NP (ʻe kāoa). However this question is not important for the matter under discussion.
The zero juxtaposition strategy is also available for some types of verbal S\textsubscript{REL}s. Where the S\textsubscript{REL} is an active (type I), or an action intransitive, the zero juxtaposition strategy is employed when the TAM of the S\textsubscript{REL} is not i, kua, or ka. This is shown in (479), where the TAM of the S\textsubscript{REL} is e.

(479) Ko ‘ai [tērā tamaiti]\textsubscript{NP-MAT} [e piki tautau ra \textsubscript{NP-REL} ki runga i te ‘ātava o SPEC who that child NONPST cling hanging-down POS3 \textsubscript{LOC} above \textsubscript{LOC} the branch of te kuru]\textsubscript{S-REL} the bread-fruit

‘Who is that boy dangling from the branch of the breadfruit tree?’ (Buse et al., 1995:342: piki1)

However, when the S\textsubscript{REL} is a passive, as in example (480), the zero juxtaposition strategy is available for all TAMs.

(480) Kua maa [te taro]\textsubscript{NP-MAT} [i kai-nga \textsubscript{NP-REL} e te kuri]\textsubscript{S-REL}.

TAM cooked the taro PST eat-CIA \textsubscript{AGNT} the dog

‘The taro that the dog ate was cooked.’

### 10.7.4 TĀ-Strategy or possessive relative clause

The TĀ-strategy has been called the ‘possessive relative construction’ by Polynesianists (Clark, 1976; Bauer, 2012), and is the preferred strategy for non-subject NP\textsubscript{REL}s. This strategy employs a possessive construction that specifies the agent of the S\textsubscript{REL} (henceforth POSS-REL). The relative clause is introduced by the POSS-REL. Within the possessive construction, the agent is the possessor and the possessum is the NP\textsubscript{MAT}. The possessive construction is always ACAT in keeping with the ‘initiation’ rule (cf. section 11.2). The verb phrase of the S\textsubscript{REL} follows the POSS-REL and the NP\textsubscript{REL} is omitted, as is the agent. The POSS-REL element can either be a two-phrase possessive construction, as in (481a), or an incorporated possessive, as in (481b) (cf. section 11.4). The two sentences in (481) are judged to be synonymous by native speakers, but the variant with the incorporated possessor is much more common, both in the Vairanga Tuatua, and when this type of relative clause is elicited. The anaphoric particle ei~ai is optional in this example. The behaviour of the anaphoric particle is discussed further in section 10.7.4.1.

(481) a. Kua kite au i [te imene]\textsubscript{NP-MAT} [a Tara]\textsubscript{POSS-REL} li imene (ei)\textsubscript{NP-REL}\textsubscript{S-REL}

TAM know ISG ACC DET song POSS.ACAT Tara TAM sing ANA

‘I know the song that Tara sang.’

b. Kua kite au i [te imene]\textsubscript{NP-MAT} [tā Tara]\textsubscript{POSS-REL} li imene (ei)\textsubscript{NP-REL}\textsubscript{S-REL}

TAM know ISG ACC DET song DET.POSS.ACAT Tara TAM sing ANA

‘I know the song that Tara sang.’

The TĀ-strategy is most commonly employed to target the direct object or patient NP, as in 482 and 483.
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(482) a. Ka piri atu te testimony, nuti ʻou a te minitiri, ē te au ʻanga'anga]NP-MAT [a TAM affix DIR2 DET testimony news new of DET ministry CONJ DET PL. work of.ACAT
te pakipakitaï]POSS.REL [e rave nei. Õ]S-REL
DET disabled TAM do POSS1 Ø

ʻInclude a testimony, ministry update, and any work being carried out by a disabled person.’ (Lu’i Ola, 2012b:30)

Ngata-ariki-i-tuārangi DET son of.ACAT DET god TAM birth Ø

ʻNgata-ariki-i-tuārangi. the son that the god birthed!’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:18)

CLS what ÕNP-MAT DET.REL.POSS.ACAT-3SG TAM do Ø

ʻWhat did they do?’ (Tanga et al., 1984:31)

b. ʻE tāpe’a taimana ÕNP-MAT [tāna]POSS.REL [e ʻaʻao ra. Õ]S-REL
CLS ring diamond Ø DET.REL.POSS.ACAT-3SG TAM wear POS3 Ø

ʻShe was wearing a diamond ring.’ (Buse et al., 1995:418: taimana)

The TĀ-strategy is also available for relativising on some oblique NPs, as shown in the examples in 484. In 484a, the NP_rel is an instrument NP, while in 484b and 484c, the NP_rel is the notional indirect object of a three-participant verb.

(484)

a. E rua paunu ÕNP-MAT tāna[POSS.REL [i tūtaki mai ei]NP-REL]S-REL
TAM two pound Ø DET.REL.POSS.ACAT-3SG TAM pay DIR1 ANA

ʻHe paid me a first instalment of two pounds.’ (Buse et al., 1995:531: tūtaki) LIT: ‘What he paid me with was two pounds.’

b. Ko Mere ÕNP-MAT tāna[POSS.REL [i tuku e]NP-REL i te kura]S-REL
SPEC Mere Ø DET.POSS.ACAT-3SG TAM send ANA ACC DET message

ʻIt was Mere that she sent a message to.’ Jean Tekura Mason, November 27 2014

c. Ko te puakaoa ÕNP-MAT tāku[POSS.REL [e imene atu ana]S-REL ko ia tē avaava
SPEC DET dog Ø DET.POSS.ACAT-1SG TAM sing DIR2 PERS SPEC 3SGX TAM bark ara.

POS3

ʻThe dog that I am singing for is barking.’ Dan Munroe, November 19 2014
10.7.4.1 TĀ-strategy with the anaphoric positional

The particle ei (past tense,) or the positional particle nei, or the postposed verbal particle ana (non-past tense), frequently occur in the verb phrase of TĀ-strategy constructions. When the NP_rel is not the direct object, there is almost always such a positional in the verb phrase, as in all the examples in 484. These positionals are anaphoric, and are required to mark the deleted NP when the NP_rel is lower on the NPAH than a direct object.

In constructions where the NP_rel is the direct object, which is by far the most common target NP in TĀ-strategy relative clauses, the anaphoric particle is not required by any speaker (485a). In fact, versions with the positional are sometimes rejected by native speakers when NP_rel is the direct object (485b). However most speakers accept either variant, and some speakers consider the variant with the positional to be "more formal".

(485) a. Kua maoa [te taro]_NP-MAT [tā te kuri]_POSS-REL li kai. Ø_NP-REL _S-REL
TAM cooked TAM taro DET.POSS.ACAT DET dog TAM eat Ø
'The taro the dog ate was cooked.'

b. ?Kua maoa [te taro]_NP-MAT [tā te kuri]_POSS-REL li kai ei._NP-REL _S-REL
TAM cooked TAM taro DET.POSS.ACAT DET dog TAM eat ANA
'The taro the dog ate was cooked.'

10.7.4.2 NĀ-strategy

The nā-strategy, which has an actor emphatic construction in the S_rel, is only acceptable to some speakers as was discussed in section 7.10.1. For speakers who accept this construction, this strategy is available for relativising on the direct object, as in 486.

(486) a. %E reka ana au i [te au imene]_NP-MAT [nā Apiti Nicholas Ø_NP-REL i 'atu.]_S-REL
TAM like HABIT ISG ACC DET PL song AE Apiti Nicholas Ø TAM compose
'I like the songs that Apiti Nicholas wrote.'

b. %ꞌE taro [te mea]_NP-MAT [nā tātou Ø_NP-REL i kai.]_S-REL
CLS taro DET food AE 1PLINC Ø TAM eat
'The food we ate was taro'

10.7.5 Zero + POSITIONAL Strategy

There is a variation on the zero juxtaposition strategy that is available for some non-subject NP_rel. In these constructions the anaphoric positional ai~ei (cf. section 10.7.4.1) occurs in the S_rel. In 487a the NP_rel is a trans-locative phrase. In 487b it is a locative of time, and in 487c it is a stative-agent phrase.

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10As these particles all occur in the positional slot in the verb phrase I will refer to them collectively as positionals for expediency.
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   SPEC DET harbour TAM leave ANA 3SG LOC PERS Ma'uke Ø SPEC Poritukava
   ‘The harbour by which he left Ma’uke was Poritukava.’ (Purea, 2013:26)

b. Ko te rā [i]NP-MAT [i mate ei taua tangata ra ØNP-REL]S-REL.
   SPEC DET day 3SGX TAM dead ANA DET ANA person POS3 Ø
   ‘That was the day this person died.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006c)

c. Ko [te vairākau]NP-MAT tēnā [i ora ai tōku mare. ØNP-REL]
   SPEC DET medicine PRO.DEM2 TAM live ANA my cough Ø
   ‘That’s the medicine which cured my cough.’ (Buse et al., 1995:289: oral)

This strategy is also available to some speakers for an NP that is a direct object, as in 488. However this construction is rejected or judged as questionable by many native speakers.

(488) a. '%E taro te mea i kai ei tātou
   CLS taro DET thing TAM eat ANA 1PLINC
   ‘The food that we ate was taro.’

b. '%E reka ana au i te au imene i 'atu ei a Apiti Nicholas.
   TAM like HABIT 1SG ACC DET PL song TAM compose ANA PERS Apiti Nicholas
   ‘I like the songs that Apiti Nicholas wrote.’

This strategy is also available for an NP that is the subject of a stative clause, as in 489. The subject of a stative clause is treated differently from all other subjects in relativisation, since the anaphoric positional is not possible with any other type of subject NP.

(489) a. Tērā [te mea]NP-MAT [i maa eiØNP-REL]S-REL
   PRO.DEM3 DET thing TAM cooked ANA
   ‘That is the thing that was cooked.’ (Gill, 1911b:199)

10.7.6 A summary of strategies for the DO or patient NP

The direct object of an active (type I) clause cannot be relativised on using the TE-strategy (490a), or the zero juxtaposition strategy (490b). The most common strategy for relativising on the direct object NP is the TĀ-strategy (490c).

A second productive strategy is to ‘promote’ the direct object to the subject of a passive clause, and then apply the TE-strategy (490d), or zero juxtaposition strategy (490e). There are two further strategies that are only acceptable to some speakers, they are the nā-strategy (490f) and the Ø + POSITIONAL strategy (490g).
   SPEC the girl REL.PST see 1SG Ø TAM speak
   Intended: 'The girl who I saw will speak.'

   SPEC the girl TAM see 1SG Ø TAM speak
   Intended: 'The girl who I saw will speak.'

c. Ko [te tama'ine]SPEC [tāku i kite (ei)]SPEC ka araara.
   SPEC the girl POSS.REL TAM see (ANA) TAM speak
   ‘The girl that I saw will speak.’

d. Ko [te tama'ine]SPEC [tei kitea 0NP-REL e au]SPEC ka araara
   SPEC the girl REL.PST see-CIA Ø AGNT 1SG TAM speak
   ‘The girl that I saw will speak.’

e. Ko [te tama'ine]SPEC [i kite-a 0NP-REL e au]SPEC ka araara
   SPEC the girl TAM see-CIA Ø AGNT 1SG TAM speak
   ‘The girl that I saw will speak.’

f. %Ko [te tama'ine]SPEC [nāku 0NP-REL i kite]SPEC ka araara.
   SPEC the girl AE-1SG Ø TAM see TAM speak
   ‘The girl that I saw will speak.’

g. %Ko [te tama'ine]SPEC [i kite eiNP-REL au]SPEC ka araara.
   SPEC the girl TAM see ANA 1SG TAM speak
   ‘The girl that I saw will speak.’

As Bauer, (1982), has observed in relation to NZM, the fact that the notional direct object phrase cannot be relativised by the simplest strategy is noteworthy. Further research in this area would be of value.

10.7.7 Relative pronoun strategy: NP_rel = the agent phrase of an actor emphatic

As was mentioned in section 7.10.3.2, there is a particular strategy that is used when the NP_rel is the agent phrase of an actor emphatic. In this strategy the S_rel is an actor emphatic, and the NP_rel is indicated by the agent phrase. However the agent phrase always takes the form nāna (AE-3SG) and, as such, is underspecified compared to an actor emphatic main clause. The NP nāna is the notional relative pronoun from which this strategy takes its name. However it is not a prototypical relative pronoun. Furthermore, both restrictive (491) and nonrestrictive (492) relative clauses can be formed via the relative pronoun strategy. Given that the nonrestrictive constructions do not meet the criteria...
for relative clauses (Andrews, 2007b:297) and that the SREL comprises a full clause, it is possible that this construction does not formally involve a relative clause.\footnote{It is possible that this construction could be a type of cleft. Unfortunately this line of enquiry is outside the scope of this project.}

\begin{itemize}
\item \begin{verbatim}
(491) a. Ko ia ᵕoki [te Head of Department o te Ministry of Cultural Development]\SPEC3SGXEMP DET Head of department of DET Ministry of Cultural Development
nāna\SPEC3SGXREL [i reira i organise 'aere i arataki i a mātou]SREL
AE-3SG LOC ANA TAM organise go TAM lead ACC PERS PLEX

'That's the Head of Department of the Ministry of Cultural Development who organised our programme.'
\end{verbatim}

\item \begin{verbatim}
b. ... ē [te kamupani]\SPEC3SGXREL nāna\SPEC3SGXREL te 'akatū i te roketi, nō te 'aka-rere i te
... CONJ DET company AE-3SG TAM build ACC DET rocket for DET CAUSE-fly ACC DET
pa'i-rere kia oti māne'a tēia pa'i-rere tari pātete]SREL.
ship-fly OPT complete beautiful DEM1 ship-fly carry passenger

'... and the company that will build the rocket (booster) to launch the spaceship successfully so that it
can take passengers.' (Tongaia, 2013)
\end{verbatim}

\item \begin{verbatim}
(492) Ko [te mero pā ara toto (heart valve)]\SPEC3SGXREL e pamu ana i te toto
SPEC DET body-part beat path blood (heart valve) AE-3SG TAM pump HABIT ACC DET blood
kia ta'e ki mua ē kia kore e 'oki ki muri]SREL.
OPT flow GOAL front CONJ OPT NEG TAM return GOAL behind

'The heart valve, which pumps the blood to flow forwards and not return backwards.'
\end{verbatim}

\end{itemize}

\section{Summary of relative clause formation}

Table 10.1 summarises which types of NPREL can be relativised via which relativisation strategy.

\section{Negatives}

Negation involves a complex sentence where the negator forms the predicate of matrix clause, and the clause that is
is being negated forms the subordinate clause. Negation is covered in detail in chapter 12.

\section{Summary}

This chapter described a range of constructions in CIM that involve dependent clauses. Section 10.2 covered most
types of complement clauses. Various types of adverbial clauses (or noun clauses) were surveyed, including: adverbial
Table 10.1: Relativisation strategies available for each grammatical role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP&lt;sub&gt;REL&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>Te-</th>
<th>Ø...ei</th>
<th>tā-</th>
<th>ta-...ei</th>
<th>AE PRO</th>
<th>Nā Patient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*+</td>
<td>*-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>Type I</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OO</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE Agent</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

✓ = fully acceptable
* = never acceptable
- = not applicable
%= acceptable to some speakers
~= acceptable under some ‘morpho-phonemic’ conditions

Clauses of time (10.3), comitative clauses (10.4) and purpose, reason, and result clauses (10.5). Section 10.6 discussed conditional constructions, and section 10.7 covered relative clauses.
Chapter 11

Possession

11.1 Introduction

The area of possession is one of considerable complexity in Polynesian languages and CIM is no exception. Like most Polynesian languages, CIM distinguishes between two categories of possession, which I refer to as ACAT and OCAT respectively (section 11.2). In section 11.3, I will revisit possessive nominalisations with respect to verb type and the ACAT/OCAT distinction. Attributive possession is discussed in section 11.4, and predicative possession in section 11.5. Finally, two unusual possessive constructions that include verb phrases are discussed in section 11.6.1

11.2 ACAT and OCAT possession

CIM marks two types of possessive relationship, ACAT, and OCAT. This distinction is realised in the form of the possessive preposition (cf. section 8.6) or possessive determiner (cf. sections 4.6.3.17 and 8.7), where ACAT variants have the vowel /a/ and OCAT variants have the vowel /o/. The following sentences show a range of different types of possessive constructions and examples of ACAT (493) and OCAT (494) possession.

(493) a. ꞌE meitaki tikāi te rorouira ꞌōu a Tere.
   ꞌE good very DET computer new ofACAT Tere
   ‘Tere’s new computer is great.’

b. Ka tae mai tāna tamaꞌine āpōpō.
   TAM arrive DIR1 DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG daughter tomorrow
   ‘His/her daughter will arrive tomorrow.’

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1The audio for examples that come from AV sources can be found at https://flexiblelearning.auckland.ac.nz/cook-islands-maori-general-info5_11.html
c. Nā Mere tēia puka.
Belong.ACAT Mere this book
'This book is Mere’s.'

(494) a. Kua tae mai tōna metua-va'ine āpōpō.
TAM arrive DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG mother tomorrow
‘His/her mother will arrive tomorrow.’
b. 'E meitaki tikāi te mōtokā 'ō o Tere.
CLS good very DET car new of.OCAT Tere
‘Tere’s new car is great.’
c. Nō Mere tēia paitikara taka'i.
Belong.OCAT Mere this bicycle stamp
‘This pushbike is Mere’s.’

11.2.1 Analyses of the ACAT/OCAT system

The choice between ACAT and OCAT is based on a semantic system, rather than a grammatical or phonologically conditioned system. This is evidenced by the existence of minimal pairs such as those in 495, where the same possessor possesses the same possessum in the same type of construction, but with different semantic outcome.

(495) a. Kua meitaki tōnā tua.
TAM good DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG story
‘Her story (the story about her) was good.’
b. Kua meitaki tāna tua.
TAM good DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG story
‘Her story (that she told) was good.’

Many Oceanic languages have a possessive system that distinguishes alienable and inalienable possession (Lichtenenberk et al., 2011), but the Polynesian system does not reflect this distinction. Possession of kinfolk is generally considered to fall under the inalienable category, but in Polynesian languages generally, including CIM, different types of kin relations have a preference for either ACAT or OCAT. Additionally, a particular kin relation may vary between ACAT and OCAT in particular contexts, as indeed may many other possessums (Taumoefolau, 1996; Wilson, 1982).

These preferences vary between languages.
The most common semantic theme that scholars have identified for this phenomenon in Polynesian languages is that it relates to some notion of ‘control.’ Hohepa (1967:24) proposed the following analysis for NZM where he characterises the semantic distinction as one of ‘dominant vs subordinate’ possession.

The class marked by /aa/ are those possessions to which the possessor ... is dominant (e.g. small personal portable property, food), or which the possessor acquired in his lifetime (e.g. wife, children, husband, uninherited objects). The second class marked by /oo/ to which the possessor is subordinate (e.g. nonportable property, or property such as canoes, boats, cars which carry the possessor), and inherited objects (e.g. ancestors, parents).

Hohepa presented his analysis in a way that suggests a type of noun classification, where some possessums are ACAT, and some are OCAT. However, the minimal pairs in 495 provide counter evidence for this type of analysis. Biggs (1998), (writing about NZM), Clark (1976) (writing about proto Polynesian), and others moved away from a simple noun class analysis and accounted for the minimal pairs, such as those in 495, on semantic grounds. Wilson (1982:15) calls this analysis the simple control theory. Under the simple control theory, in example 495a, the possessor (she) does not have control over the possessum (the story about her), therefore OCAT is required, whereas in 495b she does, thus the ACAT construction.

Taumoefolau (1996), writing about Tongan, suggests that both the simple control theory and the initial control theory (as introduced below) are too semantically narrow. She has proposed that the semantic criterion that determines the choice between ACAT and OCAT is whether the speaker conceives the possessive relationship as one that involves the possessor performing a literal or metaphorical action; in which case ACAT is selected, or one where the speaker conceives the possessive relationship as partitive; in which case OCAT is selected. She also suggests that any possessum should be able to occur with either ACAT or OCAT in the right metaphorical conditions, and accounts for the data that shows that some possessums overwhelming favour one choice over the other by saying: “What should be noted is that in cases like these, ‘correctness’ is determined retrospectively by the superimposed process of conventionalisation.” (Taumoefolau, 1996:302) The patterns that Taumoefolau describes for Tongan are not always applicable to CIM.

Wilson (1982:18) observes that the simple control theory does not account for the way that some kinship relationships are expressed. In most East Polynesian languages, including CIM, spouses of any gender are ACAT possessed, and siblings of any gender and relative age ranking are OCAT possessed. The simple control theory would therefore suggest that a spouse has control over their spouse, which is not the cultural norm, but that conversely, an older sibling would not have control over their younger sibling, which contravenes the cultural norm for sibling relationships. In response to this anomaly, Willson proposes the initial control theory which states:

1. ACAT is used when the the possessor has control over the initiation of the possessive relationship (the ‘initiation’ rule)
   a) ACAT possession is restricted to animate possessors.

2. OCAT is used otherwise
3. The following categories are exceptions to the *initiation rule*:

   a) Clothing, canoes and other vehicles, shelter and some tools (The ‘spatial-use exception’. Requires OCAT possession)

   b) Things drunk (but not eaten) by the possessor and sources of the possessor’s food or drink. (Requires OCAT possession)

   c) Kinship terms. (Sometimes produces unexpected OCAT possession or ACAT possession)

   I take the view that Wilson’s (1982) *initial control theory* provides the best analysis of the CIM system, although there is room for refinement. Examples 493a, 493b and 493c all satisfy the first principle of the *initial control theory*, which I will henceforth designate as the *initiation rule*. Therefore they are uncontroversially ACAT possessed. Example 494a does not satisfy the *initiation rule* and is therefore OCAT possessed. The examples in 494b and 494c do meet the criterion of the *initiation rule* but are nevertheless OCAT possessed. This is due to one of the systematic exceptions to the *initiation rule* that will be discussed in the following sections.

11.2.2 Exceptions to the initiation rule

Wilson (1982:13) has posited that there are some systematic exceptions to the *initiation rule* of the factors that determine the choice between ACAT and OCAT possession in East Polynesian languages.

I will now go through each of these points as they apply to CIM.

11.2.3 The spatial-use exception

Possessums whose primary usage is ‘spatial’ are OCAT possessed in CIM, even if the possessor controls the initiation of the possessive relationship with that possessum. As such, Wilson’s ‘spatial-use exception’ applies in CIM. Some full sentences demonstrating this exception are shown in 496.

(496) a. *Kua pou tō rātou pu’a*  
   TAM gone DET.POSS.OCAT 3PL soap  
   ‘Their soap had run out.’ William Hakaoro, December 16 2015

b. *Kua tuitui-a te pitopito ki runga i tōna pona.*  
   TAM sew-CIA DET button GOAL on LOC DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG dress  
   ‘Buttons were sewn on her dress.’ (Buse et al., 1995:520: tuitui2)

c. *I reira kua tere atu tō rātou vaka ki te ‘enua Rarotonga*  
   LOC that DET travel DIR2 DET.POSS.OCAT 3PL boat GOAL DET island Rarotonga  
   ‘Thus their boat sailed to Rarotonga.’ (Purea, 2013:38)

Some generic examples of such ‘spatial-use’ include:
11.2. ACAT AND OCAT POSSESSION

1. The possessor is the whole in a part-whole relationship

(497) a. te iꞌu o te tamaiti
   DET nose POSS.OCAT DET child
   ‘the child’s nose’.

b. tōna rima
   DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG hand
   ‘her hand.’

2. The possessor is enclosed by the possesum
   e.g. vehicles, buildings, furniture and clothing/hats/shoes

(498) a. te 'are o Tiki
   DET house POSS.OCAT Tiki
   ‘Tiki’s house’

b. te vaka o te 'ōire
   DET boat POSS.OCAT village
   ‘The village’s boat’

c. te au kākau o te au manu’iri.
   DET PL clothes POSS.OCAT DET PL visitor
   ‘the visitors clothes’

d. te vaka o te tangata ‘oe
   DET canoe POSS.OCAT DET person paddle
   ‘the paddler’s canoe’

e. te ngā tāmaka o Nāne
   DET PAUCAL shoe POSS.OCAT Nāne
   ‘Nāne’s shoes’

3. The possessor acts as a location for the possesum
(499) te nga ‘oire o te ‘enua
DET PAUCAL village POSS.OCAT DET island
‘the villages of the island’

Many spatial relations would be OCAT under the *initiation rule* anyway, such as 499 and 498b, which both involve inanimate possessors, and as such do not meet the *initiation rule* criterion. However the examples in the possessor *is enclosed by the possessum* category do satisfy the *initiation rule* criterion. Therefore they would be expected to be ACAT marked. However, these are all examples of possessive relationships that are typically spatial in nature, such as those involving clothing, vehicles, and furniture, and under the spatial use exception they are OCAT possessed.

11.2.3.1 Animals

Animals are usually ACAT possessed with the notable exception of horses, which are usually OCAT possessed. This is likely to be because horses (at least at the time of their introduction) were primarily analysed as ‘transport’, which puts them into the ‘spatial-use’ category of possession. Additionally, horse meat is not usually considered to be food by Cook Island people.

11.2.4 The ‘things drunk’ exception

The ‘things drunk exception’ posited by Wilson (Wilson, 1982:26) says that in contravention to *initiation rule*, ‘personal drinks’ will be OCAT possessed. 3 This exception only partially follows for CIM. Nū4 (‘coconut water’ and the green drinking nut itself), and vai (‘water’) are usually but not always OCAT possessed, as in 501.

(501) a. Vāi-a tō’ou nū.
split-CIA your.OCAT drinking-coconut
‘Crack your drinking nut open.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:04:28-00:04:30)
https://goo.gl/J71HaU

b. Āe nōku ‘ua ai tōku vai.
yes belong.OCAT.ISG MERELY ANA my.OCAT water
‘Hey, that’s my water.’ Teata Purea-Ateriano (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:19:58-00:20:00)
https://goo.gl/J71HaU

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3 This is a remnant of a pre-Polynesian four-way system still extant in Fijian whereby inalienable possession makes up one category and alienable possession is subdivided into three subcategories: food, drink and ‘everything else’ (Wilson, 1982; Lichtenberk, 1985:83).

4 Akari (mature coconut), which is associated with ‘eating’ rather than ‘drinking’, is ACAT possessed, as with any food to be consumed, as in 500.

(500) E tari koe i te ʻakari kō nāʻau.
IMP take 2BG ACC DET mature-coconut husk belong.ACAT.2SG
‘Take the husked coconuts for yourself.’ (Buse et al., 1995:181: kū1)
c. *E 'aere koe e tiki mai i tēta'i vai nōku mei reira.*

\[IMP \text{go} 2SG \text{IMP fetch DIRL ACC DET.I.S water belong.OCAT.1SG COMPAR CONT.that} \]

"You go and fetch me some water like that." (Simiona, 1979:60)

However, both *vai* and *nū* also occur in possessive constructions that are ACAT, as in 502.5

(502) a. *Tuātau vai teia e tū mai nei. Tā'au i tā'au vai. Tunu i tā'au*

\[time \text{ water this TAM stand DIRL POS your-ACAT LOC your-ACAT water boil ACC your-ACAT} \]

\[vai kia kore te maki 'eke, ruaki, kōpū mamae, 'akaparaparau kōpapa ē water OPT NEG DET sickness diarrhoea vomit stomach pain CAUSE-weak body CONJ te tūmatetenga. DET distress \]

'The rainy season is coming. As for your water, boil your water to prevent illness such as the diarrhoea, vomiting, stomach cramps, weakness and distress.' (Tongaia, 2013)

b. *Kua auē aia i te 'āuna='ia'anga tāna nū.*

\[TAM \text{ cry 3SG DET snatch=PASS-NR her-ACAT coconut} \]

'She cried when her (drinking-) coconut was taken away from her.' (Buse et al., 1995:62: 'ao1)

Many other kinds of 'things drunk' are usually, but not always, ACAT possessed. These include anything represented the form *vaiX* ('*X* juice'), as well as tea and coffee and alcoholic drinks,6 as in 503.

(503) a. *‘E vera tikai tāku tī*

\[CLS hot EMP DET.POSS.ACAT.1SG tea \]

'My tea is too hot.' Ma'ara Maeva, December 15 2015

b. *Kua pou tā mātou pia inu*

\[TAM \text{ gone DET.POSS.ACAT 1PLEX beer drink} \]

'Our beer has run out.' Ma'ara Maeva, December 15 2015

My tentative explanation for this discrepancy is that most contemporary CIM speakers treat introduced drinks as ACAT possessed, and drinks that predate contact with the Pākehā are OCAT possessed. However some speakers (sometimes) now treat all 'things drunk' as ACAT. It is possible that this change might have something to do with the fact that introduced drinks are usually consumed via some sort of vessel and as such, the units of drinks are often of

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5 In both examples in 502, there is a sense that the specific agency of the possessor is being highlighted, which may account for the ACAT marking.

6 The lexical item kava, ('any alcoholic drink' or more rarely 'the drink made from kava (Piper methysticum)'), is usually but not always consumed with the verb *kai* ('to eat') rather than *inu* ('to drink') regardless of whether the speaker is referring to traditional kava (Piper methysticum) or to the modern sense of alcohol. As such, it is ACAT possessed.
the form \([\text{VESSEL} \rightarrow \text{type of drink}]\) (as in 504), and as the vessel itself is ACAT possessed under the \textit{initiation rule}, perhaps the drink has inherited that property.

(504) a. \textit{Tā-oriori}=ꞌia te tuka i roto i \textit{tāꞌau} kapu vai rēmene.\textit{CAUSE-stir=PASS DET sugar LOC inside LOC your-ACAT cup water lemon}

‘Stir up the sugar in your cup of lemon juice.’ (Buse et al., 1995:442: tāoriori)

b. \textit{Kua inuinu-a} \textit{tōku} tiā vai rēmene e te tamariki.\textit{TAM drink-CIA my-OCAT jar water ACAT DET children}

‘The children have drunk my jar of lemon juice.’ (Buse et al., 1995:126: inuinu)

c. \textit{ꞌE mōꞌina rāmu tāku.}\textit{EXIST bottle rum PRO.POSS.ACAT.1SG}

‘I’ve got a bottle of rum.’ (Buse et al., 1995:379: rāmu)

11.2.5 The sources of drink exception

Wilson (1982:27) observes that sources of things drunk such as springs and water tanks, are OCAT possessed and this is true for CIM. OCAT possession would be expected under the \textit{initiation rule}, for example 505a as the ‘initiation’ criterion is not met. However, manufactured sources of water such as water tanks, as in 505b and 505c, would meet the ‘initiation’ criterion, and yet are OCAT possessed.

(505) a. \textit{Kua riri a te lpo i reira, nō-te-mea, ‘e kauvai tō} \textit{Nia ‘e} \textit{puna tōna.}\textit{TAM angry PERS DET sweetheart LOC PRO.LOC because CLS river DET.POSS.OCAT Nia CLS spring PRO.POSS.OCAT.3SG}

‘The sweetheart was angry because Nia’s was a river and hers was a spring.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006e)

b. \textit{Kua ‘akatū}=ꞌia nā vaꞌo ake i te au ‘āpīi e ‘itu 10,000 kārani \textit{TAM build=PASS LOC.TRANS outside DIR3 LOC DET PL house school TAM seven 10,000 gallon tank water BEN.OCAT DET school}

‘Seven 10,000-gallon water tanks for the school were built around the school buildings.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:82)

c. \textit{Kua puta} \textit{tō} \textit{mātou tangika vai}\textit{TAM pierced DET.POSS.OCAT 1PLEX tank water}

‘Our water tank is leaking.’ William Hakaoro, December 16 2015
11.2.6 The sources of food exception

According to Wilson (Wilson, 1982:28), sources of food such as gardens or other cultivation areas are OCAT possessed, in East Polynesian languages, but in CIM these types of sources of food are ACAT possessed, as in 506.

(506) a. Nāku tēnā repo tāro.
belong.ACAT-1SG. that swamp taro

‘That taro swamp is mine.’ (Buse et al., 1995:309: repo)

b. Kua tāpere’ō aia i te one tea ki tāna ngā’i tanu tāmāti.
TRANSLSPORT-TRANSPORT-TRANSPORT 3SG ACC the sand white GOAL DET.POSS.ACAT 1SG place plant tomato

‘He carted the white sand to his tomato plot by wagon (cart).’ (Buse et al., 1995:448: tāpere’ō)

However, if the source of food is the possessor and the food itself is the possessum, then the relationship is OCAT, as in 507. This is consistent with the initiation rule.

(507) Tērā te au ika o te tai
PRO.DEM3 DET PL fish POSS.ACAT DET sea

‘There are the fish of the sea.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006)

11.2.7 Kinship

The ACAT/OCAT of kinship relationships usually follows the initiation rule. One’s kin of the same or older generation are all OCAT possessed (509), except for ‘spouse’ who is a ACAT possessed7 (510). This is consistent with the initiation rule because one does not control the initiation of the possessive relationship with ‘parents’, ‘grandparents’ or ‘siblings’ or ‘cousins’. One does, however, control the existence of the possessive relationship with one’s ‘spouse’. That is, in the CIM cultural context, one’s spouse is only one’s spouse if one has consented to that relationship. One’s kin of generations that follow are all ACAT possessed (511). This intuitively follows the initiation rule for your direct descendants (i.e. children, grandchildren etc), as you very directly initiated their existence and therefore the existence of the possessive relationship between you and them. It is not quite as obvious to our modern minds when it comes to your nieces and nephews and subsequent descendants of your siblings and cousins, who are also all ACAT possessed.8

Another slightly unexpected (to the 21st century mind) kinship example is ‘friends’ which are OCAT possessed, as in 512.

7Unless the term tokorua (partner or spouse) is used, in which case it becomes OCAT possessed. This is likely to be because the term tokorua semantically evokes a part-whole relationship.

8Most of the time the word for one’s own direct descendants and those of your siblings are the same, in which case it unsurprising that they are categorised in the same way, as in 508b. However when terms that explicitly mean ‘niece’ or ‘nephew’ are used they are still marked as ACAT, as in 508b.

(508) a. Ko-ia tāku tamā’ine.
SPEC-3SG DET.POSS.ACAT 1SG daughter

‘She’s my daughter/ niece.’
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(509) a. E ui koe ki tō’ou ngā metua mē ‘anga’anga meitaki rāi te-reira.
IMP ask 2SG GOAL DET.POSS.OCAT.2SG PAUCAL parent COND CLS work good EMP PRO.ANA
‘You ask your parents if that is a good thing to do.’ (Rere, 1967:38)

b. Ko tō mātou ‘ai tupuna tēi tae mua ki runga i teia ‘enua.
SPEC DET.POSS.OCAT 1PLEX NUM ancestor DET.REL.PST arrive first GOAL on LOC this land
‘It was our ancestors who were the first to come to this island.’ (Buse et al., 1995:528: tupuna)

(510) a. Kua tupu tōna manako ē ka tauturu aia i a Varopana i-te
TAM arise DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG thought SUBR.CONJ TAM help 3SG ACC PERS Varopana COMP
‘aka-’oki-’anga mai i tāna tāne.
CAUSE-return-NG 1 ACC DET.POSS.ACAT husband
‘The thought arose that she would help Varopana to return her husband.’ (Simiona, 1979:68)

b. Kāre rava aia e ‘akakite ki tāna va’ine i te ngāi i ‘aere ei a
NEG EMP 3SG TAM explain GOAL DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG wife ACC DET place TAM go ANA PERS
Varokura.
Varokura
‘He didn’t even explain to his wife which place Varokura had gone to.’ (Simiona, 1979:66)

(511) a. ‘Ānau au i tā māua ‘ānau ki reira.
birth 1SG ACC DET.ACAT IDEX offspring LOC there
‘I gave birth to our children (offspring) there.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Kairae, P (speaker), 2013:00:35:51-00:35:53) https://goo.gl/J71HaU

b. Ko te tākiato tēia a Kāmoe ki tāna mokopuna.
SPEC DET proverb PRO.DEM1 OF.ACAT Kāmoe GOAL DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG grandchild
‘These were Kāmoe’s words to his grandchild.’ (Buse et al., 1995:428: tākiato2)

c. Ė kia ‘āpi’i te au metua i tā rātou au tamariki
CONJ TAM teach DET PL parent ACC DET.ACAT 3PL PL children
‘And that the parents teach their children ...’ (Rauia and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1994:3)

b. Ko-ia tāku ‘aka-tamāꞌine.
SPEC 3SG DET.POSS.OCAT.1SG CAUSE-daughter
‘She’s my niece.’
11.2. ACAT AND OCAT POSSESSION

(512) a. Kua ‘āriki aia i a Ruatapu ‘ei taeke tikāi nōna.
   TAM accept 3SG ACC PERS Ruatapu COMP friend EMP BEN.OCAT.3SG
   ‘He accepted Ruatapu as a good friend for him.’ (Simiona, 1979:78)

    b. Kua tākinga meitaki tōna ‘oa i aia.
       TAM treat good DET.POSS.OCAT friend ACC 3SG
       ‘Her friend was very good to her.’ (Buse et al., 1995:277: ‘oa1)

11.2.8 Minimal pairs with a and o

The choice between the OCAT and ACAT form is determined by the nature of the possessive relationship as a whole, not by any particular property of the possessum or the possessor.

Evidence for this claim can be found in examples such as the following pair in (513) where the same possessum is OCAT possessed, as would be expected in (513a), but in the (culturally) exceptional circumstance described in (513b) it is ACAT possessed.

(513) a. ‘E viviki tōku ‘oro’enua.
    CLS fast DET.POSS.OCAT.1SG horse
    ‘My horse is fast.’

    b. ‘E roro tāku ‘oro’enua tāku i kai e i napō.
       CLS delicious DET.POSS.ACAT.1SG horse DET.REL.POSS TAM eat ANA last-night
       ‘My horse (meat) that I ate last night was delicious.’

Another more common example of this kind of variation can be seen in speech verbs. In (514a), the story (tuatua) is about the possessor and as such is OCAT possessed, but in (514b) the story is by the possessor and as such is ACAT possessed.

(514) a. Kua tātā=ꞌia tōna tuatua ki roto i te nutipepa o te Western
    TAM write=PASS DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG story GOAL inside LOC DET newspaper of DET Western
    Leader i te-reira tuātau.
    Leader LOC DET-ANA time
    ‘His story (the one about him) was written in the Western Leader newspaper at that time.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Hakaoro, W. (speaker), 2015:00:06:50-00:06:57) https://goo.gl/J71HaU

    b. Kua ‘akakite atu ra te va’ine i tāna tuatua.
       TAM explain DIR2 POS3 DET woman ACC DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG story
       ‘The woman explained her story (what she said).’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:18)
Possessums that are usually OCAT marked can potentially be ACAT marked, if the fact that the possessor made the possessum is being emphasised.

11.2.9 Summary

Despite the attention that has been paid to this phenomenon in Polynesian languages there is still no analysis of this system that elegantly explains the phenomenon without ‘leaking’. I take it that Wilson’s analysis is the best at this time with some caveats. In CIM, most instances of possessive constructions are OCAT. This could be considered to be the default possessive relationship. The initiation rule specifies which possessive constructions will be ACAT. Inherent in the initiation rule is the notion that only animate possessors can ACAT possess. There are some categories of relationship that are OCAT even when you would expect them to be ACAT, based on the initiation rule. These exceptions are:

- Possessums whose primary use is spatial
- Some personal drinks
- Sources of drink

Although the choice between ACAT and OCAT is determined based on these criteria, and as such, can vary for particular possessums in some contexts, it is possible to suggest some categories of possessum that are typically ACAT or OCAT.

11.2.9.1 Typically ACAT

The following types of possessums are typically ACAT possessed.

- Food to be consumed, some drinks, cultivation areas, plants that are sources of food
- Small items of movable personal property such as pens, books, baskets, computers
- Hand tools
- Animals (apart from horses)
- Speech
- Items that the possessor made or created
- Kinfolk of descending generations, employees, students
- Spouses (unless referred to as tokorus).
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11.2.9.2 Typically OCAT

The following types of possessums are typically OCAT possessed.

- Vehicles (including horses), buildings, clothing, furniture, and adornments.
- Parts of a whole
- Kinfolk of the same or earlier generations (except your spouse(s))
- Bosses, or leaders, friends.

Lastly it must be noted that the patterns for choosing between ACAT and OCAT show some variation between speakers which suggests that the underlying system may be starting to change.

11.2.10 The neutral or unspecified singular-possessor possessive determiners

Not all possessive constructions are marked for the ACAT/OCAT distinction. There are three singular-possessor possessive determiners which are unspecified or neutral for that category. These are taku (DET.POSS.N.1SG, ‘my’), to (DET.POSS.N.2SG, ‘your’) and tana (DET.POSS.N.3SG, ‘her/his’). The neutral forms taku and tana, with short vowels, and the marked forms tāku and tāna, with long vowels, are minimal pairs. Example 515 shows general examples of these determiners.

(515) a. Tēia te potonga ‘āiti ‘ei ‘akaanu i to vai ‘ānani.

   This DET piece ice COMP CAUSE-cold ACC DET.POSS.N.2SG water orange

   ‘Here is a lump of ice to cool your orange juice.’ (Buse et al., 1995:12: ‘āiti)

b. ‘E a’a tāku ka rave nō’ou, e taku ‘akaperepe?

   CLS what DET.POSS.REL TAM do BEN.2SG VOC DET.POSS.N.2SG darling

   ‘What shall I do for you, my darling.’ (Simiona, 1979:60)

c. Mei tēia te ‘ākara-‘anga, nō te tuku i tōna manako ē, ko tē’ea

   COMPARE this DET look-NR BEN DET give ACC DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG thought COMP SPEC which

   tana metua ka no’o nō te ‘ākono tiaki i aia.

   DET.POSS.N.3SG parent TAM live BEN DET care guardian ACC 3SG

   ‘For example, giving the choice (to the child) as to which of their parents will live with and look after them.’

   (New Zealand Parliament, 2004:3)

For further illustration example 516 shows a set of examples where the 516a shows the typical ACAT/OCAT marked form of the determiner, 516b shows the same sentence with the neutral determiner and 516c shows the ACAT/OCAT marked variant that would usually be unacceptable.
(516) a. Kua ārū atu ra aia i tōna metua va‘ine ōngai.
TAM follow DIR2 POS3 3SG ACC DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG parent woman in-law

‘She went away with her mother-in-law.’ (Buse et al., 1995:278: ōngai)

b. Kua ārū atu ra aia i tana metua va‘ine ōngai.
TAM follow DIR2 POS3 3SG ACC DET.POSS.N.3SG parent woman in-law

‘She went away with her mother-in-law.’

c. *Kua ārū atu ra aia i tāna metua va‘ine ōngai.
TAM follow DIR2 POS3 3SG ACC DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG parent woman in-law

Intended: ‘She went away with her mother-in-law.’

These unspecified determiners are restricted to one-phrase or incorporated attributive possessive constructions (cf. section 11.4.1) and to singular possessors. All other possessive constructions are marked for OCAT/ACAT. Unlike the rest of the t-class possessive determiners, these unspecified possessive determiners cannot act as pronouns (cf. section 3.7.2).

11.3 ACAT and OCAT in nominalisations

The manner in which the ACAT/OCAT distinction works in nominalisations requires some extra attention as this sometimes operates on a syntactic basis rather than a semantic basis (cf. section 3.8).

11.3.1 Possessive nominalisation of transitive verbs

When transitive verbs are nominalised, if the subject of the nominalisation (the possessor) is the agent, it may be ACAT marked, as in 517a. If the subject of the nominalisation is not the agent, it will be OCAT marked, as in 517b.

(517) a. Kua rongo te kavamani i te pātāonga a te ‘iti tangata.
TAM hear DET government ACC DET request-NR POS.S ACAT DET NUM person

‘The government has heard the people’s request.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Kite-a mai e te roketi Hubble tēta’i au mea ‘ei ‘uri’anga nā te aronga
find-CIA DIR1 AGNT DET rocket Hubble DET.I.S PL thing COMP translate-NR AGNT DET group
‘ākara ‘etū i te ‘akamata’anga o te au ‘etū.
look star LOC DET begin-NR POS.OCAT DET PL star

The Hubble telescope has discovered some things to be interpreted by astronomers about the beginning of the stars (big bang). (Tongaia, 2013)

This distinction aligns with the semantic system described by the initiation rule and would provide a pleasing analysis except that there are instances of nominalisations involving agents that are OCAT marked, as in 518.
11.3. ACAT AND OCAT IN NOMINALISATIONS

(518)

(a) Kua pāꞌeru aia i a roto i tōna piꞌa moe i tōna
TAM search thoroughly 3SG ACC PERS inside LOC his room sleep INS LOC DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG

kimiꞌanga i tāna ruru tāviri
search-NR ACC his bundle key

‘He combed his bedroom searching for his bunch of keys’ (Buse et al., 1995:301: pāꞌeru1) LIT: ‘He thoroughly searched the inside of his bedroom while he was searching for his keys.’

(b) Kua tia aia i te rākau ki te tia i tōna kekeꞌanga.
TAM wedge 3SG ACC DET stick INS DET wedge LOC DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG saw-NR

‘As he sawed, he wedged a peg in to keep the saw-cut open.’ (Buse et al., 1995:487: tia1)

As I suggested in 3.8.1.3, OCAT marking is the default in possessive constructions, and as such, these nominalisations of transitive verbs are OCAT marked by default, but agents can be ACAT marked for disambiguation or for emphasis.

11.3.2 Possessive nominalisation of action intransitive verbs

Action intransitive verbs are nominalised with OCAT marked possessors, regardless of whether the subject of the nominalisation is a semantic agent, as in 519a, or not, as in 519b and 519c.

(519) a. Kua tā-i-a aia e te etene i tōna 'aereꞌanga atu ki Papua i-te
TAM kill-CIA 3SG AGNT DET heathen LOC DET.POSS.OCAT.3SG go-NR DIR2 GOAL Papua COMP

tutu i te Evangelia ki reira
spread ACC DET gospel LOC PRO.LOC

‘He was killed by heathens on his journey to Papua New Guinea to spread the gospel there.’ (Rere, 1975:53)

b. Kua ‘ākara tika te mata i te 'aere-nga o te paꞌi nā runga i
TAM look correct DET eye LOC DET go-NR POSS.OCAT DET ship LOC.TRANS above LOC

te raro-rakau ki te moana. (Taraꞌare, 2000:76)

DET under-tree LOC DET ocean

‘The eyes had seen correctly when the ship had gone on top on the trees under the ocean.’ (Taraꞌare, 2000:174)

c. Kua vai taua ture e tae ‘ua mai ki te taeꞌanga o te Evangelia.
TAM exist DET.ANA law TAM arrive MERELY DIR1 LOC DET arrive-NR POSS.OCAT DET gospel

‘That law was in existence right up to the time the Gospel came;’ (Buse et al., 1995:552: vai2)
So it can be seen that for action intransitives, the choice between ACAT and OCAT is not based on the *initiation* rule.

### 11.3.3 Possessive nominalisation of stative verbs

Nominalisations of stative verbs are also always OCAT marked, (as in 520), but this would be expected based on the semantic system, as the subject of those nominalisations is never a semantic agent. However, this provides no decisive evidence as to whether the system for statives is semantic or syntactic.

(520) a. *Kia* mate ra tāna mokopuna, kua rave=ꞌia mai tēia rau ‘openga o te tara te ‘are ‘ei ‘aka-maꞌaraꞌanga i tōna mateꞌanga*

   TAM dead POS3 DET.POSS.ACAT.3SG grandchild TAM do=PASS DIR1 DEM1 leaf end POSS.OCAT
   DET gable-post POSS.OCAT DET house COMP CAUSE-remember-NR LOC DET.POSS.OCAT dead-NR

   ‘When his grandchild died, this final leaf of the gable post of the house was done as a memorial for his death.’ (Purea, 2013:21)

b. *I te riroꞌanga o te moni, kua matakau aia ko te ťapepe=ꞌia ki aia.*

   LOC DET taken-NR POSS.OCAT DET money TAM scared 3SG SPEC DET scold=PASS LOC 3SG

   ‘When the money disappeared he was afraid it would be blamed on him.’ (Buse et al., 1995:396: riro)

### 11.3.4 Summary

If one considers the grammatical/structural rather than the semantic roles of the NPs being nominalised, a pattern of sorts emerges. All S and P NPs are OCAT possessed in nominalisations, while A NPs can be ACAT possessed. This is an ergative pattern, albeit an imperfect one, as not all A NPs are ACAT possessed. However, if any NP is marked as the A NP I conclude that the choice between OCAT and ACAT marked possession in nominalisations is primarily syntactic rather than semantic.

### 11.4 Attributive possession

There are two types of attributive possessive constructions. In the first, the possessor occurs in a possessive PP that follows the possessum NP (cf. section 8.6). This ‘two-phrase’ construction takes the form shown in figure 11.1.

In the second construction the possessive information is cliticized to the determiner and incorporated into the possessum NP, as in figure 11.2.

The variant modelled in 11.1 and shown in 521a is known as the two-phrase possessive construction, while the variant of 11.2 shown in 521b is variously known as the one-phrase or incorporated possessive construction.

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9 The agent phrases of passive (type III) constructions cannot occur in this type of nominalisation, nor can the agent phrase of stative constructions.
In the two-phrase construction the possessum NP is followed by a PP introduced by either o or a that refers to the possessor. The choice between o and a depends on the ACAT/OCAT category of the possessive relationship. This is structurally similar to the English 'the possessum of the possessor' construction. Possessive constructions of this type can have nearly any type of NP in either slot, and can also express a range of types of relationships, ranging from literal ownership (522a) or possession (522b) to kinship (522c) or inter-human relationships (522d) to part-whole relationships (522e).
There is one context where the use of the two-phrase construction is restricted, and that is when the possessor is a pronoun. In these cases, if the possessor is a singular pronoun, the incorporated construction is obligatory, as in 523a and the two-phrase construction is ungrammatical, as in 523b.

(523) a. *Kia kake mai aia ki te one, kua aravel mai ra aia i te puaka a
TAM climb DIR1 3SG GOAL DET sand TAM meet DIR1 POSS2 3SG ACC DET pig POSS.ACAT

Tutonga

‘When he climbed down to the sand, he met Tutonga’s pig.’ (Tara'are, 2000:80)

b. Kua kelā aia i te ‘apinga a te tangata nō tōna ngere.
TAM steal 3SG ACC DET thing POSS.ACAT DET person because DET.POSS.OCAT 3SG lack

‘His poverty led him to steal things from people.’(Buse et al., 1995:112: ngere) LIT: ‘people’s things’

c. Ko ‘ai ngā tamariki a Ma’aro?
SPEC who DET.PAUCAL children POSS.ACAT Ma’aro

‘Who are Ma’aro’s children?’ (Tamae o te rangi, 2013:7)

d. Te au matau i ma’ani=’ia e te ‘iti tangata o Mana
DET PL hook TAM make=PASS AGNT DET NUM person POSS.OCAT Mana

‘The fish hooks made by Mana’s people.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:10)

e. Kua mingi te kakau o te pē.
TAM bend DET handle POSS.OCAT DET spade

‘The handle of the spade is bent.’ (Buse et al., 1995:144: kakau)
11.4. ATTRIBUTIVE POSSESSION

(524) a. Tēia rā nā te anoano o rātou i te au vaito ‘ōu ma’ata atu i
   DEM1 day CAUSE DET desire POSS.OCAT 3PL ACC DET PL pattern new large DIR2 LOC
   reira te ‘inangaro kia tū i te reira.
   PRO.LOC DET desire OPT way LOC DET PRO.LOC

   ‘These days, because of their desire for the newest (sewing) patterns, that’s why they want (their clothes) to be like that.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:130)

b. Tēia rā nā tō rātou anoano i te au vaito ‘ōu ma’ata atu i
   DEM1 day CAUSE DET.PASS.OCAT 3PL desire ACC DET PL pattern new large DIR2 LOC
   reira te ‘inangaro kia tū i te reira.
   PRO.LOC DET desire OPT way LOC DET PRO.LOC

   ‘These days, because of their desire for the newest (sewing) patterns, that’s why they want (their clothes) to be like that.’

11.4.1 The incorporated possessive construction and the possessive determiners

The incorporated possessor construction marks the noun as the possessum by means of a possessive determiner or determiner complex (Buse, 1963b). These possessive determiners were discussed in section 4.6.3.17. There are three patterns for the formation of the possessive determiners. There are the singular-possessor possessive determiners (cf. section 4.6.3.19), as in 525a, the regular dual and plural pronoun possessive determiners (cf. section 4.6.3.18), as in 525b, and then there are the determiner complexes where the possessor is a name (525c), or full NP, as in 525d (cf. 4.6.3.17). The variants of these complex possessive determiners that contain full NPs (525d) are actually fairly rare, the two-phrase possessive construction being preferred for a full NP possessor. However, possessive determiner complexes headed by full NPs more frequently occur as possessive pronouns, as in 526, where they act as the lexical head of the phrase.

(525) a. Kua ‘ōronga koe i te ‘enua kātoatoa ki te rima o tā’au au
   TAM give 2SG ACC DET island all GOAL DET hand POSS.OCAT DET.PSS.ACAT.2SG PL
   va’ine.
   wife

   ‘You have given the whole island into the hands of your wives.’ (Simiona, 1979:51)

b. Nō-te-a’a i kore e i kā te a’i i tō-rāua ‘are. (Tara’are, 2000:5)
   why TAM NEG ANA TAM burn DET fire DET.PSS.OCAT-3D house

   ‘Why is there no fire in the house of those two?’ (Tara’are, 2000:120)
c. I reira kua no'o aia i-te tiaki i tō-Maru'aka'ita 'oki'anga mai.
   LOC PRO.LOC.ANA TAM 3SG COMP wait ACC DET.POSS.DCAT-Maru'aka'ita return-XR DIR1
   'So she stayed and waited for Maru'aka'ita's return.' (Simiona, 1979:3)

d. Ko tō-te-reira-tangata manako rāi ia.
   SPEC DET.POSS.DCAT-DET-ANA-person thought EMP 3SGX
   'It is that man's idea all right.' (Buse et al., 1995:502: tō2)

(526) 'E tūrina te-reira rākau mei tō-te-puka-rāi
   CLS Hernandezia-moerenhoutiana DET-ANA tree COMP DET.DET.POSS.DCAT-Hernandia-nymphaeifolia-EMP
   tōna 'ua.
   DET.POSS.DCAT.3SG seed
   'That is a tūrina tree, its seeds are just like those of the puka.' (Buse et al., 1995:530: tūrina)

11.4.1.1 T-deleted forms of the possessive determiners

In restricted circumstances, the possessive determiners are marked as plural (possessum) by deleting the t- from the
determiner complex (cf. section 3.9.2.2). The t-deleted determiners are favoured in sentences where the predicate is
a numeral, as in 527.

(527) a. E rua āku ika.
   TAM two DET.PL.POSS.ACAT.1SG fish
   'I have two fish.' (Tara'are, 2000:4)

b. E varu ā-māua tamariki.
   TAM eight PL.DET.POSS.ACAT-INDEX children
   'We have eight children.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Kairae, P. (speaker), 2013:00:04:25-00:04:27)
   https://goo.gl/J71HaU

The t-deleted possessive determiners are occasionally found in sentences where they mark plural number with no
reference to a numeral, as in 528b and 528a. However these sentences are treated suspiciously by most contemporary
speakers and are usually 'corrected' to the variant with an overt number classifier, shown in 528c.

(528) a. Kāre ō marama mārama nō-na 'uā'orāi.
   NEG DET.PL.POSS moon light belong.DCAT-3SG REFL
   'The light of the moon is not its own.' (Rere, 1967:60)
11.5 Predicative possessive clauses

In this section, I will discuss three types of nominal possessive clauses: those which express temporary possession (11.5.1), those in which the possessum is -Definite ± Specific (11.5.2) and those in which the possessum is specific (11.5.3). The OCAT/ACAT distinction applies to all of the formally possessive constructions.

11.5.1 Location / Temporary possession

Temporary possession as defined by Comrie and Smith (1977) is expressed by a grammatically locative construction, as in 529. In this construction, the referent of the locative predicate is the notional possessor and the referent of the subject NP is the notional possessor. However the possessive nature of this construction is semantic rather than formal.

(529) a. Tei a mātou te au ‘apinga katoatoa.
   LOC.PRS PERS 1PLEX DET PL thing all
   ‘We have all the things.’ (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008:302)

b. Tei aia tei a Turi-pakea ‘u’orāi te puaka.
   LOC.PRS 3SG LOC.PRS PERS Turi-pakea REFLEX DET pig
   ‘He, Turi-pakea, has the pig.’ (Tara’are, 2000:81)

This construction does not always express temporary possession as it can also convey the sense of ‘the location of the authority’ or possibly ‘agency’, as in 530.

(530) a. Tei aia te mekameka o taua ngutu’are ra.
   LOC 3SG DET magnificence POSS.OCAT DET.ANA household POSS
   ‘The magnificence of that household was due to him.’ (Simiona, 1979:75)

b. Tei a koe!
   LOC PERS 2SG
   ‘It’s up to you!’
11.5.2  Possessive 'E clauses

The construction here termed as the possessive-'E construction (cf. section 5.3.3) expresses the idea: 'The possessor has a/some possessum'. In this construction the subject is a t-class possessive pronoun and this phrase is the possessor while the predicate refers to the possessum.

(531) a. 'E katu pakiko tō Tere.
   CLS head bald DET.POSS.OCAT Tere
   'Tere has a bald head.' (Buse et al., 1995:163: katu)

   b. 'E 'uipā'anga kūmiti tā mātou āpōpō.
   CLS meeting committee DET.POSS.ACAT 1PLEX tomorrow
   'We have a committee meeting tomorrow.' (Buse et al., 1995:202: kūmiti)

11.5.3  Specific-possessum possessive clauses

The specified possessive construction (cf. section 5.6) has a predicate introduced by an n-class possessive preposition or pronoun, which refers to the possessor, while the subject NP refers to the possessum. The subject NP always contains a t-class determiner; that is, one which marks specificity.

(532) a. Nō kōrua te 'enua!
   belong.OCAT 2D DET land
   'The land belongs to you two!' (Tara'are, 2000:55)

   b. Nā 'ai tēia pēpe.
   belong.ACAT who this baby
   'Whose is this baby?' (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:48:06-00:48:08) https://goo.gl/J71HaU

11.6  Possessive clauses involving verb phrases

There are two slightly unusual possessive constructions in CIM that involve the possession of a verbal clause. These constructions are discussed in more detail elsewhere (cf. section 10.7.4 and chapter 7), but as they contain possessives clauses I will include examples in this section.

11.6.1  Possessive relative clauses

The possessive relative clause or the 'TĀ-strategy' is one strategy that is available for relativisation where the NP_{REL} is the direct object (cf. section 10.7.4). In this construction, the possessum is notionally the patient NP and it is always ACAT possessed. The possessor is the referent of the possessive determiner.
11.6.2 The actor emphatic construction

The actor emphatic was discussed at length in chapter 7. This construction is typically used, as the name suggests, for emphasising the agent in a transitive event. Unlike most verbal constructions in CIM which are verb initial, the actor emphatic construction has a sentence initial agent phrase which is marked by the possessive preposition nā.

(534) Nā te taote i ‘aka-tano i tana ‘anga’anga.

AE the doctor PST CAUSE-correct ACC DET.PSS.ACAT.3SG work

‘The doctor made that work right.’

In terms of the possessive relationship, the possessor is the entity referred to by the agent phrase and the possessum is the action.

11.7 Summary

This chapter dealt with possessive constructions in CIM. Section 11.3 described the semantic system that determines the choice between ACAT and OCAT possession. Possessive nominalisations, as they pertain to verb type and the ACAT/OCAT distinction, were covered in section 11.3. Section 11.4 discussed attributive possessive constructions. Two types of possessive predicates, the possessive-‘E and the specific possessum, were discussed in section 11.5. Section 11.6 addressed the possessive relative clause construction (the ‘TĀ-strategy’ relativisation strategy), and the actor emphatic construction, with regard to the possessive grammatical elements in those constructions.
Chapter 12

Negation

12.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss both sentence negation and lexical negation. The discussion of negation of clauses starts with
the general patterns negation in section 12.2, and then the morphology of negation in section 12.3, followed by the
distribution of the negative forms by clause type in 12.4. Section 12.5 addresses the negative pro-sentence. I then
discuss syntax of the negation of verbal clauses in section 12.6, and of nominal clauses in section 12.7. Section 12.8
discusses the ē strategy of negation, and section 12.9 discusses existential negation. Section 12.10 covers negative
imperatives and, finally, lexical negation is discussed in 12.11.1

12.2 General patterns of negation

The most common negation pattern in CIM comprises a complex sentence where the negative verb phrase is the
predicate of the matrix clause and the clause that is being negated is the subordinate clause. Some constituent re-
ordering usually occurs so that the subject of the subordinate clause is realised in the subject position of the matrix
clause. The most common such negative verb phrase is the negator kāre which is multi-morphemic and comprises
both the TAM ka and the negative verb kore, and as such constitutes a verb phrase. The following examples show pairs
of negative sentences, along with the notional corresponding affirmative sentences. Example 535 contains a negative
action intransitive sentence, 536 contains a negative passive sentence, and 537 an active (type I).

(535) a. Kāre a Tangiꞌia i ākatika.
    NEG PERS Tangiꞌia PST agree

    ‘Tangiꞌia did not agree.’ (Hutchin et al., 2006a)
b. I ‘katika ana a Tangi‘ia.
PST agree PFV PERS Tangi‘ia

‘Tangi‘ia agreed.’

(536) a. Kāre te aronga ‘anga‘anga o te kavamani Kuki Airani e ‘katika=i‘ia kia tere ki
NEG DET group work of DET government Cook Islands TAM agree=PASS OPT travel GOAL
   te au ‘uipā‘anga ma‘ata i akau roa.
   DET PL meeting large LOC reef long

‘The Cook Islands public servants are not permitted to travel to meetings overseas.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. E ‘katika=i‘ia ana te aronga ‘anga‘anga o te kavamani Kuki Airani kia tere ki
   TAM agree=PASS HABIT DET group work of DET government Cook Islands OPT travel GOAL
   te au ‘uipā‘anga ma‘ata i akau roa.
   DET PL meeting large LOC reef long

‘The Cook Islands public servants are permitted to travel to meetings overseas.’

(537) a. Kāre mātou e kai i te ika.
   NEG 1PLEX TAM eat ACC DET fish

‘We don’t eat fish.’ Putai Kairai 2013

b. E kai ana mātou i te ika.
   TAM eat HABIT 1PLEX ACC DET fish

‘We eat fish.’

The general pattern for negating a sentence in CIM is:

```
NEGATIVE VP → SUBJECT → (SUBORDINATE PREDICATE) → (OTHER NPS)
```

The tree diagram in figure 12.1 illustrates the variant with the subject NP in the matrix clause and figure 12.2 shows the variant with the subject NP still in the dependent clause.

This complex analysis is consistent with the general consensus regarding negation in East Polynesian languages. (Hohepa, 1966; Bauer et al., 1997; Lazard and Peltzer, 1991).

One piece of evidence that supports the complex construction analysis is the fact that the TAMs available in the dependent clause are reduced from the full paradigm available to matrix clauses to just i for past (535) and e for non past (537).
12.2. GENERAL PATTERNS OF NEGATION

Figure 12.1: Basic negative sentence with the subject in the matrix clause

Figure 12.2: Basic negative sentence with the subject in situ
12.3 Morpho-syntax of the negative element

The most common negator is käre. It is generally agreed that this form is derived from combining the verbal particle ka with the verb kore which is glossed by Buse as “Be non-existent or lacking, disappear, cease, fail.” (1995:193). Kore is reconstructed for Proto East Polynesian (Greenhill and Clark, 2011).

12.4 Inventory of negative constructions organised by clause type

Unlike its closest relations (Bauer et al., 1997; Lazard and Peltzer, 1999), Cook Islands Māori does not possess a wide variety of negative ‘markers’ with respect to their distribution over grammatical contexts (i.e. clause type or TAM). Dialectal variation of the exact form notwithstanding, there are only three different negative forms. Kāre negates everything except imperatives while auraka and ‘ei a’a negate imperatives.

Table 12.1 shows which negator is used for the list of grammatical contexts following the descriptions of negation in Negation in Oceanic languages (Hodvhaugen and Mosel, 1999).

Table 12.1: Inventory of negative constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Construction</th>
<th>Negative Element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative Pro-sentences</td>
<td>käre, ’āita (NPT), e kore (RAK) ’āore (MANG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation of existential clauses</td>
<td>käre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation of possessive clauses</td>
<td>kore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>term negation</td>
<td>kāre, kāore, kä’ore, ’āore, pāria, kāria, käre, käre, kä’ore, ’āore (MANG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation of verbal predicates</td>
<td>käre, käre, käore, kä’ore, ’āore, pāria, kāria, käre, käre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation of non verbal predicates</td>
<td>käre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation of focused NPs</td>
<td>käre (DIR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘not yet’</td>
<td>auraka, kauraka, kaua, aua ‘ei a’a ’ākē, käre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative imperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical negation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.4.1 Dialectal variations on ka + kore

There are a number of dialectal variations that can all be analysed as different phonological realised of ka + kore.² These include: käkore, kä’ore, käria (Ngā Pū Toru), käore, ‘āre (Mangaia), and kä’ore (Aitutaki). The form käre is the most common and although it is associated with the Rarotongan dialect it is attested in all varieties.

Speakers of the Ma’uke dialect also report the forms karia and paria whose functions cover both those of käre and those of the negative imperative. These forms may also be variants of ka+kore in which case they have undergone some more irregular sound changes and have expanded the range of functions that they cover.

²The vowel verbal particle ka would be phonetically long in a phrase comprising ka + kore, but orthographically, it is not marked. However the lexicalised negative forms do mark the length on the initial vowel.
The Ngā Pū Toru group of dialects also has the negator ‘āita, which is almost certain to have been borrowed from Tahitian where it is a negator for various constructions (Lazard and Peltzer, 1999). In CIM ‘āita is limited to the negative pro-sentence.

Table 12.2 shows the distribution of the various negative forms across the dialects of CIM. A check mark indicates fully productive use, a question mark indicates ‘less than fully productive but is attested’, while an ‘X’ indicates that the form is not attested in that dialect. In the ‘Negates What?’ column, ‘Z’ indicates ‘everything except imperatives’, while IMP = imperative and PROS = pro-sentence.

Table 12.2: The negatives by dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Negates What?</th>
<th>RAR</th>
<th>NPT</th>
<th>AIT</th>
<th>MANG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāre</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)āore</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)ā'ore</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karia</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paria</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)auraka</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)aua</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ei a'a</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ākē</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘āita</td>
<td>PROS</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore</td>
<td>LEXICAL</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.5 Negative pro-sentence

This section discusses the negative pro-sentence or the ‘no’ version of the answer to a closed question, also known as the “Pro-sentence of the denial”. In most dialects of CIM, negator kāre functions as the negative pro-sentence, however as noted in section 12.4.1, there is some dialectal variation in the form of the negative pro-sentence. In particular the Ngā Pū Toru dialect group favour the form ‘āita for the negative pro-sentence.

12.5.1 Yes/No questions

Example 538 shows a negative pro-sentence being given to a question.

(538) ‘E puka tēia? Kāre!

‘Is this a book? No!’

Usually the answer to these types of yes/no questions negates or affirms the entire proposition. Where the proposition is a negative question, as in 539, the way the question is answered differs from how it is done in English. In Example 539 person A asks the negative question in 539a which is answered by person B (not John). In 539b person
B is affirming the negative proposition of 539a. They are asserting that John did not eat the cake. The answer in 539c negates the proposition in 539a thus asserting that John did, in fact, eat the cake.

(539) a. Kāre a tione i kai i te kēke? (Person A)
   NEG PERS John PST eat ACC the cake
   ‘Didn’t John eat the cake?’

   b. Āe. Nāku te kēke i kai. (Person B - not John)
      yes POSS.ACAT.1SG the cake PST eat
      ‘Correct! It was me who ate the cake.’

      NEG POSS.ACAT.3SG EMPH the cake PST eat
      ‘No! It was him who ate the cake.’

In English the answer ‘no’ to a negative yes/no question means that the speaker agrees with the negative proposition, as in 540b.

(540) a. Didn’t John eat the cake?

   b. No, I did.

The English pattern is sometimes used in CIM, which I suspect is an English influence. However this pattern is usually rejected by native speakers when they are judging grammatically, sometimes even by those same speakers who have unconsciously produced it.³

The ‘Māori’ pattern is still dominant amongst children in Ma’uke (who are likely to be mono-lingual in CIM or strongly dominantly CIM speaking), which supports the suggestion that the ‘English’ pattern is a result of contact with English. The following example (541) is taken from a conversation I observed on an occasion in Ma’uke when my grandfather and I had come across a truck that had broken down on the road and he spoke to the group of young children sitting on the back.

(541) a. Kāre to toroka e mako nei?
   NEG your truck TAM good POSS1
   ‘Isn’t your truck ok?’ Tuakana Tuararii (speaker)

   b. Āe kua kino!
      correct TAM bad
      ‘Correct it’s broken down.’ Ma’uke children (speakers)

³NZM exhibits a similar pattern, whereby fluent speakers (and grammar books) will assert that the ‘Māori pattern’ is correct, and the ‘English’ pattern is incorrect, but will use the English pattern when they are speaking.
12.6Negationofverbalpredicates

All declarative verbal sentences are negated by kāre. Most verbal sentences are negated with the general pattern mentioned in section 12.2. This pattern is repeated here as it applies to verbal sentences:

\[
\text{Kāre} \rightarrow \text{SUBJECT} \rightarrow (\text{VERB PHRASES}) \rightarrow (\text{OTHER NPs and PPs})
\]

In this pattern the TAM in the dependent clause is i for past tense and e for non-past, as is the case for most subordinate clauses in Cim. Verbal sentences of all types can be negated with this pattern but there are some TAMs that also use a second strategy involving the subordinating conjunction ē. These will be discussed in section 12.8. The following examples show a range of negative verbal sentences along with their corresponding affirmative sentences. The NP that was originally the subject of the dependent clause is marked in bold. In all of these examples, that NP directly follows the negative verb phrase in the matrix clause.

Example 544 contains a pair of action intransitive sentences.

12.5.2 Other types of negative pro-sentences

Kāre forms part of a negative pro-sentence that expresses the message; ‘or not’, as in 542.

(542) Ka 'aka-pāpū rāua ā tēia Ru'irua, mē ka pā tēia matangi riri-nui 'ei 'ur'ia, kāre.

'They should be sure by this Tuesday whether the storm will develop into a full blown cyclone or not.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

Kāre can also form a negative pro-sentence that expresses the idea of ‘nothing’ or doing nothing, as in 543.

(543) Tei te a'a koe? Kāre.

'What are you doing? Nothing.’ (Buse et al., 1995:158: kāre)

(544) a. Kāre a Taipiro i moe ana.

'Taipiro didn’t sleep.’ (Simiona, 1979:34)

b. I moe ana a Taipiro.

'Taipiro slept.’
Example 545 contains a pair of active transitive (type I) sentences.

(545) a. Kāre au i kite meitaki i te araara Varani.
NEG 1SG TAM know good ACC DET speak French

'I didn’t speak French well.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:18:26-00:18:28) https://goo.gl/KQnOxy

b. I kite meitaki au i te araara Varani.
TAM know well 1SG ACC DET speak French

'I knew how to speak French well.'

Example 546 contains a pair of passive (type III) sentences with no overt agent phrase.

(546) a. Inārā, kāre téia i rave=ꞌia ana ki runga i te ‘are o ‘Uke Ariki.
CONTR NEG this TAM do=PASS PFV LOC on LOC DET house of ‘Uke Ariki

‘However, this was not done on the house of ‘Uke Ariki.’ (Purea, 2013:21)

b. I rave=ꞌia ana téia ki runga i te ‘are o ‘Uke Ariki.
TAM do=PASS PFV this LOC on LOC DET house of ‘Uke Ariki

‘This was done on the house of ‘Uke Ariki.’

Example 547 contains a pair of passive (type III) sentences with an overt agent phrase.

(547) a. Kāre aia i rutu=ꞌia e te ngaru ki runga i te uruātete i Tai-o-kura.
NEG 3SG TAM beat=PASS AGNT DET wave GOAL on LOC DET raised-coral-cliff LOC Tai-o-kura

‘He wasn’t beaten back by the waves onto the cliffs at Tai-o-kura.’ (Kauta et al., 1993:188)

b. I rutu=ꞌia aia e te ngaru ki runga i te uruātete i Tai-o-kura.
TAM beat=PASS 3SG AGNT DET wave GOAL on LOC DET raised-coral-cliff LOC Tai-o-kura

‘He was beaten back by the waves onto the cliffs at Tai-o-kura.’

Examples 548 and 549 contain pairs of stative sentences; 549 has an overt agent phrase and 548 does not.

(548) a. Kāre aia e mate.
NEG 3SG TAM die

‘He won’t die.’ (Tuatua Mai, 2014a)

b. Ka mate aia.
TAM dead 3SG

‘He will die.’
12.6. NEGATION OF VERBAL PREDICATES

(549)  

a. Kāre te ‘enua i mareka i tei tupu ki tā-rātou kai tei
    NEG DET island TAM pleased SAGNT DET.REL.PST arise ACC their food DET.REL.PST
    tuku=‘ia ki Akarana.
    send=PASS GOAL Auckland

    ‘The island was not pleased at what had happened to their food that was sent to Auckland.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. I mareka ana te ‘enua i tei tupu ki tā-rātou kai tei
    TAM pleased PFV DET islands SAGNT DET.REL.PST arise ACC their food DET.REL.PST
    tuku=‘ia ki Akarana.
    send=PASS GOAL Auckland

    ‘The island was pleased at what had happened to their food that was sent to Auckland.’

12.6.1 No raising

Although there is a strong preference for the subject of the clause that is being negated to be raised into the matrix clause, this process is not obligatory. The examples in 550 show negative sentences where the subject has remained in situ. The example in 550 is passive while that in 551 is a stative sentence.

(550)  

a. Kāre ‘oki i topa=‘ia ana tēia ingoa taki-ta‘i ‘ua ake.
    NEG EMP TAM name=PASS PFV this name DISTR-one MERELY DIR3

    ‘These names are not given individually (by an individual).’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:19:23-00:19:26) https://goo.gl/KQnOxy

b. I topa=‘ia ana tēia ingoa taki-ta‘i ‘ua ake.
    TAM name=PASS PFV this name DISTR-one MERELY DIR3

    ‘These names were given individually (by an individual).’

(551)  

a. Kāre i mātūtū te reo ‘eā.
    NEG TAM strong DET language eh

    ‘The language was not strong eh.’ Tangata Ateriano (speaker) (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012c:00:36:52-00:36:54) https://goo.gl/KQnOxy

b. I mātūtū ana te reo.
    TAM strong PFV DET language

    ‘The language was strong.’

---

5The postposed particle ana appears in this constructed example of the corresponding declarative sentence for 549a because sentence initial clauses introduced by I usually contain this particle, whereas non initial clauses such as those that occur in negative constructions can freely occur without it.
12.6.2 ‘Not yet’

In many Oceanic languages there is a particular negator that conveys the notion of ‘not yet’ (Hodvhaugen and Mosel, 1999). However, in CIM, this is conveyed by the inclusion of a postposed modifier in the negative phrase; either the external modifier rāi (552a), or the directional particle ake (552b), or both, as in 552c.

(552) a. Kāre rāi koe i ‘akaruke ake i tēnā ‘anga’anga ‘akapikipiki tangata nā-‘au?
   NEG EMP 2SG TAM leave DIR3 LOC that work lie person belong-2SG
   ‘You still haven’t desisted from deceiving people?’ (Buse et al., 1995:36: ‘akapiki(piki))

b. Kāre i ‘ānanau ake tāku au tīnana puakatoro.
   NEG TAM birth DIR3 my PL female cow
   ‘My cows haven’t calved yet.’

c. Ko te tangata tā-mātou i tiaki ana, kāre ake rāi i tae mai.
   SPEC DET person DET.REL-1PLEX TAM wait PFV NEG DIR3 TAM arrive DIR1 EMP
   ‘The person we were waiting for still hasn’t turned up.’ (Buse et al., 1995:157: kāre)

However, the combination of kāre and rāi does not exclusively mean ‘not yet’. It can also mean ‘not at all’, as in 553.

(553) a. Kāre rāi ‘e ‘apinga e kite-a mai ‘ei tauturu i a rātou.
   NEG EMP EXIST thing TAM find-CIA DIR2 COMP help ACC PERS 3PL
   ‘Nothing at all is found to help them.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:2)

b. Kāre rāi aia e kai kava ana.
   NEG EMP 3SG TAM eat alcohol HABIT
   ‘He never drinks alcohol.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012d:00:35:36-00:35:38) https://goo.gl/KQnOxy

Furthermore, the same postposed particles can also convey the notion of ‘no longer’, as in 554a. However, that sense can also be conveyed via the lexical item ‘aka’ou ‘again’, as in 554b.

(554) a. Ė kāre ake ra e rauka i aia kia ‘uri, nō-te-meia kua paruparu tōna kōpapa.
   CONJ NEG DIR3 POS3 TAM able SAGINT 3SG COMP turn because TAM weak his body
   ‘And then he could no longer turn over, he was so weak.’ (Buse et al., 1995:53: akēra)

b. Kua ‘aka-ta’ero aia i aia kia kore aia e inu ‘aka’ou.
   TAM CAUSE-intoxicated 3SG ACC 3SG OPT NEG 3SG TAM drink again
   ‘He pretended to be drunk in order not to drink any more.’ (Buse et al., 1995:42: ‘akata’ero)
12.7 Negation of non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal (or nominal predicates) are not uniform in the way that they are negated. Many nominal sentence types can be negated using the general pattern shown below:

\[
\text{Kāre} \rightarrow \text{SUBJECT} \rightarrow (\text{NOMINAL PREDICATE}) \rightarrow (\text{OTHER NPS and PPs})
\]

This pattern is shown in example 555. Example 555a is a negative stative-classifying sentence, 555b is a specific possessive sentence and 555c is a negative locative sentence.

(555)  

a. Kāre tēia i te mea ūmere.
   \[\text{NEG this LOC DET thing astonishing}\]
   ‘This isn’t surprising.’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:10)

b. Kāre tēia ‘enua nō rātou, inārā nō mātou.
   \[\text{NEG this land belong-OCAT 3PL CONTR belong-OCAT 1PLEX}\]
   ‘This land is not theirs, it’s ours.’ William Hakaoro, November 17 2015

c. Kāre ‘oki tōku mami i konei.
   \[\text{NEG EXP my mother LOC here}\]
   ‘My mother wasn’t here.’

However, most nominal sentences optionally or obligatorily use the ē strategy (cf. section 12.8). In the following section I will describe the various ways in which each type of nominal sentence is negated.

12.7.1 Equative nominal predicates

Equative nominal predicates (equative-ko sentences) are usually negated by the ē strategy, as shown in 556b. This follows the generic form shown below:

\[
\text{Kāre} \rightarrow \text{ē} \rightarrow \text{FULL DEPENDENT CLAUSE}
\]

All the examples in 556 relate to the affirmative equative sentence in 556a. The variant in 556b is the most common negation pattern for equative nominal sentences but there are other acceptable variants. In 556c the particle ē precedes the ko phrase, which has been extra-posed to the sentence final position. This results in a sentence which has the form \[\text{NEGATIVE PREDICATE} \rightarrow \text{SUBJECT} \rightarrow \text{ORIGINAL PREDICATE}\]. Speakers also produce the variant in 556d which merely juxtaposes the negator kāre in front of the original sentence and makes no further change.
12.7.2 Classifying

Classifying sentences are negated consistently with the following pattern:

\[
\text{Kāre} \rightarrow \text{SUBJECT} \rightarrow \text{i DET} \rightarrow \text{Head of the original predicate}
\]

Example 557a is the negation of example 557b. In 557a the determiner ‘e (of 557b) is replaced by the particle i and the generic determiner te. This process occurs in NZM (in both classifying and equative sentences) and Bauer says; “Just which of the several homophonous i’s of Māori this i is, is open to question, but my best guess is that it is the neutral locative preposition.” (Bauer, 2004:31). CIM has a similarly broad palette of homophonous i’s and the same question applies here. I have followed Bauer’s lead for now and am glossing the i in this construction as LOC but I think this construction warrants further investigation.

(557) a. Kāre aia i te pēpe mānea.
    NEG 3SG LOC DET baby beautiful
    ‘He was not a beautiful baby.’ (Simiona, 1979:54)

b. ‘E pēpe mānea aia
    CLS baby beautiful 3SG
    ‘He was a beautiful baby.’

The examples in 558 both contain negative classifying sentences.
(558) a. ‘E taupō tēnā maki, kāre i te ‘ēē.
   CLS ulcer DEM2 illness NEG LOC DET boil
   ‘That’s an ulcer you’ve got, not a boil.’ (Buse et al., 1995:473: taupō)

b. Kāre rātou i te Varani.
   NEG 3PL LOC DET French
   ‘They aren’t French.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:40:03-00:40:04)
   https://goo.gl/KQnOxy

12.7.2.1 Negative stative-classifying sentences

The examples in 559 are negative stative-classifying sentences. In 559 the negative sentences follow the same pattern as the ordinary classifying sentences above.

(559) a. Auē, kāre tēia pona i te mā.
   oh NEG this shirt LOC DET clean
   ‘Oh dear, this shirt isn’t clean.’

b. Kāre tō Tere kāinga i te muramura, ‘e auika ra.
   NEG DET.POSS Tere home LOC DET red CLS blue POS3
   ‘Tere’s house is not red it’s blue.’ Makiuti Tongia, February 20 2014

More common in the negation of stative-classifying sentences however is the pattern shown in 560 (as well as 557a above). In this pattern the predicate that is being negated contains some sort of generic head noun (in bold) that is modified by a stative. The existence of this type of construction supports the analysis, proposed in section 5.3.2, that the stative-classifying sentence type is derived from a construction that involved just such a generic head noun.

(560) a. Kāre tēia i te mea ūmere.
   NEG this LOC DET thing amazing
   ‘This is not a surprising thing.’ or ‘This is not surprising’ (Salesa and Nikora, 2004:10)

b. Kāre ia i te mea meitaki.
   NEG 3X LOC DET thing good
   ‘It isn’t a good thing.’ (Buse et al., 1995:116: ia1)

6As was discussed in section 5.3.2, stative-classifying sentences have a stative but no noun in the predicate NP.
c. Kāre tēia i te tere mataora nō mātou.
   NEG this DET trip happy for 1PLEX
   ‘This wasn’t a happy trip for us.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:00:56-00:00:59) https://goo.gl/KQnOxy

d. Kāre a Tangi i te tangata kino ki a tāua.
   NEG PERS Tangi LOC DET person bad LOC PERS 1DINC
   ‘Tangi was not a bad person to us.’ (Rere, 1967:41)

12.7.3 Possessive ‘E

The possessive-‘E construction (561) can be negated by the ē strategy, as in 562.

(561) ‘E ‘are muramura tō Tere.
   CLS house red DET.POSS.OCAT Tere
   ‘Tere has a red house.’

(562) Kāre ē ‘e ‘are muramura tō Tere.
   NEG COMP CLS house red DET.POSS.OCAT Tere
   ‘Tere does not have a red house.’

The possessive-‘E construction can also be negated by treating kāre like a numeral, as in 563.

(563) a. Kare āku kiorengiao.
   NEG DET.PL.ACAT.1SG cat
   ‘I don’t have any cats.’ Jean Tekura Mason, February 21 2014

b. Kāre ō Tere ‘are muramura.
   NEG DET.PL.OCAT Tere house red
   ‘Tere has no red house(s).’

c. Kāre ā’au pēni
   NEG DET.PL.ACAT.2SG pen
   ‘You don’t have any pens’ Keitianne Terepaii, November 8 2013

The sentence in 561 can also be negated using the strategy for classifying sentences, as in 564.
12.7. NEGATION OF NON-VERBAL PREDICATES

(564) Kāre tō Tere i te ‘are muramura
NEG DET.POSS.OCAT Tere LOC DET house red
‘Tere’s (house) isn’t a red house.’ Ota Tuæu, February 20 2014

12.7.4 Locative predicates

Locative sentences are negated using the standard pattern, as in 565, where the original subject phrase is in bold. As with the negative verbal sentences and with non sentence-initial locative phrases generally, the locative particle that is available is reduced to just the neutral i. As such the negative sentence of 565a is not specified for tense, unlike the affirmative counterpart in 565b.

(565) a. Kāre ‘oki tōku mami i konei
NEG EMP my mother LOC here
‘My mother wasn’t/isn’t/will not be here.’
b. Tei konei ‘oki tōku mami
LOC.PRS here EMP my mother
‘My mother is here.’

The same pattern applies to locative sentences expressing temporary possession, as in 566.

(566) a. Tei a Mere te puka.
LOC.PRES PERS Mere the book
‘Mere has the book.’ LIT: ‘The book is at Mere.’
b. Kāre te puka i a Mere.
NEG the book LOC PERS Mere
‘Mere does not/did not/will not have the book.’ LIT: ‘The book is not at Mere.’

12.7.5 Specific possessive clauses

Specific possessive sentences can be negated using the standard pattern, as in 567.

(567) Nāku te puaka nui.
POSS.ACAT-1SG DET pig pregnant
‘I have the pregnant pig.’ or, ‘The pregnant pig belongs to me.’
(568) \textit{Kāre te puaka nui nāku}  \\
\textsc{neg det pig pregnant poss.acat-1sg}  \\
‘I don’t have the pregnant pig.’ or, ‘The pregnant pig does not belong to me.’

They can also be negated leaving the subject in situ, as in 569.

(569) \textit{Kāre nāku tēia, nā-ꞌau}  \\
\textsc{neg belong.1sg this belong-2sg}  \\
‘This isn’t mine it’s yours.’ Tauraki Raea Rongo, November 18 2015

However there is a preference (at least amongst my consultants) for specific possessives to be negated using the \textit{ē} strategy, as in 570.

(570) a. \textit{Nō Mere tērā ‘are}  \\
\textsc{belong.ocat mere that house}  \\
‘That house belongs to Mere.’

b. \textit{Kāre ē nō Mere tērā ‘are.}  \\
\textsc{neg comp belong.ocat mere dem3 house}  \\
‘It is not that, that house belongs to Mere.’

\section*{12.7.6 Actor emphatic}

The actor emphatic construction is obligatorily negated using the \textit{ē} strategy (cf. section 12.8). Example 571a is an affirmative actor emphatic sentence and 571b shows the negation of that sentence.

(571) a. \textit{Nāna i tāmate i te taote.}  \\
\textsc{ae.3sg pst cause-dead acc det doctor}  \\
‘She killed the doctor.’

b. \textit{Kāre ē nāna i tāmate i te taote.}  \\
\textsc{neg comp ae.3sg pst cause-dead acc det doctor}  \\
‘She did not kill the doctor.’ (‘It was not her who killed the doctor.’)

The sentences in example 572 are not considered grammatical.
12.8 Negation with the subordinating conjunction ē

As we have now seen, some clause types and some TAM contexts require or allow the subordinate clause to be introduced with the subordinating conjunction ē. When this ē strategy is employed the form of the dependent clause is not usually changed, as in 573, rather the phrase kāre ē is merely juxtaposed to the beginning of the sentence being negated.

Table 12.3 summarises the distribution of ē with respect to clause type for nominal sentences and TAM for verbal sentences.

Verbal sentences with the TAM tē ...POSITIONAL PARTICLE require the ē strategy, as in 574.

Similarly, verbal sentences with the TAM tei te, (as in 575a), allow this strategy, (as in 575b), although these sentences can also be negated via the standard negation process, as in 575c.
Table 12.3: Allows or requires a construction with CONJ Ė

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constructions</th>
<th>Allows</th>
<th>Requires</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructions of TAM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tē ...POS</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tei te</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kua</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E ...ana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative Ko</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Emphatic</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive 'E</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific Possessive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifying</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(575) a. Tei-te moe aia.
   PRS sleep 3SG
   's/he is sleeping.'

b. Kāre Ė tei-te moe aia
   NEG COMP PRS sleep 3SG
   's/he is not sleeping.'

c. Kāre aia e moe mai ra.
   NEG 3SG TAM sleep DIR POS3
   's/he is not sleeping.'

It is notable that all the constructions that use the Ė strategy are either nominal or likely to have derived from nominal constructions. The TAM tē is likely to have derived from the generic determiner te, while tei te is derived from the locative particle tei. The actor emphatic, which has a verbal element, requires the Ė strategy but this fact supports the analysis of that construction as having a nominal predicate (cf. section 7.10). However, this strategy is not obligatory or even acceptable for all nominal predicate types, and thus, does not serve as a definitive test for identifying a nominal predicate.
12.9 Term negation

The sequence kāre 'e 表示 the concept of ‘none’, ‘no one’ or ‘weren’t any’, which Vonen (1999:136), in reference to Tokelauan, calls term negation. As this negative element is always sentence initial, only the subject of a sentence can be negated in this way (cf. section 6.9.2). The sentences in 576 show negated subjects for all four of the basic verbal sentence types. Example 576a is a passive (type III), 576b is an active (type I), 576c is an active intransitive and 576d is a stative.

(576) a. Kāre ‘e potonga puakatoro e kite-a atu i roto i tērā tiōpu.
   NEG EXIST piece corned-beef TAM see-CIA DIR2 LOC inside LOC that soup
   ‘The weren’t any bits of corned beef seen inside that soup.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Mason, J.T. (speaker), 2012:00:03:12-00:03:15) https://goo.gl/KQnOxy

b. Kāre ‘e tangata i roto i taua tapere i kite ana i tēia tamaiti.
   NEG EXIST person LOC inside LOC DET.ANA village TAM know PFV ACC this child
   ‘Everybody in that village knew that child.’ (Simiona, 1979:6)

c. Kāre ‘e tangata i ‘ano mai na inana’i.
   NEG ART? person PST go DIR1 POS2 yesterday
   ‘No one came yesterday.’ Jean Tekura Mason, February 20 2012

d. Kāre ‘e tangata e mareka ana i te kava ma’ana
   NEG ART? person HABIT like HABIT ACC DET alcohol warm
   ‘Nobody likes warm beer.’ Makiuti Tongia, February 20 2012

12.9.0.1 Negation of existential clauses with ‘e

The type of negation described in the previous section could be categorised as existential. Indeed this pattern is used for existential clauses proper (cf. section 5.3.4). The examples in 577 are negative existential sentences. These sentences are somewhat problematic with respect to the analysis of the ‘e phrase. Ordinarily, subject NPs are only ever introduced by the determiner ‘e when they precede the predicate phrase, i.e. when they are fronted. However it is not clear that this is what is happening in the examples in 577.

As was discussed in section 5.3.4.1, there is a type of notionally subjectless existential sentence (shown in 579) that poses an analytical problem.

The same problem applies to the negative existential sentence of 577. It could be the case that the ‘e phrase in these sentences is the subject of the dependent clause and has been raised as is typical in negative constructions. Under this analysis the affirmative sentences would look something like those in 578. However, there are two further possibilities for the affirmative sentences. Those in 579 are the notional subjectless existential as discussed in 5.3.4.1.

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3This phenomenon is also variously known as adnominal ‘no’, or constituent negation.
In these sentences it is unclear whether the ‘e phrase is the fronted subject of a locative sentence or an existential predicate with an unrealised subject phrase. The variant with the realised subject phrase would be those in 580 which have the overt generic subject tētaꞌi (cf. 5.3.4). This issue requires further investigation.

(577) a. ‘Āore ‘e tangata i roto i te ‘are.
    NEG  exist  person  loc  inside  loc  det  house
    ‘There are no people in the house.’ Tuteretere Moetaua, February 20 2014
b. Kāre ‘e ‘are muramura i Akarana.
    NEG  exist  house  red  loc  Auckland
    ‘There are no red houses in Auckland.’ Ota Teau, February 20 2014
c. Kāre ‘e tumunū i konei.
    NEG  exist  coconut-tree  loc  here
    ‘There are no coconut trees here.’ Bene Matapo, November 8 2013

(578) a. I roto tētaꞌi tangata i te ‘are.
    loc  inside  det.i.s  person  loc  det  house
    ‘There is a person (are people) in the house.’
b. Tei Akarana tētaꞌi au ‘are muramura.
    loc  Auckland  det.i.s  pl  house  red
    ‘There are red houses in Auckland.’
c. Tei konei tētaꞌi tumunū.
    loc  here  det.i.s  coconut-tree
    ‘There are coconut trees here.’

(579) a. ‘E tangata i roto i te ‘are.
    exist  person  loc  inside  loc  det  house
    ‘There is a person (are people) in the house.’
b. ‘E ‘are muramura i Akarana.
    exist  house  red  loc  Auckland
    ‘There are red houses in Auckland.’
12.10. NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES

As previously mentioned, negative imperative constructions show some variation with respect to the form of the negator. There are two productive negative imperative forms and a number of other restricted or archaic forms. Once again there is some dialectal variation in the form of the negators but not in the syntax. Having negative imperatives that are distinct from the negators of declaratives is common, both cross-linguistically generally (Payne, 1997:285), and in Oceanic languages in particular (Hodvhaugen and Mosel, 1999).

12.10.1 Auraka

Auraka is the basic negative imperative marker (in the Rarotongan dialect at least). As the subject of an imperative is often the addressee(s), it is frequently omitted, as in 581a, but it is not obligatorily omitted. Even a second person referent may be overtly expressed (581b), in which case it usually occurs immediately after the negator, as with most other negative sentences. Negative imperatives follow the same pattern as the standard negation pattern except that the TAM of the dependent clause is always e (‘non past’).

(581) a. Auraka e ui mai i tā te kavamani ka rave nō‘ou.
    neg.IMP TAM ask DIR1 ACC DET.POSS.ACAT the government TAM do BEN.1SG
    ‘Don’t ask what the government can do for you.’ (Tongaia, 2011)

b. ‘E tumunū tumunū i konei.
   NEG EXIST coconut tree PRO.LOC1
   ‘There are coconut trees here.’

c. ‘E tumunū tumunū i konei.
   EG EXIST coconut tree PRO.LOC1
   ‘There are coconut trees here.’

(580) a. ‘E tangata tēta’i i roto i te ‘are.
   EXIST person PRO.EXIST LOC inside LOC DET house
   ‘There is a person (are people) in the house.’

b. ‘E ‘are muramura tēta’i i Akarana.
   EXIST house red PRO.EXIST LOC Auckland
   ‘There are red houses in Auckland.’

c. ‘E tumunū tumunū tēta’i i konei.
   EXIST coconut tree PRO.EXIST LOC here
   ‘There are coconut trees here.’
b. “E Tiki ē! Auraka koe e kake ki te rārā marō, e kake ki te rārā mata, VOC Tiki VOC NEG.IMP 1SG TAM climb LOC the branch dry TAM climb LOC the branch green ka mate ā-ea koe.” TAM die CAVEAT 1SG

‘Oh Tiki don’t you climb up by the dead branch; rather climb by the green branch, lest you get killed.’ (Tara'are, 1920b:111)

12.10.1.1 Auraka kia

**Auraka** can precede the optative verbal particle **kia**, as in 582. This pattern is used for imperatives where the referent being given the instruction (the subject of the imperative clause) is not the 2nd person. In 582a the subject of the imperative clause is a 3rd person referent, the addressee being the audience in this instance. The lexical head of the **kia** phrase in 582b is a stative, and as such, the subject of the imperative clause is the patient NP.

(582) a. *Kua 'apai aia i a Varokura ki roto i tōna 'are ē kua 'akakite ki aia, TAM take 3SG ACC PERS Varokura GOAL inside LOC her house CONJ TAM explain IO 3SG auraka kia 'aere Ø ki va'o i te taime e 'aere ei aia i-te ma'ani kai. NEG.IMP TAM go Ø GOAL outside LOC the time TAM go AIA 3SG COMP make food*‘She took Varokura into her house and explained to him not to go outside while she was going to make food.’ (Simiona, 1979:59)

b. *Mē 'apai mai koe i te reira vai, auraka kia maringi 'aere Ø é auraka katoa COND carry DIR 1SG ACC DET that water NEG.IMP OPT spill go Ø CONJ NEG.IMP also kia ngotea=ia e te 'ue. OPT absorb=PASS AGNT the calabash* ‘When you carry that water do not spill or let it get absorbed by the calabash.’ (Simiona, 1979:62)

The subject of the clause introduced by **kia** can intervene between **auraka** and **kia**, as in 583.

(583) *Noa-atu rāi 'oki ē 'e etene tō-tātou 'ai tupuna, auraka tātou kia manako ē kāre CONC EMP EMP COMP CLS heathen our NUM ancestors NEG.IMP 1PL INC OPT think COMP NEG 'e mārikonga i tō-rātou ora'anga. EXIST orderliness LOC their life* ‘Even though our ancestors were “heathens” we should not think that their lives were without order.’ (Rere, 1967:3)
12.10. **NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES**

12.10.2 *ꞌEi aꞌa*

According to Buse (1995:97) the negator *ꞌEi aꞌa* is used for 'less direct' imperatives than *auraka*. There is a homophonous form which Buse lists separately and is glossed as 'for what' or 'for what purpose', as in 584.

(584) *ꞌEi aꞌa* tēnā ʻāuri tui kākāu nāꞌau?

LOC.FUT what DEM2 iron sew clothes BEN.2SG

'What are you going to use the sewing machine for?' (Buse et al., 1995:89: ʻāuri)

The negative imperative is likely to have derived from this form. Examples of imperative *ꞌeiaꞌa* are shown in 585.


VOC my child NEG.IMP 2SG TAM be-acustomed COMP speak ACC the speak lie

'Oh my child do not become accustomed to telling lies.' (Rere, 1967:9)

b. *ꞌEi-aꞌa* e auē!

NEG.IMP TAM cry

'Don’t cry!' (Heather et al., ndb:6)

*ꞌEi aꞌa* is the most common negative imperative in the Ngā Pū Toru dialects, where the form *auraka* is considered to be 'RAROTONGAN'. Unlike *auraka* when *ei aꞌa* precedes a phrase with the optative verbal particle *kia*, the subject of that clause can be second person referent, as in 586a. However the subject can also be a non second person referent (586b) as was the usual pattern with *auraka*.

(586) a. *ꞌEi-aꞌa* koe *kia* kore e ʻārāvai i āku.

NEG.IMP 2SG OPT NEG TAM meet ACC 1SG

'Don’t fail to meet me.' (Buse et al., 1995:193: kore)

b. *Inārā, ʻei-aꞌa* ka maꞌata rava tāꞌau kinaki matū ka parai ki runga i reira.

CONTR NEG.IMP OPT large IMP your seasoning fat TAM fry LOC on LOC PRO.LOC

'However don’t let there be too much fat fried on it.' Lit: ‘May the fat not be too much that is fried on it.’

(New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2009:2)

12.10.3 *Kaua, ʻaua*

The form *kaua* and its variant *ʻaua* is another negative imperative form. It is no longer common in any dialect of contemporary CIM but examples can be found in older texts, as in 587.
12.10.4 'Ākē

The negative imperative form 'ākē (588) is nearly obsolete in Rarotongan but slightly more productive in the Ngā Pū Toru dialects. It differs from the other negators in that it does not require an overt verbal particle in the subordinate clause. However it may well be that the verbal particle e has been fused into the negator. The etymology of this form is unclear from the available data but one suggestion is that it is a contraction of 'aka-kē, CAUSE-different.

(588) a. 'Ākē no'o ki kona, ka ʻō='ia koe e te anu.

'Don’t sit there, you’ll catch cold.' (Buse et al., 1995:53: 'ākē1)

b. 'Ākē tuku, kāre e pa'u=na='ia tō-tātou ma'u tai, 'ākē, 'ākē roa e tuku.

'Let (her) not, so wasteful is the time our bodies are soaked with salt-water; don’t let (her) go.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:30)

c. 'Ākē karo!

'Don’t look.’

12.11 Lexical negation (kore)

The stative kore ‘be non existent’ is used for lexical negation. It can modify any base to derive the meanings ‘not-X’ or ‘without-X’, as in 589.
The stative kore can also head a VP, as in (590).

(590) a. ‘E ’anga’anga mātau nā mātou i-te ōire ē ki tērā ōire
CLS work customary belong 1PLEX COMP travel GOAL DEM3 village CONJ GOAL DEM3 village
i mua ake nei, kāreka i tēianei, kua kore ’ua
LOC before DIR3 POS1 CONTR LOC now TAM NEG MERELY
‘It was our custom in former times to travel from village to village, but nowadays it has died out.’ (Buse et al., 1995:260: mua)

b. Kua kore te kai tangata; kua kore te matakutaku i roto i tō-rātou ora’anga.
TAM NEG DET eat person TAM NEG DET anxiety LOC inside LOC their life
‘Cannibalism has ceased, the fear has ceased within their lives.’ (Rere, 1983:51)

c. Tē vai nei te au ngāi tau nō te au tangata te-ka kore i rauka te
TAM exist POS1 DET PL place appropriate BEN DET PL people TAM.REL-FUT NEG TAM able DET
kimi pu’apinga nō te ora’anga,
seek value BEN DET life
‘An appropriate place exists for the people who are unable to seek wellbeing for life’ (Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, 1976:4)

Kore is particularly common with the optative verbal particle kia in subordinate clauses, as in 591.
The people of Fiji have asked the government to make a horn such as a siren so that everyone can hear so that Fiji is not struck again by flood waters. (Tongaia, 2013)

‘He asked persuasively that Rairi would not go.’ (Tanga et al., 1984:24)

12.12 Summary

This chapter gave a broad overview of negation in CIM. Section 12.2 described the general syntax of negative sentences, section 12.3 the morphology of negation, and section 12.4 the distribution of the various negative forms.

Table 12.4 gives examples of the types of negative constructions in CIM that were treated in this chapter.
### Table 12.4: Negation in CIM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative pro-sentence (section 12.5)</td>
<td>E reka ana koe i te tu'e pōro? Kāre!</td>
<td>Do you like rugby? No!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active transitive (type I)</td>
<td>Kāre rātou e ‘aere.</td>
<td>They won’t go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive (type III)</td>
<td>Kāre rātou e tunu i te kai.</td>
<td>They won’t cook the food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>Kāre te kai e tunua e rātou.</td>
<td>The food won’t be cooked by them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>Kāre te kai e pou i a rātou.</td>
<td>The food won’t be consumed by them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative -ko (12.7.1)</td>
<td>Kāre ē ko rātou te arongo tunu kai.</td>
<td>They aren’t the chefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifying (12.7.2)</td>
<td>Kāre rātou i te aronga tunu kai.</td>
<td>They aren’t chefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative-classifying (12.7.2.1)</td>
<td>Kāre tā rātou kai i te moa.</td>
<td>Their food isn’t cooked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive ‘E (12.7.3)</td>
<td>Kāre ē ‘e kai tā rātou.</td>
<td>They don’t have any food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative (12.7.4)</td>
<td>Kāre rātou i roto i te ‘are.</td>
<td>They are not in the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific possessive (12.7.5)</td>
<td>Kāre ē nā rātou te au kai.</td>
<td>The food isn’t for them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present-Continuous (12.8)</td>
<td>Kāre ē tē tunu nei rātou i te kai.</td>
<td>They aren’t cooking the food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Emphatic (12.7.6)</td>
<td>Kāre ē nā rātou e tunu i te kai.</td>
<td>They won’t cook the food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential negation (12.9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overt subject</td>
<td>Kāre ‘e kai tēta’i i konei</td>
<td>There’s no food here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjectless</td>
<td>Kāre ‘e kai i konei.</td>
<td>There’s no food here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative imperative (12.10)</td>
<td>Auraka e tunu i te kai!</td>
<td>Don’t cook the food!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical negation (12.11)</td>
<td>‘E kite-kore rātou.</td>
<td>They are incompetent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 13

Conclusion

This thesis began in chapter 1 with some background information about CIM and its people. This included: the geography and political status of the Cook Islands (1.2), an overview of the languages of the Cook Islands (1.3), the status of CIM (1.4), previous work on CIM (1.5), and dialectal variation within CIM (1.6). The methodology (1.7) and conventions (1.8) used in this thesis were also described.

The subsequent chapters described the grammar of CIM in a hierarchical fashion, from the phonology and orthography in chapter 2, to complex sentences in the later chapters.

Chapter 2 covered the phonetics and phonology of CIM including: the phoneme paradigm (2.2 and 2.3), phonotactics (2.4), the phonological phrase (2.5), intonation (2.6), some phonological processes (2.7), reduplication (section 2.8), stress (2.9), and orthography (2.10).

Chapter 3 initially discussed word classes, including the literature pertaining to the analysis of word classes in isolating languages such as CIM (3.2 to 3.4). The claim was then made that CIM does indeed possess the word classes of ‘nouns’ and ‘verbs’ (3.5). The second part of this chapter gave an overview of the behaviour of nouns (3.6), pronouns (3.7), and verbs (3.8). The last part of this chapter covered word formation, including: inflection (3.9), derivation (3.10), compounding (3.11), reduplication (3.12), and conjunction (3.13).

Chapter 4 covered the internal structure of the syntactic phrase. The Polynesian syntactic phrase was introduced (4.2), followed by the CIM verb phrase (4.3), verbal particles (4.4), noun phrase (4.5), and nominal particles (4.6). The features that are common to both VPs and NPs were then addressed, including: the internal structure of the nucleus of the syntactic phrase (4.7), the postposed particles (4.8), and the preposed modifiers (4.9). Lastly, some issues of word order (4.10), and the semi-external particle me were addressed.

Chapter 5 described simple (mono-clausal) nominal sentences including: equative (5.2), classifying (5.3.1, 5.3.2), possessive-E (5.3.3), existential (5.3.4), bare predicate existential (5.4), locative (5.5), specific possessive (5.6), presentative (5.7), and exclamatory (5.8).

Chapter 6 described the following simple (mono-clausal) types verbal sentences: action intransitives (6.2), active transitives (6.3), passives (6.4), stative (6.5), three-participant constructions (6.6), and zero Intransitive constructions (6.7). The case-marking system was examined (6.8), as was the system of grammatical relations (6.9). Lastly, valence-adjusting operations were addressed (6.10).
Chapter 7 described the CIM actor emphatic construction (7.2 to 7.8), and analysed the actor emphatic construction with reference to the literature on this construction in related languages (7.9 and 7.10).

Chapter 8 gave details of the non-core prepositional phrases (adjunct phrases), including: locative phrases of space (8.2), locative phrases of time (8.3), instrument phrases (8.4), comitative phrases (8.5), and possessive phrases (8.6 and 8.7).

Chapter 9 described the morphology of the CIM coordinators (9.2), and three types of coordination: conjunction (9.3), disjunction (9.4), and adversative coordination (9.5).

Chapter 10 covered multi-clause constructions or complex sentences, including complement clauses (10.2), adverbial clauses (sections 10.3 to 10.5), conditional clauses (10.6), and relative clauses (10.7).

Chapter 11 addressed grammar of possession in CIM. The first topic was the semantic system that determines the choice between ACAT and OCAT possession (11.2). Further topics included: possessive nominalisations (11.3), attributive possession (11.4), predicative possession (11.5) and, lastly, the possessive elements of the actor emphatic and the TĀ-strategy or ‘possessive’ relative clause (11.6).

Chapter 12 discussed negation, including: the general syntax of negative sentences (12.2), the morphology of negative forms (12.3), the distribution of the negative forms (12.4), the negative pro-sentence (12.5), the syntax negative verbal (12.6) and nominal clauses (12.7), the ē strategy of negation (12.8), existential negation (12.9), negative imperatives (12.10), and lexical negation (12.11).
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Appendices
Appendix A

Vowel Measurements

Table A.1 shows the raw data for figure 2.7.

Table A.1: Data for V1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>F1..Hz.</th>
<th>F2..Hz.</th>
<th>F3..Hz.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>474.788</td>
<td>1468.343</td>
<td>3035.348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>630.02</td>
<td>1557.382</td>
<td>2900.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>347.078</td>
<td>2289.281</td>
<td>3024.425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>354.544</td>
<td>2466.002</td>
<td>3080.908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>294.352</td>
<td>2589.621</td>
<td>3098.494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>270.236</td>
<td>2665.351</td>
<td>3073.737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>393.718</td>
<td>1215.927</td>
<td>3088.482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>352.265</td>
<td>884.422</td>
<td>3208.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>312.312</td>
<td>1293.46</td>
<td>3036.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>268.759</td>
<td>1025.849</td>
<td>3286.894</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.2 shows the raw data for figure 2.8.

Table A.2: Data for T1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>F1..Hz.</th>
<th>F2..Hz.</th>
<th>F3..Hz.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>1342</td>
<td>2191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>767</td>
<td>1249</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>2130</td>
<td>2526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>2260</td>
<td>2748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>2460</td>
<td>3189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>2422</td>
<td>3064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>2292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>2266</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>u:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>2460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

Bazells’s linguists

The following passage is taken from Bazell (1958:7) via Buse (1965:43).

Traditional grammars have it that many English words can be used both as nouns and verbs - e.g. *call, stay, seal, show*, etc. This is one way of putting the position. But the linguist has many ways open to him of stating it.

One linguist will state that there is a relation of overlapping between the classes of noun and verb, such that the same unit may be a member of both classes.

A second linguist may state that there are three classes of unit here, three parts of speech (if he uses this term), the functional range of one class covering the functional range of the other two combined. So if we choose to call thief a noun and rob a verb, we shall have to find a third term for such units as call and show.

By a third linguist, call and show might be taken as different units, mere homophones, in one function and the other. As with the second linguist, there would be no over-lapping of classes, though there would be an overlapping of forms from one class to the other.

A fourth linguist might choose to say that there is only one class of words here, containing, however, a fair number of words with defective paradigms: from his standpoint, the absence of *virtued or *the virtues from the paradigm of virtue would be on a par with the absence of *an oat or *a tong from the paradigm of oats and tongs.

If each of these four linguists took his system seriously from the standpoint of typology, he first would say that English has a large measure of overlapping in its categories; the second that not the categories, but rather their ranges, overlap; the third that English is characterized by a large number of homonyms; and finally the fourth, that it is characterized by a large number of defective paradigms.
Appendix C

The constructions with ergative traces in NZM

The following examples demonstrate the various NZM constructions that show ‘ergative traces’ (Bauer et al., 1997:533), as introduced in section 6.8.3.1

Table C.1 shows the range of constructions with ‘ergative traces’ in NZM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern Type</th>
<th>Agent NP marker</th>
<th>P NP marker</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>i or ki</td>
<td>*heA *heP</td>
<td>Active transitive 592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>he P *heA</td>
<td>Me imperative type I 598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>heP *heA</td>
<td>Ergative relic verbs 601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or nā</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>he P *heA</td>
<td>Pseudo Passive 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>e or Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>he P *heA</td>
<td>Me imperative type II 597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II* or n/a</td>
<td>i or e</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>he P *heA</td>
<td>Stative 595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II* or n/a</td>
<td>nā or mà</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>he P *heA</td>
<td>Actor Emphatic 596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>he P *heA</td>
<td>Passive 593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>voc-e or n/a</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>he P *heA</td>
<td>Transitive imperative 594</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C.1 The ‘active’ or type I construction

Example 592 shows the ‘active’, or type I sentence type. This construction is usually analysed as having nominative-accusative case marking.

(592) Kua patu Ø te tama kino i tāku tamahehei.

‘The bad boy has hit my rooster.’

1If no source is given, then the example is constructed.
C.2 The ‘passive’ or type III construction

The NZM passive construction is well known for its unusual-ness amongst Polynesians (Bauer et al., 1997; Chung, 1978; Clark, 1973; Gibson and Starosta, 1990; Harlow, 2007; Kendall, 1815; Nicholas, 2010). Example 593a shows the ‘passive’, or type III equivalent of 592. This construction has the ergative features of a Ø marked patient NP, and an agent NP marked by e. However, the verb in this construction is suffixed, so it is not a type II construction (cf. 6.8.1). Examples 593b show another ‘ergative trace’ feature - a patient NP marked by the determiner he. This is not grammatical in a type I construction.

(593) a. Kua patua Ø tāku tamaheihe he te tama kino.
   TAM hit-CIA my rooster AGNT the boy bad
   ‘The bad boy has hit my rooster.’ or ‘My rooster has been hit by the bad boy’

b. Nō reira au ka hiahia kia hangai-a he rori ki reira hei painga mō aua tangata thus 3SG TAM desire OPT build-CIA DET.I road LOC there COMP benifit for those people
   kua kōrero ake nei.
   TAM speak DIR3 POS1
   ‘Thus I wish that a road be built there to benefit those people who have spoken.’ (New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2009)

C.3 The transitive Imperative

In NZM the passive imperative (594) (cf. the CIM transitive imperative in section 6.4.6) is obligatory for transitive imperatives. This construction has all the same ‘ergative trace’ features as the declarative type III construction. Example 594d shows an intransitive imperative for comparison.

(594) a. Inu-mia Ø te wai!
   drink-CIA Ø the water
   ‘Drink the water!’

b. Inu-mia Ø he wai!
   drink-CIA Ø DET.I water
   ‘Drink some water!’

c. Inu-mia!
   drink-CIA
   ‘Drink it!’
C.4 ‘Stative’ sentences

The stative construction in NZM can be considered to show ergative traces (Bauer et al., 1997:537). This construction has: an unmarked verb, a Ø marked patient NP, and an overtly marked agent NP. However, the agent phrase is marked by i, not e.

(595) a. Kua riro-Ø Ø te whenua i te Kāwanatanga.
   TAM be-taken Ø DET land SAGNT the government
   ‘The land had been taken by the Government.’

b. Kua pau-Ø Ø ngā rāre i ngā tamariki.
   TAM exhausted Ø DET.PL Ø lollie SAGNT the.PL
   ‘The lollies have been consumed by the children’

C.5 Actor Emphatic

The actor emphatic construction in NZM (596) differs from the CIM actor emphatic, in that the variation where the patient NP is in the accusative case (marked by i) is ungrammatical (596b). Thus, the patient phrase is always Ø marked, as in 596a. The determiner he is permissible in the patient phrase, as in 596c. In the NZM actor emphatic construction, the agent phrase is overtly marked either by nā for the past tense (596a), or by mā for future tense (596c). As in the CIM actor emphatic, the verb is always unsuffixed in a NZM actor emphatic construction.

(596) a. Nā rātou i whakatū ngā kaitiaki.
   AE.PST 3PL TAM appoint DET.PL guardian
   ‘They appointed the guardians.’ (Matariki, 1881:2)

b. *Nā rātou i whakatū i ngā kaitiaki.
   AE.PST 3PL TAM appoint ACC DET.PL guardian
   ‘They appointed the guardians.’

c. Mā tētahi Mema e tuku he Pire.
   AE DET.I.S member TAMsend DET.I bill
   ‘A member (of parliament) will submit a Bill.’ (New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2009)
C.6 ‘Me’ imperative

The me imperative construction in NZM (Bauer et al., 1997:536), which has no equivalent in CIM, can show case marking that follows the ‘ergative trace’ pattern, as in (597). However, it may also show the ‘accusative’ type of case marking, as in (598), and even occasionally mixed marking, as in (599).

(597) a. Me hanga-Ø e te Kōti Ø tētahi ōta whakamana i taua mea.
   TAM build AGNT the court Ø a order authorise ACC that thing
   ‘The Court should make an order that authorises that thing.’ (New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2009)

b. Me patu-Ø tonu atu e au Ø ō tungāne.
   TAM kill still DIR2 AGNT 1SG Ø your brothers
   ‘I should still kill your brothers.’ (Tarakawa, 1899)

(598) Me āta tirotiro-Ø te Whare ki tēnei Pire, me āta whakaaro i te tono a Te Arawa.
   TAM carefully look the House ACC this bill TAM carefully think ACC the request of Te Arawa.
   Te Arawa
   ‘The house should look carefully at this bill and should think carefully about Te Arawa’s request.’ (New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2009)

(599) a. Me hanga-Ø e koe ī tētahi tiki.
   TAM build AGNT 2SG ACC a carved figure
   ‘You should build a carved figure.’ (White, 2009)

b. Me homai-Ø hoki e koe ī ngā utu o Kawia, o Waitohu hoki.
   TAM give also AGNT 2SG ACC the-PL payment of Kawia of Waitohu also
   ‘You should also give the payment of Kawia and of Waitohu as well.’ (Niania, 1851)

C.7 Pseudo passive

Another construction that shows ergative traces is the ‘pseudo passive’, or ‘he mea cleft’ (Bauer et al., 1997:536), as in 600. In this construction the verb (underlined) is unmarked (does not have the CIA suffix), and the agent is marked by e. This construction is very reminiscent of the type II ergative construction of the non-EP languages.
C.8 Specific verbs that take the type II pattern

Lastly, there are a small number of verbs that specify something that strongly resembles the non East Polynesian ergative type case marking pattern in their unsuffixed form, as in 601. This pattern is not productive, and is restricted to a few specific verbs. These include homai ('give'), hoatu ('give away'), waiho ('leave'), and tango ('take'). In NZM the e phrase in these constructions is oblique, whereas this phrase is the subject in the non East Polynesian ergative construction. Furthermore, in modern Māori most speakers use these verbs with a suffix in a typical passive or type III construction. Although older speakers still use the type II-like pattern, this construction is marginal in contemporary NZM.

(600) a. Ko Po-kere hoki he mea kōhuru anō e Ngā Puhi. SPEC Po-kere also a thing murder another AGNT Ngā Puhi

‘Po-kere was also another one who was murdered by Ngā Puhi.’ (White, 2009)

b. Ko tēnei pā ko Maunga-whau, he mea patu e Nga-ti-maru hei utu mō SPEC this village SPEC Maungawhau a thing stike AGNT Ngāti Maru as compensation for te Taniwha nei.

the Taniwha POS1

‘This village of Mangawhau was a thing struck by Ngāti Mari in compensation for this Taniwha.’ (White, 2009)

(601) a. Ka waiho e Hau-tapatu rāua ko tōna papa Ø te upoko hei tekoteko mō te TAM leave AGNT Hau-tapatu and SPEC his father Ø DET head COMP figurehead for DET paepae whakahoro o Hukamoana horizontal beam of a latrine of Hukamoana,

‘Hau-tapatu and his father left the head as a figurehead for the latrine of Hukamoana, the house of Hau-tapatu.’ (Best, 1925:314)

b. He maha ngā tikanga e homai ana e te Kawanatanga mō ā mātou whenua. A lot DET.PL rules TAM give TAM AGNT the Government about of 1PLEX land

‘There are many regulations that the Government gives us in relation to our land.’ (New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2009)
Appendix D

Some longer passages relating to examples given in chapter 7

The following are some longer passages relating to examples given in chapter 7. Example 602 relates to example 323a (shown again here in 602b). Example 603 relates to example 323b (shown again here in 603b).

(602) a. Kāre e maꞌara i a koe i tāꞌau kai ti i tēia pōpongi? Pēnei
   Not TAM remember AGNT+LOC? PERS 1SG ACC? your food tea LOC this morning maybe
   kua matū rava koe ē kua kake te vaito toto ki runga. Ngā maki tēia e
   TAM fat very you and TAM climb the measurement blood LOC up NUM illness this TAM
   tīpū ana i te toto Kia tae meitaki ki te roro. Nā rāua e ʻakangaropoina
   cut TAM ACC the blood TAM reach well LOC the brain AGNT 3D TAM forget
   ana i tāꞌau au 'anga'anga.
   TAM-ana ACC your PL action
   ‘Can’t remember what you had for breakfast? Maybe you are overweight and you blood pressure is up. These illnesses cut off the blood from reaching your brain properly. They make you forget what you’ve done.’ (Tongaia, 2013)

b. Nā rāua e ʻakangaropoina ana i tāꞌau au 'anga'anga.
   AGNT 3D TAM forget TAM-ana ACC your PL action
   ‘They make you forget your actions.’
(603) a. Kua tauʻi te tanu kai i teia nei. **Na te excavator e ‘uri ana i te paʻi.** Viviki e te māmā te ‘anga’anga. E $80 i te ora tōna tōtaki. Ka oti e toru paʻi roroa i te ora. Tāʻau ka rave ko te tāpoki, pao ʻē te tanu. Tokoʻiti rāi tangata e ‘uri nei i tā rātou paʻi mei te tuātau mua. Ko te tokoraʻi - nā te machine e rave ana i te ‘anga’anga. Tē tāpoki nei i te paʻi ki te kākaʻu plastic polithene.

Planting has changed in modern times. It is the excavator that turns the taro patches. It makes the work fast and easy. It costs $80 an hour. What you do is cover, make the holes to plant taro and plant. Not many people turn their patches in the old way. For most the machine does the work. The patches are covered with polythene.

b. **Nā te excavator e ‘uri ana i te paʻi.**

‘It is the excavator that turns the taro beds.’ (Tongaia, 2013)