

A GRAMMAR OF PUKAPUKAN

Mary C. Salisbury

This thesis is for examination purposes only
and may not be consulted or referred to
by any persons other than the examiners.

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In loving memory of

my father, Herbert Bramwell Knauf (25.3.22-29.12.97)
my two Pukapukan fathers, Atawua Robati QSM (15.11.25-1.10.96)
and Karitua Langaiva Makuare (13.4.36-22.3.01)
and our son, Jonathan Luke Salisbury (16.4.83-29.1.00)

ABSTRACT

This study is a descriptive grammar of Pukapukan, the language of one of the Northern Cook Islands, which is spoken by approximately 4,500 people in various communities in the Cook Islands, Australia and New Zealand. The main focus of the thesis is a synchronic analysis of the Pukapukan language as spoken today, although occasionally comparative comments are made, both of a diachronic nature comparing the language spoken today with the language of the past, as well as externally, making comparisons with other Polynesian languages.

The grammar is divided into ten chapters which cover phonology, morphology, and syntactic structure. Chapter 2 discusses the phonology of the language. Chapters 3-6 cover the structure of phrases: Chapter 3 the structure of the verb phrase; Chapter 4 the structure of the noun phrase; Chapter 5 particles which can occur in noun phrases or in verb phrases; and Chapter 6 the prepositional phrase. Simple clause structure is discussed in Chapter 7, together with syntactic processes occurring within the clause. Negation and Interrogatives are examined in Chapters 8 and 9. Finally, Chapter 10 covers compound and complex sentence types including coordination, complementation, relative clauses, adverbial clauses and nominalisations.

Several aspects of Pukapukan grammar are related to current linguistic debate or typological issues: case marking and transitivity, the use of possession to encode agents, negation, nominalisations and split predicates. There is a phonetic and syntactic description of the definitive accent which has previously been well described only for Tongan. The notion and relevance of the category 'subject' is discussed with reference to Chung (1978) and Dukes (1998, 2002) who advocate two opposing views in Polynesian languages.

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My greatest thanks goes to my two supervisors: for the first period of my enrolment, Ross Clark and for the last eighteen months, Frank Lichtenberk. They have both shown continual interest during what must seem to have been interminable discussions and have patiently criticised and corrected early drafts, giving many helpful insights and suggestions, for which I am very appreciative. I will miss the weekly debates. I am very grateful to Frank, who agreed to supervise me for six months while I made what were expected to be 'minor revisions' but which ended up as a total re-write taking three times longer than we both anticipated. I am also grateful to the Head of Postgraduate Studies, Prof. Peter Jackson, for graciously stretching the deadlines.

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Finally, I cannot express how grateful I am to God for healing me from a serious neck injury in June last year, which would otherwise have meant the termination of my enrolment and long-term health problems, and for daily renewing my spirit during this endurance test.

* * * * *

Ni mō muna ki te wī tāngata o Te Ulu o te Watu

Na manatu au mai loto o toku ngākau, ke kave atu i taku atawai wolo yē maneke ki te wī tāngata o Te Ulu o te Watu nā paletua mai i te puka nei.

Ko yāyāki toku manako i te atawai wolo ia Pāpā Atawua Robati ma tona pupu, ko Kautoki Katoa, ko Papai Lulia, Karitua Makuare, Tei Elisaia ma Vavaa Atiau. Ko lātou na wakaponopono wakalelei nō lunga o tā māua yanga mua i te leo Wale ki loto o te iti-tāngata. Ko Pāpā Atawua te matua tāne na paletuaina au i te akamau i te leo Wale i te vāia ia. I te Kilitimeti o te matawiti 1978, wō wakatai loa mātou ma Nukuloa Rapana ki Sydney i Otelēlia nō tā māua āpīi i te konga ia.

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Ko tawanga wua te yanga o te puka nei ki te yanga o te pukamuna (*dictionary*), ma te yanga a Kevini e yanga i lunga o nā mako. Ko tō waingatā ke weolo, ko paletua te mea nei ia aku nō taku yanga i lunga o te akatanonga i te kāvenga o te leo.

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| | | |
|---------------------|--|------------|
| 3.5.5 | Plural Prefixes | 116 |
| 3.5.5.1 | <i>we-</i> | 117 |
| 3.5.5.2 | Monomoraic Reduplication | 117 |
| 3.5.5.3 | Suppletive Change | 120 |
| 3.6 | The Verbal Base | 121 |
| 3.7 | Verb Chains | 124 |
| 3.8 | Object Incorporation | 127 |
| 3.9 | Verbal Suffixes | 131 |
| 3.9.1 | <i>-kole</i> ‘without’ | 131 |
| 3.9.2 | <i>-a</i> ‘full of’ | 131 |
| 3.9.3 | <i>-Cia</i> ‘Passive’ Suffix | 132 |
| 3.10 | Adverbials | 135 |
| 3.11 | Postposed Modifiers | 136 |
| 3.11.1 | Anaphoric Pronoun: <i>ai</i> | 137 |
| 3.11.2 | Durative Modifier: <i>ē</i> | 142 |
| Chapter Four | The Noun Phrase | 147 |
| 4.0 | Introduction | 147 |
| 4.1 | Determiners | 149 |
| 4.1.1 | Personal Article : <i>ia</i> | 149 |
| 4.1.1.1 | Reanalysis of the Personal Article: <i>a versus ia</i> | 150 |
| 4.1.1.2 | The Distribution of the Personal Article | 152 |
| 4.1.1.3 | Historical Issues | 159 |
| 4.1.2 | Common Articles | 159 |
| 4.1.2.1 | Nonspecific Singular : <i>e</i> | 163 |
| 4.1.2.2 | Nonspecific Plural : <i>nili</i> | 164 |
| 4.1.2.3 | Specific Singular : <i>te</i> | 166 |
| 4.1.2.4 | Specific Plural : <i>nā</i> | 168 |
| 4.1.2.5 | Plural : \emptyset | 168 |
| 4.2 | Possessive Pronouns | 170 |
| 4.3 | Quantifiers | 172 |
| 4.3.1 | Indefinite Quantifiers | 173 |
| 4.3.2 | Numerals | 175 |
| 4.3.2.1 | Cardinal Numerals | 175 |
| 4.3.2.2 | Numeral Classifiers | 178 |
| 4.3.2.3 | Ordinal Numerals | 182 |
| 4.3.2.4 | Distributive Numerals | 182 |
| 4.3.2.5 | Multiplicative Numerals | 183 |
| 4.3.2.6 | Attributive Numerals | 184 |
| 4.4 | Reduplication | 189 |
| 4.4.1 | Bimoraic Reduplication | 189 |
| 4.4.2 | Monomoraic Reduplication | 191 |
| 4.5 | The Nucleus | 191 |
| 4.5.1 | Nouns | 191 |
| 4.5.1.1 | Proper Nouns | 192 |
| 4.5.1.2 | Common Nouns | 195 |
| 4.5.1.3 | Number Marking in Nouns | 197 |
| 4.5.2 | Pronouns | 197 |
| 4.5.2.1 | Personal Pronouns | 198 |
| 4.5.2.2 | Anaphoric Pronoun <i>ai</i> | 202 |
| 4.5.2.3 | Interrogative Pronouns | 203 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 4.5.2.4 Demonstrative and Locative Pronouns | 205 |
| 4.5.3 Verbal Nouns | 207 |
| 4.5.4 Compound Nouns | 207 |
| 4.6 Nominalising Suffix <i>-(C)(a)nga</i> | 210 |
| 4.7 Postposed Modifiers | 211 |
| 4.7.1 Lexical Modifiers | 211 |
| 4.7.2 Postposed Particles | 213 |
| 4.7.2.1 Definitive Accent <i>-V</i> | 213 |
| 4.7.2.2 Positional Particle : <i>ia</i> ‘aforementioned’ | 220 |
| 4.7.2.3 ‘Associative Plural’ : <i>mā</i> | 222 |
| 4.8 Phrasal and Clausal Modifiers | 223 |
| 4.8.1 Complex Locational Phrases | 223 |
| 4.8.2 Postposed Possessive Modifiers | 225 |
| 4.8.2.1 Postposed Possessive Pronouns | 225 |
| 4.8.2.2 Postposed Possessive Phrases | 228 |
| 4.8.3 Other Postposed Phrases | 229 |
| 4.8.4 Relative Clauses | 229 |
| 4.8.5 Postposed Numerals | 230 |
| Chapter Five : Phrase and Discourse Particles | 235 |
| 5.0 Introduction | 235 |
| 5.1 Phrase Modifiers | 235 |
| 5.1.1 Adverbial Particles | 236 |
| 5.1.1.1 <i>wua</i> ‘only, just, merely’ | 236 |
| 5.1.1.2 <i>tikāi</i> ‘truly’ | 239 |
| 5.1.1.3 <i>lava</i> ‘definitely’ | 240 |
| 5.1.2 Directional Particles | 241 |
| 5.1.2.1 <i>mai</i> ‘towards speaker’ | 242 |
| 5.1.2.2 <i>atu</i> ‘away from speaker’ | 245 |
| 5.1.2.3 <i>ake</i> ‘upwards’, ‘oblique to speaker’; ‘please’ | 247 |
| 5.1.2.4 <i>io</i> ‘?downwards, misfortune’ | 251 |
| 5.1.2.5 Directional Particles in Narrative | 253 |
| 5.1.2.6 Directional Particles in Noun Phrases | 255 |
| 5.1.3 <i>Loa</i> ‘intensifier’ | 257 |
| 5.1.4 Positional Particles | 261 |
| 5.1.4.1 <i>nei</i> ‘near to speaker, here, now’ | 261 |
| 5.1.4.2 <i>nā</i> ‘near to addressee’ | 263 |
| 5.1.4.3 <i>lā</i> ‘away from both speaker and addressee; intensifier’ | 265 |
| 5.1.5 Other Modifying Particles | 268 |
| 5.1.5.1 <i>lāi</i> ‘certainly, still’ | 269 |
| 5.1.5.2 <i>oki</i> ‘also’ | 271 |
| 5.1.5.3 <i>ē</i> ‘durative’ | 272 |
| 5.1.5.4 Modifiers of uncertainty : <i>pā</i> ‘perhaps’, <i>mō</i> ‘maybe’ | 273 |
| 5.1.5.5 <i>mua</i> ‘warning’ | 278 |
| 5.1.5.6 <i>lāoki</i> ‘but’ | 279 |
| 5.1.5.7 <i>pē</i> ‘definitely’ | 281 |
| 5.1.5.8 <i>keke</i> ‘assertive Q marker, confirmation seeker’ | 281 |
| 5.1.5.9 <i>koia</i> ‘exactly, indeed’ | 283 |
| 5.1.5.10 <i>angaoti</i> ‘exactly, definitely, immediately’ | 283 |
| 5.1.5.11 <i>kou wea</i> ‘politeness adverbial’ | 284 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | | |
|-----------|---|----------|
| Table 1: | Chart of phonemes | 19 |
| Table 2: | Consonant phoneme correspondences | 25 |
| Table 3: | Average length of vowels | 37 |
| Table 4: | Constituents of the verb phrase | 60 |
| Table 5: | Preverbal pronouns | 94 |
| Table 6: | Constituents of the noun phrase | 148 |
| Table 7: | Singular pronouns marked by <i>i</i> , <i>ki</i> and <i>mai</i> | 150 |
| Table 8: | Co-occurrence of the personal article with noun subclasses in various cases. | 153, 193 |
| Table 9: | Common articles | 160 |
| Table 10: | Preposed possessive pronouns | 172 |
| Table 11: | Personal pronouns in the nominative/absolutive case | 198 |
| Table 12: | Preverbal pronouns | 198 |
| Table 13: | Personal pronouns in the accusative case | 199 |
| Table 14: | Singular personal pronouns marked for case | 199 |
| Table 15: | Demonstrative paradigm | 213 |
| Table 16: | Postposed possessive pronouns | 226 |
| Table 17: | Case markers and prepositions | 293 |
| Table 18: | Pronouns marked by <i>nā/nō</i> | 318 |
| Table 19: | Pronouns marked by <i>mā/mō</i> | 323 |
| Table 20: | Case marking patterns | 355, 388 |
| Table 21: | Distribution of lexical mentions | 363 |
| Table 22: | Grammatical Processes | 441 |
| Table 23: | Processes affecting actors | 445 |
| Table 24: | Processes sensitive to gr-structure | 449 |
| Table 25: | Possible tests for Direct Object | 452 |
| Table 26: | Constraints on arguments of clauses negated by <i>kiai</i> | 474 |
| Table 27: | Percentage of negative imperative forms within age groups | 475 |
| Table 28: | Constraints on arguments of negative imperatives | 480 |
| Table 29: | Existential verbs | 488 |
| Table 30: | Arguments can occur as the subject of <i>ko ai</i> predicates | 528 |
| Table 31: | Case marking constraints in imperative clauses | 538 |
| Table 32: | Arguments that can be relativised by deletion and pronominalisation | 641 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

The following abbreviations and conventions are used in this thesis. In general, abbreviations referring to sentence, clause and phrase types are in capitals according to convention (NP, VP), those that refer to word or morpheme classes, case relations or grammatical case begin with an upper case letter (Imp, Acc, Ag); and abbreviations for word glosses are in lower case (exist, s.o.).

ABBREVIATIONS OF INTERLINEAR GLOSSES

Abbreviations and Expansions:

Examples:

| | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| A | article | e, te, nā, ni, i, ia |
| Acc | accusative case marker | i |
| Adv | adverbial | |
| Af | aforementioned | ia |
| Ag | agentive case marker | e |
| Aux | auxiliary verb | auwā, pī |
| By | cause or agent of intransitive verb | i |
| C | complementiser | e te, i te; ke, |
| -Cia | 'passive' suffix | -ina, -ngia, -a |
| cls- | classifying prefix | toka-, tino-, mata- |
| -Da | definitive accent | te walé |
| Dir | directional particle | mai, atu, ake, io. |
| 2 | dual | māua, tāua, lāua |
| Dur | durative | ē |
| exc | exclamatory particle | (ti)āi |
| excl | exclusive (pronoun) | māua, mātou |
| exist | existential verb | nī, yī |
| G | goal marker | ki |
| Imp | imperative | |
| incl | inclusive (pronoun) | |
| Ins | instrument | ki |
| Int | intensifier | loa |
| L | locative marker | i |
| lit | literally | |
| N | noun | |
| Neg | negative marker | yē, kiai |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Abstract | iii |
| Acknowledgements | v |
| List of Figures | xvii |
| List of Tables | xix |
| List of Abbreviations | xx |
| Chapter One : Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Background | 1 |
| 1.1.1 Geography and Contact History | 1 |
| 1.1.2 Pukapukan Society | 5 |
| 1.1.3 Demography and Migrant Communities | 6 |
| 1.1.4 Cultural and Scientific Studies | 8 |
| 1.2 The Pukapukan Language | 9 |
| 1.2.1 Historical Observations | 9 |
| 1.2.2 Linguistic Research | 10 |
| 1.2.3 Language Subgrouping | 11 |
| 1.2.3.1 East Polynesian influences | 12 |
| 1.2.4 Typological Characteristics | 13 |
| 1.2.5 Language Use | 14 |
| 1.2.6 Language Materials | 15 |
| 1.3 Research Design and Scope | 16 |
| 1.3.1 Field Work and Database | 16 |
| 1.3.2 Organisation of the Grammar and Terminology | 17 |
| Chapter Two : Phonology | 19 |
| 2.0 Introduction | 19 |
| 2.1 Segmental Phonology | 19 |
| 2.1.1 Description of Phonemes | 19 |
| 2.1.2 Consonants | 20 |
| 2.1.2.1 Plosives | 20 |
| 2.1.2.2 Nasals | 21 |
| 2.1.2.3 Fricatives | 21 |
| 2.1.2.4 Liquids and Approximants | 21 |
| 2.1.3 Consonant Contrasts | 22 |
| 2.1.4 Vowels | 22 |
| 2.1.5 Vowel Contrasts | 23 |
| 2.1.6 Vowel Length | 23 |

| | | |
|--|--|-----------|
| 2.2 | Historical Phonology | 24 |
| 2.2.1 | Diachronic Phonetic Variation | 24 |
| 2.2.2 | Consonant Phoneme Correspondences | 25 |
| 2.2.3 | Vowel Assimilation | 29 |
| 2.3 | Suprasegmental Phonology | 31 |
| 2.3.1 | Word Stress | 31 |
| 2.3.2 | Definitive Accent | 36 |
| 2.3.2.1 | Length | 36 |
| 2.3.2.2 | Pitch | 40 |
| 2.3.2.3 | Stress Shift | 41 |
| 2.3.3 | Pause and Phrase Stress | 42 |
| 2.3.4 | Intonation | 44 |
| 2.4 | Phonotactics | 46 |
| 2.5 | Metathesis | 47 |
| 2.6 | Morphophonemic Rules | 48 |
| 2.6.1 | Lengthening Rules | 48 |
| 2.6.2 | Elision Rules | 51 |
| 2.6.3 | Paired Morae Principle | 52 |
| 2.7 | Orthography | 53 |
| Chapter Three : The Verb Phrase | | 59 |
| 3.0 | Introduction | 59 |
| 3.1 | Tense-Aspect-Mood Markers | 59 |
| 3.1.1 | Future Tense: <i>ka</i> | 61 |
| 3.1.2 | Present Tense: <i>ko</i> | 63 |
| 3.1.3 | Relative Present Tense: <i>e</i> | 66 |
| 3.1.4 | Inceptive Aspect: <i>koa</i> | 70 |
| 3.1.5 | Past Tense, Perfective Aspect, Achieved State: <i>na</i> | 72 |
| 3.1.6 | Past Tense, Imperfective Aspect: <i>nā</i> | 81 |
| 3.1.7 | Past Tense, Imperfective Aspect (Archaic): <i>yā</i> | 85 |
| 3.1.8 | Subjunctive Marker: <i>ke</i> | 86 |
| 3.1.9 | Subjunctive Marker (Archaic): <i>kia</i> | 87 |
| 3.1.10 | Possibility Marker: <i>kai</i> | 88 |
| 3.1.11 | Immediate Past, Polite Request: <i>koi</i> | 90 |
| 3.1.12 | Archaic Preverbal Marker: <i>kou</i> | 92 |
| 3.1.13 | Absence of Tense-Aspect Marking | 92 |
| 3.2 | Negative | 93 |
| 3.3 | Preverbal Pronouns | 93 |
| 3.4 | Preverbal Particles | 99 |
| 3.5 | Verbal Prefixes | 100 |
| 3.5.1 | Prefix (1): <i>waka-</i> ‘causative’ | 100 |
| 3.5.2 | Prefixes (2): <i>tō</i> ‘quite’, <i>ata-</i> ‘good at’ | 104 |
| 3.5.3 | Prefixes (3) | 105 |
| 3.5.3.1 | <i>wia-</i> ‘desiderative’ | 105 |
| 3.5.3.2 | <i>tau-</i> ‘surface’ | 106 |
| 3.5.3.3 | <i>taka-</i> ‘spin, circular motion’ | 107 |
| 3.5.3.4 | <i>tā-</i> ‘add N to’ | 107 |
| 3.5.3.5 | <i>ma-</i> , <i>nga-</i> , <i>pa-</i> ‘spontaneous’ | 108 |
| 3.5.4 | Bimoraic Reduplication ‘durative’ | 113 |

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| 5.2 | Discourse Markers | 285 |
| 5.2.1 | Discourse Conjunctions | 285 |
| 5.2.2 | Discourse Boundary Markers | 286 |
| 5.2.3 | Vocative Particle : <i>e</i> | 288 |
| 5.3 | Interjections and Imprecatives | 289 |
| 5.3.1 | Interjections | 289 |
| 5.3.2 | Imprecatives | 291 |
| Chapter Six : The Prepositional Phrase | | 293 |
| 6.0 | Introduction | 293 |
| 6.1 | Case Markers | 294 |
| 6.1.1 | <i>e</i> : 'agentive' case | 294 |
| 6.1.2 | <i>i</i> : 'accusative' case | 295 |
| 6.2 | Prepositions | 296 |
| 6.2.1 | <i>i</i> : 'causal' | 296 |
| 6.2.2 | <i>i</i> : 'locative' | 297 |
| 6.2.3 | <i>i</i> : other functions | 299 |
| 6.2.4 | <i>ki</i> : 'goal', 'comparison', 'instrument' | 300 |
| 6.2.5 | <i>ko</i> : 'locative' | 304 |
| 6.2.6 | <i>mai</i> : 'source' | 304 |
| 6.2.7 | <i>lā</i> : 'by way of' | 306 |
| 6.2.8 | <i>a/o</i> : 'genitive' | 307 |
| 6.2.9 | <i>nā'nō</i> : 'benefactive' | 317 |
| 6.2.10 | <i>mā'mō</i> : 'irrealis possession' | 322 |
| 6.2.11 | <i>ma</i> : 'comitative, confective, instrumental' | 324 |
| 6.2.12 | <i>pe</i> : 'similative case' | 328 |
| 6.2.13 | Derived Prepositions: | 329 |
| 6.2.14 | Compound Prepositions | 329 |
| 6.2.15 | Complex Prepositional Phrases | 330 |
| Chapter Seven : The Clause | | 333 |
| 7.0 | Introduction | 333 |
| 7.1 | Nonverbal Clauses | 333 |
| 7.1.1 | Equational Predicates | 333 |
| 7.1.2 | Intensified Equational Predicates | 337 |
| 7.1.3 | Possessive Predicates | 339 |
| 7.1.4 | Similative Predicates | 340 |
| 7.1.5 | Attributive Predicates | 341 |
| 7.1.6 | Demonstrative Predicates | 343 |
| 7.2 | Tensed Nonverbal Predicates | 345 |
| 7.3 | Word Order | 348 |
| 7.3.1 | Verbal Predicates | 348 |
| 7.3.2 | Nonverbal Predicates | 352 |
| 7.3.3 | Split Predicates | 353 |
| 7.4 | Case Marking | 354 |
| 7.4.1 | Nonverbal Predicates | 355 |
| 7.4.2 | Verbal Predicates | 356 |
| 7.4.2.1 | Intransitive Clauses | 356 |
| 7.4.2.2 | Transitive Clauses | 357 |
| 7.4.2.3 | Agents as Possessors | 360 |

| | | |
|----------------------|--|------------|
| 7.5 | Case Marking Variation | 364 |
| 7.5.1 | Syntactic Variation | 365 |
| 7.5.2 | Semantic Variation | 369 |
| 7.5.3 | Discourse Variation | 374 |
| 7.5.4 | Choice of Marking for Semitransitive Complements : <i>i</i> or <i>ki</i> | 381 |
| 7.6 | Verb Classes | 387 |
| 7.6.1 | Intransitive Verbs | 387 |
| 7.6.2 | Transitive Verbs | 394 |
| 7.7 | Clausal Processes Relevant to Subjecthood | 397 |
| 7.7.1 | Agreement | 397 |
| 7.7.2 | Reflexivity and Reciprocity | 401 |
| 7.7.2.1 | Reflexives | 402 |
| 7.7.2.2 | Reciprocals | 412 |
| 7.7.3 | Quantifier Float and Quantifier Raising | 420 |
| 7.7.3.1 | Quantifier Float | 422 |
| 7.7.3.2 | Quantifier Raising | 426 |
| 7.7.4 | Left Dislocation, Topicalisation and Focusing | 428 |
| 7.8 | The Relevance of 'Subject' | 437 |
| 7.8.1 | Processes Sensitive to a Level of A-structure | 440 |
| 7.8.1.1 | Addressee of Imperatives | 440 |
| 7.8.1.2 | Control of Equi-deletion | 443 |
| 7.8.1.3 | Reflexives | 444 |
| 7.8.1.4 | Preverbal Pronoun Placement | 444 |
| 7.8.1.5 | Actor-Possessor Raising | 445 |
| 7.8.1.6 | Summary | 445 |
| 7.8.2 | Processes Sensitive to a Level of Gr-structure | 446 |
| 7.8.2.1 | Relativisation by Deletion | 446 |
| 7.8.2.2 | Topicalisation, Focusing, Cleft and Question Formation | 446 |
| 7.8.2.3 | Raising | 447 |
| 7.8.2.4 | Quantifier Float | 448 |
| 7.8.2.5 | Summary | 449 |
| 7.8.3 | Tests for Direct Object | 450 |
| 7.8.4 | Subject of the 'Ergative' Pattern | 453 |
| 7.8.4.1 | The Agentive Argument as Subject | 453 |
| 7.8.4.2 | The Absolutive Argument as Subject | 456 |
| 7.8.4.3 | What is the Agentive Argument? | 460 |
| Chapter Eight | : Negatives | 467 |
| 8.0 | Introduction | 467 |
| 8.1 | Verbal Status of Negative Markers | 467 |
| 8.2 | Complex Negative Structures | 469 |
| 8.2.1 | Negative Past Tense | 470 |
| 8.2.2 | Negative Imperative | 474 |
| 8.2.2.1 | Sociolinguistic Variation | 474 |
| 8.2.2.2 | Negative Imperative Syntax | 477 |
| 8.3 | The Simple Negative | 480 |
| 8.4 | Negative Existential Clauses | 484 |
| 8.5 | Negated Nominal Predicates | 488 |
| 8.6 | Negation of Locative Predicates | 490 |
| 8.7 | Negative Proforms | 491 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Chapter Nine : Interrogatives and Imperatives | 497 |
| 9.0 Introduction | 497 |
| 9.1 Interrogatives | 497 |
| 9.1.1 Yes/No Questions | 497 |
| 9.1.2 Confirmative Questions | 500 |
| 9.1.3 Alternative Questions | 504 |
| 9.1.4 Echo Questions | 505 |
| 9.1.5 Interrogative Word Questions | 506 |
| 9.1.5.1 <i>wea</i> ‘what?’ | 507 |
| 9.1.5.2 <i>pēwea</i> ‘how?’ | 520 |
| 9.1.5.3 <i>ai</i> ‘who?’ | 522 |
| 9.1.6 Indirect Questions | 530 |
| 9.1.7 Rhetorical Questions | 532 |
| 9.2 Imperatives | 534 |
| 9.2.1 Positive Imperatives | 535 |
| 9.2.2 Negative Imperatives | 538 |
| 9.2.3 Other Ways of Expressing Imperatives | 539 |
| | |
| Chapter Ten : Compound and Complex Sentences | 543 |
| 10.0 Introduction | 543 |
| 10.1 Coordination | 543 |
| 10.1.1 Clause Coordination | 543 |
| 10.1.1.1 Additive Coordination | 543 |
| 10.1.1.2 Adversative Coordination | 547 |
| 10.1.1.3 Alternative Coordination | 549 |
| 10.1.2 Coordination of Phrases and Words | 551 |
| 10.1.2.1 Additive Coordination | 551 |
| 10.1.3 Coordination, Accompaniment and Inclusive Constructions | 554 |
| 10.2 Auxiliary Verbs | 561 |
| 10.2.1 <i>auwā</i> ‘probably’ | 562 |
| 10.2.2 <i>pī</i> ‘if only’ | 564 |
| 10.2.3 <i>kamuloa</i> ~ <i>amuloa</i> ‘really’ | 566 |
| 10.2.4 <i>toitoi</i> ‘nearly, almost’ | 569 |
| 10.3 Types of Subordination | 570 |
| 10.3.1 <i>e te</i> Subordination | 570 |
| 10.3.2 <i>ke</i> Subordination | 578 |
| 10.3.3 <i>mē/pē</i> Subordination | 582 |
| 10.3.4 Subordination by Juxtaposition | 585 |
| 10.3.5 Subordinators of ‘Lest’ Clauses | 586 |
| 10.3.6 Noun Complements | 586 |
| 10.4 Processes Applying to Subordinate Clauses | 587 |
| 10.4.1 Noun Phrase Raising | 587 |
| 10.4.2 Equi-deletion | 595 |
| 10.5 Noun Clauses | 603 |
| 10.5.1 Indirect Statements | 604 |
| 10.5.2 Indirect Questions | 604 |
| 10.5.3 Indirect Commands | 604 |
| 10.5.4 Propositional Attitude Predicates | 605 |
| 10.5.5 Pretence Predicates | 606 |
| 10.5.6 Commentative Predicates | 606 |

| | | |
|----------|--|-----|
| 10.5.7 | Predicates of Knowledge and Acquisition of Knowledge | 607 |
| 10.5.8 | Achievement Predicates | 608 |
| 10.5.9 | Predicates of Fearing | 609 |
| 10.5.10 | Desiderative Predicates | 610 |
| 10.5.11 | Manipulative Predicates | 611 |
| 10.5.12 | Perception Predicates | 611 |
| 10.4.13 | Verbs of Manner | 612 |
| 10.5.14 | Modal Predicates | 612 |
| 10.5.15 | Aspectual Predicates | 614 |
| 10.5.16 | Negative Predicates | 614 |
| 10.5.17 | Nominalised Complements | 616 |
| 10.6 | Relative Clauses | 617 |
| 10.6.1 | Actor-Possessor Raising | 618 |
| 10.6.2 | Deletion | 626 |
| 10.6.3 | Pronominalisation | 630 |
| 10.6.3.1 | Personal Pronoun Strategy | 630 |
| 10.6.3.2 | Possessive Pronoun Strategy | 630 |
| 10.6.3.3 | Anaphoric Pronoun Strategy | 631 |
| 10.6.4 | Tense Marking Restriction | 642 |
| 10.7 | Adverbial Clauses | 644 |
| 10.7.1 | Temporal Clauses | 645 |
| 10.7.2 | Manner Clauses | 652 |
| 10.7.3 | Purpose Clauses | 654 |
| 10.7.4 | Precautionary Clauses | 659 |
| 10.7.5 | Reason Clauses | 661 |
| 10.7.6 | Conditional Clauses | 667 |
| 10.7.7 | Concessive Clauses | 670 |
| 10.8 | Nominalisation | 671 |
| 10.8.1 | The Articles | 672 |
| 10.8.2 | The Use of the Suffix | 673 |
| 10.8.3 | Semantic and syntactic conditioning of the suffix | 676 |
| 10.8.4 | Possessive Marking | 684 |
| | Appendix | 699 |
| | References | 701 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| Figure 1: | Map Showing Location of Pukapuka | 1 |
| Figure 2: | Map of Pukapuka | 3 |
| Figure 3: | Map of Wale, the main island of Pukapuka | 4 |
| Figure 4: | Relative lengths of vowels | 38 |
| Figure 5: | Relative lengths of syllables | 38 |
| Figure 6: | Percentage use of negative imperative forms within each age group | 475 |
| Figure 7: | Percentage use of each negative imperative form according to distribution in discourse style. | 476 |
| Figure 8: | Percentage use of negative imperatives in each discourse style. | 476 |

| | | |
|---------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Neg.Imp | negative imperative | auwē, auyē, auwae, aulaka. |
| Nom | nominalising suffix | -nga |
| NP | noun phrase | |
| Q | question marker, question | mō |
| P | possessive marker | a/o; tā/tō; nā/nō; mā/mō; |
| Pl | plural | we- |
| Pro | anaphoric pronoun | ai |
| R- | monomoraic reduplication | va-vayi |
| RR- | bimoraic reduplication | ngalu-ngalu |
| Sg | singular | |
| s.o. | someone | |
| sp | species | |
| s.t. | something | |
| Su | subject | |
| T | tense-aspect-mood marker | ko, na, ka, kai |
| tag | tag question marker | |
| Top | topic marker | ko |
| V | verb | |
| Voc | vocative marker | e |
| VP | Verb Phrase | |
| - | morpheme boundary | |
| . | gloss comprising two morphemes | |
| # | word boundary | |

TEXTUAL ANNOTATIONS

| | |
|-----|---|
| [] | Phonetic transcription of enclosed material |
| [] | Translation enclosed is not in original text |
| // | Phonemic representation |
| () | Optional inclusion of enclosed material |
| * | Unacceptable or ungrammatical to native speakers |
| * | Proto-language form |
| > | Derives the following reflex |
| < | Derived from the protoform |
| ~ | Varies with |
| } - | Either one or the other are acceptable |
| ' | Linguistic stress mark |
| ‘ ’ | English word gloss enclosed |
| ‘ | Glottal stop in orthography of Cook Islands Māori, Samoan |

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGE GROUPINGS AND LANGUAGES

| | |
|-----|--------------------|
| CIM | Cook Islands Māori |
| EP | Eastern Polynesian |
| Mao | New Zealand Māori |
| NP | Nuclear Polynesian |
| PPn | Proto-Polynesian |

| | |
|-----|--------------------------|
| Pn | Polynesian |
| PNP | Proto-Nuclear Polynesian |
| PSO | Proto-Samoic Outlier |
| Sam | Samoan |
| SO | Samoic-Outlier |
| PTa | Proto-Tahitic |
| Tah | Tahitian |
| To | Tongic |
| Ton | Tongan |

ABBREVIATIONS FOR LANGUAGE DATA FILES

| | |
|-------|---|
| AP:C | Conversation with Aneterea Petero 1981 |
| AR: | Access Radio program 1988 |
| AR:TM | Ko koe Toku Mama by Akaora Ravarua 1990 |
| A:SP | Sports Report by Arumaki |
| AT:C | Conversation between Akaora Ravarua and Taleima 1981 |
| AT:I | Instructions on making <i>pōpō</i> by Akaora Ravarua 1981 |
| AT:S | Narrative about Sports by Akaora Ravarua 1981 |
| C:L | Challenge by Loto village 1989 |
| F3:S | Ten cultural stories by Form 3 students 1990 |
| F4:S | Four cultural stories by Form 4 students 1990 |
| I:L | Personal Letters |
| KI:C | Conversation between Kerephino Iti & Eipene Kaue 1981 |
| KK | Kavekave; Intervillage deep sea fishing celebrations and speeches 1989 |
| KK:U | Kotikoti Uwi; Stories about dividing the taro swamps 1990 |
| KM:AM | Story for Christmas by Karitua Makuare 1987 |
| KM:C | Conversation between Karitua Makuare and Akono 1981 |
| KM:ET | The Story of Emily and Ella by Karitua Makuare 1990 |
| KM:LK | Translations of Luke's Gospel by Karitua Makuare |
| KM:MW | Five Stories by Karitua Makuare; Manatu Wakalelei, Ka Yika Koe. |
| KM:S | Speeches by Karitua Makuare 1981 |
| KM:PY | Pukayā translations by Karitua Makuare 1991-93 |
| KM:PP | Discussions, Speeches and Stories by Karitua Makuare 1988 |
| KM:SM | Sermons by Karitua Makuare |
| KM:SP | Speeches by Karitua Makuare 1988-1993 |
| KM:TM | Stories by Karitua Makuare; Toku Mōuli. |
| KM:TW | Talatala Welāveinga, Greetings Speeches by Karitua Makuare 1987 |
| KM:YK | Four fishing stories by Karitua Makuare 1990 |
| KM:WK | Stories by Karitua Makuare; Wulinga Kaipea |
| KS: | Stories told on Motu Kotawa by Pāpā Toa, Pāpā Vave, Mataora Tutai 1989 |
| LL | Personal Letters |
| LS | Narrative about the Storm by Limapeni 1989 |
| LW | Te Wanonga o Welea by Ulua Rupeña 1989 |
| | Te tala o te wonu na kitea e Ngalupe ma Ilo by Ngalupe Mataito 1989 |
| MK:S | Stories told on Motu Kotawa and Wale 1989; Vaetiāniu, Te Vaka o te wī manu, Te Aliko o te Moana by Pāpā Puia. Conversation with Māmā Koyi. Conversation with Taleima. |
| MM:L | Personal Letters |
| MT:L | Personal Letters |

| | |
|---------|--|
| MM:C | Conversation with Māmā Molingi 1981 |
| MM:C | Conversation with Māmā Molingi 1988 |
| MM:L | Tale of Lata by Māmā Molingi 1981, second version 1989 |
| MM:LK | Lakautau Kupu. Conversation and Narrative by Māmā Molingi 1989 |
| MM:T | Tale of Tēnana ma Yī Vave ai by Māmā Molingi 1981 |
| MM:TN | Narratives by Māmā Molingi 1988 |
| MO:W: | Narrative about spearfishing by Molvingi 1981 |
| MP:E | Explanatory Discourse by Māmā Paati 1981 |
| MT:MK | Te Tala o Mokoyikungavali by Mataora Mataora 1989 |
| MT:PP | The story of Papalangi by Mataora Tutai 1990 |
| MU:C | Conversation with Mani Uwitai 1981 |
| MU:E | Discourse on making a ukalele and digging taro by Mani Uwitai 1981 |
| MU:N | Narrative about Katipale, by Mani Uwitai 1989 |
| MV:C | Conversation with Mani 1989 |
| NF:S | Speeches at Ngake Feast 1989 |
| NB:S | Speeches at Ngake Village Meeting 1989 |
| NV | Tale of Vakayala, <i>nuku</i> by a school class 1981 |
| P:I | Te Yāyākinga o te puka muna |
| PP:E | Explanatory Discourse by Pikipiki Petero 1982 |
| PP:L | Personal Letter, Pikipiki Petero |
| PP:N | Narratives by Pikipiki Petero 1981 |
| PK:M | The Tale of Maui by Paleula Katoa 1981 |
| PK:T | The Tale of Tēnana by Paleula Katoa 1981 |
| PK:W | The Tale of Wutu by Paleula Katoa 1981 |
| P:S | Speeches at Pue village 1988 |
| PS: | Narrative about the Storm by Punga 1989 |
| PP2:S | Eleven stories by Form 2 students 1990 |
| PT:L | The Tale of Lata by Pāpā Paatia 1982 |
| S:K | Various Speeches 1991 |
| SF | Speeches at School Feast 1989 |
| SK | Sermon by Fr. Kaitano 1989 |
| TA:E | Explanatory Discourse about Dictionary by Tukia Apolo |
| TA:MP | Three stories by Tairua Apolo 1991 |
| T:L | The Tale of Lata 1981 |
| TT:U | Uwipānga about Titi, Ngake village 1989 |
| TU | Uwipānga about Taonga, Speeches at Village Meeting 1989 |
| TV:L | The Tale of Lata by Tamau Vila |
| TV:K | The Tale of Kuivalaloa by Tamau Vila |
| TV:M | The Tale of Moko by Tamau Vila |
| TV:T | The Tale of Te Vana by Tamau Vila |
| U | Tale of Uyo |
| UC | Conversation preceding Tale of Uyo |
| UM | Uwipānga Matawiti Ngake village speeches 1989 |
| UU | Uwingāpule Ngake village speeches 1989 |
| Uyo | Tale of Uyo, second version |
| V | Two <i>Vānanga</i> from Motu Kotawa 1980 |
| VL | Discussions with Vete Lulia 1990 |
| W1:P5:S | Four stories by Grade 5 students 1989 |
| W2:F2:S | Six stories by Form 2 students 1989 |
| WT:F | Speeches at Walewaoa's Feast 1989 |
| WT:P | Reports for the Pūlama by Walewaoa Teingoa 1991-92 |

Examples which are undocumented in the text are from notebooks of informant work and field notes, or from the current dictionary files.

The Beagleholes' manuscript, 'Myths, Stories and Chants from Pukapuka' (n.d., a), is abbreviated to BB whenever textual examples have been quoted.

CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

1.1.1 GEOGRAPHY AND CONTACT HISTORY

Pukapuka (also known on old maps as Danger Island) is a coral atoll in the Northern Group of the Cook Islands, located at latitude 10° 55' South, 165° 50' West. The neighbouring island of Nassau, about 70 kilometres southeast, is owned and occupied by the people of Pukapuka. Two other atolls of the Northern Group, Manihiki and Rakahanga, are about 490 kilometres to the northeast. Tokelau and American Samoa are almost equidistant from Pukapuka, about 600 kilometres to the northwest and southwest respectively. Rarotonga, the administrative centre of the Cook Islands, lies about 1200 kilometres to the southeast of Pukapuka.¹

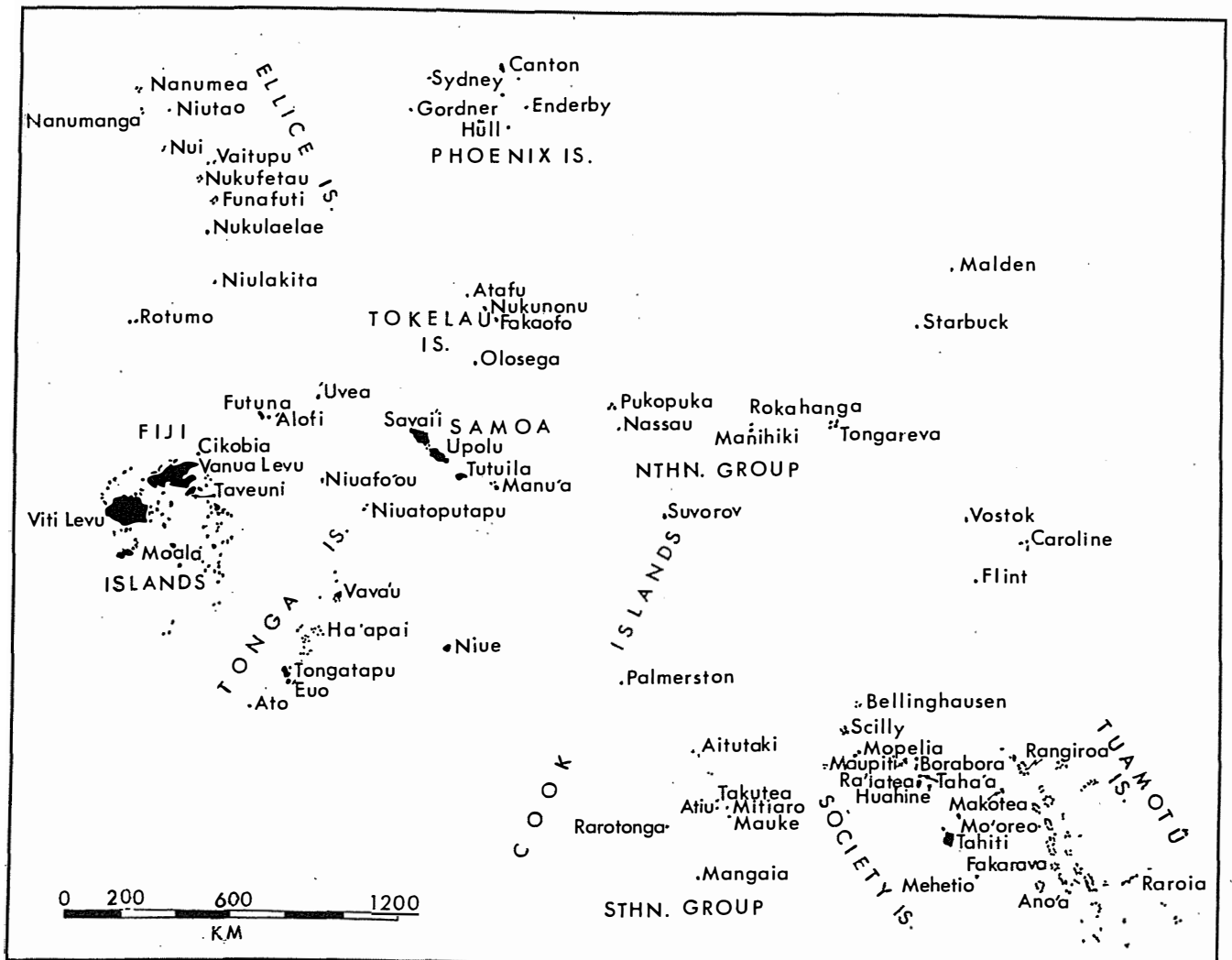


Figure 1: Map showing the location of Pukapuka (after K. M. Peters 1975).

The name *Pukapuka* refers to the main islet which resembles a horseshoe in shape (see maps pp.3-4). Three villages are situated along its lagoon shore: Ngake 'east', Loto 'central' and Yātō on the western side. This concentrated residential area is known as *Wale* 'Home', the term that Pukapukans commonly use when referring to their island. The remainder of the main island (Motu Uta) and the other two uninhabited islets, Motu Kotawa and Motu Kō, are utilised by the villages as food reserves.

Pukapuka was one of the first islands of the Pacific to be discovered by Europeans. The Spanish explorers, Mendaña and Quiros, sighted the island on 27 August 1595, naming it 'Isle of San Bernardo' since it was that saint's day (Maude 1959:306, Markham 1904:30-31). In 1765 the English circumnavigator, John Byron, located the atoll, calling it 'Isles of Danger' because of the treacherous appearance of the surrounding reefs and shoals that discouraged him from making a landfall (Gallagher 1964:106-7).

It was not until 1857 that the London Missionary Society was able to ascertain that 'Danger Island' on the charts was the same as the 'Bukabuka' they had already heard of from other northern atolls. When the island was located in December of that year, the mission teachers, Luka and his wife and Ngatimoari (from Aitutaki and Rarotonga respectively) were left there to begin the work (Buzacott 1857, 1866:232; G. Gill 1858). The first European missionary to go ashore was William Wyatt Gill in 1862 but none took up residence there, usually only staying for a day or two. The missionisation process was thus left to the care of a succession of pastors and teachers from Rarotonga and other islands in the southern group.

From a population of 'not more than 900' in 1857 (G. Gill 1858), the depredations of Peruvian slavers in 1863 and the notorious Bully Hayes in 1870, together with the ravaging effects of epidemics, reduced the inhabitants to about 300 a mere 14 years after contact (W.W. Gill 1871).

Pukapuka was formally annexed to Great Britain in 1892, together with Manihiki, Rakahanga and Penrhyn, the other northern atolls missionised from Rarotonga. In 1901 both the northern and southern groups became part of New Zealand's Island Territories, renamed as the Cook Islands. The island was left under its traditional council of chiefs, the only outsiders being Cook Islands pastors. Resident Agents were appointed from 1914, while the establishment of an Island Council eventually gave the opportunity for democratic representation. Despite the acceleration of modernisation in the modern era, the island remained an isolated outpost, largely ignored and left to itself (Beckett 1964).

The teachings of Seventh Day Adventism were introduced to the island in 1917 as a result of dissension when the day of worship was changed from Saturday to Sunday after the Cook Islands belatedly conformed to the implications of the International Date Line. The adoption of the Catholic faith in 1929 also came about in the context of local conflict (Beckett 1964:419). The reconciliation process between the churches was facilitated by a Dutch Catholic priest, Father Benedict (Penetio) who came to reside on the island in the mid 1950s. An interdenominational religious advisory committee and a unified sports committee date from that time. Because of this history there is a local law restraining the introduction of any further denominations to Pukapuka.

From earliest times, the neighbouring island of Nassau (*Te Nuku o Ngalewu*) was occupied by people from Pukapuka. Although the settlement was abandoned some time before the contact period, it continued to be used by them as a reserve (*motu*) for harvesting resources or fishing. After European discovery, the island was subsequently planted in coconut palms and worked as a plantation by outsiders, several of whom employed Pukapukan labour (Bryan 1941:108-111). In 1950 the people of Pukapuka were offered the island for purchase and from 1951 onwards work parties of over 100 persons stayed on Nassau for a year or two at a time (Vayda 1958:257-9). During the past three decades a number of families have settled there permanently, forming a separate identity with their own committee, although still under the control of the chiefs and Island Council of Pukapuka.

1.1.2 PUKAPUKAN SOCIETY

The ancient name for Pukapuka, *Te Ulu o te Watu* 'The Head of the Stone', refers to the autochthonous creation myth of the island. At the instigation of gods from Tonga, the first Pukapukan, Mataaliki, emerged from the rock, fetched a wife from the land of Tongaleleva and founded his dynasty. The chiefly line stems from the union of his first two children, while the origin of matrilineal moieties (*wua*) is attributed to the pairing of his younger children (E. and P. Beaglehole 1938:221-4, 375-7; Hecht 1977).

During the reign of the eighth chief, Wue, a famous navigator, the island was devastated by a 'seismic wave', although the account is also descriptive of a severe hurricane (Borofsky 1987:159). From the 17 surviving adults and the remnants of their families Pukapukan society was re-established. Traditional history is effectively divided into two by this calamity which, according to oral genealogical records, occurred about 14 or 15 generations ago, perhaps in the first half of the seventeenth century (cf. E. and P. Beaglehole 1938:378).

The chiefly line of succession from Mataaliki continued, despite one major break, to the twentieth century, although the office of high chief (*aliki wolo*) has not been held since 1976. Lesser chiefs customarily headed the seven patrilineages (*yālonga*) that comprise the three ancient villages (*lulu* lit. 'gatherings'). The chiefly council (*te wui aliki*) is now known by the Rarotongan name, *Aronga Mana*, and has gradually declined in status and responsibilities during the twentieth century as the powers of Island Council have increased. At the present time the effects of migration and problems over choosing suitable successors mean that a number of the chiefly titles are not held on the island.

As a result of the missionising process, the village unit gained ascendancy over its constituent burial groups (patrilineages), becoming localised as a residential grouping (Hecht 1977:185). The biblically derived name *āle* was adopted and it became over time the unit of organisation for the L.M.S. church, for copra production and for local government representation (Beckett 1964). Village members customarily divide into duty groups (*pule*) to supervise the village reserve lands and organise group work.

Modern social organisation is almost exclusively based on cognatic principles and village affiliation, although some of the functions of the patrilineages and matrilineages are still evident in the division of coconut plantations and taro swamps.

The cross-cutting ties of multiple affiliations allow for flexibility in the way that the populace can be divided into groups for various purposes. For example, the convocation of the patrilineages occurs every few years principally to clear the cemeteries of weeds, at the same time providing an opportunity for taking up new sides for sports competitions (including traditional dart-throwing and fishing challenges) and the concluding feasts (M. and K. Salisbury 1990). Likewise the *Akatawa* (lit. 'making sides'), formed by dividing Pukapuka in two through the middle of Loto village's two *tawa*, is a cross-cutting mechanism that occurred in 1912-13 (Molingi Nato pers. comm.; cf. Borofsky 1987:7) and again in 1976-80 (as described in detail by Borofsky). In the migrant communities, the *Akatawa* division or the matrilineal moieties are occasionally used for dividing into two groups instead of three, whether for cricket matches or for singing hymns after funerals.

1.1.3 DEMOGRAPHY AND MIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Pukapuka's population stabilised by the end of the nineteenth century and by 1906 had increased to 435 and to 490 in 1911 with 13 others on Rarotonga (A.J.H.R. 1906,1911:A3). As a result of famine conditions following a severe hurricane in 1914, the Government relocated 52 persons on a plot of land which Vakatini Ariki, a Rarotongan chief, made available in the Pue district of Avarua, Rarotonga (A.J.H.R. 1915). Although most of the refugees eventually returned, the beginning of a Pukapukan settlement in Pue dates from that time. With no land of their own to cultivate and difficult access to the sea for fishing, the Pue community has a low standard of living, with relatively few permanently employed. The transient population in Rarotonga includes high school students from Pukapuka and patients needing medical attention, as well as those in transit to or from New Zealand or Australia (Beckett 1964:427-28).

The population on Pukapuka fluctuates as high as 750 or 800 but is at present approximately 600, with another 50 on Nassau. The community in Rarotonga numbers about 200, with another 50 living elsewhere in the Cook Islands. It is estimated that the Auckland community numbers well in excess of 2000. Elsewhere in New Zealand (Porirua, Christchurch and Palmerston North) there are small but thriving enclaves with their own leadership structures and coordinated activities. Since the 1970s similar cohesive communities have been established in the Australian cities of Brisbane (at present numbering 500) and Wollongong (over 300), with smaller clusters also present in Melbourne, Sydney, Mildura and Griffith. The total population of Pukapukans (including children of mixed heritage) in all locations is estimated to exceed 4500.

The first Pukapukan to settle overseas in modern times came to New Zealand on military service during World War I and settled permanently. It was not until the late 1940s that he sponsored other members of his family to join him. The trickle of migrants in the 1950s increased in volume over the following decades, so that by 1974 there were well over 600 people in New Zealand (Hecht 1976:15).

The Auckland community was informally established in 1951 with a chairman and committee. By the 1960s the growing community was organised in three groups according to the main residential localities (Mt Eden, Kingsland and Onehunga) for the purposes of conducting sports tournaments, cultural competitions, feasts and hymn-singing sessions. A significant development came in 1976 with the

reorganisation of these activities according to the three traditional village 'gatherings' (*lulu*), its success being largely due to the peoples' strong ties of affiliation with their villages and paternal lineages. Competition between the three villages is evidenced at the annual cultural festival, *Te Ayo Wolo* (at which dances, chants, singing and traditional plays are performed), the annual sporting tournament held in the fortnight after Christmas, and at monthly hymn-singing practices and competitions. Although not competitive, even the hymn-singing held after a funeral to comfort the bereaved is usually organised according to village affiliation, with each village singing in turn. A great deal of solidarity is expressed through the village organisation, although other groupings such as church affiliation, sports clubs, youth and women's groups are also important networks in the community.

In 1995 a new leadership team was elected and the community in Auckland became legally constituted under the name of the *Pukapuka Community of New Zealand Incorporated*. Since that time a large warehouse has been purchased and renovated as the Pukapuka Community Centre. The Pukapuka Preschool, established by an earlier President in 1988, is housed within the premises and a bakery business unit operates out of a modern kitchen. The Pukapuka Training Academy was formed in 1999 to provide tertiary level education and community-based courses in electrotechnology and information technology. Operating under the umbrella of the Pukapuka community and in its own premises, it is the only Pacific Islands private training establishment that is communally owned. In 2002 a year-long Pacific Visual Arts course was held with 40 women attending, culminating in a public display of their traditional and contemporary arts and crafts that received national media coverage. The Auckland community is patently leading the way in exploring new avenues for cooperative action, economic development and a better quality of life for the people.

A major unifying factor over recent years has been the increased mobility of the people. The first *tele* ('touring group') to Wale was from Auckland at Christmas 1988, followed a few years later by an Australian group. In 1996 the community in Rarotonga came to Auckland to raise funds for their hall project, realising \$160,000 in a few weeks. The first *tele* from Wale to Australia and New Zealand was staged in 2002 and through their concerts and performances among all groups of Cook Islanders the group raised approximately \$300,000 to build a new hall on the atoll.

In August 2001 the first international gathering of Pukapukan leaders was held in Rarotonga, bringing together representatives from the various communities in New Zealand, Australia and the Cook Islands. At this historic occasion a common vision for a united Pukapukan people in multiple locations was articulated and the combined leadership deliberated on matters of common concern, including education, the future of the Pukapukan language, and cultural and economic development. At a second conference held in Auckland in October 2002, every community was well represented and further plans were laid towards common goals. A growing sense of national consciousness was apparent and a consensus that Pukapukans determine their own future. The third in the series of conferences is scheduled to be held on the atoll in January 2004.

1.1.4 CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC STUDIES

The earliest published materials about the culture and history were the result of missionaries' endeavours. William Wyatt Gill (1912) published two narratives written in 1877 by a Rarotongan teacher on Pukapuka. In one of these texts are 16 Pukapukan words which he found difficult to translate accurately because they had no cognates in Rarotongan. Hutchin (1904) published a narrative of the traditional history of Pukapuka written in the Rarotongan language by Ura, together with an appended word list of 30 Pukapukan words with Rarotongan equivalents.

Early in the twentieth century, Trotter, an expatriate doctor on Rarotonga, recorded about a dozen Pukapukan words in his short glossary of Cook Islands words (n.d.).

Interest shown in Pukapuka by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Hawai'i by means of a short visit by the Templeton Crocker Expedition in 1933 (Macgregor 1935, Bryan 1941) culminated in the ethnological field work of Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1937, 1938, 1941, 1944, 1989, 1991, MS n.d., a) who studied Pukapukan culture and society for seven months in 1934-35 (see also 1.2.2).

Robert Dean Frisbie, an American writer who lived on Pukapuka for 20 years from the early 1920s, made a significant contribution to scientific knowledge, providing the Beagleholes with data on astronomy, navigation and identification of fish species (E. and P. Beaglehole 1938:3,27-31;348-353) as well as surveying and mapping the atoll (Bryan 1941).

In the last years of the colonial period, Peter Vayda (1958, 1959) collected data on population and the establishment of the Pukapukan settlement on Nassau, while Jeremy Beckett (1964) studied the processes of social change. The diet and health of the islanders has been the focus of medical studies under the leadership of Ian Prior (Prior et al. 1966, 1981).

Two anthropologists have carried out doctoral research on the atoll: Julia Hecht studied kinship systems and cultural symbolism (1976, 1977) as well as indigenous health practices (1985), while from 1977-81 Robert Borofsky (1982, 1987) investigated local knowledge of culture and history and explored the ways in which Pukapukans acquired and validated knowledge, focusing in particular on the phenomenon of the *Akatawa* form of social organisation. Both Hecht and Borofsky learned the language and conducted monolingual research in it, and both took an interest in recording folklore genres in recorded and written forms. Borofsky also spent a great deal of time with the school teachers on their dictionary project (Mataora, Tutai, Borofsky et al. 1981).

During 1985 the Japanese archaeologist Masashi Chikamori (1987, 1988) and his students excavated a number of sites on Pukapuka, their findings including artifacts, fishhooks, human skeletal remains and dog bones that they attributed to a surprisingly early date (c. 300 B.C.), although the context of the date is ambiguous (Spriggs and Anderson 1993).

An ethnomusicological study of Pukapukan culture was made by Kevin Salisbury (1983a, 1984), and his research has continued to the present (1991a, 1991b, 2002; see also Appendix). He has collected and edited a substantial corpus of approximately 300 traditional chants from transcriptions of tape recordings and texts written by Pukapukans. Under the Pukapuka Dictionary Project he has also collected ethnographic data on fish and birds to identify the named species present on the island (1990, 1992).

1.2 THE PUKAPUKAN LANGUAGE

1.2.1 HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS

Brief missionary reports regarding the language and their slight publications represent the only historical materials concerning Pukapukan in the early literature until the 1920s.

The first recorded impressions of the Pukapukan language were made in 1862 by William Wyatt Gill, the first missionary to land there. He noted that ‘the dialect resembles the Rarotongan with an admixture of Samoan words’ and reported the Pukapukan tradition that their origin was from Samoa (L.M.S. Letters 1862). One or two members of the London Missionary Society group in Samoa, having visited Pukapuka and noticed the obvious similarities with the Samoan language, requested that the work on Pukapuka be transferred to their jurisdiction, but the committee of missionaries in Rarotonga essentially refused their offer (op.cit.1869).

A decade later G.A. Harris expressed his doubts as to ‘whether or not they understood what was said to them, as their own language is composed of a larger number of words and idioms not found in the Rarotongan language’ (L.M.S. Reports 1880). It is clear from this and other reports that the progress experienced through the medium of the Rarotongan language was much slower than the visiting European missionaries expected.

Soon after the colonisation of the Cook Islands by New Zealand, the Resident Commissioner, W.E. Gudgeon, made brief report after his visit to Pukapuka in 1903 which summarises the prevailing opinions regarding the people, their language and their way of life (A.J.H.R. 1903:A3):

At Pukapuka I found a very singular population who have now some knowledge of the Rarotongan language, but whose language is not intelligible to the Maori of the Pacific. This is such a very primitive people that I considered it advisable for the present to leave them under their own ancient form of government, inasmuch as they are seldom visited by Europeans and produce only a little copra.

Over the following six decades of New Zealand administration the language of Pukapuka appears to have been completely disregarded, judging by the silence of official records in the New Zealand Government Archives and the unenlightened educational policy pursued by the colonial administration with its emphasis on an English-based school curriculum.

1.2.2 LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

The first European outsider to learn the language well was the American writer, Robert Dean Frisbie. His popular work, *The Book of Pukapuka* (1930) made the atoll world-renowned at the time. Each chapter is prefaced by a chant excerpt appropriate to its contents with an accompanying English translation. Although some of these appear to have been composed by Frisbie himself, there at least a dozen that are traditional and these chants represent the earliest published materials in the Pukapukan language. Frisbie chose the letter *j* to represent the interdental fricative, but in later works he changed his preference to *y*, a choice that had earlier been used by Hutchin (1904) and was followed by Pearl Beaglehole (see 2.2.1). Since then the Pukapukan people have adopted this orthographic symbol in their own written use of the language.

Macgregor (1935) made the first serious attempt to describe the phonetic differences between Pukapukan and other Polynesian languages. The observations he made during a three-day visit to the island in 1933 were compared with other data occurring in the literature up to that date, including that of Trotter (n.d.), Hutchin and Frisbie.

The Beagleholes' linguistic contributions were considerable. Pearl had studied linguistics under Sapir and the results of seven months of mostly monolingual research were a notable achievement. In the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (1938), following a description of the phonetic structure (pp.9-12), a phoneme correspondence chart compares various Polynesian languages with a brief discussion of the interdental fricative and similar sounds occurring in Fijian and other Melanesian languages. The monograph is replete with indigenous terms, idioms and expressions, translated narratives and chant excerpts. Numerous cross-references are made in the *Ethnology* to their manuscript, *Myths, Stories and Chants from Pukapuka* (MS n.d .a). This substantial work (over 600 pages) stands as testimony to their thorough approach to the study of oral traditions and has provided many scholars with valuable data. It also clearly shows the important collaboration of their Pukapukan assistants and the Resident Agent, Geoffrey Henry, who helped with translation from Rarotongan to English.

The Beagleholes' dictionary was completed by Pearl in Wellington in the early 1940s and the typescript unfortunately remained unpublished among their personal papers. In 1990 it was located by Kevin Salisbury who checked and edited the work for publishing with the assistance of Mataora Tutai (E. and P. Beaglehole 1991). This dictionary comprises over 4000 words and phrases in the language, covering all aspects of the culture. Vowel length and stress were marked fairly accurately considering the short period the Beagleholes were on Pukapuka.

In the only substantial study of the grammar, Sandra Chung (1978) studied selected aspects of Pukapukan syntax that were relevant to her doctoral research on the case marking systems and grammatical relations in Polynesian languages (see 7.8). Her data was from the Beaglehole sources as well as from her own fieldwork with Atawua Robati and Parepano Tukia in Auckland.

Kevin Salisbury (1983a:127-165, 1983b) has made a significant contribution to phonological studies of the language with his discovery of metrical principles and the assimilation rule that predicts the vowel changes which occur during the chanting of the *mako* genre (see 2.2.3). In the process of making accurate transcriptions of chant texts he identified the presence of the definitive accent in the language (1991b) (see 2.3). He has also worked on the Pukapuka Dictionary Project, edited the Beaglehole dictionary and has recently used the chant texts as a resource for Polynesian comparative studies.

1.2.3 LANGUAGE SUBGROUPING

Until recently it has been generally accepted that Pukapuka belongs to the Samoic-Outlier subgroup (SO) of Polynesian languages, according to the internal relationships of the subgroups as they were proposed by Pawley (1966a, 1967).

Pawley (1967) said little about the possible relationships of Pukapukan within the SO subgroup, but indicated that it separated from other SO languages at some fairly early point. However, as he himself noted, the evidence for the Samoic-Outlier subgroup is less convincing than that for the East Polynesian and Tongic subgroups, since none of his listed innovations is unequivocally reflected by all members of the group. Further, Clark (1978:913-4 n5; 1980:259) pointed out that this is a negative classification to a certain extent. Pukapukan is a Nuclear Polynesian language which does not show the major innovations of the Eastern Polynesian subgroup but which does share some of the innovations of other Samoic-Outlier languages.

A revision of the subgrouping of Polynesian languages has recently been proposed by Marck, effectively eliminating the Samoic-Outlier subgroup. Following Wilson (1985) who first suggested an Ellicean group of languages on the basis of uniquely shared changes in pronominal systems, Marck (2000) proposes a Proto-Ellicean subgroup of Nuclear Polynesian comprising Tuvaluan and the 'Ellicean Outliers', Tokelauan, Samoan and East Polynesian. He maintains that these Ellicean languages continued to share innovations after the divergence of Pukapukan, East Futunan, East Uvean and the 'Futunic' Outliers, which remain ungrouped within the Nuclear Polynesian subgroup (2000:4; 128-29).

Marck bases this new subgrouping on a set of three uniquely shared innovations that show sporadic sound change. In addition to *kiu* 'bird sp.', new data provided below is congruent with the proposal and shows that the Pukapukan cognates align most closely with East Futunan (op. cit:16, 93-95):

| PNP | | PEc | EFu | Puk |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| * <i>fuanga</i> | 'whetstone' | <i>foanga</i> | <i>fuanga</i> | <i>wuanga</i> (chant ref.) |
| * <i>mafo</i> | 'heal, of sore' | <i>mafu</i> | <i>mafo</i> | <i>mao</i> |
| * <i>kiu</i> | 'bird sp.' | <i>kivi</i> | <i>kiu</i> | <i>kiu</i> |

However, an examination of the sporadic changes for individual languages in Appendix B (op.cit.250-255) shows a number of correspondences between Pukapukan and the so-called Ellicean languages (supplemented by data from additional sources (Tokelau dictionary, Besnier 2000) in brackets):

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------------|--|---|
| PPn <i>*toko</i> | 'human prefix' | > Sam Tok <i>toka</i> | Puk <i>toka-</i> [cf. Tuv <i>toko</i>] |
| PPn <i>*papu</i> | 'fish sp.' | > Tok Tuv <i>papo</i> | Puk <i>papo</i> |
| PPn <i>*fa(a)tai</i> | 'plant sp.' | > San Tuv <i>fetai</i> | Puk <i>wetai</i> |
| PPn <i>*maoha</i> | 'cooked' | > Tuv moso [Tok <i>moho</i>] | Puk <i>momoyo</i> (also doublet <i>māoa</i>) |
| PPn <i>*fatutili</i> | 'thunder' | > Sam <i>faititili</i> Tok <i>fatitili</i> | Puk <i>watitili</i> |
| PPn <i>*takua</i> | 'fish sp.' | > Sam <i>ta'uo</i> Tok Tuv <i>takuo</i> | Puk <i>takuo</i> |
| PNP <i>*taiqao</i> | 'morning' | > Sam <i>taeao</i> [Tok <i>tāeao</i>] | Puk <i>taeyao</i> (modern: <i>tāyao</i>) |

Such correspondences suggest that Pukapukan might have more in common with these neighbouring languages than Marck's proposal allows. Indeed, the results of a comparative study of Pukapukan fish names by Kevin Salisbury (MS in progress) give support to this view. From a list of more than 300 indigenous fish names he has identified about 170 names of genera, of which 35 are unique to Pukapukan. The highest level of cognacy is with Tokelauan (90 cognate forms, 63 representing identical species or genera), followed by Samoan (70, 35) and Tuvaluan (62, 22). Rarotongan, an East Polynesian language, is next with 46 (21 being identical). By contrast, East Futunan has surprisingly few cognates (33), although this may well highlight a paucity of data in the sources (Hooper 1994, Rensch 1999, Biggs 1994).

1.2.3.1 East Polynesian influences

Pukapuka is on the border geographically between east and west Polynesia and exhibits traits from both cultural areas (Vayda 1959; Burrows 1938). On the basis of comparative cultural studies, the Beagleholes (1938:415) concluded that Pukapuka has 'strong affiliations with both eastern and western Polynesia, but on the whole is marginal to the west'.

Although Pukapukan has been classified with other Nuclear Polynesian or Samoic-Outlier languages and our lexical comparisons confirm that its closest relations are with Tokelauan and Samoan, it is not surprising that it shares some of the linguistic features of East Polynesia. Pawley (1967:261; n9) noted that Pukapukan showed 'some borrowing from Cook Island languages of the Rarotongan type' without elaborating, while Clark (1980) documented a number of Pukapukan lexical borrowings that are of Eastern Polynesian origin. Evidence, including irregular sound correspondences as well as restricted distribution of lexical items and the testimony of native speakers, indicates that Pukapuka has borrowed a number of lexical items from EP languages, both before and after European contact. Clark also noted the eastern origin of the form of the past tense particle *kiai* as one example of eastern Polynesian influence in Pukapukan grammar. The fact that *kiai* (together with the negative imperative *auwē*) allows raising of the subject of the embedded clause to become the surface subject of the negative is also a feature of East Polynesian languages (see 8.2). Further evidences of EP influence in the grammar will become apparent throughout the present work.

A comprehensive search of the Pukapuka dictionary files and the traditional chant corpus by Kevin Salisbury (pers. comm.) has produced a list of about 180 protoforms (East Polynesian, Central Eastern, Tahitic, 'Cookic' and "??") that have Pukapukan reflexes, half of which are not listed in POLLEX (Biggs 1994). In total, these Pukapukan forms amount to more than 20% of all EP, CE, TA and CK forms recorded in POLLEX.

The significance of this influence from East Polynesia has yet to be properly assessed. However, it is seems most likely that a migration or incursion of some sort to Pukapuka took place at some point after Proto Tahitic had become differentiated. A likely source is the language of Manihiki and Rakahanga, Pukapuka's nearest neighbours to the east. An accidental drift voyage from *Manuyiki* that brought several immigrants to Pukapuka in the latter half of the eighteenth century (cf. E. and P. Beaglehole 1938:393-94) undoubtedly introduced some lexical items, but probably few, if any, of the grammatical features.

1.2.4 TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Pukapukan language has a basic verb initial word order although there are a number of variations on the basic pattern. It is a head-initial language in which lexical modifiers, non-pronominal possessives and relative clauses follow the noun. Core arguments, complements and adjuncts of the clause are marked with preposed case markers or prepositions.

It is a mixed accusative-ergative language with three case marking patterns for transitive clauses that are distinguished by their morphology, word order, aspectual, semantic and pragmatic differences. As is common in ergative Polynesian languages, a number of grammatical processes target the nominative/absolute category, but others target only actors. There is a strong tendency for clauses to have a single argument and many clauses have no overt arguments. Agents are often omitted or encoded as possessors.

The language has only three interrogative words, the smallest number attested in languages of the world. Interrogative words can remain in situ in the clause or they can be focused. Interrogative predicates and several negative markers which function as higher verbs allow raising of a noun phrase from a subordinate clause.

Verbal agreement occurs with the subject of some intransitive verbs and is marked by prefixation, reduplication or suppletion. Derived causative transitive verbs from these verbs agree with their objects. Inflectional and derivational processes are reduplication and prefixation/suffixation. Number is only seldom reflected in the morphology of nouns. The articles reflect singular/plural and specific/nonspecific distinctions. There is a separate form for the personal article which applies to personal nouns, pronouns and locational nouns in different cases. The pronominal system distinguishes three persons, three numbers and an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person. Possessive marking distinguishes alienable/inalienable and realis/irrealis distinctions. The realis forms can be used predicatively.

The phonemic system is small; there are five vowels and ten consonant phonemes. An unusual phonological feature is the definitive accent which is found also in Tongan and exists in residual form elsewhere in only a few other Nuclear Polynesian languages.

1.2.5 LANGUAGE USE

Pukapukan has sustained influence since European contact from two languages, Rarotongan (now called Cook Islands Māori) and English. Rarotongan, the language of missionisation and government, has had the greater impact on the island, while English is much more influential in the migrant settings.

Pukapukan people refer to their language as *te leo Wale*, ‘the language of Home’ or *te talatala Wale* ‘the talk from Home’. Almost all the people on Wale are bilingual in the vernacular and in Rarotongan, the official language of church and government, while English is also known to a varying degree. English has been taught as a school subject since the 1950s, but is only understood to a minimal level and is generally not spoken in the community except in conversing to the occasional foreign visitor. The Seventh Day Adventist and Catholic churches use English materials and songs to a certain extent.

Missionisation and education in Rarotongan has had a lasting impact on the island. The Beagleholes remarked on the influence of Rarotongan in the 1930s (1938:6):

The Pukapukan language is being gradually superseded by the Rarotongan... The Bible used is in the Rarotongan dialect, and Rarotongan is taught in the school...and spoken exclusively by the Resident Agent. Very old people still speak fairly pure Pukapukan among themselves; some middle-aged people follow this example but use Rarotongan for church and state business; others tend to speak Rarotongan exclusively. Younger people who have passed through school tend to speak Rarotongan for all purposes and often find old Pukapukan speech or idiom difficult to understand.

A partly diglossic situation is now present with a Pukapukan dialect of Rarotongan primarily used as the prestige language of church, government, and village meetings, while colloquial Pukapukan is used for everyday interactions in the home and with equals.

The Pukapukan dialect of Rarotongan is characterised by an absence of the glottal stop and lexical borrowing from Pukapukan that ranges from the odd word or phrase to quite substantial reversions for detailed explanations. Formal discourse styles such as speech-making are typical in this variety of Rarotongan, except when a cultural occasion requires the use of a Pukapukan traditional speech-making formula, such as the *vānanga* ‘public announcement’ by a village duty group or a traditional welcome to visitors. The differentiation of domains is not complete since Pukapukan is also used in formal contexts when speakers wish to identify with their homeland rather than the language of education and state. The ritualised language used in sports celebrations in which one team berates the other is largely Pukapukan.

Code switching and code mixing are common. During our stay on Pukapuka, I noted that the Pukapukan minister often reverted into Pukapukan for anecdotes or illustrations to his message or for the announcements, whereas the hymns and prayers and the main body of the sermon were invariably expressed in Rarotongan. The colloquial variety of modern Pukapukan is characterised by a high degree of lexical borrowing and introduced grammatical features from Rarotongan. The latter include the

quantifier *au* 'all' instead of *wā*, postposed particles *tikā* 'truly' *lā* 'still, yet' and *pā* 'probably', the form of the verbal prefix *waka-* which is now almost always *aka-*, and the negative marker *kāle* which occasionally replaces *yē* or *kāyi*.

Education in the vernacular is relatively recent. The mission school was taken over by the New Zealand administration after World War II and Rarotongan and English were the official languages of instruction. Pukapukan teachers have been trained and employed since that time, and in recent years most of the staff are indigenous to the island. Only since the mid 1980s has the Pukapukan language been given informal status in the school as the first language of instruction; but as in previous decades, national school examinations are conducted in Cook Islands Māori. Apart from the efforts of the teachers, there is little or no provision in the education budget for the development of teaching resources in the vernacular.

In the migrant communities in New Zealand and Australia, English has a greater impact than Rarotongan. Most adults are trilingual in Pukapukan, English and Rarotongan. The majority of New Zealand-born children grow up speaking English, many with only a passive knowledge of Pukapukan. Households where children speak only Pukapukan are exceptional. In both countries there is a growing realisation of the importance of maintaining the language in the home and promoting bilingual education initiatives. In Auckland there are two preschools using the language, while in Wollongong an afterschool bilingual programme is being implemented with eight teachers being trained.

In contrast with the language use on the atoll, the migrant communities place a greater value on the use of Pukapukan on formal occasions as the language of prestige. In the Community Centre in Auckland and in local churches, formal Pukapukan is frequently used for speeches, sermons and prayers. The resurgence of the language over the past 25 years is clearly noticeable.

1.2.6 LANGUAGE MATERIALS

There is very little published material in the language. One of the earliest publications was K. and M. Salisbury et al. 1982, a translated account of the first mission contact between Pukapuka and the outside world. Other small booklets produced in photocopied editions from 1980 onwards contain texts of chants and songs performed at the annual Pukapukan festivals in Auckland (see the Appendix which lists printed materials and publications in Pukapukan).

A photocopied booklet of traditional stories with accompanying questions for use in the school was produced by an American visitor to the island in conjunction with the school teachers (Hammond 1985).

In collaboration with the teachers on Pukapuka, a number of photocopied booklets of traditional and creative stories have been produced since 1988, primarily to provide reading materials at the school on Pukapuka. Several of these contain stories written by the school children themselves. Since 1988 several Pukapukan authors in New Zealand have begun to write in the vernacular and their work has been published in the form of laser-printed photocopied booklets.

The first publication to be printed commercially was the translation into Pukapukan of a story written by Florence (Johnny) Frisbie QSM (1959) about an incident that happened in her childhood on Pukapuka (Hebenstreit, J.F.1990, 1992).

An international newspaper in the vernacular was established in 1990 with two issues under the name of *Te Kāleva* ('The Long-tailed Cuckoo'). With Pukapukan leadership this then developed into a monthly bilingual magazine in Pukapukan and English, *Te Pūlama o te Luengāulu* ('The lighted torch that causes heads to shake'). This innovative publication included news and photographs as well as cultural and historical articles, traditional chants and translated Bible passages. Although these publications were very popular, the support needed for their maintenance was not forthcoming from the community and the writers and editors were unable to continue beyond the thirteenth issue.

The dictionary project begun in the late 1970s by the teachers on the island in collaboration with the anthropologist Robert Borofsky resulted in a manuscript of approximately 3000 words (Mataora, Tutai, Borofsky et al. 1981). In the mid 1980s the project then became affiliated with the University of Auckland and employed several members of the Pukapukan community. In 1999 a draft edition of a bilingual dictionary with reverse gloss finderlist was produced for the school on Pukapuka and general community use (K. and M. Salisbury 1999). Work on a comprehensive dictionary is continuing.

A bilingual high school text, *Science on Pukapuka*, was written on the atoll by a New Zealand teacher, Paul Beumelberg (1993), and typeset with illustrations up to publication standard, but still awaits the decision for it to be printed.

1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND SCOPE

1.3.1 FIELD WORK AND DATA BASE

My contact with the Pukapukan community in Auckland stems from 1975, when first attempts at field work in Auckland contributed to undergraduate term assignments. During 1976-78, elders in the Auckland community allowed me to sit in on their bi-weekly translation meetings. Over the summer vacation of 1978-79 my husband and I took Nukuloa Rapana, who is now the president of the Auckland community, with us to Sydney where we studied the language at an intensive ten-week course held by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

In order to facilitate language learning towards my M.A. research, in 1981 we shifted to Kingsland, an inner suburb of Auckland where ten or twelve Pukapukan families lived in close proximity. This enabled me to learn to speak the language in a natural environment as well as to develop close relationships with speakers of the language. The field work culminated in a trip to Pukapuka (November 1981-April 1982) which afforded insight into the language as spoken on the island and resulted in increased fluency and understanding. Ongoing transcription and translation of recordings, checking the data and analysis, as well as compilation and checking the dictionary manuscript, was carried out in Auckland.

A second field trip was made to Pukapuka in 1988 (November 1988-October 1989) for the purposes of doctoral research and working on the dictionary with the school teachers on the island. With the help of a full-time Pukapukan secretarial assistant in 1990, tapes recorded on the island were transcribed and translated, dictionary entries were updated from notebooks and a number of photocopied booklets in the vernacular were also produced. Field notes and transcriptions were encoded and concorded together with some written texts. The concorded corpus totals 150,000 words, of which 8,000 are unique words.

Phonetic data has been analysed using the computer program CECIL, Computerised Extraction of Components of Intonation in Language (Summer Institute of Linguistics 1990), which produces spectrographic on-screen representation of sound waves from a tape recorded input.

My relationship with Pukapukans in the Auckland community is ongoing. This grammar is based partly on the tape recorded and written sources mentioned earlier and partly on traditional elicitation methods as well as observations of interactions over a number of years. Most of my research on the island was carried out monolingually in Pukapukan, while in Auckland both Pukapukan and English have been used in discussions and elicitation sessions.

The corpus collected during fieldwork consists of 40 tapes (C60 and C90), ten informant notebooks and a considerable quantity of written texts, including personal letters. The taped material covers a range of spoken genres and styles: conversations, traditional stories, personal accounts of past experiences, speeches, village meetings, sermons, discussions, and prescriptive discourse. Itemisation of much of this material is to be found in the List of Abbreviations. Quotations from traditional chant texts were provided by Kevin Salisbury. In addition to my own research, the Beagleholes' manuscript (n.d., a) provided an invaluable source of written material reflecting the language used some seventy years ago.

1.3.2 ORGANISATION OF THE GRAMMAR AND TERMINOLOGY

In my analysis I have tried to focus only on what a native speaker considers to be 'true Pukapukan', and therefore I have avoided trying to analyse recent Rarotongan borrowings and the inclusion of 'mixed' language examples. This approach, however, has not proved to be easy since it highlights not only the difference between competence and performance, but also the indistinct nature of language boundaries. Native speakers' judgements of what is considered to be borrowing vary considerably and sometimes even include lexical items known to have cognates as far back as Proto-Polynesian, purely because a close synonym exists that contains the distinctively Pukapukan phonemes /y/ or /w/. In the end, I have compromised somewhat and included some words that appear to be of Cook Islands Māori origin in example sentences and in the grammatical analysis, providing that the grammatical structures of the sentence are typically Pukapukan and the sentence is found in discourse that is primarily Pukapukan. A few grammatical particles that are shared with Cook Islands Māori have also been discussed with some qualification regarding native speakers' judgements and usage information.

A number of terminological problems have arisen in the presentation of this grammar. Following Chung (1978), I have used the terms 'accusative', 'passive' and 'ergative' to label the three distinctive case

marking patterns for transitive clauses. However these labels, especially the label 'passive', should not be interpreted as indicative of the degree of transitivity of the clause.

I have tried to avoid the use of 'subject' and 'direct object' in the main discussion, partly because grammatical relations in ergative Polynesian languages are the topic of current debate, and partly because until all the processes had been investigated thoroughly the grammatical relations could not be established. An unequivocal test for direct object was found only in the last two weeks of writing. The term 'subject' is used sparingly, primarily with reference to the core argument of an intransitive verb which is in the nominative/absolutive case, and to the argument denoting the agent of the 'accusative' pattern, which is clearly the 'subject'. For the 'passive' and 'ergative' patterns the arguments are referred to by their semantic role: 'agent' or 'patient', or by their case relations using the terms 'agentive' argument and 'nominative/absolutive' argument respectively for the 'passive' pattern and 'agentive' and 'absolutive' argument for the 'ergative' pattern.

The term 'transitive' is used in a semantically defined way to denote a clause which has two semantically core arguments, an agent-like argument and a patient-like argument (cf. Dixon 1994:6. See 7.8 for further discussion). Because the degree of transitivity of the 'passive' pattern in particular was under discussion, the term nominative/absolutive was chosen to refer to the case marking of the argument denoting the patient. However, it was expected that the 'ergative' pattern would follow the pattern of other ergative Polynesian languages and its patient therefore has the label 'absolutive' argument.

This study is primarily a descriptive reference grammar although there are a number of comparisons made with other Polynesian languages throughout the description. The major point of theoretical interest is in the discussion of case marking and grammatical relations (7.4-7.5, 7.8) which draws from more detailed discussion of grammatical processes elsewhere in the grammar. The organisation starts with a description of the phonology, moves through the structure of the 'verb phrase' (which corresponds to the verbal group in the tradition of Polynesian linguistics), the noun phrase and the prepositional phrase to the level of the clause and finally to complex sentences. Particles which can modify either nouns or verbs are discussed in a unified section. Morphological processes are discussed in the sections on the nucleus of each phrase type. Grammatical processes are discussed as separate sections, those which apply in a simple clause and those which apply to complex sentences.

NOTES

1. The distances quoted in the literature to date have been based on those given in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (E. & P. Beaglehole 1938:17). Hecht (1976:23-5) and Borofsky (1987:3) quote these figures in nautical miles, while K.Salisbury (1983a:1) converted them to metric measurements, which are the same as those given by M. Salisbury (1985:1) and Chikamori (1987:105). They vary somewhat with the figures given here which have been calculated from coast-to-coast measurements on several maps (Royal N.Z. Navy 1993, E.C.Keating 1978, K.B. Lewis et al. 1982, Department of Survey and Land Information Map 275, 1988) and rounded to the nearest ten or hundred. A. Hooper (Wessen et al. 1992:23) estimates a much larger distance from Tokelau to Pukapuka (900 kilometres).

CHAPTER TWO : PHONOLOGY

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the main phonological features of Pukapukan are discussed. Segmental phonemes are discussed first, followed by the prosodic features and a short comment on phonotactics and orthography. The most interesting feature of the phonology is the definitive accent, which is a morpheme realised as a suprasegmental feature.

2.1 SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

2.1.1 DESCRIPTION OF PHONEMES

The phonemic inventory of Pukapukan comprises ten consonant phonemes /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, v, ð, w, l/ and five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/. Table 1 provides the complete inventory. A description of each of the classes of phonemes follows.

TABLE 1: Chart of Phonemes

| <u>Consonants:</u> | Labial | Dental/Alveolar | Velar |
|--------------------|--------|-----------------|-------|
| Oral Stops | p | t | k |
| Nasal Stops | m | n | ŋ |
| Fricatives | v | ð | |
| Approximants | w | l | |

| <u>Vowels:</u> | Front | Central | Back |
|----------------|-------|---------|------|
| High | i | | u |
| Mid | e | | o |
| Low | | a | |

A number of other segments sometimes occur in loan words, for instance /r/ commonly occurs in Cook Islands Māori loan words, although it is more usual for speakers to substitute /l/. The word /bāsileia/ 'kingdom' (from Greek via Cook Islands Māori and found in the Bible) exhibits both /b/ and /s/, which are not in the Pukapukan inventory, but has an alternative pronunciation /pātīleia/ which conforms to the phonological structure of Pukapukan. There is also variation in the degree to which English loan words are phonologically adapted to the phonological and phonotactic structure of Pukapukan.

2.1.2 CONSONANTS

There are ten consonant phonemes in Pukapukan, which contrast in manner of articulation between oral and nasal stops, fricatives and approximants. The oral and nasal stops contrast in point of articulation as to labial, dental/alveolar and velar. The fricatives are distinguished in point of articulation as to labio-dental and dental. The approximants are the labio-velar /w/ and the lateral /l/.

2.1.2.1 Plosives

The three voiceless stops /p t k/ contrast at labial, dental and velar points of articulation. The basic articulations are:

| | |
|-----|-----------------------------|
| /p/ | voiceless bilabial stop |
| /t/ | voiceless apico-dental stop |
| /k/ | voiceless dorso-velar stop |

There is some variation in their place of articulation: /t/ can be apico-dental, lamino-prealveolar, lamino-alveolar, or apico-alveolar, while /k/ can be slightly fronted or backed depending on the following vowel. In fast casual speech, there may be slight voicing of all three plosives intervocalically.

The degree of aspiration is variable. The base forms are unaspirated, but aspiration is common, especially in the environment of a stressed vowel. /p/ is aspirated before any stressed vowel, while /t/ and /k/ are optionally aspirated mainly in stressed syllables preceding non-high vowels. Other Polynesian languages are also reputed to have innovated aspiration of stops in the last few decades under influence from English (Bauer 1993:530, Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:20). This feature requires further investigation for Pukapukan, but it may not be exclusively attributable to influence from English as it is found in the speech of speakers who have lived on Pukapuka all their lives and who have had very little direct influence from English, as well as in the speech of speakers living in New Zealand.

Affrication is always found with /t/ [t^s] when it is immediately followed by a high front vowel, but it is also sometimes found to a lesser degree before a high back vowel. Affrication of /t/ is often associated with devoicing of a following unstressed final vowel. Affrication of /t/ never occurs preceding other vowels. In emphatic speech, /k/ can be realised as a velar fricative [x] ~ [ɣ] in the environment of back vowels, especially the high back vowel.

Non-phonemic glottal stop occurs word-initially before a vowel and word-finally or phrase finally, particularly in the environment of a back vowel.

2.1.2.2 Nasals

There are three voiced nasal stops /m, n, ŋ/:

| | |
|-----|---------------------------|
| /m/ | voiced bilabial |
| /n/ | voiced apico-dental nasal |
| /ŋ/ | voiced dorso-velar nasal |

There is variation in the place of articulation of /n/ as there is for /t/. /n/ can be apico-dental, lamino-prealveolar, lamino-alveolar, or apico-alveolar. The velar nasal can be slightly fronted preceding front vowels.

2.1.2.3 Fricatives

There are two fricatives, /v/ and /ð/:

| | |
|-----|-------------------------------|
| /v/ | voiced labio-dental fricative |
| /ð/ | voiced apico-dental fricative |

/ð/ can be realised as an apico-dental, lamino-dental, or interdental fricative. In the speech of elderly people, some palatalisation may be heard, mainly before high vowels. There is some evidence that the phoneme was formerly more palatalised than it is today (see 2.2.1). The odd speaker has been heard to pronounce this phoneme as a palatal approximant in restricted situations, such as the citation form of some words. This is possibly a spelling pronunciation, for the benefit of other Cook Islanders. For instance, a well-known Pukapukan man living in Rarotonga pronounces his own name as [jɛlə], spelled as *Yala*, but when he speaks in Pukapukan the phoneme is otherwise a dental fricative.

2.1.2.4 Liquids and Approximants

There is one liquid /l/, which can be realised as a voiced apico-dental, lamino-alveolar or apico-alveolar lateral. Before back vowels it can be retracted to a post-alveolar position.

Fully assimilated English and Cook Islands Māori loan words containing *r* are almost always realised with a lateral, seldom with an alveolar tap, which is perceived by native speakers to be *pāwenua* ‘foreigner’ or ‘Rarotongan’ pronunciation. A tap sometimes occurs as an alternative pronunciation when surrounded by like vowels, especially /i/.

| | | | |
|-----|-----------|------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) | Rarotonga | Lalotonga | [lɛlotɔŋɛ] |
| | radio | lātio | [lɑ:tʰio] |
| | ruler | lūla | [lu:lɛ] |
| | Christmas | Kilitimeti | [kilitʰimetʰi] ~ [kiritʰimetʰi] |

/w/ is a voiced labio-velar approximant [w]. When it occurs word medially preceding the back vowels, it may have a velar fricative quality [ɣ^w] (/mawu/ [mɛɣ^wu] ‘taro pudding’).

2.1.3 CONSONANT CONTRASTS

The consonants contrast in word initial and medial positions. Consonants do not occur word finally.

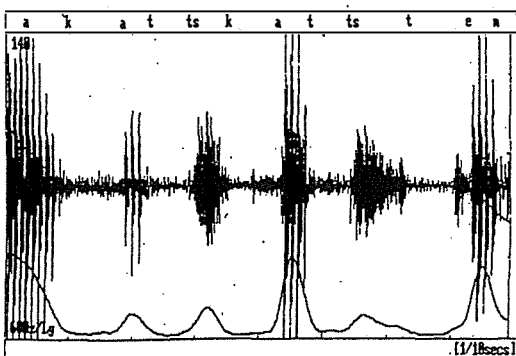
| | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| /pana/ | bounce | /apo/ | lift up | /lapa/ | flash |
| /tana/ | his, her | /ato/ | thatch | /lata/ | tame |
| /kana/ | sea sponge | /ako/ | preach | /laka/ | irregular |
| /mana/ | power | /amo/ | carry | /lama/ | torch |
| /nanaa/ | hide | /ano/ | cold | /lana/ | frog |
| /ŋaŋana/ | speak out | /aŋo/ | measure | /laŋa/ | rise up |
| /lana/ | frog | /alo/ | lagoon | /lala/ | grill |
| /vana/ | sea urchin | /ava/ | milk fish | /lava/ | enough |
| /wanana/ | bent | /awu/ | hot | /lawa/ | ringworm |
| /ōana/ | beloved one | /aōo/ | day | /laōo/ | scrotum |

2.1.4 VOWELS

There are five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/. Tongue height distinguishes /i/ and /u/ (high), from /e, o/ (mid) and /a/ (low). Tongue position distinguishes /i/ and /e/ (front), /a/ (central) and /u, o/ (back). /i/ and /u/ are close to cardinal 1 and 8 respectively, /e/ and /o/ are mid vowels close to cardinal 3 and 6 respectively, although short vowels are slightly raised. Short /a/ is a low central unrounded vowel [ɐ], but it can acquire lip rounding when followed by /u/: /upaupa/ [upɔupɐ] 'dancing'. Long /a/ is slightly further back than short /a/. The high vowels can be realised as glides in the environment of another vowel. The high vowels frequently undergo devoicing following /t/ in final or unstressed position: /tamaiti/ [tɛmaitʰi] 'child'; /katikati/ [kɛtʰikɛtʰi] 'bite'. Affrication of /t/ compensates for the weakening of the vowel. Sometimes the vowel is lost entirely and instrumental analysis¹ shows that the duration of the friction is about equivalent in length to that of the vowel which has been lost (see sound wave patterns below).

A: E mangoo loa katikati te mea ia. [195800hz]

(a) 1:0/Active/Data (b) 3:0/Active/Stress
(c) 4:0/Active/Smooth



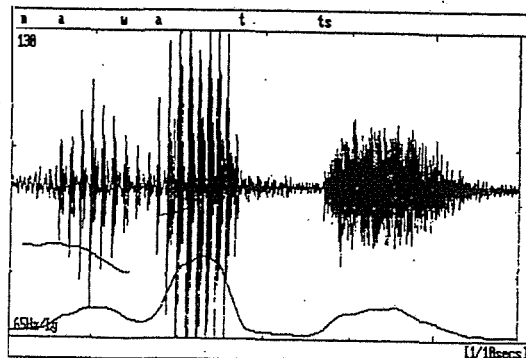
(2) katikati
RR-bite
biting

from the utterances:

E mangō loa katikati te mea nei.
Prd shark Int RR-bite A thing this
This is a [man]-eating shark.

A: Te laakoo laa', na wati. [195800hz]

(a) 1:0/Active/Data (b) 3:0/Active/Stress
(c) 4:0/Active/Smooth



na wati.
T break
[It] has broken.

Te lā nei na wati.
A branch here T break
This branch has broken.

2.1.5 VOWEL CONTRASTS

The five vowel phonemes /i, e, a, o, u/ contrast with each other in stressed and unstressed positions and initially, medially and finally in the phonological word:

| | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-----------|
| (3) | /íla/ | mark | /tía/ | dedicate | /láí/ | fish sp. |
| | /éla/ | wedge | /téa/ | bright | /láe/ | forehead |
| | /ála/ | road | /táa/ | hand of bananas | /láa/ | sun |
| | /óla/ | alive | /tóa/ | warrior | /láo/ | clam tool |
| | /úla/ | dance | /túa/ | divide | /láu/ | leaf |
| (4) | /káli/ | wait | | | | |
| | /kále/ | foam, surf | | | | |
| | /kála/ | dry | | | | |
| | /kálo/ | look at | | | | |
| | /kálu/ | pouch under eye | | | | |

2.1.6 VOWEL LENGTH

Vowels can be pronounced either long or short. Long vowels are phonologically analysed as geminate clusters, which in this study and in the orthography are written with a macron over the letter symbol when there is no morpheme boundary between them.

Minimal pairs exist which show contrast between a single vowel and the geminated vowel:

| | | | |
|-----|------|----------|---------------------------|
| (5) | tutu | /tutu/ | burn |
| | tutū | /tutuu/ | lower a bunch of coconuts |
| | tūtū | /tuutuu/ | photo, picture |
| | tūtu | /tuutu/ | suit (clothing) |
| | papa | /papa/ | rock bottom |
| | papā | /papaa/ | European |
| | pāpā | /paapaa/ | father |
| | pāpa | /paapa/ | short square haircut |

There are several arguments supporting a phonological analysis of long vowels as sequences of two identical short vowels. All possible combinations of vowels are possible with this analysis (2.1.5). All combinations of non-identical vowels are found and sequences of like vowels occur across morpheme boundaries. Analysing long vowels as geminate clusters completes the pattern, so that all possible combinations of vowels occur (see Biggs 1961). In casual fast speech, sequences of like vowels across a morpheme boundary are pronounced identically to a long vowel. For instance, the middle vowel of the reduplicated form *okooko* 'go shopping' can be pronounced as a long [ɔ:]. Long vowels analysed as geminate clusters are predictably stressed under a penultimate stress placement rule (see 2.3.1). Monomoraic reduplication of intransitive verbs, which consists of reduplicating the penultimate mora, takes place regularly if long vowels are analysed as sequences of like vowels (see 3.5.5.2). In the traditional chanting style (*mako*), a short high vowel is chanted on a lower note unless it is followed by another high vowel. A long high vowel which is followed by a non-high vowel, is sung as if it were two consecutive short high vowels; the first half is on the tonic, and the second half a minor third below (K. Salisbury 1983a:155). Thus the chanting style treats long vowels as geminate clusters.

Voicing of the fricatives is another feature that has changed. The Beagleholes recorded both the fricatives /v/ and /ð/ as voiceless, whereas now they are both voiced. The palatalisation of /ð/ is now heard only rarely in the speech of elderly people, mainly before the high vowels. The voicing of the fricatives, the palatalisation of /ð/ and possibly the degree of aspiration of the stops, may be features that have in fact changed over time.

In particular, the voiceless quality and the palatalisation of /ð/ was given considerable attention by the Beagleholes. Pearl had received training in linguistics under Sapir and there seems little reason to doubt the accuracy of her transcriptions, since other phonetic detail such as word stress and vowel length was in the main consistently and correctly marked in their field notebooks (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., b, c). The phoneme /ð/ is consistently transcribed as θ^h in her handwriting in the manuscripts of the dictionary (E. and P. Beaglehole 1991) and of *Myths, Stories and Chants* (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., a), although the typescript used the symbol *y*. Native speakers who wrote down chants and legends in notebooks under her supervision were also taught to transcribe the sound as θ .

Earlier word lists also seem to indicate a degree of palatalisation of the phoneme, but no overt reference is made to voicing in these accounts. Macgregor (1935:3) wrote the sound as *i* and described it as a glottal closure accompanied by “an added breath...giving a sound of *i* consonant”, but the Beagleholes judged that his description was incorrect (1938:9). Trotter (n.d.) included a handful of Pukapukan words in his glossary of Cook Islands Māori in the early 1900s, writing the phoneme as *i*. Robert Dean Frisbie (1930), who lived on Pukapuka in the 1920s and 1930s, wrote the sound as *j* (and later as *y*) in his novels which contain Pukapukan words and quotations from chants, but no recourse can be made to his manuscripts or glossary, which were lost during the 1942 hurricane on Suvarrow. The earliest recorded use of the symbol *y* was Hutchin (1904) who used it for most of the Pukapukan words containing the phoneme in his Rarotongan language version of a traditional story. The fact that he wrote *i* word medially in the place name *Yayake* as ‘*Yaiake*’ gives some support to Macgregor’s claim (1935:4) that the phoneme sounds “to English-speaking people like *y* as in the word *year*”. Although not conclusive, the evidence suggests that in the early part of last century this phoneme was palatalised. If it was also a voiceless fricative as transcribed by Pearl Beaglehole (which we have no reason to doubt), the feature that would have been more clearly heard by nonlinguists is likely to have been the palatalisation. The phoneme was clearly not a voiced fricative as it is today.

2.2.2 CONSONANT PHONEME CORRESPONDENCES

The consonant phoneme inventory of Pukapukan (Puk) is summarised in Table 2 (adapted from Pawley 1967:264-5), in which the Pukapukan phonemes are presented as correspondences to the reconstructed phonologies of Proto-Samoic Outlier (PSO) and Proto-Polynesian (PPn).

TABLE 2: Consonant Phoneme Correspondences

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|----|----|-------|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| PPn | *p | *t | *k | *ʔ | *f | *w | *s | *h | *m | *n | *ŋ | *l | *r |
| PSO | *p | *t | *k | *ʔ | *f | *w | *s | *h | *m | *n | *ŋ | *l | *l |
| Puk | p | t | k | ∅ | w/∅/ð | v | ð/∅ | ∅ | m | n | ŋ | l | l |

The most common reflexes of PPn */f/ and */s/ are /w/ and /ð/ respectively. Just a small sample of these reflexes are listed here:

| */f/ | > | /w/ | | */s/ | > | /ð/ | |
|------------|---|-----------|--------------|----------|---|-------|---------------|
| *afi | | awi | fire | *ʔaso | | ayo | day |
| *fale | | wale | house | *isu | | iyu | nose |
| *fano | | wano | go | *saʔele | | yaele | walk |
| *feke | | weke | octopus | *seke | | yeke | slip, slide |
| *finangalo | | winangalo | want | *sii | | yī | fish |
| *foʔou | | wōu | new | *sina | | yina | grey-haired |
| *fua | | wua | egg, fruit | *soka | | yoka | pierce |
| *mafu | | mawu | taro pudding | *sue | | yue | puffer fish |
| *refu | | lewu | ashes | *suupeʔe | | yūpē | nasal mucus |
| *tafa | | tawa | side | *tasi | | tayi | one |
| *tufunga | | tuwunga | skillful | *uso | | uyo | pith of plant |

There are a few zero reflexes of both */f/ and */s/. This list represents a much larger percentage of the total for these reflexes:

| */f/ | > | ∅ | | */s/ | > | ∅ | |
|------------|---|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---|--------------------|----------------|
| *foki | | oki | also | *fesi | | veia | hate, dislike |
| *hangafulu | | laungaulu | ten | *ise ³ | | ie | fish; halfbeak |
| *hifo | | io | downwards | *lasi | | lainga | large amount |
| *kafo | | kō | wounded | *kalamisi | | kalami | crab |
| *kafu | | kākau ² | clothing | *maasina | | māina ⁴ | moon |
| *kofe | | koe | bamboo | *pusi | | pui | small eel |
| *kofi | | koi | collect | *sanga | | angaanga | work |
| *kofu | | kou | parcel, bundle | *sakulaa | | akulā | swordfish |
| *lafu | | lāui | prohibition | *soloʔi | | oloi | wipe |
| *(l,r)ufi | | lui | black trevally | *tasi | | tai | hew wood |
| *mafo | | mao | heal | *to(s,f)i | | toi | chisel |
| *mafuike | | mauike | whirlwind | *tusi | | tui | point |
| *nifo | | nio | tooth | *wasa | | vā | space, gap |
| *nofo | | nō | sit | *(s,f)ula | | ula | dance |
| *nofu | | nou | stonefish | | | | |
| *tafu | | tau | light oven fire | | | | |
| *tufa | | tua | divide, share | | | | |

The most striking observation about these two lists is that with very few exceptions, */f/ > ∅ in the environment of rounded vowels, /u/ and /o/, while */s/ > ∅ occurs before the front vowels and /a/. But these phonological changes appear to be sporadic since exceptions and minimal pairs are easy to find.

| | | | | | | |
|-------|------|--------------|-------|------|------|----------|
| *mafu | mawu | taro pudding | *pusi | puyi | blow | CIM pu'i |
| *mafo | mao | heal | *pusi | pui | eel | CIM pu'i |

There is a possibility that this phenomenon is related to the influence of borrowing from Cook Islands Māori (CIM), since Pukapukan regularly shows ∅ for CIM /ʔ/. Hooper (1994) takes this view for the fish names which reflect */s/ as ∅. However, for some of these words (*kalami* 'crab', *māina* 'moon', *mauike* 'whirlwind') there is no CIM cognate. For others, minimal pairs exist, where one of the pair shows a retention and the other a loss of the proto-consonant, although the CIM cognates are identical for both words (cf. *puyi* 'blow', *pui* 'eel' above). There is some evidence from the chant corpus that the changes

/w/ > Ø and /ð/ > Ø were still occurring as recently as 100-150 years ago, since the archaic terms *kākawu* ‘clothing’, *kakayi* ‘yellowfin tuna’ and *māyina* ‘moon’ are words found in traditional chants, while *kākau*, *kakai*⁵ and *māina* are commonly used today. Modern influence from CIM has resulted in alternative forms in the vernacular for some lexical items; *tayi* ~ *tai* ‘one’ (CIM *ta’i*), *waka-* ~ *aka-* ‘causative prefix’ (CIM ‘*aka-*’) but not for others: *payī* ‘ship’ (CIM *pa’ī*).

A few other reflexes of */f/ and */s/ are best considered within their phoneme groupings. The dissimilation of PPn */faf/ to */wah/ in Central Eastern languages (Clark 1979:260) is also reflected in some words in Pukapukan as /vaØ/ although the expected /waw/ is more common.

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-------|----------|-------------|---|---------------|
| */faf/ | > | /vaØ/ | | */faf/ | > | /waw/ |
| *fafie | | vaie | firewood | *fafine | | wawine |
| *fafo | | vao | outside | *fafa | | wawa |
| | | | | *faafaa | | wāwā |
| | | | PNP | *faafaa-lua | | wāwālua |
| | | | | | | woman |
| | | | | | | carry on back |
| | | | | | | feel around |
| | | | | | | manta ray |

Similarly, the expected reflex of PPn */fVs/ is /vVð/, but sometimes /vVØ/ is found. The loss of */s/ is likely to be influenced by the same conditioning factors noted earlier.

| | | | |
|-------------|---|---------|------------------------------|
| */fVs/ | > | /vVð/ | |
| *fasi | | vayi | split, hit |
| *fasi-nga | | vayinga | piece, slice |
| */fVs/ | > | /vVØ/ | |
| *faʔasi-nga | | vāinga | place, time for making copra |
| *fesia | | veia | hate, dislike |

There is a small set of reflexes of */f/ as /ð/:

| | | |
|-------------|---------|-----------------|
| *(s,h)afole | ayole | flagtail fish |
| *taumafa | taumaya | to eat [formal] |
| *maafana | māyana | to be warm |
| *filoa | yīloa | emperor fish |

Clark (1980:263) noted that these are possibly borrowings from an Eastern Polynesian language where */f/ > /h/.

Epenthetic /w/ is inserted in the environment of rounded vowels, both word initially preceding /o/ and /u/ and between vowels in words with initial /u/:

| | | |
|-----------|--------------|-------------------------|
| wō | to go [PI] | PPn *o(r)o |
| wō | tiny minnow | PPn *oo ‘tuna baitfish’ |
| wono | barracuda | PPn *ʔono |
| wū | breast, milk | PPn *huhu |
| palu wutu | grey jobfish | PPn *ʔutu |

| | | |
|--------|--------------|------------------|
| uwa | neck | PPn *uʔa |
| uwa | rain | PPn *ʔuha |
| uwauwa | vein, muscle | PPn *uaua |
| uwi | to ask | PPn *ʔuhi, *huʔi |
| uwi | garden | PPn *fusi |
| uwila | lightning | PPn *ʔuhila |

The appearance of epenthetic /w/ in *Wakawowo* 'Fakaofu', the name for one of the islands of Tokelau, which is found in an old chant, suggests that it occurs morpheme-initially in the same environment, although repetition may also be a factor here. Prothetic /w/ contrasts with /Ø/: *wono* 'barracuda', *ono* 'six'; *wū* 'breast', *ū* 'hit'. However, there is no contrast between /w/ and /Ø/ following /u/.

PPn */h/ is regularly reflected as Ø.

| | | |
|-----------|-------|-------------------------|
| *hakau | akau | reef |
| *hama | ama | outrigger |
| *hingoa | ingoa | name |
| *hiwa | iva | nine |
| *holo | olo | rub |
| *fohe | woe | paddle |
| *fohu | wou | pierce |
| *kanahe | kanae | mullet |
| *kai-haʔa | kaiā | steal |
| *koho | kō | digging stick |
| *lohu | lou | pole for plucking fruit |
| *tahi | tai | sea |
| *tahina | taina | same sex sibling |

There are, however, a few words for which the established PPn form begins with */h/, but which reflect /ð/ in Pukapukan. Most of these are cases of sporadic doublets with */s/ in PSO languages, but not all. In addition there are some items which have reflexes of both doublets with */h/ and */s/.

| | | | |
|------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|
| *heke | mount | yeke | seat of canoe |
| *kaha | burn | kakaya | burn red hot |
| *hulufe | plant, fern | yulue | foreign plant sp. |
| *hoka | husk coconut | yoka | husk coconut |
| *soka | pierce | yoka | pierce |
| *(h,s)oka | house rafter | yoka | supporting beam |
| *(h,s)uli | shoot of plant | yuli | shoot of plant |
| *(h,s)ongē | famine | yongeyonge | scarce |
| | | ongē | famine |
| *sulu | enter | yulu | enter, penetrate |
| *huru | enter | ulu | enter |

Some words show a prothetic or epenthetic /ð/, especially in the environment of /i/, but also with other vowels. The first group below of words which are post-contact borrowings gives evidence that this was an active process as recently as during the mission period 150 years ago.

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| yīmene ~ īmene | sing hymns | CIM 'īmene | < Tah hīmene |
| yīlava | verse | CIM 'īrava | < Tah |
| yītolo | ghost | CIM 'ītolo 'idol' | < Gk eidōlon, Lat īdōlum |
| yānini | giddy | PPn *aa-nini | |
| yulue ⁶ | foreign plant sp. | PNP *hulufe | |
| taeyao | morning, tomorrow | PNP *tai-ʔao | |

2.2.3 VOWEL ASSIMILATION

Several historical instances of vowel assimilation have been noticed. These do not occur systematically throughout the language, but only in a few examples. Some of these have occurred in the historical development from the proto-language.

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|------|-----------|------------------------|
| PPn | * laulaufau | > | /au/ | /uu/ | fish sp., Moorish Idol |
| PPn | * tau-suni | > | /au/ | /ae/ | tree sp., heliotrope |
| PTa | * tai-mafa | > | /ai/ | /ae/ | heavy |
| PPn | * fai-gaofie | > | /ao/ | /aa/ | easy |
| PPn | * laʔofie | | | waingāwie | fine weather |
| | | | | lāwie | |
| PPn | * kaloama | > | /oa/ | /oo/ | small goatfish |
| | | | | kalōma | |
| PNP | * fio | > | /io/ | /iu/ | whistle |
| | | | | wiu ~ wui | |
| PPn | * fiha | > | /ia/ | /ea/ | how many? |
| | | | | wea | |

In the last example, three PPn interrogative forms have coalesced in Pukapukan: **fiha* ‘how many?’ and PNP **fea* ‘where, which’ have the same reflex in Pukapukan: *wea*, which has also taken over the meaning of PPn **haa* ‘what’.

Rarely vowel assimilation has been noted to occur across an intervening consonant. This has happened sporadically in Pukapukan as well as in an earlier proto-form, as in the second example below.

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------|---|------------|--------|---------------------|
| PPn | * watuke | > | /aCu/ | /eCu/ | slate pencil urchin |
| PPn | * fanua | > | PNP *fenua | wetuke | land, placenta |
| | | | | wenua | |

Other examples of vowel assimilation have occurred quite recently in the language.

| | | | |
|------|---|------|---------------------------|
| /ui/ | > | /ii/ | |
| wui | | wī | all, group < *fuhi ‘join’ |

This change has become apparent in the last 60 years or so. The Beagleholes wrote *wui* in their collected texts of chants and stories, while *wī* is now used almost exclusively in spoken language, although some elderly speakers still say *wui*.

The following changes are also very recent:

| | | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| /ae/ | > | /aa/ | | |
| taeyao | ~ | tāyao | tomorrow, morning | < PNP *tai-ʔao |
| yaekili | ~ | yākili | husk an immature coconut | |
| /au/ | > | /aa/ | | |
| aumai | ~ | āmai ⁷ | bring | < PSO *ʔau-mai |

These forms have optional variants, both of which are known today. The first two pairs exhibit a form which is more formal and probably older (the first of each pair) and a form which is used in casual speech. *Aumai* is the usual form for ‘bring’, but *āmai* is found occasionally. Pukapukans also use vowel assimilation as a strategy to play with language. The form *meitaki* ‘good’ from Cook Islands Māori is clearly recognisable by speakers as being a borrowing which is synonymous with the Pukapukan form *lelei*, yet I have heard the forms *mīaki* and *mīataki* (PI) used in jest. It is an example of the way Pukapukans frequently play with language to produce non-standard forms.

Vowel assimilation occurs with remarkable consistency in the *mako* chanting style and it is also prevalent to a lesser extent in the short recited chants now known collectively as *tila*. K. Salisbury (1983a:139-44) has described the manner in which phonetic modification occurs in chants. He proposed a ‘rising diphthong principle’, whereby a short vowel assimilates to any following vowel that is immediately adjacent, provided that it has a higher point of articulation. This results in an extensive transformation of the text when sung (assimilated vowels are underlined):

sung as: na yi: e: te tama tu:ti: tu: ki: tolu lui yiku pulo: te pungi: te ava: kuaku
 (9) na yīa e te tama tautai, tau kai tolu lui yiku puḷa o te punḡi i Te Ava Akuaku,
 T catch-Cia Ag A person fisherman your catch three trevally tail spot P A rock L A channel Akuaku.
*that were caught by the expert fisherman, your catch of three black trevally with spotted tails from the
 rock at the Passage of the Garfish, (Salisbury and Makuare 1992:20; Angaino’s chant ll.8-10)*

The height of the vowels determines the pitch at which they are chanted. A high vowel is chanted on the note a minor third below the tonic, unless it is followed by another high vowel. It is unlikely that this chanting procedure has had very much effect on spoken language over the centuries, but it reflects phonological tendencies at work in spoken language. The steady metre of chanting style confirms the mora-based timing of the language, as long vowels when chanted are twice the length of short vowels (2.1.6). The rising diphthong principle appears to be a concept necessary for the correct allocation of word stress (2.3.1) and assimilatory processes are used in language play. However, the change from *wui* to *wī* ‘all’, is a fairly recent extension of assimilatory processes into everyday speech which could well have been influenced to some extent by its frequency of occurrence in chants.

Only two examples have been found of vowel dissimilation in derivation from the proto-form:

| | | | | |
|-----|-----------|---|----------|-----------------------|
| PPn | */foulua/ | > | /waulua/ | double canoe |
| PNP | */fanake/ | > | /wenake/ | rise [of moon, stars] |

2.3 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

2.3.1 WORD STRESS

Word stress is a combination of the features of intensity, pitch and duration, which give a vowel prominence. It is distinct from the definitive accent, which always falls on the final vowel of a word (2.3.2, 4.7.2.1). Word stress is predictably placed according to a penultimate mora rule:

The stress occurs on the vowel of the penultimate mora and on every second mora preceding.

| | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (10) | paka pepeke winangalo mangamanga Kilitimeti | páka pepéke wínangálo mángamánga Kílítiméti | dry fly want spider Christmas |
|------|---|---|---|

This rule correctly predicts the stress placement on a word with any number of syllables of the form CV. Given an analysis of long vowels as sequences of like vowels, it also predicts that long vowels and diphthongs will receive stress since they are two morae in length. If the beginning of a long vowel or diphthong occurs on an even numbered mora from the end of the word, there is no problem. The stress is distributed evenly over the long vowel, or on the first vowel of a diphthong.

| | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (11) | mangō kākā māyīnayīna mamao aumai taulātua | mangóo káakáa māyīnayīna mamáo áumái táuláatúa | shark white tern spotless, clean distant bring native doctor |
|------|---|---|---|

However, in counting even-numbered morae from the end of the word, if the stress should be placed on the second vowel of a like-vowel cluster, or of a rising diphthong, then it is shifted a further step to the beginning of the syllable. In other words, long vowels and rising diphthongs are phonological groupings which take nuclear stress over the whole syllable.⁸ The most common diphthongs to undergo this stress redistribution rule are /ai/ and /au/. The other rising diphthongs /ei, eu, ae, ao, oi, ou/ follow the same pattern.

| | | | |
|------|---|--|--|
| (12) | tāne mātutua waiva taula yaele taote taua veia waoa moia | táne māatutúa wáiva táula yáele táote táua véia wáoa móia | man parents skill rope walk doctor floor hate drill bit sneezed |
|------|---|--|--|

| | | |
|---------|---------------------|---------------|
| walaoa | waláoa ⁹ | bread |
| puakaoa | púakáoa | dog |
| Kaututū | Káututúu | personal name |
| tawauli | tawáuli | fish sp. |

Falling vowel clusters, where the second vowel is of lower height to that of the first, /ia, ua, ie, ue, ea, oa, uo/ do not undergo this stress redistribution:

| | | | |
|------|-------|-------|---------------------|
| (13) | kiato | kiáto | outrigger crosspole |
| | tuaki | tuáki | gut fish |
| | puela | puéla | flower |
| | weala | weála | apparition |
| | yoani | yoáni | barter |
| | tuolo | tuólo | slant |

Additionally, there is a constraint preventing stress falling on two successive morae. If the stress redistribution rule results in stress falling on two successive morae, the stress redistribution rule takes precedence and the original stressed vowel becomes destressed.¹⁰ This constraint suggests that the stress rule applies progressively.

| | | | |
|------|---------|-------------------|----------|
| (14) | epaepa | épaépa → epáepa | fine mat |
| | walaile | wálaile → waláile | Friday |

The case with non-identical vowel clusters of level tongue height is less clearcut, since they occur only rarely in penultimate position, but it seems that they are more flexible in their behaviour than the rising or falling vowel sequences. The combinations /eo, oe/ and /io/¹¹ normally undergo stress redistribution:

| | | | |
|------|--------|--------|---------------|
| (15) | woea | wóea | sunburnt |
| | keonga | kéonga | point of land |
| | toenga | tóenga | remainder |
| | yionga | yíonga | place |

But it seems that /iu/ usually does not undergo stress redistribution. Word initial gliding or palatalisation of a preceding consonant results in the stress being heard most clearly on the second vowel of /iu/, which seems to make it group with the falling vowel sequences, although it takes stress as one unit like the rising diphthongs.

| | | | |
|------|-------|---------|--------------------|
| (16) | iuka | [júkɛ] | card game |
| | tiuka | [tjúkɛ] | joker |
| | piula | [pjúɫɛ] | bronze colour |
| | niua | [njúɛ] | plenty of coconuts |

Likewise, /ui/ shares characteristics with both rising and falling vowel sequences. In some words the stress is redistributed to the first vowel of /ui/.

| | | | |
|------|---------|---------|---------------|
| (17) | muia | múia | attractive |
| | muiumua | múiumúa | ill health |
| | luinga | lúinga | amount picked |

But in words of shape CV(C)VVCV, neither /iu/ nor /ui/ undergo stress redistribution.

| | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| (18) | piliume muliuwi | píliúme múliúwi | rowlocks edge of taro swamp |
| | mauike lauilu | máuíke ¹² láúilu | whirlwind pandanus leaves from <i>yulu</i> tree |

These rules and constraints result in a rising vowel sequence taking preferential stress when several unlike vowels occur contiguously.

| | | | |
|------|--|--|---|
| (19) | uaua ieie ioio lueia wiaeia liolioina | [uwáua] [ijéije] [jóijo] [luéia] [wíaeia] [líolióina] ¹³ | boil fish sp. halfbeak look carefully move sideways sexually insatiable wait on guard in wrestling |
|------|--|--|---|

Sequences of long vowels followed by a higher vowel, /āi, āe, āo, āu, ēi, ōu/, behave as long diphthongs in taking stress as a unit like the short rising diphthongs. Contrary to expectation, the penultimate vowel is not stressed.

| | | | |
|------|---|---|--|
| (20) | kāina yāele wāoa tāua vēia pōuli | kāaina yāaele wāaoa tāua véeia pōuli | just like walk (PI) crew we dual inclusive enemies dark |
|------|---|---|--|

There is no such tendency when the vowel following a long vowel is of lower height.

| | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (21) | kōanga pīōngi ¹⁴ malūēka | kóoānga pīiōngi malúuéka | nest tongs weak, lazy |
|------|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|

In multi-morphemic words, each morpheme is parsed for stress independently.¹⁵ Morphemes consisting of a single mora do not take stress.

| | | | |
|------|---|--|--|
| (22) | wiakakaia nikonga akalongonga limangamano akayēkilimataku | wía+kakái+a níko+nga áka+lóngo+nga líma+nga+máno áka+yēe+kíli+matáku | hungry (PI) stay listening five thousand afraid of nothing |
|------|---|--|--|

Where a like-vowel cluster falls over a morpheme boundary, the stress redistribution rule normally applies and the like-vowel cluster is treated as a long vowel. Rearticulation of the second of the consecutive like vowels is made only in a minority of cases in very pedantic speech.

| | | | | | |
|------|---|---|------------------|--|---|
| (23) | akaatawai wakaāloloa oloolo uluulu | áka+átawái wáka+áalo+lóa ólo+ólo úlu+úlu | → → → → | akáatawái wakáa(a)lolóa olóolo ulúulu | thank love, pity (PI) grate, scrape search |
|------|---|---|------------------|--|---|

If a long vowel is formed by two contiguous like vowels in this way, it receives stress even if neither of the two identical short vowels were assigned stress by the primary rules.

| | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------------|------------------|
| (24) | ponaponāvae tukungāngalu | póna+póna+a+vāe → túki+nga+a+ngálu → | pónaponāvāe túkingāngálu | calf breakers |
|------|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------------|------------------|

In fast speech, rising vowel sequences across a morpheme boundary also undergo stress redistribution. Falling vowel sequences across a morpheme boundary do not.

| | | | | |
|------|--|--|--|---|
| (25) | yuaina limangaulu wakaemaema malieina ungainanga | yúa+ína → líma+nga+úlu → wáka+éma+éma → malíe+ína → únga+ína+nga → | yuáina límangáulu wakáemáema máliéina ungáinángá ¹⁶ | demolish fifty beloved experience sweetness act of being sent |
| | akoako ngutuala | áko+áko ngútu+ála | preach road | |

Level vowel sequences across morpheme boundaries are less likely to undergo stress redistribution: /ui, iu, eo, oe/ and /io/ do not, while /eu/ and /oi/ sometimes do.

| | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|--|---|--------------------------------|
| (26) | inuinunga oloenua olioli | ínu+ínu+nga ólo+énua óli+óli | drinking horse hip movement | |
| | uweuwe wakailoilo onoonoina | úwe+úwe → wáka+ílo+ílo → óno+óno+ína → | úweúwe ~ uwéuwe wakáiloílo ~ wakáiloílo onóonoína | chase away indicate look |

A sequence of a short vowel followed by a higher long vowel across an intervening morpheme boundary, does not undergo stress redistribution:

| | | | |
|------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| (27) | wakaū akaō | wáka+úu áka+ōo | cause to hit include |
|------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------|

By contrast, two like vowels ending in a rising diphthong across a morpheme boundary do undergo stress redistribution.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| (28) | wakaau akaaō | waká+au aká+ao | make peace marry |
|------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|

In other words, where the assignment of stress on like vowels and an adjacent rising diphthong produces conflict, the long vowel wins.

There are very few lexical exceptions to the stress rules as proposed here. A few three syllable words appear to have labile stress which sometimes occurs on the penultimate and sometimes on the first syllable. They include: *matua* 'parent', *atua* 'god', *wawine* 'woman', *tangata* 'person', *moana* 'ocean', *wenua* 'land', *punua* 'offspring', *manava* 'stomach', *puaka* 'pig'. It is notable that these are very common words, three of which have plural forms with a lengthened first vowel which receives stress. Four end in *-Cua*. Word initial stress in EP languages for cognates of some of these words may also be significant.

It is worth noting that for three syllable words of the form CVCVCV (e.g. *pakeva* ‘fish sp.’), although the penultimate syllable has more stress than the final syllable, there is often very little difference in the intensity of the penultimate and the antepenultimate syllables. A very small pitch rise may be the only distinguishing characteristic of penultimate stress for words of this form.

On the other hand, for three syllable words which comprise a partially reduplicated stem (e.g. *popoto* ‘short (PI)’), the first syllable may be substantially reduced in length. Some of my shortest measurements show the reduplicated vowel to be almost half as short as the stressed first vowel of the stem.

English borrowings usually represent non-penultimate stressed vowels as long vowels, thereby maintaining the prosody of the English word according to Pukapukan stress placement rules. However, there are a number of foreign words which do not exhibit compensatory lengthening and therefore violate the stress rules. These are four, five and six syllable words.

| | | | |
|------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------|
| patipika | patípika | Pacific | < English |
| komipiuta | kómipiúta | computer | < English |
| polotatani | pólotatáni | protestant | < English |
| polokalāmu | pólokalá:mu | programme | < English |
| Palapalau | Pálapaláu | Thursday | < Tahitian para-parau |

Schütz’s idea of the measure (1976, 1981) may be of benefit in accounting for these words since the only other reasonable suggestion is that at least some of them appear to be parsed as if they contained a fake morpheme boundary. However the stress on *patipika* ‘Pacific’ remains inexplicable.

Stress sometimes occurs on grammatical particles. A number of grammatical particles are two morae in length and may attract stress, including verbal particles such as tense-aspect markers, prefixes and postverbal particles, case-markers and articles. Monovocalic grammatical particles may be stressed only if a contiguous vowel results in a like-vowel cluster or rising diphthong. Monosyllabic content words are never monovocalic and thus gain stress from their long vowel or vowel cluster.

| | | | |
|------|-----|-----|-------|
| (29) | lā | lāa | sun |
| | pō | póo | night |
| | koe | kóe | you |
| | wea | wéa | what |

Primary and Secondary Stress:

Assigning levels of stress is complicated by the overlay of phrase stress (2.3.3). Moreover, the parameters of intensity, pitch and length do not necessarily coincide to indicate a stressed vowel. For instance, in reduplicated words the stressed vowel of each morpheme has equal intensity and there may be only a small pitch rise indicating penultimate stress.

| | | | |
|------|----------------|----------------|--------|
| (30) | wakalongolongo | wàkalòngolóngo | listen |
|------|----------------|----------------|--------|

The most prominent syllable of a word is one containing a long vowel, or a rising diphthong. If neither of these is present, the primary stress falls on the penultimate mora.

| | | | |
|------|--|--|---|
| (31) | mālama ngālepelepe akamāngalo manamanatā akalā akaala | māalāma ngāa+lèpe+lèpe āka+māangālo mānamānatāa ākalāa akāala | clear broken (Pl) rinse off trouble put in sunshine awaken |
| | ungainanga uwaiti | ungāinānga uwāilēti | act of being sent telegram |
| | lototonu matawiti | lōtotōnu mātawīti | middle year |

A long vowel is more prominent than a rising diphthong.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| (32) | akaatawai tāivaiva | akāatawāi tāiivāiva | thank insolent |
|------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|

If two long vowels or rising diphthongs occur in the same word, there is very little difference in stress between them, but the first may be marginally more prominent.

| | | | |
|------|---|--|--|
| (33) | kākā yāelele lūlūau pīpīngātai aumai yeungaina | kāakāa yāaelēle lūlūuāu pīpīngāatāi āumāi yéungāina | white tern walk (Pl) fish sp., Moorish Idol water's edge bring being sent |
|------|---|--|--|

2.3.2 DEFINITIVE ACCENT

The definitive accent (glossed as 'Da') falls on the final vowel of a definite noun phrase. The length of the final vowel is increased by one mora and there may be accompanying pitch rise. The features of length, pitch and stress shift are discussed here. The grammatical function of the definitive accent is discussed in section 4.7.2.1.

2.3.2.1 Length

Instrumental analysis shows that when the definitive accent falls on a short vowel, the total length is at least equivalent to two short vowels (*te walé* 'that house'), while an accented long vowel or diphthong is at least as long as three short vowels (*te mangō* 'that shark'; *te tukutāi* 'the beach there'). On rare occasions the accent may fall on a word ending in a long vowel followed by a monosyllabic suffix, which if it is homogeneous with the preceding long vowel, results in a phonemic length equivalent to four short vowels (*te lākau lā-ā* 'that branchy tree over there').

The durations of vowels and syllables in a total of fifty utterances, each about two seconds long, were measured using CECIL¹⁷. Each utterance contained approximately ten syllables. In the total sample there were 32 instances of the definitive accent: 15 occurred on a short vowel, 10 on a long vowel and 7 on the final vowel of a diphthong. The types of vowel which were measured separately are: short unstressed, short stressed, diphthongs, long vowels; short vowels, diphthongs and long vowels in the syllable immediately preceding a definitive accent and in the syllable on which a definitive accent falls. Vowels marked by a definitive accent were further separated into utterance medial and utterance final occurrences. Many of the definitive accented vowels had voiceless extensions, but these were not included in the calculations. For each utterance the average length of each type of vowel was calculated and recorded as a ratio relative to the length of the average short unstressed vowel in that utterance. The use of ratios allowed relative vowel lengths to be compared across utterances which were of different speeds and by different speakers. The average ratio for each type of vowel was calculated across the total number of utterances. The data are presented in tabular form below.

| Vowel Type: | Short Vowel | Diphthong | Long Vowel |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Stressed Syllable | 1.11 (n= 96) | 2.18 (n=84) | 2.22 (n=89) |
| Syllable before Definitive Accent | 1.14 (n=12) | 1.88 (n=7) | |
| Definitive Accented Syllable | 2.55 (n=15) | 3.86 (n=7) | 3.35 (n=10) |

TABLE 3: Average length of vowels; expressed as a ratio to the average length of a short unstressed vowel.

The total data sample for the vowels in stressed syllables is considerably larger than the sample for the syllable types relevant to the definitive accent because the definitive accent marks only definite noun phrases and therefore occurs only once, or sometimes twice, in any utterance. The large data base for comparing the lengths of stressed vowels indicates that a short stressed vowel is marginally longer (1.11 times longer) than an unstressed short vowel. The length of a diphthong or a long vowel (Ratio=2.18-2.22) is approximately equivalent to twice the length of a stressed short vowel (R=1.11).

The data base for relative lengths of definitive accented vowels is much smaller and therefore less reliable, but it indicates that a definitive accented short vowel (R=2.55) is at least as long as a diphthong or a long vowel (two morae). A diphthong or a long vowel which is accented with the definitive accent (R=3.35-3.86) is at least three times as long as a short unstressed vowel and appears to be approximately equivalent to the length of a diphthong or long vowel (R=2.18-2.22) plus a short stressed vowel (R=1.11).

The data for vowels in syllables immediately preceding the definitive accent are somewhat inconclusive. Although a short vowel in this position is generally longer than the average length of either an unstressed or a stressed vowel, a diphthong or a long vowel in the same position is generally shorter than in other stressed syllables.

The data are displayed in graphic form in Figure 4 below.

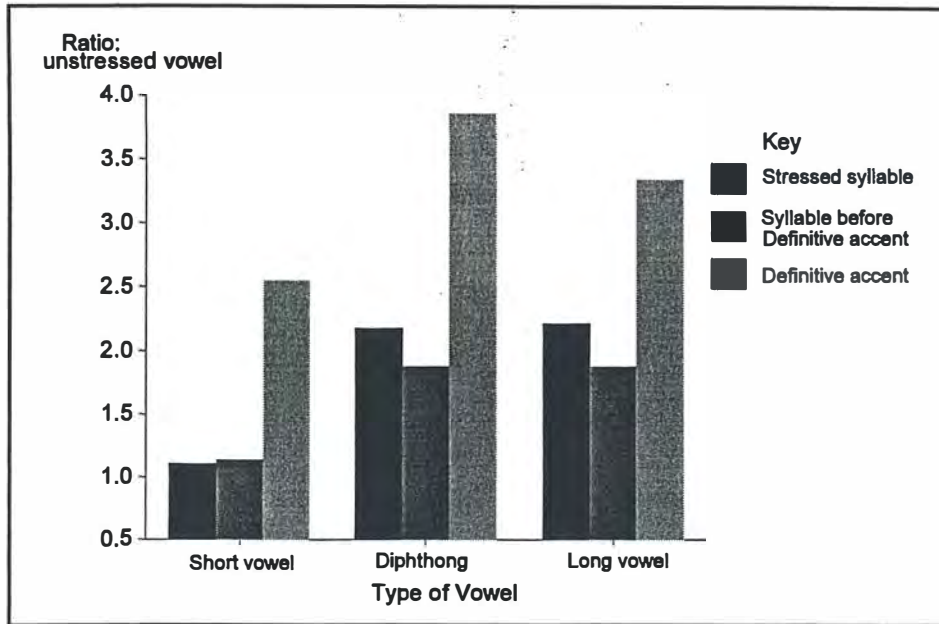


Figure 4: Relative Lengths of Vowels; expressed as a ratio relative to a short unstressed vowel.

The durations of various syllable types were also measured and compared relative to the average length of a short unstressed syllable of the form CV. The complete set of figures will not be presented here since the overall results only confirmed the results gained from measurements of the vowels. The relationship between the lengths of a definitive accented and an unaccented CV syllable was found to be an almost 2:1 ratio ($R=1.91$). The expected anticipatory lengthening of the CV syllable immediately preceding a definitive accented syllable was confirmed ($R=1.29$), although syllables containing a diphthong or long vowel did not show the same trend. The differences between definitive accented syllables containing diphthongs and long vowels were less than the measurements of the vowels alone portrayed. A graphic representation follows in Figure 5.

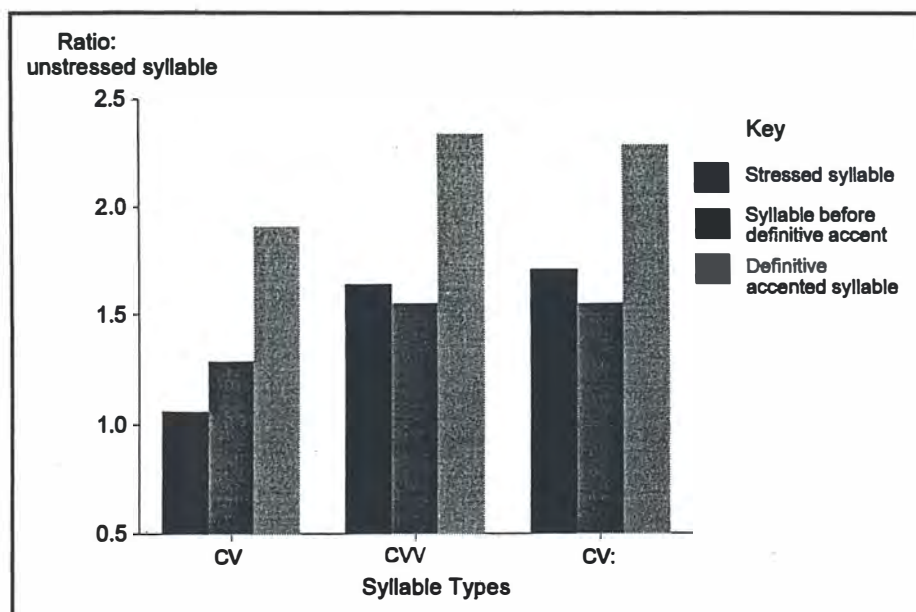


Figure 5: Relative Lengths of Syllables; expressed as a ratio relative to the average length of an unstressed syllable of the form CV.

A small number of consonants ($n=50$) in various syllable types were measured separately to ascertain whether the length of the syllable or the definitive accent had any effect on consonant length. The approximants were not included as their boundaries were indistinct. The measurements of mainly oral and nasal stops showed that the average length of a consonant in a syllable containing a diphthong or a long vowel was slightly longer ($R=1.17$) than a consonant in a CV syllable. The consonant in a definitive accented syllable was considerably longer again ($R=1.37$). These measurements are likely to reflect a greater degree of aspiration of the oral stops in stressed syllables.

The results outlined above differ in some respects from measurements of the definitive accent in Tongan made by Condax (1989). In determining whether stressed short vowels with definitive accent might be as long as long vowels, she compared the length of stressed and unstressed short vowels, long vowels and definitive accented vowels. She did not differentiate long and short definitive accented vowels, but her data apparently contained a number of definitive accented long vowels measured together with the long vowels (M.Taumoeolau pers.comm.). She found that short stressed vowels had a range midway between the ranges of short unstressed vowels and definitive accented vowels. The ranges of definitive accented vowels and long vowels overlapped, but in general a definitive accented vowel was shorter than a long vowel. The data for Pukapukan, which separates the measurements of definitive accented short vowels, diphthongs and long vowels, shows a definitive accented short vowel to be at least as long, if not longer, than an unaccented diphthong or long vowel.

Taking Condax's results of the short vowels alone, her general findings were that the definitive accent adds the length of an additional vowel to a formerly unstressed vowel. This is corroborated by the Pukapukan data. The definitive accent makes a short vowel as long as the combined duration of a stressed short vowel and an unstressed short vowel. Condax saw her results as correlating with Clark's hypothesis (1974) that the definitive accent is a descendant of an enclitic PPn **ra* > TO **a*, which subsequently assimilated to the height of a preceding vowel in Tongan.

Condax thought that her data did not support Clark's suggestion that definitive accented short vowels might become long vowels since the increase in duration was not enough to make definitive accented vowels the same in duration as long vowels. The data for Pukapukan do support this idea since a definitive accented short vowel is at least as long as a long vowel. It is likely that the few unnoticed definitively accented long vowels in Condax's data increased the average length of a long vowel and skewed her results.

Condax's finding that the definitive accent adds length to a formerly unstressed vowel is additionally supported in the Pukapukan data by the added length that a long vowel or diphthong gains when it is marked by a definitive accent.

More recent measurements of Tongan vowels (Anderson and Otsuka 2002) have shown that the definitive accent adds length to a vowel and supports Taumoeolau's (2001) proposal that the definitive accent is in fact vowel gemination. Anderson and Otsuka's measurements of the utterances of four speakers in controlled environments showed that the definitive accented short vowel was twice (1.95x) the length of

a short unaccented vowel. Their measurements of long accented vowels were 1.3 times longer than long unaccented vowels. In other words, for long vowels the accent adds length, but a long accented vowel is not phonetically as long as three short vowels in Tongan.

The length of a vowel in the syllable immediately preceding a definitive accented vowel is discussed further in the section on stress shift (2.3.2.3).

2.3.2.2 Pitch

Condax (1989:436) found that in sentence final position a definitive accent in Tongan was associated with a large pitch drop (between 10-13 Hz), which accounted for the perception of stress on the final syllable. In medial position, a rise in pitch (approx. 13-36Hz) occurred on the definitive accented syllable relative to the preceding syllable.

The data for Pukapukan seem to indicate a distinctive pitch rise associated with the definitive accent in most sentence types, although a final pitch fall seems to be distinctive for imperatives and Yes/No questions. It must be conceded that the number of utterances analysed for pitch contours is very small (35 utterances in which the definitive accent occurs) and so the absolute pitch measurements should not be valued too highly.

For declarative sentences, the pitch rise associated with the definitive accent in medial position ranged between 10-40 Hz, averaging 23 Hz. However utterance medial pitch rise before non-final pause is not characteristic of the definitive accent alone. A fronted topicalised noun phrase, typical of this intonation pattern, may be bounded with other demonstratives apart from the definitive accent and exhibit a pitch rise of similar proportions. In medial position where there is no discernible pause, however, other demonstratives at the end of a noun phrase are typified by a fall in intonation whereas the definitive accent still exhibits a slight rise of between 4-6 Hz.

In final position the definitive accent was associated with a slight rise of 2-5 Hz which was followed by a fall of 5-13 Hz. This pitch contour contrasts only minimally with the normal declarative intonation pattern in which the pitch gradually falls to the end of the sentence. Falling increments near the end of a sentence normally average 2-5 Hz per syllable. A second clause final declarative intonation pattern was found for locatives marked by the definitive accent, in which the pitch rise increased by as much as 30 Hz on the final vowel.

Interrogative intonation normally has its peak on the question word and pitch gradually falls to the end of a sentence, but a question-final definitive accent is characterised by a slight rise in pitch of between 3-11 Hz. A final definitive accent in a Yes/No question is characterised by a large rise of 17-49 Hz followed by a large fall of 43-85 Hz. Not enough data has been collected on Yes/No questions for comparison of these values.

Anderson and Otsuka (2002) show that in Tongan the pitch peak is on a definitive accent and that the peak

shifts rightward in the word in comparison to the peak of a final long vowel. The location of the pitch peak relative to the end of the final syllable has not been measured in my data.

2.3.2.3 Stress Shift

At first glance it appears that the definitive accent causes the normal stress placement rules (see 2.3.1) to be violated since the primary stress occurs not on the penultimate vowel but on the final vowel of a word. Churchward took this view of the definitive accent in Tongan describing it as a stress shift whereby “the main stress is shifted from the last vowel but one to the very last vowel” (1953:7). If, however, the definitive accent adds the equivalent length of an additional mora to the end of a word, as the measurements in 2.3.2.1 demonstrate, then the normal stress placement rules will predict that the stress will fall on the final lengthened vowel. But it is not that simple. The definitive accent is more than merely the addition of one mora to the end of a word; it distinctively affects the pitch contour as well as the duration of the final vowel. It appears that neither of these views fully accounts for the complexities of the effect of the definitive accent on the prosody of the final word in a phrase.

Condax’s measurements led her to the conclusion that the “stress is not shifted away from the penultimate syllable but remains in a reduced form. An additional, even more prominent stress is added to the final syllable” (1989:435). The definitive accent affects both vowels in a disyllabic word, altering the duration of each in different degrees. Condax found that the vowel in the syllable preceding a definitive accented vowel retained some of the characteristics of a stressed vowel. It was longer than the average of all unstressed short vowels, although its pitch and amplitude were approximately the same as that of an unstressed vowel. The data for Pukapukan also show the vowel in the syllable preceding the definitive accent to be longer than an unstressed vowel.

Condax sees the definitive accent as a prosodic change affecting the whole word, rather than a shift of a single prosodic unit of stress within a word. She believes that a definitive accented short vowel is distinct phonetically from a long vowel, on the grounds of length and pitch differences (1989:438). Anderson and Otsuko (2002) believe, on the other hand, that the definitive accent is in fact vowel gemination, although they found a different pitch pattern for a definitive accented vowel than for a long vowel. The measurements made for Pukapukan also correlate with a short definitive accented vowel being equivalent in length phonetically to a long vowel. However, I believe that they are distinct not only the basis of the distinctive pitch pattern of the definitive accent, but also on the grounds of phonological analysis.

An argument supporting the phonemic distinctiveness of the definitive accent and the long vowel in Pukapukan is that the morphophonemic lengthening rule which applies to case markers preceding a word of two morae in length (see 2.6.1) still applies when a definitive accent falls on the final vowel. The rule does not apply preceding words longer than two morae (e.g. *Lavalua*), including disyllabic words in which the final vowel is a sequence of like vowels (e.g. *Matā*).

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| (34) | te niu [a:] Lava | te niu [a:] Lavá | te niu [a] Matā | te niu [a] Lavalua |
| | A coconut P Lava | A coconut P Lava-Da | A coconut P Matā | A coconut P Lavalua |
| | <i>Lava’s coconut</i> | <i>Lava’s coconut there</i> | <i>Matā’s coconut</i> | <i>Lavalua’s coconut</i> |

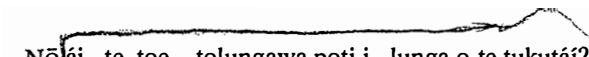
Thus, the definitive accent is a grammatical morpheme which is not realised as a phoneme, but as a prosodic element on the final vowel of a phrase. Phonetically it adds the length of one mora to the final vowel and changes the pitch contour, but the resultant length is not phonemically equivalent to that of a long vowel.

2.3.3 PAUSE AND PHRASE STRESS

1. Pause:

A pause can occur at the end of any grammatical phrase. In slow careful speech there may be as many phonological phrases (the stretch of speech between two pauses) as there are grammatical phrases, but in faster speech a number of grammatical phrases may be included in one phonological phrase. The usual place for a pause is clause finally. Normally, words in each phonological phrase have a distinctive intonation which rises to a peak of prominence (realised as a combination of high intensity and pitch) towards the end of the phrase. There is usually only one such peak of prominence or phrase stress in each phrase.

Normal pitch onset begins with the first stressed syllable of the clause. Unstressed syllables occurring clause initially constitute an anacrusis to the intonation pattern.

- (35)  Nōāi te toe tolungawa poti i lunga o te tukutāi?
 P Pro A other three-suff boat L on P A beach-Da
Whose are those other three boats on the beach?

Two distinct types of pause can be identified which correlate with the intonation patterns (see 2.3.4). Final pause (//) occurs at the end of a phonological sentence. It is often accompanied by a fall in pitch and intensity. Non-final pause (/) occurs between phrases and is not accompanied by decrease in intensity of the utterance. Pitch often rises at a non-final pause. Non-final pause may be shorter than a final pause.

2. Phrase Stress:

There is normally only one phrase stress in each phrase, but there may be secondary stress within the phrase (for instance on reduplicated words) and a complex phonological phrase consisting of several grammatical phrases may still contain the remnants of the stresses on each phrase.

- (36) //Auwē yóliyóli i te kóna nā.//
 Neg.Imp-T RR-tread L A place there
Don't walk on that part.
- (37) //E mea wéa tona vae na tóto ai?//
 Prd thing what her leg T bleed Pro
What happened to her leg to make it bleed?

Biggs (1973a:5) suggested that a phrase stress rule in Māori is related to the kind of pause that follows it. Before non-final pause the stress for Māori occurs on the penultimate vowel, and before final pause it occurs on the first vowel of the last major word.

A penultimate vowel stress rule for non-final phrases appears to cover only some of the data for Pukapukan, since it applies only to phrases uncomplicated by long vowels or rising diphthongs. The stress redistribution principles outlined in the section on word stress (2.3.1) appear to carry over to phrase and sentence stress. Like vowels and rising diphthongs acquire stress even across word boundaries within a phrase. There is usually no rearticulation of like vowels across morpheme or word boundaries in normal speech.

A long vowel or a rising diphthong takes primary stress within each phrase. Grammatical particles may acquire stress under this principle. Otherwise the penultimate mora of the phrase takes primary stress.

- (38) //ko má:tatau te káu e te ló:mamai //
 Ko mātatau te kau e te lōmamai.
 T R-fear A people C come.PI
The people are afraid to come.
- (39) //wakáilo atu koe kiá:na ké: yé: yáu //
 Wakailo atu koe kia ana kē yē yau.
 tell Dir you G-A him C Neg come
Tell him not to come.
- (40) [na talá:tu áu i te wí: mea á:ku na manátu //]
 Na tala atu au i te wī mea āku na manatu.
 T tell Dir I Acc A all thing P-me.PI T think
I told you everything that I could think of.
- (41) //ko tó::ngō:ngo loa toku máki //
 Ko tō ongoongo loa toku maki.
 T quite RR-bad Int my sickness
My sickness is quite severe.

In rapid speech, prominence may be given to two like vowels separated by a phrase boundary, but not across a clause boundary:

- (42) //na malièiñá:u e te wála nei //
 Na malieina au e te wala nei
 T sweet-Cia I Ag A pandanus here
 [Lit. I have been sweetened by this pandanus fruit]
I really enjoyed the sweetness of the pandanus.

Final stress, likewise, appears to be complicated. It may fall on the most prominent (not necessarily the first) syllable of the last content word of the phrase, but in other cases it may fall several syllables from the end of the phrase, up to as many as nine vowels from the end. A more detailed analysis, perhaps incorporating Biggs' idea of syllable ranking (1978:699) may identify a final stress rule for Pukapuka.

- (43) //E kóvi loa kóe ko wakáemaema ai au.//
 Prd person Int you T beloved Pro I
You are a person very dear to me.

2.3.4 INTONATION

There are several intonation patterns that have a contrastive significance in relation to meaning. All these intonation patterns contain a nucleus consisting of the stressed syllable ["], on which there is a sharp rise in pitch and intensity. During the remaining syllables of the clause, the pitch either rises or falls towards the end according to the patterns described below.

1. Imperative Intonation:

Imperative intonation starts high from the initial stressed syllable of the nucleus and the pitch falls to the end of the clause. If there is a vocative, it has its own raised pitch falling on the final unstressed syllable of the vocative.



- (44) //Káve ake te niu a Lavaluá ki ngāutá.//
 take Dir A coconut P Lavalua-Da G shore-Da
Take Lavalua's coconut to shore.

2. Declarative Intonation:

Declarative intonation has a rise-fall on the syllable which has the greatest stress and the pitch remains relatively level until it falls on the last few syllables of the sentence. The pitch and intensity may also fall throughout.




- (45) //Ka wáno au ki te kongá e angáanga ai taku táma.//
 T go I G A place TRR-work Pro my son
I am going to where my son is working.




- (46) //Te láa nei na wati.//
 A branch here T break
This branch is broken.

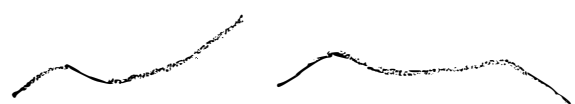
3. Non-final Intonation:

In compound sentences, non-final clauses feature rising intonation on the final syllable. This occurs irrespective of whether or not the non-final clause is declarative. Initial temporal phrases also have rising intonation of their own.

- 
- (47) //Wano tā/kele/, ka yau ai koe kaikai//.
 go wash T come Pro you RR-eat
Go and wash before you come and eat.


- 
- (48) //I te tā/yao néi,/ ala mai loa áú,/ pule taku púle,/ wano ai au tā/kele.//
 L A morning here wake Dir Int I pray my prayer go Pro I wash
This morning, I got up, said my prayers, then went to wash.


Contrastive intonation, likewise rises on the final syllable of a non-final clause.


- 
- (49) //Nā/ aku nā ipíipi nei, nā/ au nā ipíipi e wetiké.
 P I A copra here P you A copra T alone-Da
This copra is mine, your copra is lying over there.

4. Interrogative Intonation:

Interrogative intonation rises on the nucleus which is usually the stressed syllable of the key content word relating to the question, and then the pitch either rises to the final syllable in yes/no questions, or falls in WH-questions.

- 
- (50) //Na wakaao te koví, te kovi wawíné?//
 T marry A person-Da A person woman-Da
Is that person married, that woman over there?

- 
- (51) //Ko áí ná aumáina te mea ia?
 Prd Pro T bring-Cia A thing Af
Who brought this?

- 
- //E wea na wáti ai te lá?
 Prd what T break Pro A branch-Da
Why has this branch been broken?

2.4 PHONOTACTICS

The occurrence of phonemes is in general without distributional restriction. However, certain combinations of phonemes are conspicuously absent: /vu/ never occurs and /vo/ occurs in only two morphemes: *-voko-* ‘hollowed out’; and *voli* ‘volleyball’.

There are some phonotactic restrictions on the consonants of two consecutive syllables. Some of the distributional gaps are likely to be due to the low frequency of one or both of the consonants concerned. The low frequency of the consonants /ŋ, v, ð/ may account for the low incidence of the sequences /ŋVvV/ and /ŋVðV/ which are attested in a total of four words. The sequence /ŋVwV/ occurs only in the forms: *ngawa* ‘fathom’, *ngawā* ‘broken’.

The sequence of a nasal followed by a nasal is restricted: /nVŋV/ and /ŋVmV/ are not attested, and the sequences /nVmV/, /mVmV/ and /ŋVŋV/ are rare, the former occurring only in: *namu* ‘mosquito’, *nunumi* ‘strive for’; and the latter two occur primarily when both morae are identical: *mumu* ‘clump’, *ngongo* ‘noddy tern’.

Other sequences also seem to work on a principle of preferred vowel harmony for non-low vowels, whereby both vowels are identical or at least agree in terms of the feature [+/- back]. The vowel /a/ is not subject to this restriction, but may occur in sequences with any other vowel. Sequences exhibiting preferred vowel harmony include: /mVtV/, /{(m,n)VnV}/, /{(m,ŋ)VŋV}/, /ŋVIV/, /{(k,p)VpV}/; eg: *moto* ‘punch’, *mingi* ‘wrinkled’, *ngongo* ‘noddy tern’, *ngele* ‘get nothing’. Initial /mi/ must be followed by a following /Ci/: *mili* ‘touch’.

On the other hand, the sequences /nVpV/, /{(p,ŋ)V(v,ð)V}/ disprefer vowel harmony. Instead, sequences such as /CeCo/, /CoCi/, /CaCu/ are preferred and /CV₁CV₁/ is not attested: *nepo* ‘sharp point’, *ngove* ‘ringworm’, *nguye* ‘sickly’.

There are some complicated co-occurrence restrictions with the labials. Identical consonants are allowed in consecutive syllables for all consonants: *pēpē* ‘baby’, *mimi* ‘urinate’, *wāwā* ‘taro’. But non-identical labials are severely restricted. The sequence */vV(p,m,w)V/ is disallowed. The sequences /mV(p,v)V/, /pVmV/, /wV(p,m,v)V/ occur primarily when there is a morpheme boundary between the two syllables: *ma+puna* ‘flow, spout’, *mā+vae* ‘separate’, *pā+molemole* ‘smooth’, *wā+piki* ‘joined’, *wā+miti* ‘desire greatly’, *wā+vai* ‘pair of coconut shell containers’¹⁸; or in a few loan words: *pāmu* ‘pump’ [English], *māpū* ‘youth’ [CIM]. The sequences /pV(v,w)V/, /mVwV/ have fewer restrictions, occurring rarely with non-homogeneous vowels: *peva* ‘fish sp.’, *pewu* ‘strength’, *mawu* ‘taro pudding’, *mūweke* ‘squid’; and also across a morpheme boundary: *pū+vakavaka* ‘hot’, *pā+wola* ‘beat hands on body’, *ma+waki* ‘broken off’.

2.5 METATHESIS

Metathesis is an interesting phenomenon in Pukapuka and is also found in a number of other Polynesian and Eastern Oceanic languages where it has given rise to multiple forms of the same etymon (cf. Laycock 1982, Besnier 1987). It occurs mainly between stops in two adjacent syllables, but also with other consonants and with vowels.

Some words in the language have optional forms through metathesis:

| | | | | | |
|------|---------|------------|----------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| (52) | tangau | ~ | ngatau | yellow-margined sea perch | < PPn *tangaʔu |
| | layo | ~ | yalo | scrotum | < PPn *laso |
| | māloyi | ~ | māyoli | strong | < PPn *maalosi |
| | tāpola | ~ | tāpalo | coconut thatch from whole frond | < PNP *taa-pola |
| | taenawa | ~ | taewana | heavy | < PTa *tai-mafa |
| | wawanga | ~ | ngangawa | measure | < PPn *ngafa |
| | wiu | ~ | wui | whistle | < PNP *fio |
| | uniuni | ~ niuniu ~ | nuinui | wire | |

Some of the words in these pairs differ in usage. The metathesised forms *taewana* ‘heavy’ and *tāpalo* ‘mat’ are used colloquially but the original forms are considered to be more ‘correct’. The older word *layo* ‘scrotum’ has almost been lost and is unknown by most young people. *Māyoli* ‘strong’ is in common usage, and while elderly people consider *māloyi* to be correct, young people think of it and its reduplicated plural form *māloyi* as quite old-fashioned in usage.

In the case of *wao* ‘fibre used for fishing line’ derived from PPn **afo*, the original form has been lost entirely. Some of the metathesised forms can be reconstructed as doublets in the proto-language. For instance, the word for ‘plaited mat of coconut leaves used for wall’ has two variants in Pukapukan: *takapau* and *tapakau*, which reflect metathesised forms in Proto-Polynesian (PPn **takapau*, **tapakau*). *Taeyinu* ‘heliotrope tree’ reflects metathesis of the vowels of an earlier form (?PSO **tau-suni*), which is shared by some Eastern languages (PTa **tau-sinu*).

Metathesis has also occurred in derivations from English:

| | | |
|------|---------|--------|
| (53) | pateke | bucket |
| | ātikala | axle |

Pukapukans are well aware of the phenomenon of metathesis and call it *wuli yiku* ‘turn tail (upside down)’. It is also often used in word plays in jest, particularly in words which have strong connotations. Forms which are not attested as ‘correct’ lexical forms in the language are deciphered according to context. For instance, the form *nikoniko* has been heard used instead of the form *konikoni* ‘sexual intercourse’. Several lexical items in one sentence can be metathesised for fun:

| | | |
|------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| (54) | Ka nawo au ti ke lepu. | (metathesised form) |
| | Ka wano au ki te pule. | |
| | T go I G A church | |
| | <i>I am going to church.</i> | |

Playing with words also has its own term; *talatala kekē* ‘different talking’ and involves a range of other strategies which includes the insertion of non-Pukapukan sounds into existing words (e.g. *funufunu* instead of *tunutunu* ‘grill (fish)’) or making up words to sound like a different language.

2.6 MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

2.6.1 LENGTHENING RULES

Morphophonemic rules govern the lengthening of certain grammatical particles and prefixes. Some grammatical particles do not alternate in length, but are always phonologically short, such as *ko* ‘present tense’, *e* ‘indefinite nominal predicate marker’. Others are always phonologically long, such as *ō* ‘second person plural possessive pronoun’ and *mā* ‘benefactive marker’.

1. The first rule lengthens the vowel of a grammatical particle preceding a content word of two morae or less, but leaves the particle in its short form preceding words consisting of more than two morae. Because the length of the particle can be predicted according to a regular rule, the short form of each particle has been chosen to represent both allomorphs.

The future tense marker *ka* is one member of the group of particles that undergoes this rule. It is lengthened to [ka:] preceding verbs of only two morae in length:

| | | | |
|------|-------|------|------------|
| (55) | [ka:] | wō | will go.Pl |
| | [ka:] | yau | will come |
| | [ka:] | tuku | will leave |

But the vowel remains short preceding verbs of more than two morae in length, such as:

| | | | |
|------|------|--------|-----------------|
| (56) | [ka] | maua | will be able to |
| | [ka] | māni | will make |
| | [ka] | wolea | will lose |
| | [ka] | kokopi | will crush |

Particles that obey this phonological rule include: *e* ‘relative present tense marker’, *e* ‘agentive case’, *e* ‘vocative case’¹⁹, *o/a* ‘possessive case marker’, *ma* ‘comitative case marker’, *ia* ‘personal article’ (or *i* + *ia* ‘locative’/‘accusative’ case + personal article), *kia* ‘goal-personal article’ (*ki* + *ia*), *maia* ‘from-personal article’ (*mai* + *ia*) and *ko* ‘topic marker, definite nominal predicate marker’.

For the case markers the rule is more complicated than for tense-aspect markers, although the bimoraic principle underlies the lengthening rule. The tense marker *e* lengthens before all words of two morae, including grammatical particles, and remains short elsewhere.

| | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| (77) | E yē wano au. | te kau e wō | te kau e lōmamai |
| | [e:] | [e:] | [e] |
| | T Neg go I | A people T go.Pl | A people T come.Pl |
| | <i>I won't go.</i> | <i>the people who go</i> | <i>the people who come</i> |

Whereas the tense-aspect markers never occur before monomoraic words, prepositions and case markers often do and there lies the complication. Lengthening of the vowel of prepositions and case markers does not occur before grammatical words of one or two morae, including the articles and possessive pronouns. The lengthening rule seems to be conditioned only by the length of a following content word which is the head of a phrase. This is usually a personal name or a place name. The agentive case marker *e* is thus lengthened preceding a personal name of two morae, but remains short preceding longer personal names.

- (78) Na pukea au [e] te tama ia / [e] nā tama ia / [e] oku mātutua /
 T catch-Cia I Ag A child Af Ag A person Af Ag my.Pl parents
 [e:] Mele / [e] Kalitua / [e] Te Maki
 Ag Mele Ag Kalitua Ag Te Maki
I was caught by that person / by those people / by my parents / by Mele / by Kalitua / by Te Maki.

The length of a case marker is not conditioned by the length of a following numeral determiner, but it is conditioned by a numeral which is the head of a phrase. The length of a tense-aspect marker is conditioned by a following numeral:

- (79) [e] lua oku mātutua [e:] Lua [e:] lua oku mātutua
 Ag two my.Pl parents Ag Two T two my.Pl parents
by both my parents by Two [Person's name] I have two parents [lit. My parents are two].

Pronouns which occur as the head of the phrase are exceptions to the rule in that they do not condition lengthening of the case marker. Instead, they group with the grammatical particles in taking the short form of the case marker no matter whether they are two or more morae long.

- (80) [e] koe [ma] koe [kia] koe [maia] koe
 Ag you and you G-A you from-A you
by you and you to you from you
- (81) [ko] koe [ko] ai [ko] lātou
 Prd you Prd who Prd they
It's you Who? It's them

2. The second lengthening rule pertains to reduplicated forms. The verbal prefixes *ma-*, *nga-*, and *we-* are lengthened when they precede partially or fully reduplicated forms but remain short elsewhere.²⁰

- (82) makoyi have a scratch mākoyikoyi striped
 malingi spill mālilingi spill (Pl)
 mālingilingi keep spilling
- ngalepe broken ngālelepe broken (Pl)
 ngālepelepe broken to pieces
 ngatata make a noise ngātatatata incessant noise making
- wetō fall (Pl) together wētōtō fall (Pl) at different times
 wetuki rush as a group wētukituki rush individually at different times

Other three morae verbs follow a similar rule which lengthens the first vowel of reduplicated forms:

- (83) matakū afraid mātatakū afraid (Pl)
 iloā know īloloā know (Pl)

| | | | |
|--------|-------|------------|------------|
| manako | think | mānanako | think (Pl) |
| | | mānakonako | dwell on |

Some bimoraic intransitive verbs lengthen the first vowel when partially reduplicated to indicate plural subjects.

| | | | | |
|------|------|--------|--------|-------------|
| (84) | niko | return | nīniko | return (Pl) |
| | kata | laugh | kākata | laugh (Pl) |
| | luku | dive | lūluku | dive (Pl) |
| | uyu | enter | ūyu | enter (Pl) |
| | ola | live | ōla | live (Pl) |

Two verbs have lengthened vowels in the first morpheme of fully reduplicated forms, but only one of these still retains the free root. These words are usually said together in a lexicalised phrase *lōlōle, pōpōti* meaning ‘absolutely great’.

| | | | |
|------|------|--------|---------|
| (85) | lole | lōlōle | perfect |
| | | pōpōti | nice |

3. Morphophonemic lengthening of the first vowel of some bimoraic roots accompanies the addition of a monomoraic ‘passive’ suffix *-a*:

| | | | | |
|------|------|-------|-------|-----------------------|
| (86) | kave | take | kāvea | be taken |
| | koti | cut | kōtia | be cut |
| | puke | catch | pūkea | be caught |
| | wuli | turn | wūlia | be turned, translated |

4. Emphatic lengthening of the first vowel of a bimoraic stative verb intensifies the meaning:

| | | | | |
|------|-------|---------|-------|--------------|
| (87) | kanga | playful | kānga | very playful |
| | tongi | big | tōngi | very big |

E ika loa tōngi loa tongi.
Prd fish Int big Int big
It was a very large fish indeed.

5. Plural forms of a few nouns are made by lengthening the first vowel:

| | | | | |
|------|--------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (88) | wawine | woman | wāwine | women |
| | matua | parent | mātua ²¹ | parents |
| | taina | same sex sibling | tāina | same sex siblings |

6. A minority of suffixed lexical nominalisations of verbs have variant forms with a lengthened first vowel. While the short forms usually refer to the action or event, the forms with the long vowel may refer to the people doing the action, indicate the result of the action or have an idiosyncratic meaning.

| | | | | |
|------|---------|-------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| (89) | matenga | event of death | mātenga | gathering of mourners |
| | lalanga | act of weaving | lālanga | quality of weaving, thing woven |
| | palenga | act of guarding village | pālenga | fault |

2.6.2 ELISION RULES

1. The most common type of vowel elision occurs between a verb ending in *-a* and the postverbal particles *atu*, *ake*, and (less often) *ai*. In such instances, the geminate vowel takes the phrase stress over the morpheme boundary; very often there is elision of one of the vowels, although the remaining vowel still retains the stress as if it were a long vowel.

(90) [tálataláke]
talatala ake
tell Dir
please tell

2. Elision of one of two adjacent like vowels also occurs across a morpheme boundary between a case marker and pronoun or between predicate marker and pronoun, resulting in fused forms. In some instances the case marker or predicate marker contains a phonemically long vowel and three short vowels contract to the length of two. The possessive case and predicate markers *nā/nō*, *mā/mō* follow this pattern.

(91) [na:ku] [no:na] [no: lātou]
nā aku nō ona nō lātou
Prd me Prd him Prd they
[It] is mine. *[It] is his.* *[It] is theirs.*

The similative case marker *pe* normally has a phonetically long vowel [pe:] before pronouns and personal nouns (see (3) below), but is short in contracted forms with the vowel-initial pronouns.

(92) [pe:] koe [pe:ku] [pe:na]
pe koe pe eku pe ena
like you *like me* *like him*

Both processes of elision and lengthening work together so that there is uniformity of shape in the fused forms resulting from a case marker preceding a vowel-initial pronoun. The case markers which undergo phonological lengthening before content words of two morae are not lengthened before pronouns (2.6.1) so that the fused form with a vowel-initial pronoun is medially two vowels in length; the same prosodic pattern is followed as for the case markers above which undergo elision.

(93) [na:ku] [pe:ku] [ko:ku] [e:ku] [ma:ku] [kia:ku]
nā aku pe eku ko oku e eku ma aku kia aku
mine *like me* *It's me* *by me* *and me* *to me*

A similar type of vowel elision has occurred historically in the fused forms of the case markers *i*, *ki* and *mai* followed by the personal article *ia*. Two like vowels across a morpheme boundary have been reduced resulting in the fused forms: *ia*, *kia* and *maia* (see 4.1.1).

3. A third type of vowel elision shortens a long vowel of grammatical particles. The conditioning environment is a short grammatical word which follows, but these are often lexically determined. The elision does not occur generally before all grammatical words. The vowel of the 'similative case marker'

pe [pe:] is shortened only before the articles *te* and *nā*. It contains a long vowel elsewhere including in the compounds *pēnei* ‘like this’, *pēnā* ‘like that’, *pānā* ‘like that’ and *pēai* ‘like who?’, as well as preceding all personal names and consonant-initial pronouns.²²

| | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| (94) | [pe:] Tao <i>like Tao</i> | [pe:] Yātō <i>like Yātō</i> | [pe:] koe <i>like you</i> | [pe] te mū <i>like the snapper</i> | [pe] nā kapakapa <i>like the wings</i> |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|

The vowel of the subjunctive mood marker and subordinator *ke* [ke:] also undergoes shortening, but only before the preverbal pronouns. It remains long elsewhere; before all other grammatical particles and verbs of any length.

| | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|--|
| (95) | [ke:] yē wō lātou C Neg go.PI they <i>so they don't go</i> | [ke:] lōmamai C come.PI <i>so [they] come</i> | [ke] aku kitea C I know-Cia <i>so I know</i> | [ke] a lātou wolea C they lose-Cia <i>so they lose</i> |
|------|--|---|--|--|

Since the vowel length of these grammatical particles is predictable, it is not differentiated in the orthography except in the compound forms. The short form has been chosen to represent both allomorphs.

4. In rapid casual speech the dual pronouns *māua*, *tāua* undergo assimilation and elision of the /u/ resulting in the forms [ma:], [ta:].

2.6.3 PAIRED MORAE PRINCIPLE

There is a tendency in Pukapukan for phonological words to be in multiples of two morae. Groupings of three morae also exist but they are a minority.

Many grammatical particles are two morae in length: tense-aspect markers: *nā*, *kē*, *mē*, *koa*, *kai*; predicate markers: *nō*, *nā*, *mō*, *mā*; the negative particle: *yē* and most of the postverbal particles: *atu*, *mai*, *ake*, *ai*, *lā*. Mono-moraic particles do exist, but these are often followed by another mono-moraic particle, so that a phonological grouping of two morae results: *i te* ‘at the’, *ma te* ‘and the’, *ko te* ‘topic the’.

A number of morphophonemic rules (see 2.6.1-2) also favour this tendency. The lengthening rule which lengthens a particle when it precedes a word of two morae results in two adjacent groups of two morae: eg [ka:] *maka* ‘will leave’, [e:] *yē* ‘will not’. Preceding a word of three morae the particle remains in its unlengthened form, also resulting in a grouping of four morae: [ka] *māka* ‘will mark’, [e] *kiai* ‘has not’. The lengthening rule pertaining to reduplication results in even numbers of morae for fully reduplicated forms of both prefixed and three syllable roots: *ngālepelepe* < *ngalepe* ‘broken to pieces’, *mānatunatu* < *manatu* ‘think about’. The lengthening of the first vowel of disyllabic roots for partially reduplicated or suffixed forms results in two groups of two morae: *kākata* < *kata* ‘laugh’, *kōtia* < *koti* ‘cut’. The shortening of phonemically long particles preceding grammatical particles and also the exceptions to the lengthening rule preceding grammatical particles normally results in groups of two morae: [pe te] ‘like the’, [e te] ‘by the’.

There are exceptions to the tendency. Two of the tense-aspect markers *ko* ‘progressive tense’ and *na* ‘past tense’ are monomoraic. The rest are either bimoraic or follow the lengthening rule. Of the case markers, most undergo morphophonemic lengthening preceding content words of two morae and a few are bimoraic. The monomoraic case markers are usually followed by another monomoraic particle, making a group of two morae. The major exception is the plural article *nā* which forms groups of three morae with a preceding monomoraic case marker: *i nā* ‘at the (Pl)’, *ki nā* ‘to the (Pl)’. Possessive pronouns also commonly occur following monomoraic case markers: *i tona* ‘at his’. The fused forms consisting of a case marker and personal article undergo lengthening with resultant three, not two, morae forms preceding words of two morae: [*ia:*] *Tao* ‘at Tao’, [*kia:*] *Tao* ‘to Tao’. Partial reduplication of three syllable roots accompanied by lengthening of the first vowel results in a phonological word of five, not four, morae: *māitaku* < *mataku* ‘afraid’. The fused forms consisting of a case marker and a following vowel-initial pronoun do not result in words of even numbered morae, nor does the contraction of the complementiser *ke* before the preverbal pronouns.

In examining a random text of three pages, a conservative 75% of vowels in phonological phrases could be divided into phonological groups consisting of multiples of two morae. The remaining 25% of vowels were divisible into groupings of three morae. Of the content words, 73% consisted of even numbers of morae.

- (96) Yuyuke / loa / nā / lau / niu / ma nā / lā / ngayu / nā / uwiuwi / ai / [ke:] / yē / ngāwāwā /
 3 2 2 2 2 3 2 2 2 4 2 2 2 6
 open Int A leaf coconut and A branch plant.sp A cover Pro C Neg broken

te tino / o te / vaka / i te / lā. /
 3 2 2 2 2

A body P A canoe By A sun

The coconut leaves and saltbush branches, which were covering the canoe to stop the sun cracking the hull, were lifted off.

2.7 ORTHOGRAPHY

Written conventions for the language are still being established. Until the early 1980s, education was officially conducted in Cook Islands Māori (CIM) and this is still reflected in the way that Pukapukans write their language. In two decades the vernacular has become the main language of instruction in the primary and middle school, although in the secondary school both English and Cook Islands Māori are used in the classroom and taught formally. The production of printed literature by way of booklet style readers and a newspaper in the vernacular (founded in 1991) has made the need for consistent orthographical decision-making more apparent. The school teachers on the island together with a language task force in Auckland have been the key participants in this process.

The Pukapukan alphabet is as follows:

a, e, ng, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, t, u, v, w, y

The symbols *ng* and *y* represent the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the interdental fricative /ð/ respectively.

The lateral warrants special comment. As with most other Polynesian languages, the two PPn liquids have merged to form a single phoneme which in Pukapukan is represented by *l*. In CIM, the liquid sound, phonetically an alveolar tap, is represented by *r*. As a result of education in CIM, there is some inconsistency in the way the lateral is written by Pukapukans. Although they readily write the sound as *l* for most indigenous words, personal names (registered under Cook Islands administration) and words that are considered to be borrowings from CIM but are commonly used in speech, are often written using an *r* even although local pronunciation is more like a lateral than a tap (for example: *i reira* [i leilɛ] ‘therefore’). There is also inconsistency in the writing of words which have shared cognates in both Pukapukan and CIM (for example: *Iārou* ‘they’ is sometimes spelled with *r* instead of *l*).

The history of the marking of vowel length reflects the lack of differentiation in CIM orthography. Until 1980 no publications quoting Pukapukan differentiated vowel length. Pearl Beaglehole marked it with a raised dot following the vowel in her fieldnotes and manuscripts (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., b and c), but it was not indicated in publications (E. and P. Beaglehole 1938, n.d., a). During the period 1976-80 when the anthropologist Robert Borofsky was on the island, a decision was made to indicate vowel length using a double vowel orthography for the purposes of compiling a dictionary jointly with the school teachers (Mataora et al. 1981). Bruce Biggs had far reaching influence. Through Rangi Moeka‘a, who studied under Biggs in New Zealand and who was lecturing at the teachers college in Rarotonga, several of the teachers on Pukapuka had come to recognise the need to differentiate vowel length in the orthography and at that time (before the days of personal computers) double vowel orthography was the only practical option. Following 1989, the marking of long vowels using a macron was discussed and favoured on the basis that it least changed the shape of words which are also shared with CIM; this was an important consideration since the national language CIM must also be learned. Since then, publications in the vernacular have shown the transition from double vowel orthography to the macron and the work produced by students at the school has shown an increased consistency in the marking of long vowels using the macron. In informal writing, such as personal letters, Pukapukans do not generally indicate vowel length except to avoid potential confusion where minimal pairs exist. Elsewhere it is marked inconsistently, if at all.

In Cook Islands Māori, vowel length is generally unmarked and a double vowel indicates not vowel length, but an intervening glottal stop: <*apii*> [ʔɑ:pi ʔ] ‘school’. While the decision to mark vowel length in Pukapukan using the macron was made fairly readily, there is resistance to changing the shape of established CIM borrowed words, especially those which contain a glottal stop separating two identical vowels. Since the glottal stop is reflected in Pukapukan as Ø, the two contiguous like vowels are pronounced as a long vowel. The preferred orthography for these words is to retain the shape of the CIM word, although vowel length may be marked on other long vowels: <*āpii*> [ɑ:pi:] ‘school’.

In October 2002, at the Second International Pukapukan Leaders Conference held in the Pukapuka Centre in Mangere, Auckland, the decision to mark vowel length by the macron was formally endorsed by representatives of all Pukapukan communities. One of the main reasons it was endorsed by teachers and

people involved in bilingual education was to facilitate language learning and literacy in the migrant situation.

The orthographical decisions that have been made are as follows:

1. Vowel length is marked by a macron on all words and grammatical particles.
2. Where the vowel length of a grammatical particle is conditioned by a morphophonemic rule it is left unmarked; the short allomorph is used in the orthography. Prefixes and preverbal particles are marked for vowel length.
3. The definitive accent is marked with an acute accent.

These conventions are followed in this thesis. Vowel length has been differentiated in sentence examples quoted from the Beaglehole manuscripts (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., a, b, c.) although it was not marked in their type-script manuscripts.

NOTES

1. Using CECIL (Computerized Extraction of Components of Intonation in Language), a spectrographic computer programme produced by JAARS of Summer Institute of Linguistics (1990), which graphs sound waves according to the parameters of intensity and frequency as well as providing for measurements of length to be made.
2. An archaic form of this word reflects */f/ > /w/: *kākawu* 'clothing'.
3. For reconstruction of this term and of other PPn fish names, see Hooper (1994). All other reconstructions are from the POLLEX computer files (Biggs:1994).
4. An archaic form of this word reflects */s/ as /ð/: *māyina* 'moon'.
5. Cook Islands Māori forms (CIM *a'a'i*, Mangaia *a'ai* Hooper (1994:223); CIM *a'ai* (Buse 1995, 1996)) do not appear to have strongly influenced this change since they appear to be borrowings from Tahitian *a'ahi* (Hooper 1994:223).
6. This plant is not found on Pukapuka, but the name occurs in the *mako* traditional chants.
7. This pair is also attested for Samoan, but with vowel contraction accompanying the assimilation: *'aumai* 'bring' > *amai* (Platt 1986:132; Mosel and Hovdaugen 1992:34).
8. Schütz (1981) accounts for the inconsistencies of the penultimate stress rule in Hawaiian, by introducing the concept of the measure. It is notable that rising diphthongs, but not falling diphthongs, are included in his fourteen types of peak syllables.
9. Mosel and Hovdaugen (1992:28) note that *falaoa* 'bread' is one of only two words which have antepenultimate stress in Samoan. The exceptions to the penultimate rule seem to be more systematic in Pukapukan.
10. Instrumental measurements show that the vowel may still retain some features of the original stress in that it may have a higher intensity than a normally unstressed vowel, but the newly stressed vowel has both higher intensity and pitch.

11. Surprisingly, /io/ appears to group with the rising diphthongs according to its stress patterning. On the other hand, one word containing /eu/ in which the stress does not fall on the first vowel of the diphthong, seems to indicate that /eu/ may at least sometimes group with the falling vowel clusters.

peleue péleúe coat

12. The stress placement on these words may be alternatively explained by proposing a hierarchy of strength for the vowel sequences. The vowel sequences /ai, au/ and /ia, ua/ are the ones that have the greatest tongue movement. They could be considered the most prototypical and the strongest of the rising and falling vowel sequences. The least prototypical and the weakest are the vowel sequences at level tongue height. They are the most labile in their affiliations. A gradient of strength could account for the intermediate strength of the mid-high, mid-low rising and falling vowel sequences. Such a hierarchy would explain why whenever /ui/ immediately follows /a/, as is the case in *kauī* 'read', *mauíke* 'whirlwind' and *lauílu* 'pandanus leaves sp.', the competition for stress is won by the rising diphthong /au/.

13. This example seems to indicate that even though /io/ groups with the rising diphthongs, it is not as strong as /oi/ in attracting stress.

14. Note that although /io/ groups with rising diphthongs, /io/ groups with falling long vowel sequences. Moreover, in the only word I have found containing /ēu/, the vowels are both stressed.

Yēuluale Yēeúluále man's name

These words seem to indicate that long diphthongs which cross the vowel chart, whether slightly rising or falling, group together with falling long diphthongs.

15. A few common words show exceptions to this principle:

| | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------|
| kamatanga | kámatá+nga | beginning |
| manatunga | mánatú+nga | desire |
| akakitea | áka+kité+a | announce |

These words have possibly become lexicalised to the extent that the suffixes are no longer considered to be separate morphemes. Instrumental analysis of *kamatanga* shows equal intensity on the first three vowels, with only a slight pitch rise differentiating penultimate stress.

Stress assignment to morphemes defines partial reduplication as a morpheme since stems retain their original stress placement even after infixation of the reduplicated syllable:

píkikā píkikáa lie (Sg) píki+ka+káa lie (Pl)

16. Since the redistribution rule results in stress occurring four vowels from the end of the word, an additional rule is required to assign stress to the penultimate syllable. An alternative analysis would suggest that two or more suffixes combine with internal structure for independent stress assignment separate to the stem.

17. See note 1.

18. These last two words are the only examples found of the sequences /wVmV/ and /wVvV/. They are archaic terms found in Beagleholes' dictionary manuscript (E. and P. Beaglehole 1991), which also contains one example of monomorphemic /mVpV/: *mape* 'ovary'.

19. At first glance, the vocative case marker *e* appears to follow a shortening, rather than a lengthening, rule since its most frequent realisation is the long form [e:], and in fact the short form is quite rare. However, the most general and economical analysis is that it follows a lengthening rule like most of the other case markers, although the short form of the vocative [e] is not its most frequent realisation. It is phonetically long preceding personal names two morae in length, and remains short before grammatical particles such as possessive pronouns. Since it is not idiomatic Pukapukan to call a person with a longer name by using a preceding vocative *e*, the particle does not appear in a shortened form preceding longer names. Instead the name is either shortened to configure with a CV(C)V pattern, or the vocative particle follows the person's name.

- (i) [e:] Kali [e:] Kalitua [e:] [e] oku mōuli [e] Te Ani [e:]
Hey, Kali *Hey, Kalitua* *you, my friends* *Hey, Te Ani*

20. A minority of these prefixed forms have a long vowel in the prefix for all forms of the verb.

| | | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|----------------|
| māloyi | strong | mālologyi | strong (Pl) |
| māwutu | skilful | māwuwutu | skillful (Pl) |
| ngāyae | be torn | ngāyaeyae | torn to pieces |

The plural prefix *we-* allows contrastive forms with both short and long vowels for some unreduplicated forms.

| | | | |
|--------|--------------|--------|--------------------------|
| welele | run together | wēlele | run individually |
| wekake | climb (Pl) | wēkake | climb at different times |

21. Also *māutua* 'parents'.

22. A simpler statement may be one that links the conditions of the lengthening rule for case markers (see 2.6.1) to the conditions for this shortening rule. The particle *pe* [pe:] is shortened before all words which are not the main content word in the head of the noun phrase. It remains long elsewhere; whenever it is immediately followed by a content word which is head of the noun phrase. Note the contrast between the way in which pronouns behave in both rules. For the lengthening rule, the pronouns group with grammatical particles which do not condition lengthening, so that case markers are not lengthened preceding pronouns. Following *pe*, the pronouns group with the personal names which are content words, so that the shortening rule does not apply preceding pronouns. Neither rule applies preceding pronouns. This formulation of the rule also accounts for the shortening of *pe* when it precedes a qualifying numeral which is not the head of the noun phrase.

- (i) [pe] lua toa ia
 like two warrior Af
like those two warriors



CHAPTER THREE : THE VERB PHRASE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the internal structure of the verb phrase (VP) is examined. The verb phrase is the minimal manifestation of the clause. Following a long-standing tradition in Polynesian linguistics, the verb phrase is taken to mean the lexical verb and its pre- and postmodifiers which are arranged in a fixed linear order before and after the base verb. It excludes the nominal arguments of the clause, except for the preverbal pronouns which are found between the tense-aspect-mood marker and the verb and are inside the verb phrase. The tense-aspect-mood markers are the most important defining feature of the verb phrase. While not every verb phrase has a tense-aspect-mood marker, it is its possible occurrence that determines that the phrase is a verb phrase. Not all predicates are verbal. Locative predicates are tensed non-verbal predicates (7.2) which allow most of the elements of the verb phrase to modify the locational noun in the nucleus, although there are certain tense-aspect restrictions and preverbal pronouns are not permitted. Nominal predicates and other types of nonverbal predicates are discussed in 7.1.

The discussion of the verbal particles begins with the tense-aspect-mood markers and then continues through the phrase in a progression which reflects the linear order of the different verbal particles. The discussion of negation of clauses is left to Chapter 8 while postposed particles which occur within a noun phrase or a verb phrase are discussed in 5.1-5.2. Only those postposed particles which pertain to the verb phrase alone are discussed here. However, all of the particles mentioned above have been included in Table 4 which sets out the verbal particles. Co-occurrence restrictions of these morpheme classes are noted in the text where appropriate.

3.1 TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD MARKERS

Tense-aspect-mood particles define the verb phrase in that they are compatible with any verb phrase. Although the tense-aspect-mood particle is the first element of the verb phrase, it may be preceded in the clause by a conjunction (10.1), an adverbial (10.7), or a fronted noun phrase (7.7.4). Auxiliary verbs (10.2) and negative verbs (8.2) are restricted in their occurrence with tense-aspect-mood markers. Verbs can be unmarked for tense-aspect-mood in two different situations: in imperative clauses or in the action clauses of a narrative (3.1.13). The tense-aspect-mood particle is replaced by a subordinator in several types of subordinate clauses (10.3).

Tense-aspect-mood particles are not the only means employed to denote notions of tense, aspect or mood. Many of the particles which are postposed to the nucleus of the verb phrase (5.1) can denote aspect and modality. Iterative, durative and habitual aspect can be denoted by bimoraic reduplication of the verb (3.5.4). The 'passive' case marking pattern can be used to express perfectivity, and the choice of suffix

TABLE 4: Constituents of the Verb Phrase

| TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD: (3.1) | NEGATIVE: (3.2, 8.3) | PREVERBAL PRONOUNS: (3.3) | PREVERBAL PARTICLES (3.4) | VERB NUCLEUS (3.5-3.9) |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| ka 'future' | yē 'not' | aku 'I' | pito 'recently' | |
| ko 'present' | | au/ a koe 'you Sg' | mou 'often' | |
| e 'relative present' | | ana 'he, she, it Sg' | | |
| na 'past tense' | | a māua 'we exclusive dual' | | |
| | | a tāua 'we inclusive dual' | | |
| koa 'inceptive' | | a kōlua 'you dual' | | |
| nā 'imperfective' | | a lāua 'they dual' | | |
| yā 'past' (archaic) | | a mātou 'we exclusive plural' | | |
| ke 'subjunctive' | | a tātou 'we inclusive plural' | | |
| kia 'subjunctive' (archaic) | | a kōtou 'you plural' | | |
| kai 'possibility, warning' | | a lātou 'they plural' | | |
| koi 'polite request' | | | | |

SUBORDINATORS

(10.3)

| | |
|-------|---------------|
| e te | 'infinitive' |
| ke | 'purpose' |
| pē/mē | 'conditional' |
| kāe | 'lest' |
| ko te | 'lest' |

**LEXICAL
ADVERBIALS**
(3.10)

POSTPOSED MODIFIERS:
(5.1)

ADVERBIALS:
(5.1.1)

| | |
|-------|--------------|
| wua | 'only, just' |
| tikāi | 'truly' |
| lava | 'definitely' |

DIRECTIONALS:
(5.1.2)

| | |
|-----|-----------------------------|
| mai | 'towards' |
| atu | 'away' |
| ake | 'upwards, please' |
| io | '?downwards, misfortune' |

**ANAPHORIC
PRONOUN** (3.11.1)

| | |
|----|----------------------|
| ai | 'previous reference' |
|----|----------------------|

INTENSIFIER
(5.1.3)

| | |
|-----|---------------|
| loa | 'intensifier' |
|-----|---------------|

POSITIONALS:
(5.1.4)

| | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|
| nei | 'near speaker' |
| nā | 'near to addressee' |
| lā | 'away from both' 'intensifier' |

OTHER MODIFIERS:
(5.1.5)

| | |
|---------|---------------------|
| lāi | 'still' |
| oki | 'also' |
| pā | 'probably' |
| mō | 'maybe' |
| mua | 'warning' |
| ē | 'durative' (3.11.2) |
| pē | 'definitely' |
| keke | 'confirmation' |
| koia | 'indeed' |
| angaoti | 'exactly' |

can distinguish between recent and remote past (3.9.3). Terminative aspect is expressed through verbal means (*oti* ‘finish’, *māveve* ‘finish’). These morphological categories largely encode situation aspect as opposed to viewpoint aspect (Mourelatos 1978, Smith 1983, 1986, Bache 1982). Situation aspect is the character, or the real-world nature, of the situation itself that the predicate denotes and can be described using qualities such as stative/dynamic, durative/punctual, telic, iterative, or habitual. Viewpoint aspect, on the other hand, is a choice that the speaker makes to view a situation from a certain perspective. For instance, a situation that has durative situation aspect can be viewed as being still in process or as having been completed. Viewpoint aspect is analogous in some ways to photographic shots, which can be taken from above, from below, face-on or from other directions, to create a different perspective without changing the characteristics of the entity being photographed. Verbs themselves also have inherent aspect as discussed by Vendler (1967) and Mourelatos (1978).

In a discussion of tense and aspect, tense must be distinguished from time reference (Comrie 1985a:1). Following Comrie, I will refer to S (Speech time) as the time of speech, E (Event time) as the point in time or interval of time occupied by the situation denoted by the verb, and R (Reference time) as time relative to the situation encoded by other clauses in the discourse.

Following Hooper for Tokelauan (1993a:134-206), for each of the tense-aspect particles in Pukapukan I will firstly discuss tense, then the types of situation aspect that are applicable, using the categories of situation types as defined by Mourelatos (1978:423) (states, processes/activities, accomplishments and achievements), then viewpoint aspect if it is relevant. Mood particles are discussed last.

3.1.1 Future Tense : *ka*

Ka denotes the future tense. A morphophonemic rule controls the lengthening of *ka* when it precedes verbs of two morae in length (see 2.6.1).

1. *Ka* can refer to absolute future tense (E after S). It refers to simple future and statements of future intention:

- (1) **Ka** ngangalo nā ipiipi i te ngalu.
 T R-lost A coconut.flesh By A wave.
The copra will disappear on account of the waves. (U:C1)

- (2) **Ka** liko au i te kākā e tau i lunga o te lā o te walā.
 T hold I Acc A tern T perch L above P A branch P A pandanus-Da
I'm going to catch the tern which is perching on the branch of that pandanus.

2. *Ka* denotes relative future tense (E after R): future in the past (3), future in the future (4), or future in hypothetical situations (5).

- (3) Mea lā i te taima **ka** niko mai au ki Wale nei, tātā wakawōu atu au ki ai ke tuku mai toku pātete.
 do but L A time T return Dir I G Home here write again Dir I G Pro C send Dir my fare
But at the time I decided that I would return to Pukapuka here, I wrote to him again to ask him to send my fare. (ML:K3:92)

- (4) Ni wea nā kai ka tao ki te imu ka pū?
Prd what A food T bake Ins A oven T light
What sort of food will [they] bake in the oven [they] are going to light? (PP2:13:7)
- (5) Mē lāi iāna ka kayā, ka niko mai ai iāna.
C really he T get.nothing T return Dir Pro he.
If indeed he gets nothing, he will return. (MO:W1)

Future hypothetical outcomes may be counter-factual:

- (6) Pī lava na yau lā kinei, ka kite au ke onoono au i te tupu.
if definitely T come via here T see I C look I Acc A face
If [he] had come round here, I would recognise him if could see his face. (MT3:6)
- (7) E kiai lā oki na tamaki, ka vayia è te pūāpii.
T Neg but T fight T hit-Cia Ag A teacher.
But [they] didn't really fight or the teacher would have hit them. (AT:S1)

3. *Ka* can be used to imply debitive mood:

- (8) Ēnei nā tāngata ka kave ai kōtou.
here A people T take Pro you
Here are the people you [should] take [it] to [lit. you will take [it] to].

4. Threats and warnings are introduced by *ka* as an extension of its predictive meaning. Following warnings and negative imperatives, *ka* is a precautionary mood marker introducing a clause denoting the consequence of not heeding the warning:

- (9) Te kau e nī a lātou wata i te tukutaí, ke onoono wakalelei, ka pōina e te ngalu,
A people T exist.Pl P they rack L A beach-Da T watch well T sweep.away-Cia Ag A wave
ka mawuli oki.
T tip.over also
The people who have [copra] drying racks at the beach better watch out lest they be swept away by the waves or tip over. (U:C1)
- (10) Auwae koe e tāpīpī mai, ka yuyū oku kākau.
Neg.Imp you T pre-RR-sprinkle Dir T wet my.Pl clothes
Don't splash water on me lest my clothes get wet.

Ka can be used to denote threats with strong overtones:

- (11) E yē pā ia Tēnana, na mea ia Tēnana, “Ka yau koe lali i te uyo o toku vaka nei!”
T Neg agree A Tēnana T say A Tēnana T come you soil Acc A middle P my canoe here
Tēnana didn't agree. He said, “[How dare] you come and contaminate my canoe!” (MT2:3)

5. *Ka* does not co-occur with *yē* ‘negative marker’ as the future tense marker, except in very restricted sentence types. Future negatives are usually marked by *e* as tense marker:

- (12) E/*ka yē wai tā tāua imukai i te tāyao nō te ngalungalu.
T Neg make P we.2 feast L A tomorrow because A RR-wave
We won't be holding our feast tomorrow because of the rough weather. (U:C1)

Apart from two lexicalised expressions,¹ the combination *ka yē* occurs only in ‘lest’ clauses which denote the consequences of not taking heed to warnings, and in hypothetical conditional clauses introduced by *mē*:

- (13) Limalima, lalanga i te eva, **ka yē** kaikai kōtou.
 hurry R-weave fast T Neg eat you
Hurry and weave fast, or you won't get any dinner. (F4S2:3)
- (14) Ka tāmata wua au i te poti nei e te tāpūpū, **mē ka yē** maua ai ia aku, maka ai au i te poti nei.
 T try just I Acc A boat here C turn.around if T Neg able Pro By-A I leave Pro I Acc A boat here
[I thought] I would try and turn the boat around, [but] if I couldn't then I would leave the boat. (LS2:30)

6. *Ka* is the tense-aspect marker used in expressions for counting down as in ‘ready steady go’:

- (15) Teatea mamao, **ka** tayi, **ka** lua, **ka** tolu.
 get.ready T one T two T three
Get ready, one, two, three [go].

Ka is compatible with all types of situation aspect, although it appears most frequently in clauses denoting events, which are most of the situations cited above. It can also be used in clauses denoting states and processes/activities:

- (16) Ko iloa oki ēna **ka** tokawolo te tangata **ka** akaatawai wolo i te Atua.
 T know-Cia also Ag-he T cls-big A people T caus-thank big Acc A God
He knew that there would be many people who would be giving thanks to God. (MW2:4)

Certain verbs, for instance *wano* ‘go’, allow marking by *ka* to denote future intention, as expected. However, even if the action denoted by the verb has started and the ‘going’ is already in process, they do not allow present tense marking with either *ko* or *e* to denote present progressive in main clauses.

- (17) **Ka** wano koe ki wea?
 * **Ko** wano koe ki wea?
 * **E** wano koe ki wea?
 T go you G where
Where are you going to?
Where are you on your way to?

3.1.2 Present Tense : *ko*

The present tense is indicated by *ko*.

1. *Ko* can denote absolute present tense (E simultaneous with S):

- (18) Te kotawá, **ko** ino lā lunga o te moana.
 A frigate.bird-Da T circle L over P A ocean
That frigate bird is circling above the ocean.
- (19) Ko te toe kau **ko** lekaleka, **ko** ūtutua te uto.
 Top A other people T RR-happy T R-plentiful A sprouting.coconut
Other people are happy [because] there are plenty of sprouting coconuts.

2. *Ko* can denote relative present tense (E simultaneous with R): present in the past (20), present in the future (21, 22) or present in hypothetical situations (23).

- (20) **Ko** yē ana iloa e te kakau i te taime ia.
T Neg he know-Cia C swim L A time Af
He didn't know how to swim at that time.
- (21) **Ka** wano au **ko** ola ia Āpela.
T go I T alive A Āpela
I will go while Āpela is still alive.
- (22) **Ka** tūtaka lā loto o nā wale mē **ko** mamā.
T inspect via inside P A house whether T R-clean
[They] will inspect inside the houses [to see] whether they are clean [at that time].
- (23) **Mē ko** lele te payīlele, ka uwi te tangata, "E wea te mea?"
if T fly A plane T ask A person Prd what A thing
If a plane is flying, someone will ask, "What's that?"

3. *Ko* also indicates universal tense that denotes situations characteristic of all time:

- (24) **Ko** yopu te lā i te opunga.
T fall A sun L A west
The sun sets in the west. (PM)
- (25) **Ko** nōnō nā kalami i lalo o nā kekekele.
T RR-stay A crab L under P A sand
Kalami crabs live under the sand. (PM)
- (26) **Ko** meaina e wetau i tō mātou leo.
T say-Cia A tree.sp L P we language
It's called a wetau in our language.

4. A situation that is ongoing at the moment of speech (or at a reference time) by implication is incomplete (Chung and Timberlake 1985:206). There is, therefore, a correlation between present tense and imperfective or progressive aspect. All types of imperfective aspectual oppositions as denoted by Comrie (1976a:25) can be encoded in clauses marked by *ko*. For progressive action and continuous states, *ko* denotes that the beginning point of a situation has been reached and that the situation is ongoing at the point of speech. This is well illustrated in narrative discourse, where *ko* may indicate incomplete or progressive action or a continuing state at the reference time of the narrative:

- (27) Mea wua ai peia **ko** wuwuti nei ia Māui Pōtiki i tana ika nei.
do just Pro like-that T R-pull here A Māui Pōtiki Acc his fish here
[They] carried on like that while Māui Pōtiki was pulling in his fish. (PK:M1)
- (28) **Kake** loa iāna ki lunga o te puapua, **ko** ngalo ia Mokoyikungavali, **ko** ulu kai iāna.
climb Int he G up P A tree.sp T missing A Mokoyikungavali T search food he
When she climbed up into the Guettardia tree, [the monster] Mokoyikungavali was missing, he was looking for food.
- (29) **Ko** valenga ia Wutu e te moe i loto o te kumete, akalongo atu iāna, **ko** amu nei nā yītolo.
T happy A Wutu C sleep L inside P A bowl listen Dir he T sing here A ghost
Wutu was happily sleeping inside the bowl, and as he listened, the ghosts were singing.

Habitual aspect and generic situations can also be encoded in clauses marked by *ko*. The presupposition is that the habitual action started at some point in the past and the assertion made by *ko* is that it continues until the present. There is slight overlap with *nā* which denotes imperfective aspect in the past (3.1.6). Habitual action may obtain at the moment of speech:

- (30) Ko lāua wua ko lē wua i te wī tālēlē tākatoa.
Prd they.2 only T win only L A all competition entirely
It's always they who win all the competitions. (AT:SI)
- (31) E yanga ōpati, ko yanga i loto o te ōpati.
Prd work office T work L inside P A office
It is office work, [he] works in an office.
- (32) Ko te kōanga oki ko pipiki o tāua vae ki lunga o te tino o te niu.
Top A climbing.rope also T R-join P we.2 leg G on P A trunk P A coconut
The climbing rope attaches your legs to the trunk of the coconut palm.

The habitual action may be at a reference point in time, for instance the narrative present, or some other specified reference time:

- (33) Ko ona ko akatelea te Tione Wiliamu ke yau ki Lalotonga.
Top he T caus-sail-Cia A John Williams C come G Rarotonga
He used to sail the "John Williams" when it came to Rarotonga.
- (34) I te vāia mua ko akatano lātou i te kaveinga ki nā mata o te langi.
L A time before T caus-right they Acc A direction Ins A star P A sky
In ancient times, they used to steer [correct the direction] by the stars in the sky.
- (35) Auwā mō ia Yakowu ko wano kia Iapala ko tamaiti.
probably maybe A Yakowu T go G-A Iapala T child
Yakowu must have gone [habitually] to Iapala when he was still a child.

In summary, *ko* primarily denotes absolute and relative present tense. It usually also denotes imperfective aspect at the moment of speech or some reference time. It can denote progressive action, continuous state or habitual aspect. It is compatible with states or dynamic situations. The present tense is not compatible with perfective aspect (Comrie 1976a:66), so that if *ko* is used in situations which denote accomplishments or achievements, events which are dynamic situations viewed perfectly (Comrie 1976a:51), the interpretation must be durative. Thus, when the situation aspect is perfective, the viewpoint aspect presents a situation as something that takes time. In (36) the situation denoted by *kekemo* 'blink' can not be interpreted as a single achievement which would need to be marked instead by *na* 'past tense' or no tense-aspect marker introducing a narrative action clause denoting sequential action. Instead, the marking by *ko* can indicate duration or habitual aspect:

- (36) Ke patu lātou i nā mata o Uyo, ko kekemo wua ia Uyo, wawati nā kaiō.
C hit they Acc A eye P Uyo T R-blink just A Uyo R-break A spear
When they hit Uyo's eyes, he just held his eyes shut and their spears broke.
When they hit Uyo's eyes, he would just blink and their spears would break.
**(When they hit Uyo's eyes [once], he just blinked and their spears broke.)* (U1:11)

Similarly, in (37), the adverbial time frame and the tense-aspect marker *ko* combine to give a durative viewpoint aspect to an event which is typically punctual.

- (37) I nā ayo nei, **ko** wakapono tātou nō a tātou talatalanga ma nā ngaluenga.
 L A day here T decide we for P we RR-talk-Nom and A feast
In the next [few] days, we are deciding [planning] about our[village] discussions and feasts. (V2:4)

During a narrative the speaker may switch to a vivid narrative present marked by *ko*. This device is particularly common introducing reported speech and in negative clauses.

- (38) **Ko** mea kia aku ka tele iāna ki Lalotonga.
 T say G-AI T sail he G Rarotonga
He says to me that he would have sailed to Rarotonga. (MN:4:1)
- (39) Luelue te yiku o te matiku nei, **ko** yē tō te matua tāne nei.
 RR-shake A tail P A heron this T Neg fall A parent male this
The reef heron shook its tail, but the father doesn't fall down. (MK:1:8)

In narratives, the speaker may move out of the narrative reference time to make asides to the listener in real speech time. These clauses are introduced by *ko*:

- (40) **Ko** tala au nō lunga o te Kilitimeti o Wale, eā?
 T tell I about on P A Christmas P Home tag
I'm telling you about Christmas on Pukapuka, okay?

3.1.3 Relative Present Tense : e

*E*² has a range of varied uses. It denotes universal tense, but otherwise in main clauses it is restricted to certain classes of verbs or certain grammatical particles. It occurs with a wide range of verbs in subordinate clauses, regularly replacing *ko* 'present tense' for relative clauses in the relative present. *E* is subject to a morphophonemic rule of lengthening when it precedes words of two morae or less (2.6.1).

1. *E* may denote universal tense or generic present, although there is some disagreement between speakers about whether *ko* or *e* is more 'correct' for generic situations. In the main, young people favour *e*, while older speakers prefer *ko*. Clauses with negative polarity are more frequently acceptable with *e* as tense marker than are sentences with positive polarity.

- (41) **E/ko** yē tano i te tau awi ko moto.
 T Neg right Acc A light fire T green
It's not suitable for lighting fires when it's green. (MO:C2)
- (42) **Ko** te wī tū lākau **e/ko** tano (wua) i te māni ukalele.
 Top A all type tree T suitable (just) C make ukulele
All types of trees are suitable for making ukuleles. (MU:E2)

Habitual action at a reference time is also sometimes indicated by this tense marker:

- (43) **Ko** tana angaanga i te wī ayo **e** wano lā te vao ulu tangata, yau ki lalo o tona wakamalu, e puapua, kai ai.
 Prd his RR-work L A all day T go via A bush search person come G under P his caus.shade Prd tree.sp eat Pro
What he did every day was to go through the bush looking for people, and come to his Guettardia tree that gave him shade, to eat them. (MY1:1)

E can not be used to denote absolute present tense or relative present tense in main clauses of positive polarity which contain most lexical verbs other than those which are discussed below:

- (44) * *E* nō au ki lalo.
 Ko nō au ki lalo.
 T sit I G down
I am sitting down.

2. In subordinate clauses, *e* readily occurs with a wide range of verbs denoting the present tense.

(a) In relative clauses *e* regularly replaces *ko* denoting the present tense (*E* at S or R) in relative clauses whose head nouns are subjects, objects or in oblique cases, but for some objects and in locative cases *ko* may also be acceptable as tense marker (see 10.6.4).

- (45) *E* tai oku yoa i Ākalāna nei [*e* yanga i lunga o te payī [*e* wano ki Lalotonga ma Tawiti]].
 T exist my.Pl friend L Auckland here T work L on P A ship T go G Rarotonga and Tahiti
I have a friend here in Auckland who works on the ship that travels to Rarotonga and Tahiti. (T6:4)

- (46) Tau manini [*e* ulu ai koe nā], kāle lā ko te wī tetea, ko te kau [*e* i lunga o te langi], na yīa.
 your fish.sp T search Pro you there Neg Int Prd A all god Prd A people T L up P A sky T fish-Cia
Your fish that you are looking for, didn't you realise that the gods, the people who live in the sky, have fished it up.

(b) In negative imperative structures, *e* subordinates the prohibitive verb to the negative imperative verb (see 8.2.2).

- (47) Auwae koe *e* kinikini i toku vae!
 Neg.Imp you T RR-pinch Acc my leg
Don't pinch my leg!

(c) In sentence initial position, *e* subordinates adverbial temporal clauses denoting simultaneous occurrence with the main clause:

- (48) *E* wō oki, ko lewu ia Kāti.
 T go.Pl also T small A Kāti
When [they] went, Kāti was small.

(MU:C3)

As Hooper points out for Tokelauan (1993a:145), the use of *e* indicates that a certain situation holds at a given reference time established by the discourse. As far as situation aspect is concerned, there is no implication about whether the situation held prior to the reference point or will continue beyond it. In Pukapukan, there are no restrictions on the situation aspect of verbs in subordinate clauses. However, in main clauses *e* is limited to the following closed group of situations. All of these situations are compatible with *e* as relative present tense marker. In the absence of any other indication, the reference time will be the same as S.

1. Numeral predicates are typified by the use of *e* to denote *E* at S or R:

- (49) *E* iva ona matawiti.
 T nine his.Pl year
He is nine years old.

- (50) **E tolu** tumu wowolo na āwū ai o mātou manako...
 T three reason R-big T agree Pro P we thought
There are three major reasons why we agreed together... (TA:E1)

2. Verbs with quantifier meanings are typically marked by *e* as tense marker:

- (51) **E lewu wua** te mea na maua.
 T few only A thing T got
We only caught a few [fish].
- (52) **E wea** au malama, e Tā, i ai?
 T how.many your month Voc Tā L Pro
How many months were you there, Tā? (MU:C3)

3. The existential verbs, *tai* ‘exist (Sg)’ and *nī* or *yī* ‘exist (Pl)’³ always occur marked by *e*:

- (53) I te taime ia, **e tai** tangata ko Uyo tona ingoa.
 L A time Af T exist person Prd Uyo his name
At that time, there was a person called Uyo. (UY:1:3)
- (54) **E nī** au kai?
 T exist.Pl your food
Have you any food?
- (55) **E yī** a kōlua kalōma na maua?
 T exist.Pl P you.Pl fish.sp T caught
Did you catch any young goatfish?

The above types of predicate are related to one another in that they denote some type of quantification (the singular existential verb *tayi* ~ *tai* is the numeral ‘one’), the subject always occurs without an article and the verbs are subject to tense-marking restrictions. In existential sentences, *e* may not be replaced by other tense markers,⁴ as relative time reference is indicated by the tense-aspect marker of the subordinate clause, as in (55). However, *e* coalesces with the subordinators *ke*, *mē*, and *pē* (10.3), and there is no noticeable compensatory lengthening of the subordinators before existential verbs:

- (56) ...**ke tai** kaikainga o te awiawi nei.
 C exist RR-eat-Nom P A afternoon this
...so that there will be a meal this afternoon. (AP:C3)
- (57) **Mē yī** toe yakali...
 C exist other dry.coconut
If there are any other dry nuts...
- (58) **Pē yī** tātua ko i te kongā i nā titi.
 C exist.Pl belt T L A place L A skirt
 [I’m not sure] whether there are any belts with the skirts. (TU:9:1)

Tense marking is less restricted for numeral and other quantifier predicates. Numeral predicates do not allow *ko* ‘present’ or *ka* ‘future’, but in sentences with contrastive time elements, they allow *nā*, *na* and *koa* for ‘past state’, ‘change of state’ and ‘progressive change in state’ respectively. The modal *kai* ‘might’ is preferred to *ka* ‘future’ for future time reference. In addition, quantifier predicates allow *ko* when a specific present time reference is made.

- (59) Nā **tolu** aku ika i te vāiá, yaulā i te vāia nei **na wā**.
 T three my.PI fish L A time-Af but L A time this T four
I had three fish before, but now I have four.
- (60) E **lua wua** pupu i te vāia nei, auwā **kai/*ka wā** i te vāia ki mua nei.
 T two just group L A time this probably T four L A time G front here
There are two groups at the moment, but there will probably be four in the future.

4. There are several other fixed structures in which *e* is the only tense marker used.

(a) Warnings and threats are expressed by *e...loa*. *Loa* is used as an intensifier (5.1.3) and in adverbial clauses it denotes simultaneous action with the main clause. It is likely that here it represents a viewpoint aspect of imminence to the moment of speech.

- (61) E kō **loa** ō uma ki te lākau nei!
 T stab Int P chest Ins A stick here
[I'll] stab your chest with this stick [unless you immediately desist from annoying me]!
- (62) E kamu **loa** koe ki te watu!
 T throw Int you Ins A stone
[I'll] throw a stone at you!

(b) *E* optionally precedes the negative verb *kiai* in past tense sentences (see 8.2.1):

(E) *kiai* (postposed particle) (NP) VP_[+past]

While *e* is optional in this structure, it may not be replaced by other tense-aspect markers.

- (63) E **kiai loa** au na mou wano lā *kiai*.
 T Neg Int I T often go via there
I didn't go there often. (MU:C4)

(c) Certain evaluative expressions with sentential subjects also require *e* as tense marker:

- (64) E **ngali ake** koe e te moe ki loto o te ana i te moe ki te turlanga.
 T better Dir you C sleep G inside P A net comp sleep G A open.air
It is better for you to sleep inside a mosquito net than to sleep in the open.
- (65) E **kino lā** tātou ke keli e ana mō tātou?
 T bad Int we C dig A tunnel for we
Would it be bad for us to dig a tunnel? (MM:L4)
- (66) E **yē lelei** koe e te nō wua ko koe tokotai i tō wenua nei.
 T Neg good you C sit just Top you alone L P land here
It's no good for you to just stay by yourself in this land of yours. (PK:M3)

(d) The preverbal particle *pito* 'recently' requires *e* as a tense marker, although it may also have been compatible with *na* in the past (see 3.4).

5. *E* replaces *ka* as ‘future’ tense marker when it co-occurs with the negative particle *yē*

(67) E/*ka yē wō lā kōlua ki te pule?
T Neg go.Pl Int you.2 G A prayer
Aren't you two going to church?

(68) Na mea oki lātou e/*ka yē patu, yaulā ia Tepou na lele lā ngāuta.
T say also they T Neg kill but A Tepou T run via shore
They had said they wouldn't kill [him], but Tepou had already fled along the shore. (U:11)

The structure *e yē..ai* is a rhetorical question or value judgement expressing the speaker's expectations that are not being fulfilled.

(69) E Maloti, e yē yelea ai tā kōlua puaka?
Voc Maloti, T Neg tie-Cia Pro P you.2 pig
Hey, Maloti, why don't you tie up your pig? (U:C2)

(70) E yē wō ai kōlua i te taime nei, kai tō mua e uwa.
T Neg go.Pl Pro you.2 L A time here lest fall part A rain
Why don't you both go now in case the rain falls. (U:C3)

The fact that *e* can have future time reference and replaces *ka* in clauses of negative polarity, suggests that it could be labelled ‘relative non-past’, as it is in some other Polynesian languages. However, the fact that *e* occurs with numeral, quantifier and existential predicates, which can have past or future time reference denoted by the tense marker of a subordinate clause, and that it is used with *kiai* ‘past negative’ verb is evidence that *e* denotes a relative tense that is determined by the reference time of the discourse context. Its use in warnings reflects viewpoint aspect as being imminent relative to the moment of speech.

3.1.4 Inceptive Aspect : *koa*

Koa is an aspect marker which has some functions which fall under the category ‘perfect’, however there is some degree of overlap between the functions of *koa* and those of *na* in the ‘perfect’ area, which is discussed in 3.1.5. *Koa* concentrates on the inception of an action or a state. It can denote the inception of action, the approach towards a state or progressive change within a state. Thus, with action verbs it may be glossed as ‘about to’, ‘ready to’ or sometimes by the simple future, while ‘becoming’, ‘getting’ or ‘almost’ are appropriate glosses when *koa* accompanies statives.

1. With stative verbs, *koa* denotes the inception of a state, progression towards a state, or progression within a state. It contrasts with *ko* ‘present tense’ which denotes only the presence of a state at the reference time.

(a) Inception of a state:

Koa may denote the moment just prior to the inception of a state.

(71) Niko mai ai au koa mate, koa tano e te tao.
return Dir Pro I T die T right C bake
When I returned [the fire] was almost dead, it was almost right for covering [the oven].

- (72) **Koa** yē maua a tātou popoa e te oko, **koa** pau wua a tātou tawa e te tupuaina e lātou.
 T Neg able P we food C buy T finish just P we money C steal-Cia Ag they
We are almost unable to buy food any longer, our money is nearly used up by them whisking it away.

(b) Progression within a gradable state:

Both progression towards the inception of a state and progression within the state are possible interpretations.

- (73) Wō! Te wanonga a te tamāwine nei **koa** loa. Āi **koa** loa ai!
 exc A go-Nom P A girl here T long exc T long Pro
Goodness, this girl is getting to be a long time away. She is getting to be long! (KS:5:3)
- (74) Ke onoono atu lā lātou, **koa** kena mai te ika nei mai lalo o te moana.
 C look Dir Int they T white Dir A fish here from under P A ocean
When they looked, this fish was becoming white(r) from down under the ocean. (PK:M2)

Progression within a state may be expressed idiomatically by: *koa wano ki te* [stative] ‘going to the [state]’, where the goal of the verb *wano* ‘go’ is expressed by a nominalised stative verb. This is synonymous with, although structurally very different from, the stative verb introduced by *koa*.

- (75) Ko tangi nei, **koa** ngalo loa, **koa** oko mai mō ki kinei ki te taukupu, te wolonga a te moko ia,
 T cry here T disappear Int T reach Dir maybe G here G A waist A swallow-Nom P A lizard Af
koa tō lewu te leo o Yina... **koa** wano loa ki te lewu.
 T too small A voice P Yina T go Int G A small
[She] was crying as [she] was disappearing, she was getting to be swallowed by the lizard right up to here, to the waist, Yina’s voice was getting smaller and smaller... It was getting really faint. (KS:3:6)

With predicates referring to various times of the day, *koa* denotes the inception of a new time phase or that time is progressing.

- (76) **Koa** pō te pō, **koa** pōuli te pō.
 T night A night T dark A night
It is almost night, it’s getting dark.
- (77) **Koa** pula mai te ata, **koa** mālama, **koa** vātata te lā **koa** pula mai.
 T rise Dir A shadow T light T near A sun T rise Dir
The shadows were growing, it was getting light, the sun was just about to rise. (KS2:11)

As part of this semantic area of time passing, *koa* is used for asking for someone’s age and is also used with other quantifiers (see also *e*, 3.1.3). Numeral predicates denote that the inception of the state has been achieved and that further numeric progression is expected.

- (78) **Koa** valu oku matawiti.
 T eight my.Pl year
I’m eight years old.
- (79) **Koa** lima aku ika **koa** maua.
 T five my.Pl fish T get
I have caught five fish already [and am still in the process of getting more].

- (80) **Koa** wea a mātou nikonga!
 T how.many P we return-Nom
How many times have we already gone back [checking]!

(c) Implicit comparison:

Koa marks not only progression within a state, but can make an implicit comparison between two entities.

- (81) Mea ki te toe uki loa **koa** tō liliki...
 say G A other generation Int T quite R-small.Pl
They asked the next generation a bit younger [than the last]... (KS:3:7)
- (82) Onoono atu te tangata o te vaka ia, **koa** tō lewu tā lātou putunga.
 look Dir A person P A canoe Af T quite small P they pile-Nom
The people from the canoe looked [and saw that] their pile was smaller [than the other]. (MM:TN2:3)

2. *Koa* denotes the inception of an activity or process. Appropriate glosses are ‘beginning, about to, nearly’. It contrasts with *ko* ‘present’ tense, which means that the action is already happening at the present time.

- (83) Te uwa nei **koa** tō. Ko tō te uwa.
 A rain this T fall T fall A rain
The rain is starting to fall. The rain is falling.
The rain is about to fall.
- (84) Wano koe mea ki ai **koa** angaanga ai au.
 go you say G Pro T RR-work Pro I
Go and tell him that I'm just about to work with it. (KM:C4)
- (85) Tano mai loa ma te yaele mainga a Maua, **koa** wano te motokā ki te walemaki.
 right Dir Int with A walk Dir-Nom P Maua T go A car G A hospital
It coincided with Maua arriving, [just at the moment when] the car was about to go to the hospital. (F4:S4:4)

(a) *Koa* commonly occurs with verbs of inception or completion: *akamata* ‘begin’, *pau*, *oti*, *akaoti* ‘finish’, to denote that the beginning point (of ‘starting’ or of ‘finishing’) has been reached.

- (86) ...Onoono loa ia Māui Mua ma Māui Loto, **koa** akamata nā ulu lākau i te kakao.
 look Int A Māui Mua and Māui Loto T begin A head tree C appear
...Māui Mua and Māui Loto looked, [and] the tree tops were beginning to appear. (PK:M2)
- (87) Onoono atu ia Tepalo **koa** pau te tangata, **koa** mātea.
 look Dir A Tepalo T finish A people T flee
Tepalo saw that everyone was almost gone, they were fleeing. (MM:TN1:5)

With verbs of completion, *koa* can also indicate iterativity in the ‘finishing’ of an activity:

- (88) Mea loa **koa** oti te toe kau e te kaikai, wō loa ki vao.
 do Int T finish A other people C RR-eat go.Pl Int G out
As each person finished eating [one after another], they [all] moved outside. (F3:2:3)

(b) *Koa* also commonly occurs with verbs denoting spatial or temporal nearness, such as: *vātata*, (*vave*)*vave*, *pili* ‘near’ to mean very close proximity and that the approach is continuing.

- (89) **Koa** vātata te ola kaikai.
T near A hour RR-eat
Dinner time is approaching.
- (90) **Koa** vave wua te matawiti nei ka pau.
T near just A year this T finish
The year is almost ended/coming to an end.
- (91) Ala loa ia Wutu, onono atu iāna **koa** pili ki tawa o te lākau,
wake Int A Wutu look Dir he T close G side P A tree
Wutu awoke, and looked around, [he] was getting close to a tree, (WF2:3:4)

(c) Because *koa* denotes both inception of an action and progression towards a state, in some sentences both inception and duration of the action or state are possible interpretations (92-94). Sentences (92) and (93) indicate that *koa* may have an evidential function, denoting a perception by the speaker or by the participants of the discourse that a situation has recently arisen.

- (92) Onono atu māua kia Lima, **koa** palia.
look Dir we.2 G-A Lima T drift
As we looked at Lima, he began floating out to sea [and kept floating further and further out to sea]. (PS4:10)
- (93) **Koa** oko loa te pilipili nei ki te uwi.
T arrive Int A grass.sp this G A garden
[The weed] pilipili is starting to infiltrate the garden/and is getting worse.
- (94) E wea koe **koa** yē you ai wakawōu?
T why you T Neg come Pro again
Why does it seem that you are no longer coming [because of the length of time that has passed since you last came, in contrast to your frequent visits earlier]?

(d) In negative clauses as in (94), the combination of *koa* and the negative *yē* means ‘no longer’. The use of *koa* indicates that a new (possibly temporary) situation has come about. It can not be used to mean a single punctual event has not occurred (95), which requires the negative past marker *kiai* and the past tense marker *na*.

- (95) E *kiai* koe na yau.
T Neg koe T come
Why didn't you come?

There are differences in modality between *koa* and the tense-aspect markers *e* and *ka* ‘future’ which can replace *koa* in sentence (94). *Koa* denotes the inception of the state of ‘not coming’ and that the speaker has come to recognise the new situation. There is no implication of future intention, deliberate decision making, or permanency of the new state which are implied by the tense markers *e* or *ka*.

(e) *Koa* commonly occurs introducing the complements of verbs of perception, as in (92) above, and (96 - 99) below. With verbs that denote activities or processes, *koa* denotes that the beginning point has been reached and the activity or process is continuing at the moment of perception. It often denotes that the speaker has realised the significance of the situation, or, as Hooper suggests for Tokelauan (1993:158), that there is subjective involvement of the speaker or a character in the discourse, in the fact that a certain situation comes about. All of the following sentences express a degree of emotional involvement of the speaker or the discourse participants in the new situation which has developed.

- (96) Onoono atu lātou **koa** mawola lua ngali pāyua.
 look Dir they T open two shell clam
As they looked, the clam shell [with Lata inside it] started to open [and kept opening right up]. (ML1:11)
- (97) Onoono atu kia Tēnana, **koa** mumula mai ma tona wāoa i ai.
 look Dir G-A Tēnana T R-burn Dir with his crew L Pro
As [they] looked at Tēnana, he was burning with his crew in [the canoe]. (MT3:2)
- (98) Onoono loa mātou i tō lātou poti, **koa** tele, na tatala pā tō lātou tau.
 look Int we Acc P they boat T sail T R-untie probably P they anchor
We looked at their boat as it started to sail, they must have pulled up anchor. (PS2:8)
- (99) Onoono atu mātou, **koa** yau te poti, na kitea.
 look Dir we T come A boat T see-Cia
As we looked, a boat came into view [coming towards us], [he] had been found. (MN3:2)

With punctual events, *koa* can emphasise the suddenness of the action and the resultant state that comes about as both the beginning and the endpoint of the action are reached:

- (100) Onoono atu au i te weke ia, **koa** lele ki loto o te pū.
 look Dir I Acc A octopus Af T run G inside P A hole
As I watched the octopus, he ran back into his hole.
- (101) Kakalo atu au wakawōu, **koa** wao ia Talapu ki loto o te ava aumai i te mātenga e pipiki i lunga o tā lāua tao.
 R-look Dir I again T jump A Talapu G inside P A channel bring Acc A fish.sp T stick L on P P they spear
I looked again as Talapu jumped into the channel and brought up a parrotfish stuck on their spear. (PP2:9:5)

Koa can introduce a new iterative situation with verbs which have telic or punctual situational aspect:

- (102) Akalongo atu mātou **koa** wati te niu, wati loa te niu ia, welele oki mātou, tali i nā niu.
 listen Dir we T break A coconut break Int A coconut Af Pl-run also we pick.up Acc A coconut
We listened as the coconut trees were breaking, when a tree broke, we would run and gather up the coconuts.

(f) *Koa* can be used to highlight events as vivid, or ‘hot news’ (Dahl 1985:132) in narrative discourse. This use of *koa* can be to highlight events and bring them to the foreground. Hooper (1993:192-197) suggests that clauses marked by the Tokelauan cognate *kua* have a higher degree of salience in the discourse than action clause which are not marked for tense-aspect.

- (103) Eia lā, **koa** tili i te kumete ki lalo, pipī loa nā tūtae ko nā tupú.
 there Int T throw Acc A bowl G down splash Int A faeces Prd A face-Da
 So, [the gods] threw the bowl down [and] all the faeces splashed up onto their faces.

Koa is not normally used with action verbs in simple main clauses to denote perfect aspect. Instead, for instance, the past tense marker *na* must be used to denote a situation that has occurred once in the period leading up to the present (104).

- (104) Na /***koa** welavei mō koe i toku māmā?
 T meet probably you Acc my mother
Have you [ever] met my mother?

Koa tends to occur in complex sentences, rather than in simple main clauses. It often introduces complements of verbs of perception or situations resultant or subsequent to another. However, the stories in the Beagleholes’ manuscript, *Myths Stories and Chants from Pukapuka* (n.d., a), show a predominance

of *koa* introducing main clauses which are action clauses of the narrative, where it seems to be functioning as a marker of perfective aspect or possibly as a narrative vivid present marker, although its frequency of occurrence makes the latter less likely. Native speakers assisting with the editing of these stories have wanted to replace many of these instances with either *na* ‘past’ or no tense-aspect marking. It seems likely that the native speakers who wrote these stories down and who were fluent in Cook Islands Māori may have been influenced by the perfective function of *kua* in CIM.

3. *Koa* can be used with future time reference. It contrasts with *ka* ‘simple future’, which makes the second clause more definitely asserted. *Ka* also refers to a future action in its entirety, not just the beginning point.

(a) *Koa* denotes the inception of an action or a natural consequence subsequent to a preceding action or precondition.

(105) Ka tiaki loa tātou ke pakapaka te kāpeleita a te matīni, **koa** taka ai wakawōu, **koa** alulu ai wakawōu.
T wait Int we C RR-dry A carburettor P A machine T go Pro again T work Pro again
We’ll wait until the carburettor is dry, then it will go again, it will work then. (LS2:6)

(106) Ke ngalo loa pā tana angaanga tautai nei, **koa** nui ai au wakawōu. /ka nui ai au.
C stop Int probably his RR-work fishing this T pregnant Pro I again T pregnant Pro I
Maybe when he stops fishing so much, then I’ll get pregnant again. /I intend to get pregnant.

(b) When a time reference is made explicit at the beginning of the clause, *koa* denotes subsequent inception of an action. *Koa* is also preferred for possible, as opposed to definite, dates and times.

(107) E ono wua ayo toe, **koa** maka lātou ia Niu Tīleni, pepeke ki Yāmoa.
T six only day left T leave they Acc-A New Zealand R-fly G Samoa
There are only six days left before they leave New Zealand and fly to Samoa.

(108) Ke oko pā tātou ki te tuaelo, **koa** akaoti ai tā tātou tala.
C arrive probably we G A twelve T finish Pro P we story
Probably when it gets to midnight, we’ll finish off our story[telling]. (KS2:1)

(109) Ko lua ayo āku na manatu, Luitolu **koa** wō, Palapalau **koa** nīniko.
Top two day my.PI T think Wednesday T go.PI Thursday T R-return
I have two days in mind, Tuesday to go, Thursday to return.

4. *Koa* often occurs in main clauses which follow temporal subordinate clauses introduced by *mea* (*loa*) (*lā*) or *eia* (*loa*) (see 10.7.1). Accompanying *eia* (*loa*), *koa* denotes that something was on the verge of happening but did not eventuate.

(110) **Mea loa** lā mātou **koa** vave ka lē, akakinokino loa ia Loto.
do Int Int we T strong T win caus-RR-bad Int A Loto.
Just when we were becoming sure to win, Loto [started] causing trouble.

(111) Kake loa au ngalo ki lolotonu o te niu, akavāvā loa ia aku, **eia loa** au **koa** tō ki lalo.
climb Int I as.far.as G middle P A coconut caus-talk Int Acc-A I that Int I T fall G down
I climbed right up to half way up the coconut tree, then [he] criticised me and I almost fell down.

In summary, the temporal properties of *koa* are that it places E just after, or just prior to S or R, or in the case of telic or punctual events, E is almost simultaneous with S or R. Unlike some other Polynesian languages in which cognates (< PPN **kua*) are sometimes glossed ‘perfect’, it does not always mean that the beginning point of an activity or state has been reached, but it can indicate the moment just prior to the beginning point. *Koa* is compatible with any kind of situation aspect which has a beginning point. Situations that have ended cannot be marked with *koa*, but must be marked with *na* ‘past, perfective’ or *nā* ‘past, imperfective’. The viewpoint aspect denoted by *koa* is that the beginning point of the situation is about to be achieved, has just been achieved, or that progress is being made within a state or a process. With punctual events, both the beginning and the endpoints may be reached at a point in time very close to S or R. *Koa* can be used to indicate the subjective involvement of the speaker. It can emphasise the newness of the situation or it can be used to express the vivid narrative present.

3.1.5 Past Tense, Perfective Aspect, Achieved State : *na*

Na indicates the past tense, perfective aspect or a change of state. For verbs denoting events, it indicates a single specific completed action from the perspective of the end point having been passed. It does not bear on the duration of the process to achieve the end point. For verbs denoting processes and activities, *na* indicates that the process concerned has been completed and a resultant state continues. For stative verbs, it indicates the achievement of the state which continues at the present. The change of state is considered as a completed action; the entry into the state has been completed and the state continues. There is no implication of progress within the state as there is with *koa* ‘inceptive aspect’.

1. *Na* denotes situations with past time reference. It can denote absolute past tense (simple past tense) (E before S) (112), relative past tense (E before R before S (113), or E before R after S in future or hypothetical situations (114, 115)).

(112) Na yaele iāna lā lunga o te akau ki Ngake.
T walk he via above P A reef G Ngake
He walked along the reef to Ngake.

(113) Yau atu ia Yinata na tō ki lalo tona tamanu nei, na kōtia nā ualoto, na taia wai vaka mō Lata.
come Dir A Yinata T fall G down his tree.sp here T cut-Cia A middle T hew-Cia as canoe for Lata
When Yinata came along, his tree had been felled, and the middle cut out of it, it had been made into a canoe for Lata. (L1:1)

(114) ...ke oko mai māua mai lotó, na momoyo lua ngutumanu nā.
C arrive Dir we.2 from inside-Da T R-cooked two mouth.bird those
...so that when we return from inland, those taro will already be cooked. (AP:N2)

(115) Pēnei ake i te taime ka niko mai ai ia Kevini, na yina tākatoa tona kumikumi.
maybe Dir L A time T return Dir Pro A Kevin T grey completely his beard
Maybe when Kevin comes back here, his beard will have gone completely grey. (WF1:18)

2. The situation aspect that is compatible with *na* includes punctual events, completed telic situations, or activities/processes that are closed before the reference time. The viewpoint aspect denoted by *na* is that the situation is seen as a single complete event. It therefore expresses perfective aspect.

- (116) Na wō lā kōlua ki te Āpale o Nukuloa?
 T go.Pl Int you.2 G A Āpale P Nukuloa
Did you two go to Nukuloa's funeral service? (AI:4)
- (117) Na tili iāna i te atule ia ki tai.
 T throw he Acc A fish.sp Af G sea
He threw the silver scad [back] into the sea. (LL1:9)
- (118) Na wakayakoyako au i te mako o Kililua.
 T caus-RR-right I Acc A chant P Kililua
I corrected Kililua's chant.

3. *Na* is also compatible with stative situations. With verbs denoting stative situations, *na* denotes that a certain state, habitual action or ability has or will have been achieved. The viewpoint aspect is that the beginning point of the state has been achieved and that a resultant state persists at the reference time. This corresponds to the perfect, rather than perfective aspect.

(a) With certain action verbs it denotes an achieved habitual action. A point in the past has been reached where the state of being able to do something is now possible.

- (119) Na yaele mō ia Pēpē?
 T walk Q A Baby
Has Baby started to walk?
- (120) Na kite ia Pēpē.
 T see A Baby
Baby can now focus.

This function of *na* is very similar to that of *koa* denoting the inception of a state. However, *koa* cannot be used to replace *na* with action verbs in main clauses of positive polarity to denote achieved habitual action as in (119, 120), although it can do so in clauses of negative polarity. In clauses of negative polarity, *na* means that a permanent state has been achieved, possibly as a result of a definite decision, whereas *koa* means that the new state is about to be or has just been achieved or that the state is expected to be temporary.

- (121) Na yē yaele iāna wakawōu ki te pule, na pōvī.
 T Neg walk he again G A church, T old
He is never going to walk to church again, because he is old.
[He has already stopped going, and will no longer go any more.]
- (122) Koa yē yaele iāna wakawōu ki te pule, na maki.
 T Neg walk he again G A church, T sick
[He is at a point where] he can hardly walk to church any more, because he is sick [but might improve].

(b) Accompanying stative verbs, *na* indicates that a certain state has or will have been achieved. The viewpoint aspect is inchoative and perfective; the achieving of the inception of the state is viewed as an instantaneous event which results in a state of affairs that obtains at the present or reference time. *Na* contrasts with *koa* which denotes the point of time immediately prior to, or at, the inception of the state or continuing progress within the state.

- (123) **Na** memelo nā nīnitā.
T R-red A pawpaw
The pawpaw have ripened.
- Koa** memelo nā nīnitā.
T R-red A pawpaw
The pawpaw are nearly ripe/ just ripe/are getting riper.
- (124) **Na** akaao kōlua?
T marry you.2
Are you two married? [Have you got married?] (AT:C4)
- (125) **Na** wawine iāna.
T woman she
She has become a woman.
- Koa** wawine.
T woman
She's growing up.
- (126) I te taimé, e tokalua, yaulā i te vāia nei **na** tokawolo / koa tokawolo.
L A time-Da T cls-two but L A time this T cls-many T cls-many
Before there were two [people], but now there are many /there are a growing number. (KM:PP4:1)
- (127) Taku lātio na līpea nei, ko yē taka loa ia aku mē **na** lelei mē ko kino lāi.
My radio T repair this T Neg sure Int By-A I Q T good Q T bad still
My radio that has just been fixed, I'm not sure whether it is OK now or whether it is still crook.
- (128) Nō wea tō pilialo nā **na** yuyū ai?
Prd what P jersey there T wet Pro
How did your jersey get wet?

Achieved states are negated using *kiai* 'negative past', which is used for past perfective situations. This provides further evidence that achieved states are situations with perfective viewpoint aspect. The negative marker is different for durative situations marked by *koa*, which are negated by *yē*.

- (129) E **kiai na** memelo nā nīnitā nei.
T Neg T R-ripe A pawpaw here
These pawpaw aren't ripe.
- Koa yē** memelo nā nīnitā nei.
T Neg R-ripe A pawpaw here
These pawpaws aren't ripening.

Motion verbs marked by *na* also allow an interpretation that the beginning point of the action denoted in the complement has been achieved and the resultant action or state still obtains. Thus, the following sentence has two possible interpretations:

- (130) **Na** wō te kau yī ika.
T go.Pl A people catch fish
They went fishing.

The first interpretation is derived from the simple past reading with perfective viewpoint aspect. The act of 'going fishing' is viewed as a complete and instantaneous event; the endpoint has been reached, the participants have returned home. This interpretation is the most likely reading if a remote time element is added to the sentence:

- (131) **Na** wō te kau yī ika i te LUILUÁ.
T go.Pl A people catch fish L A Tuesday-Da
They went fishing on Tuesday.

The second reading is derived from the change of state interpretation: "They have gone fishing and are still in the process/state of fishing." This would be the only interpretation in answer to a question such as:

4. current relevance of anterior:

na completed action with current relevance
koa not quite completed action

- (138) **Na** oti au e te tākele. **Koa** oti au e te tākele.
 T finish I C wash T finish I C wash
I have finished washing. *I have almost finished washing.*

5. new situation/hot news:

koa very hot news
na not so hot news

- (139) **Koa** yau te poti. **Na** yau te poti.
 T come A boat T come A boat
Here comes the boat. *The boat has come.*

6. result-state:

na resultant state achieved, present result of past situation
koa resultant state not quite achieved

- (140) **Na** maka au ia ana. ...**koa** maka ai au ia ana.
 T leave I Acc-A he T leave Pro I Acc-A he
I left him. ...*[before] I leave him.*

7. past continuous with present:

nā duration in the past [until present] (3.1.6)
koa duration expected to continue beyond present,
 [restricted in main clauses]
 * *na* [means only perfective aspect with action verbs which
 have durative situational aspect]

- (141) E lua oku ola **nā** kali ai au. Koa lua oku ola **koa** kali ai au.
 T two my.Pl hour T wait Pro I T two my.Pl hour T wait Pro I
I have been waiting for two hours. *I have been waiting almost two hours already.*

- (142) E lua oku ola **na** kali ai au.
 T two my.Pl hour T wait Pro I
I waited for two hours [but am no longer waiting].

- (143) **Nā/*koa** nōnō mātou i kinei e witu matawiti.
 T RR-stay we L here T seven year
We have been staying here for seven years.

- (144) **Koa/na** witu o mātou matawiti **nā** nōnō i ai.
 T seven P we year T stay L Pro
We have stayed there for seven years.

8. achieved habitual action:

na clauses with positive and negative polarity
koa clauses with negative polarity

- (145) Na yaele iāna. Na yē yaele iāna. Koa yē yaele iāna.
 T walk he T Neg walk he T Neg walk he
He can walk. He can't walk any longer. He can't walk [at the moment].

In narrative discourse, main clauses denoting sequential actions are unmarked for tense-aspect (3.1.13), but *na* occurs primarily in clauses denoting evaluative and background information. *Na* marks background clauses which indicate a single event completed prior to the narrative present, or to an achieved state obtaining at the time of the narrative.

- (146) Totoi loa i tona poti, totoi loa, totoi loa ē, ngalo te wenua. Ke tū mai lā iāna,
 drag Int Acc his boat drag Int drag Int Dur lost A land C stand Dir Int he
 na ngalo te wenua, kāe ana wenua na kite.
 T lost A land Neg.exist his.Pl land T see
*He dragged his boat, he dragged and dragged it, until the land was out of sight.
 When he stood up, the land had disappeared, he couldn't see any land. (KS:5:4)*

3.1.6 Past Tense, Imperfective Aspect : *nā*

Nā 'past imperfective' is a relatively recent development from *yā* (see 3.1.7), which is cognate with Samoan *sa* 'past imperfect' (Mosel and Hovdhuagen 1992:140).

1. *Nā* denotes a situation in the past. Past time reference can be the absolute past tense (E before S):

- (147) E Lima e, nā i wea koe? Nā yāleele.
 Voc Lima Voc T L where you T RR-walk
Lima, where were you? I was walking. (P2:10:6)
- (148) Nā manatu iāna i lua watu lua mea nei.
 T think he Acc two stone two thing here
He thought these two things were stones. (KS5:3)

Nā can denote relative past time (E before R before S). In narratives, it commonly occurs in relative clauses which have a time reference prior to that of the main clause, and denotes situations which do not persist to the narrative present. It is translated by the pluperfect tense.

- (149) I te ola wā, wakamutu loa te kotikoti uwi, wō ai te wī tāngata onoono i nā poti nā yī kakai.
 L A hour four stop Int A RR-cut garden go.Pl Pro A all people look Acc A boat T catch tuna
*At four o'clock, they stopped dividing the taro swamps and everyone went to see the boats that
 had been fishing for tuna. (KU:3:5)*
- (150) Ko tili lā oki aku ngākau ki lalo wua o tō māua poti woewoe, totolo mai loa te kalou ia,
 T throw Int also my.Pl gut G under just P P we.2 boat RR-paddle crawl Dir Int A eel Af
 kai i aku ngākau manini nā maka wua ki lalo o te poti.
 eat Acc my.Pl gut fish.sp T leave just G under P A boat
*But as I was throwing the guts just under our canoe, an eel crawled out and ate the manini offal
 that I had been discarding under the boat. (PP2:9:2)*

In clauses which denote habitual action, the relative time frame can be E at R before S.

- (151) I te taime ia, nā ulu wenua te wī toa.
 L A time Af T search land A all warrior
At that time, all the warriors used to go looking for new lands. (W1:P5)

This contrasts with *ko* 'present' which denotes progressive action at the reference time E at R before S.

- (152) I te taime ia, ko ulu wenua te wī toa.
 L A time Af T search land A all warrior
At that time, all the warriors were out searching for new lands.

Nā can have relative past reference to a future time (E before R after S):

- (153) Nā talatala koe ki te wenua ka tuku mai koe i au wī yanga nā mea i Wale nei kia mātou.
 T RR-talk you G A land T give Dir you Acc your all work T do L Home here G-A we
You said to the island that you would give all the work that you would do on Pukapuka to us.
- (154) Ka vēvēia te kau nā wakalongo ki nā muna a te Atua, taute atu ai.
 T happy A people T listen G A word P A God guard Dir Pro
Happy are [lit. will be] the people who hear God's word and obey it. (L11:28)

2. *Nā* is compatible with durative situations in the past. It is compatible with situations which denote progressive or habitual action. It focuses on the duration of the action which no longer applies at the present. The endpoint has been reached by the speech time or the reference time.

- (155) Nā teipi koe i a mātou mea nā talatala atu?
 T tape you Acc P our thing T RR-speak Dir
Were you taping what we were saying? (MU:C4)
- (156) Nā yoliyoli ai ona vae i te Astor Hotel.
 T RR-tread Pro his.Pl leg L A Astor Hotel
[He] used to go to the Astor Hotel [but doesn't now]. (MU:C1)
- (157) Vavayi atu lā lāua, onono atu, e valu watumana. Nō kiai pē nā pepeke ai te toa ia.
 R-cut Dir Int they.2 look Dir T eight heart P Pro part T R-fly Pro A warrior Af
They cut [Watumananui, the warrior] open and looked. [He] had eight hearts. That's how he used to be able to fly. (WP5:5:13)
- (158) I te vāiā, nā moe iāna ki lalo o te taua, yaulā i te vāia nei na moe iāna ki lunga o te loki.
 L A time-Da T sleep he G under P A floor but L A time this T sleep he G on P A bed
In the past he used to sleep on the floor, but now he sleeps on a bed.

Nā is compatible with predicates that denote a past location or a past state which obtained over a period of time, but whose endpoint has been reached. Compare with *na* for past changes of state which continue to the present (3.1.5). Past location does not allow marking by *na*.

- (159) Toku pona nā i loto o taku kili nei, na ngalo.
 my shirt T L in P my suitcase here T lost
My shirt that was in my suitcase, is lost.
- (160) I te taimé, nā matakau au. Na matakau au.
 L A time-Da T fear I T fear I
At that time, I was afraid. (MS5:100) I am afraid [I have become afraid].

- (161) Ko Nga lā oki nā nui. Na nui au.
 Top Nga but also T pregnant T pregnant I
But Nga was pregnant [at that time, but no longer is]. I am pregnant [have fallen pregnant].
- (162) Nā kena toku ulu i te vāia nā tamaliki ai au.
 T white my head L A time T child Pro I
My hair was white when I was a child.

Nā is not compatible with permanent states which are marked by *ko*:

- (163) * *Nā/ko* poto au.
 T short I
I am short.

Verbs of thinking and emotion are marked with *nā* for past thoughts and emotions which have since changed (164), or with counterfactual complements (165). *Na* is used for past thoughts and emotions which persist to the present (166).

- (164) Nā manatu au ke wano i te ayó ki te kongā o Pāpā, yaulā, e kiai lā au na wano.
 T think I C go L A day-Da G A place P Father, but T Neg Int I T go
Yesterday I thought I would go to Pāpā's place, but I didn't go.
- (165) Nā manatu au na tuku ki loto.
 T think I T put G inside
I thought I had put [it] in there [but I hadn't].
- (166) Na manatu au ke wano ki te kongā o Pāpā i te vāia nei.
 T think I C go G A place P Father L A time this
I am thinking of going to Pāpā's soon.

For processes and activities in the past, *nā* indicates that the process/activity was incomplete at a past reference time. Although the endpoint has not been reached by the reference time, the implication is that the process or activity has been completed at some subsequent time prior to S.

- (167) I taku wanonga ki Tuā, nā wakayakoyako te tokalua i te mako o Kililua.
 L my go-Nom G Tua-Da T caus-RR-right A cls-two Acc A chant P Kililua
When I went to Tua, the two of them were in the process of correcting Kililua's chant. (MU:C2:16)
- (168) Kamuloa māua mātataku i te kau nā kai kava i te ngutuala.
 really we.2 R-fear By A people T eat alcohol L A road
We were both really scared of the people who were drinking on the roadside. (F3:S9:1)

Nā is also compatible with verbs that denote punctual events such as *wao* 'jump', *kemo* 'blink', *ketu* 'scratch', which have an iterative meaning when marked with *nā*, and are typically found in their reduplicated forms:

- (169) Nā ai te moa nā ketuketu i kinei nei?
 Prd Pro A hen T RR-scratch L Pro here
Whose is the hen which has been scratching around here?

Habitual action marked by *nā* denotes a durative situation that was completed in the past; it does not continue to the present. Present habitual action is marked by *ko* (see 3.1.2). That *nā* is perceived as past habitual (not continuing to the present) can be ascertained from the following pair of sentences in which the sentence using *nā* does not allow the present time reference:

- (170) Ko wai olo wua te tiniu mai te vāiá, ki te vāia nei.
 Nā wai olo wua te tiniu mai te vāiá.
 * Nā wai olo wua te tiniu mai te vāiá, ki te vāia nei.
 T make taro.pudding just A women from A time-Da G A time this
[Pukapukan] women have made olo taro pudding since time immemorable,/right up to the present time.

Likewise, an action or state marked by *nā* applies only to the past, not to the present:

- (171) I te vāia ētené, nā wao ai ia Uyo mai lunga o te akau, ko/nā ila tona yolingā vae
 L A time heathen-Da T jump Pro A Uyo from on P A reef T mark his footprint
 i lunga o nā papa.
 L on P A bedrock
In heathen times, when Uyo jumped from on the reef [to Motu Kotawa], his footprint was imprinted on the rock [ko: and is still to be seen today], [nā: but has since disappeared].

Nā contrasts with *na*, the other marker of past tense, in several ways:

1. *Nā* can have the effect of distancing an action from the immediate past, whereas *na* denotes that a past action has present relevance. In (172), *nā* implies the remote past and would be appropriate if the bird was for instance found dead on the ground. *Na* indicates that the throwing of the stone was in the immediate past, perhaps the stone was seen in mid flight.

- (172) Ko ai nā/na kamua te manu ia?
 Top who T throw-Cia A bird Af
Who threw [a stone] at that bird?

In (173), *nā* indicates that the event occurred in the past and its endpoint has been reached, while the use of *na* indicates the recent past and may intimate that the event has not yet finished, so that there may still be a chance to change the outcome.

- (173) E wea oki koe nā/na yē mea ai ki te kau e wakayālea ke akaōina koe ki loto?
 T what also you T Neg say Pro G A people T caus-walk-Cia C caus-in-Cia you G inside
Why didn't/haven't you ask(ed) the people who organise [it] to let you be included? (KM:C3)

Likewise in (174), the clause introduced by *na* asks whether the 'choosing' has begun (beginning point achieved), and implies that any crew members already chosen are not yet definite, whereas the clause introduced by *nā* asks whether the 'choosing' has been completed (final endpoint achieved) and cannot be changed.

- (174) Nā/na kauwi mō ia Ngake i o lātou wāoa o te kavekave e yau nei?
 T count Q A Ngake Acc P their crew P A fishing.contest T come here
Has Ngake village chosen its crew members for the coming fishing contest?

Nā is therefore commonly used for events which occurred in the distant past.

- (175) Ā, ko te payī nā yáú? ki kinei? te Tione Wiliamu?
 oh Top A ship T come-Da G here A John William
Oh, do you mean the ship that came here a long time ago [last century]? The John Williams?

2. Because it is usually found denoting durative aspect, *nā* is also commonly used for actions which are either habitual or iterative. In contrast, *na* denotes a single instance of an event in the past (see 3.1.5).

- (176) Nā/na wano au ki te pule i te vāia nā lōpā ai au.
 T go I G A church L A-time T youth Pro I
I used to go ((na: I went once) to church when I was a youth.

In (177), *nā* denotes iterative aspect or that the canoes went individually in separate trips, while *na* denotes a single event viewed perfectly and implies that the canoes went in a group.

- (177) E nī vaka na / nā wō ki Kō i te pō? E, e nī vaka na / nā wō.
 T exist.Pl canoe T go.Pl G Kō L A night-Da Yes T exist.Pl canoe T go.Pl
Are there any canoes which went to Kō last night? Yes, some canoes went.
[na: perfective aspect, the canoes went in a group, a singular event
nā: iterative aspect, the canoes went individually, or the canoes kept going to Kō on many trips]

Nā can also imply plurality of the subject in a situation which is known to be a single past event, whereas *na* does not imply this.

- (178) Ko ai nā / na lavea te pulé?
 Prd who T take-Cia A prayer-Da
Who led the church service? [nā implies plural actor, na implies singular actor]

For states in the past, *na* always denotes a single occasion on which the state obtained, while *nā* may be used to indicate a past state which occurred on more than one occasion.

- (179) I tau wanonga yī ika i te pō, e kiai koe na matakū?
 L your.Sg go-Nom catch fish L A night-Da T Neg you T fear
When you went fishing last night didn't you get afraid?
- (180) I au wanonga yī ika i te pō, e kiai koe nā matakū?
 L your.Pl go-Nom catch fish L A night T Neg you T fear
When you went fishing at night over several occasions, weren't you afraid?

In summary, *nā* is compatible with past situations which have endpoints. It normally denotes a durative situation which has been completed at the reference time. With stative situations it denotes a past temporary state. With activities and processes it denotes an incomplete situation at the reference time, and with verbs denoting punctual events it can denote iterative aspect in the past. It sometimes distances the situation to a more remote past than is indicated by *na*, but usually contrasts with *na* in denoting imperfective viewpoint aspect as opposed to perfective aspect.

3.1.7 Past Tense, Imperfective Aspect (Archaic) : *yā*

This tense-aspect marker, the archaic form of *nā* (3.1.6), is no longer in general use in Pukapukan speech today. A few elderly speakers have been heard to use it, for instance in formulaic greetings: *Yāi wea koe?* 'Where have you been?'. Some middle-aged and elderly speakers remember its use by previous generations. It is conspicuous in the poetry of *mako* chant genre and it appears in the notebooks of stories and chants written for Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole by native speakers (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., b and c) as well as in Pukapukans' personal chant books written during the 20th century. In the Beagleholes'

manuscripts, *yā* contrasts with *na* ‘past perfective’, although vowel length is left undifferentiated. It is possible to determine length of the vowel in *yā* from its occurrence in chants performed today, since the length of vowels is directly mapped onto the rhythm pattern of the intoned chanting style (K. Salisbury 1983a:146). In all instances of *yā* in chants recorded by K. Salisbury it has a long vowel. It is highly likely that *yā* denoted imperfective aspect in the past, as *nā* does today although interpretation of the chants is often obscure. It is notable that variation in performance occurs with *yā* alternating with *nā* in different recordings of the more recent chants. This supports the view that *yā* has been replaced by *nā* over the last century or so⁵.

The following are some examples of *yā* found in chant texts:

- (181) Koa yao loa tō tala nā i te tala o Tiki na patua i te vaka o Tepalo yā tele.
 T escape Int your story there Comp A story P Tiki T kill-Cia L A canoe P Tepalo T sail
Your sad story surpasses the story of Tiki who was killed in the canoe of Tepalo that used to voyage abroad.
 (Tangi nō Malotini)
- (182) E tāne na apoapo matai, e kiai na wakayopu ki tua, yā tāpena ai tō matua i ō penupenu...
 Prd man T prepare snood T Neg T go.in.group G back T prepare Pro your father Acc your.Pl things
He was a man who had prepared snoods, although he had not taken a group to sea, your father was preparing/had prepared your fishing tackle...
 (Tangi nō Watuyā)
- (183) Lōmamai ke lulu i kinei i te wōnga nō Tōkaipole velo ai taku yūvelovelo yā kānapanapa lā lunga.
 come.Pl C gather L here L A go-Nom P Tōkaipole throw Pro my spear T RR-shine L above
Come, let's gather here at Tōkaipole's place where I threw my spear which was shining up above.
 (Tangitangi o Amutia)
 (K.Salisbury pers. comm)

Some examples from tales:

- (184) Ko Yinaliulu yā tū i te uluulu akau.
 Top Yinaliulu T stand Acc A outer reef
Yinaliulu was standing on the outer reef.
 (BB:993)
- (185) E mea oki akakitea e te wawine yā wano ai ia.
 Prd thing also make-known Ag A woman T go Pro Af
It was a thing that the woman who used to go there disclosed.
- (186) Na akaaloa iāna i tona vaka ia, te uyo o tona vaka, yā tele ai iāna ki te pāwenua.
 T love he Acc his canoe Af, A middle P his canoe T sail Pro he G A foreign.land
He loved his canoe... in which he had sailed to foreign lands.

3.1.8 Subjunctive Marker : *ke*

Ke denotes the subjunctive mood and appears to have replaced the archaic marker *kia* (3.1.9). The vowel of *ke* is long, except when it occurs before preverbal pronouns (see 2.6.1)

It often appears in prayers and greetings denoting prayers, wishes, and hopes :

- (187) Ke kai mātou, ke māloyi o mātou ivi, ke māloyi ma o mātou tino.
 T eat we T strong P we bone T strong with P we body.
May we eat, so that our bones are strong, and our bodies are strong.

- (188) Mai te ayo nei, oko ki te toe ayo, ke wakamanatu mātou i tō aloa.
 from A day here reach G A other day T caus-remember we Acc your love
From this day onwards, let us remember your love.
- (189) Ke ōla kōtou i loto o te aloa wolo o tō tātou Manaki ko Ietu.
 T live you.PI L inside P A love big P P we trust Prd Jesus
Greetings [lit. may you live] in the great love of our Saviour Jesus.

Ke may appear in warnings and polite imperatives such as the following:⁶

- (190) Te kau e nī a lātou wata i te tukutaí, ke onono wakalelei, ka pōina e te ngalu.
 A people T exist P they drying.rack L A beach-Da T watch carefully T sweep.away-Cia Ag A wave
The people who have drying racks at the beach better watch out lest they be swept away by the waves. (U:C1)
- (191) Ke wano ki Lalotonga ke akamātau ma te akawolo i tona kite i te yanga kāmuta...
 T go G Rarotonga C caus-used-to and caus-big Acc his understanding Acc A work carpentry
 ke kake mai tana moni ki lunga i tana moni i te taime nei.
 T climb Dir his money G above Acc his money L A time here
[I recommend] that [he] go to Rarotonga to familiarise [himself] with his work and to gain a greater understanding of carpentry... [I recommend] that he receive an increment in his salary immediately.
- (192) Tā tātou takilau tālā na talatalá, ke wakatapu mai i te eva ki te kau e wakayaelea tō tātou wenua.
 P we.PI each-ten dollar T tell-Da T caus-gather Dir L A hurry G A people T caus-walk-Cia P we.PI land
As for our ten dollars each that we talked of, [you should] bring it promptly to the leaders of the island.

Ke may indicate intent in its use as subjunctive:

- (193) Ke wakameitaki ia kōlua, na mea i te imukai wolo mā tātou.
 T caus-good Acc-A you.PI T do Acc A feast big for we
[I want] to thank you both who have made such a big feast for us. (KM:S2)
- (194) Ke wano ake au uluulu popoa i te vao.
 T go Dir I RR-search food L A bush
I intend going to look for food in the bush.

Ke is also a subordinator of complements (see 10.3.2; 10.5), conditional clauses (10.7.6) as well as adverbial clauses of time and purpose (10.7.1, 10.7.3).

3.1.9 Subjunctive Marker (Archaic) : *kia*

Although used in the past (as evidenced by its presence in chants), this modal marker is no longer in use today. Its function as a subjunctive marker has been taken over by *ke*. It is interesting to compare the words of an ancient anthem recorded by E. and P. Beaglehole with those sung in a modern *īmene* ‘song’. The Beagleholes’ record (1938:238) of the prayer used in the initiation ceremony of the *māyakitanga* (sacred maid) is as follows:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|--|
| (195) | Kia wai muli wūniu | Let the clusters of nuts be full |
| | Kia wowolo te wāwā | Let the taro tubers grow big |
| | Kia taungatunga | Beckon to the god (to answer this request) |
| | Kia mātolu te ika | Let the fish be numerous, |
| | Kia pī ki te tai | Let the faeces flow to the sea (in great quantities from the abundance of food) |
| | Ke elo te wenua | Until the land stinks, |
| | Kava yē te tangata. | Countless the feasts for the people. |

This prayer or incantation, as known today, was quoted within a modern anthem composed in 1981 in Auckland for use by Ngake village on formal occasions (K. Salisbury 1983a:272).

- (196) Verse 2:
 Motumotu nā muli wūniu,
 Ke wowolo nā wāwā,
 Ke mātolu te wī ika,
 Ke pī ki tai,
 Ke elo te wenua,
 Kava yē te tangata.

From a comparison of the two texts it seems evident that while *kia* and *ke* both occurred in ancient times, probably as subjunctive mood in main clauses and complementiser respectively, *ke* has now assumed the function of *kia* in main clauses, rendering *kia* obsolete. Pukapukans recognise modern use of *kia* as being typical of Cook Islands Māori, not Pukapukan.

3.1.10 Possibility Marker : *kai*

Kai is a modal marker expressing possibility. It is an uncertainty epistemic which usually expresses a negative potential outcome. It also functions as a caveat in subordinate clauses and as a mild negative imperative. It bears a close relationship to the directional particle *io* (see 5.1.2.4), which intensifies its negative semantic force.

1. *Kai* denotes uncertainty. It can occur with verbs expressing a positive outcome:

- (197) Ia koe mō, kai lekaleka ke lē mai ia Mālia.
 A you probably T RR-happy C win Dir A Mālia
You might be surprised when Mālia wins.
- (198) Ia koe kai monimoni ke oko tau Loto.
 A you T RR-money C buy P-you Lotto
You might get rich if you buy a Lotto ticket.

It more commonly expresses an adversative possibility or a misfortune to be feared or avoided.

- (199) Kai leiti mua kōlua, e yē wō ai i te taime nei.
 T late warning you.2 T Neg go.Pl Pro L A time here
You might be late, why don't you go now.
- (200) E ongo pā te matangi i te ayo nei, kai pūyia te taupotu o te walé.
 T hard probably A wind L A day here T blow-away-Cia A roof P A house-Da
The wind is blowing hard today, the roof of the house might get blown away.
- (201) Mea loa ia Tupua Manatu, "Wō, ia tātou kai kaina, e kino lā tātou ke keli e lua nō tātou?"
 say Int A Tupua Manatu excl A we T eat-Cia T bad Int we C dig A hole for we
Tupua Manatu said, "Oh no, we might be eaten, do you think we should try to dig a tunnel for us [to escape]."
 (MM:L2:10)

Kai...io is a common collocation which usually carries a negative bias of the speaker towards the situation encoded in the clause (see 5.1.2.4):

- (202) **Kai** valo mai **io** ia Yātō ia aku ke wano ki tō lātou kaikainga.
 T call Dir Dir A Yātō Acc-A I C go G P they RR-eat-Nom
[Lit. Yātō might call me to go to their feast] [implied: but I don't want to go].
I hope Yātō doesn't invite me to their feast.
- (203) **Kai** wano atu **io** koe wakamamao, yanga loa au e te ulu ia koe.
 T go Dir Dir you caus-distant work Int I C search Acc you
I really hope that you don't go off to a distant place, it would be so hard to find you [there].

2. Because it often occurs referring to an adversative possibility or misfortune or to a possible negative outcome, *kai* may also function as a caveat in a similar manner to *kāē* 'lest' and *ko te* 'lest' (see 10.3.2). However, it differs from both of these in that the latter two occur as caveats only in complements, while *kai* may occur in main clauses, as seen in earlier examples.

- (204) Onoono wakalelei **kai** tō koe ki lalo.
 look carefully T fall you G down
Watch out, lest you fall down.
- (205) Tunu pā e toe moa, wua mua tātou **kai** yē lava.
 cook maybe A other chicken be.careful we T Neg enough
Maybe [you'd] better cook another chicken, just in case we mightn't have enough.
- (206) Wua mua koe **kai** tue i te ulu o te tama nā.
 be.careful you T kick Acc A head P A child that
Be careful or you might kick that child's head.
- (207) Wakalongo mai la koe ki tā māua wakawitinga kia koe nei, **kai** wano koe wakatakayala.
 listen Dir Int you G P we.2 advice G-A you here T go you caus-mistake
Listen to our advice to you here, so that you don't go and make a mistake. (BB:1055)

3. *Kai* may function as a mild negative imperative marker which is more polite than a direct negative imperative (8.2.2).

- (208) **Kai** wano koe kai i te moa ia, tuku mā te kaú.
 T go you eat Acc A chicken Af leave for A people-Da
You might go and eat that chicken [but please don't], leave it for the others.
- (209) Yaele koe wakalelei, **kai** wano io koe akamitamita.
 walk you carefully T go Dir you caus-show.off
Look after the way you conduct yourself, lest you become cheeky [don't be cheeky].
- (210) **Kai** iloa io ēna.
 T know-Cia Dir Ag-he
Don't let him know.

Some examples from the Beagleholes' manuscript (n.d., a) also suggest it to be a polite or mild negative imperative marker.

- (211) Ke iliili mai ia Lua ma Tolu...**kai** wano koe tala i o māua ingoa.
 C RR-ask Dir A Lua and Tolu T go you tell Acc P we.2 name.
If Lua and Tolu ask.... don't you go and tell our names. (BB:1056)
- (212) Wano koe tā koe wakalelei, **kai** wati io toku toki.
 go you cut you carefully T break Dir my adze.
Go and cut carefully, don't break my adze. (BB:1056)

Prohibitions are intensified by the postverbal particle *io* ‘misfortune’. They denote a strong but polite prohibition. It has a stronger semantic force than the negative imperative *auwē* or the caveat *ko te*, but not as strong as the modified negative imperative, *auwē loa*.

- (213) **Kai** kai **io** koe ki te kaveu ke wano koe ki Kō.
 T eat Dir you G A coconut.crab C go you G Kō
You must not eat of the coconut crabs when you visit Kō [it is forbidden].

3.1.11 Immediate Past, Polite Request : *koi*

Koi occurs in a number of restricted or lexicalised expressions as a preverbal particle with two discrete meanings: ‘immediate past’ or ‘polite request’, but it is no longer a productive tense-aspect marker. It should not be confused with *ko i* ‘progressive aspect + locative’ which marks present-tense locative predicates (7.2). However, there may be historical links with the latter since several functions of *ko i* which appear to be derived from a locative predicate also carry an implication of politeness or defer to the addressee. Some of these functions are also paralleled by an alternate form of the present-tense locative predicate *kou wea* (9.1.5.1.2).

1. Immediate Past

Koi occurs as preverbal marker introducing a restricted range of sentence types meaning that the event occurred in the very immediate past. It commonly occurs with aspectual particles such as *pito* ‘recently’, postverbal particles *wua atu* ‘just now’, *wua ake* ‘just now’ and with aspectual verbs such as *oti* ‘finish’.

- (214) **Koi** pito wano wua atu iāna i te vāia nei.
 T recently go just Dir he L A time this
He has just [this second] left.
- (215) **Koi** pito lelei wua atu tona maki.
 T recently good just Dir his sickness
He has only just got well from his sickness.
- (216) **Koi** oko wua atu te payī ki Wale.
 T leave just Dir A ship G Home
The ship has just left for Pukapuka.
- (217) **Koi** oti wua ake tā mātou yanga.
 T finish just Dir P we work
We have just this instant finished our work.

Koi pito denotes a more immediate past than does *e pito* (see 3.4). Although it is not very productive, the preverbal marker *koi* signifies a viewpoint aspect that targets the other side of the inception point of a situation than *koa* does. While *koa* usually refers to the moment immediately prior to the onset of an event, *koi* refers to the moment just after its onset.

2. Polite Request

Koi...ake marks a polite request. It appears to be mainly restricted to motion verbs and it often occurs in complex sentences with a following complement. Neither is this function of *koi* very productive and it is considered by young people to be old-fashioned. In the last example below from the Beagleholes' manuscript (n.d., a) an archaic motion verb is used.

- (218) **Koi** lōmamai **ake** ki kinei.
T come.Pl Dir G here
Please come over here.
- (219) **Koi** wano **ake** koe totoli mai **ake** e niu mā aku.
T go Dir you pick Dir Dir A coconut for me
Would you please go and pick a coconut for me.
- (220) **Koi** wō **ake** kōtou tae mai pulepule mā aku.
T go.Pl Dir you.Pl collect Dir shell for me
Please go and collect shells for me.
- (221) **Koi** wengatu **ake**, uluna atu te kongā na wano ai.
T go Dir search-Cia Dir A place T go Pro
Please go [after her] and find the place where she's gone.

Koi...ake can be used for requests which are unpleasant to the addressee or to a third party.

- (222) **Koi** wano **ake** yayano (ake) i nā talingā.
T go Dir R-slap Dir Acc A ear-Da
Would you go and give them a hiding [on my behalf].

In a few instances *koi...ake* has been noted to occur with verbs other than motion verbs. Most of these sentences were found in the Beagleholes' manuscript (n.d., a.), which indicates that this tense-aspect marker was formerly more productive than it is today.

- (223) **Koi** tēnā mai **ake** e kalāti.
T there Dir please A glass
Please pass me a glass/Could I join you in a drink? (PP2:2:4)
- (224) **Koi** wowou **ake** koe i taku mea na kino ia.
T fix Dir you Acc my thing T bad Af
Please would you try and fix my thing that has broken.
- (225) Te weke e, **koi** wawa **ake** ki to ulu na.
A octopus Voc T feel Dir G P head there
Oh octopus, feel your head.
- (226) **Koi** wakaekena **ake** ni mō toe... **Koi** tūlekileki **ake** koe...
T caus-lift-Cia Dir A little more T stand.on.tip.toes Dir you
Would you mind raising [the sky] a little more? Please try standing on your tiptoes. (BB:976)

Requests made using *koi...ake* imply that the action will benefit the speaker, not the addressee, and are intermediate in their degree of assertiveness between those made using *ke* 'subjunctive', which are more assertive, and those made using *e yē* 'relative present + negative' ('wouldn't you?'), which are more polite.

3. Idioms

Koi... (*ake*) has several other uses in lexicalised expressions. These do not appear to be closely related to the function of making requests.

It may be used for threats or goads:

- (227) **Koi yau ake koe... Koi yau lā.**
 T come Dir you T come Int
Come on then, come [and get me in a fight].
- (228) **Koi wakamatala ake koe.**
 T caus-loosen Dir you
[Lit. You'd have to undress first]
Just try and see what happens [a goad to a potential suitor].

It may be used in a lexicalised expression to mean 'almost passing away'.

- (229) **Pi koi pānaki ai au, e maki loa ongo toku mea, e nimōnia.**
 if T passed.away Pro I Prd sickness Int hard my thing Prd pneumonia
I very nearly passed away, I was very sick indeed, it was pneumonia. (SL:N2:6)

3.1.12 Archaic Preverbal Marker : *kou*

Kou may also have previously been a tense-aspect marker since in a few exclamatory sentences it occurs in the position characteristic of a tense-aspect marker.

- (230) **Ae, e wenua kou ngalo. Wō! Kāe mea a Pukapuka.**
 Interj Prd land T lost interj Neg.exist thing P Pukapuka
Hey, there's one land that's missing. Goodness! Pukapuka has nothing. (MM:L2:2)

Elsewhere *kou* occurs only in association with *wea* 'what?, where?' in lexicalised expressions derived from locative predicates and seems likely to have arisen from *ko* 'present tense' through prothetic *u* before *w*. Its use to introduce a locative interrogative predicate (*kou wea* 'where is?') is considered by native speakers to be old-fashioned and it is mainly heard in the speech of elderly people (9.1.5.1.2 (5c)). *Kou wea* is also used as a politeness adverbial (5.1.5.11) and as an exclamation of surprise (5.3) in colloquial speech.

3.1.13 Absence of Tense-Aspect Marking

There are two situations in which clauses are not marked for tense or aspect.

1. In narratives, declarative clauses denoting sequential events are unmarked for tense and aspect. By contrast, background clauses containing explanatory or descriptive information and reported speech allow a variety of syntactic types. Narrative clauses are typified by the use of postverbal *loa* (5.1.3). Usually the introductory clause of a narrative or new episode is introduced by *na* 'past, perfective', then subsequent narrative clauses are marked by the absence of tense-aspect accompanied by *loa* postposed to the verb.

Narrative clauses in the passage below are underlined.

- (231) Ko te matua tāné, na nō ki te yiku, te yeueu o te yiku, ko te yika o te matiku, i muli wua.
Prd A parent man-Da T sit G A tail A tip P A tail.feathers Prd A tail P A heron L behind just

Lele loa lā te matiku nei. Lele loa te matiku nei. Kakā mai loa lā nā leo nei,
fly Int Int A heron here fly Int A heron here cry Dir Int Int A voice here

“E te matiku ia e, luelue ake tō yiku nā.”
Voc A heron Af Voc RR-shake Dir your tail there

As for the father, he sat at the tail end, right at the tip of the heron’s tail, at the back. The heron flew. It flew on. Then these voices called out, “Heron, shake your tail.” (MK:S1:7)

2. The imperative mood is marked by the absence of a tense-aspect marker (see 9.2). Negative imperatives introduce subordinate clauses by *e* (see 8.2.2).

- (232) Nō koe ki lalo.
Sit you G down
Sit down.

- (233) Auwe koe e nō ki lalo.
Neg.Imp you T sit G down
Don’t sit down.

3.2 NEGATIVE

The negative particle *yē* occurs between the tense-aspect-mood marker and the verb for non-past clauses. It precedes preverbal pronouns and other preverbal particles. For further discussion see 8.3.

- (234) Ko *yē* a tātou iloloa nā ingoa.
T Neg we R-know -Cia A name.
We don’t know [their] names.

3.3 PREVERBAL PRONOUNS

A subject pronoun may occur after the verb and its modifiers or in a position within the verbal group; between the tense-aspect-mood marker and the verb.

The following two sentences are related to each other:

- (235) Ko mitia wua loa ēku nā niu.
T dream-Cia just Int Ag-I A nut
I always dream about coconuts.

- (236) Ko *aku* mitia wua loa nā niu.
T I dream-Cia just Int A nut
I always dream about coconuts.

Preverbal pronouns have their own special forms which are morphologically distinct from independent pronouns. These are set out in Table 5 below. For other pronominal paradigms see section 4.5.2.1.

TABLE 5: Preverbal Pronouns

| | | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|----------------|------------|------------|---------|---------|
| First Person: | Inclusive: | | a tāua | a tātou |
| | Exclusive: | aku | a māua | a mātou |
| Second Person: | | au / a koe | a kōlua | a kōtou |
| Third Person: | | ana | a lāua | a lātou |

The second person singular *au* is more common in colloquial speech than the more formal variant *a koe* which is used mainly by older speakers.

Rather than being reduced forms, the preverbal pronouns are for the most part longer than the independent subject pronouns forms in the nominative/absolutive case (4.5.2.1), by having an initial *a*. The only form which is reduced is the third person singular *ana* when compared with the nominative/absolutive form *iāna*. The first person singular form *aku* is shared with all other pronoun paradigms except the nominative/absolutive case, *au*. In fact, instead of considering the preverbal pronouns to be derived from the independent forms of subject pronouns, the preverbal pronoun paradigm appears to be the base set from which all other pronominal paradigms can be derived. Apart from the possessive paradigms (4.2, 4.8.2.1, 4.5.2.1), it is the only other paradigm to regularly allow two forms for second person singular; in all other cases the form is *koe*, but not *au*. If the preverbal paradigm is considered to be the basic one, then the singular forms, *aku*, *au* and *ana*, are reduced in the sense that one might have expected an initial *a* + pronoun to result in an initial long vowel.

Preverbal pronouns in Polynesian languages have often been called ‘clitic’ pronouns (Chung 1978, Cook 1991, Besnier 2000:377-9) because of their special morphology, the fact that they occur immediately to the right of the tense-aspect marker and because they form a single phonological unit with the tense-aspect marker. In Pukapukan they are not truly clitics in any of these respects. While the morphological forms are different in several respects from the independent subject pronoun forms in the nominative/absolutive case, they are closely related to the pronoun paradigms in all other cases. A negative particle can intervene between the tense-aspect marker and the preverbal pronoun (3.2), which shows that a preverbal pronoun retains word-like properties. Preverbal pronouns can combine phonologically with the tense-aspect marker, but only when two like vowels occur contiguously. The placement of stress in the examples below is predictable by general stress placement rules (2.3.1) which stress a long vowel or otherwise the penultimate vowel of a word.

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (237) | na aku kitea | [ná:ku kitéa] | I saw it |
| | na au kitea | [ná:u kitéa] | You saw it |
| | na ana kitea | [ná:na kitéa] | He saw it |
| | na a lātou kitea | [ná: lá:tou kitéa] | They saw it |

| | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| ko aku kitea | [ko áku kitéa] | I can see it |
| ko au kitea | [ko áu kitéa] | You can see it |
| ko ana kitea | [ko ána kitéa] | He can see it |

In this respect they do not fuse as much as pronouns do with case markers, many of which assimilate completely to the vowel of the case marker. For instance, the first person singular pronoun *aku* combines with the ergative case marker *e* + *aku* > *ēku* and the possessive case marker *o* + *aku* > *ōku* (4.5.2.1). The topic marker *ko* also combines phonologically with a following pronoun (*ko* + *aku* > *ko oku*), whereas the present tense marker *ko* does not (see 237). Even in environments where there are two contiguous like vowels and a degree of assimilation between the tense-aspect marker and the preverbal pronoun with accompanying changes in stress (237), the negative particle can intervene, which shows that fusion has not taken place:

| | | |
|-------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (238) | [Ná:na kitéa te payí:] | [Na yé: ana máua e te yáele] |
| | Na ana kitea te payī. | Na yē ana maua e te yaele. |
| | T he see-Cia A ship | T Neg he able-Cia C walk |
| | <i>He saw the ship.</i> | <i>He can't walk any more.</i> |

However it must be conceded that the phonological merging of the tense-aspect marker and the preverbal pronoun is very seldom interrupted by the negative particle, since the negative *yē* is quite restricted in its occurrence with the past and future tense markers *na* and *ka* (3.1.1, 3.1.5, 8.3), which are the only ones to provide the necessary environment for merging. Negation of clauses in the past tense is usually achieved through the negative verb *kiai* (see 8.2.1). The negative past tense construction using *kiai* allows pronoun placement in two alternative positions for verbs which allow preverbal pronouns. The pronoun may appear as the subject of the negative verb as an independent pronoun in the nominative/absolutive case (*kiai* pronoun *na* V), or it may appear in preverbal pronoun position within the negated clause (*kiai na* pronoun V). There is little or no meaning difference between these two forms.

| | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (239) | Kiai au na iloa | Kiai na aku iloa |
| | Neg I T know-Cia | Neg T I know-Cia |
| | <i>I didn't understand.</i> | <i>I didn't understand.</i> |

The placement of the subject pronoun in preverbal position is much more restricted in Pukapukan than in Tongan or Samoan; it does not occur in intransitive clauses (240). Nor does it occur in transitive clauses of the 'accusative' or 'ergative' case marking patterns (241). It is permitted only in clauses of the 'passive' pattern where the verb is suffixed with *-Cia* (241). The pronoun encodes the agent or experiencer of the verb, and corresponds to the agentive argument when not in preverbal position (compare 241 with 242). It can never correspond to the nominative/absolutive argument (243).

| | | |
|-------|---|---------------------------|
| (240) | * Na a lātou wō ki Tua. | Na wō lātou ki Tua. |
| | T they go.Pl G Tua | T go.Pl they G Tua |
| | <i>(They went to Tua)</i> | <i>They went to Tua..</i> |
| (241) | Na au kitea mō te pōlonga | 'passive' pattern |
| | T you see-Cia maybe A ball-Nom | |
| | <i>Did you see the cricket perhaps?</i> | |
| | * Na au kite i te pōlonga? | 'accusative' pattern |
| | * Na au kite te pōlonga? | 'ergative' pattern |

(242) Na kitea te pōlonga e koe?
 T see-Cia A ball-Nom Ag you
Did you see the cricket?

(243) * Na au kitea e Tau?
 T you see-Cia Ag Tau
(Did Tau see you?)

Moreover, in main clauses preverbal pronouns are allowable with a very restricted range of verbs; namely certain verbs of perception. The suffixed forms of these verbs are in brackets. Only one of this group of verbs does not have an active/accusative equivalent; *iloa* 'know'. The active form of *langona* 'hear' is *longo*.

These verbs include:

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>iloa</i> | to understand, know |
| <i>kite(a)</i> | to see, know |
| <i>manatu(a)</i> | to remember |
| <i>miti(a)</i> | to dream |
| <i>longo (langona)</i> | to hear, feel |
| <i>mau(a)</i> | to be able to |

All the above verbs freely allow preverbal pronouns in a wide range of clauses, main clauses as well as subordinate clauses.

(244) Na **a lātou** kitea te Metia.
 T they see-Cia A Messiah
They have seen the Messiah. (KM:A1:3)

(245) Ko **au** manatua te taime nā wō ai tātou ki Kō?
 T you remember-Cia A time T go.Pl Pro we G Kō
Do you remember the time we went to Kō?

(246) Ko winangalo te toe kau o mātou ke **a lātou** kitea ia Nātau.
 T want A other people P we C they see-Cia A Nassau
Some of us want to see Nassau.

One of the verbs which freely allow preverbal pronouns, *iloa* 'know', agrees in number with its subject; monomoraic reduplication indicates plurality of the subject.

(247) Āpii koe i lua tama nei ke **a lāua** iloloa tō lāua leo.
 teach you Acc two child here C they.2 R-know-Cia P they.2 language
Teach these two children to understand their [native] language.

Preverbal pronouns are not found in imperative clauses, but they can appear in narrative clauses which lack a tense-aspect marker:

(248) Taku niko mainga lāi mai Wale, **aku** kitea mai ai.
 my return Dir-Nom Int Dir Home I see-Cia Dir Pro
When I came back from Pukapuka, I saw [it].

Canonical transitive verbs allow preverbal pronouns only in subordinated clauses, not in main clauses. For these verbs, preverbal pronouns are found mainly in purpose clauses introduced by *ke* (249-251), but they also occasionally occur in relative clauses (252).

- (249) Mai ke **aku** likoa te pēpē. * Na **aku** likoa te pēpē.
 give C I hold-Cia A baby-Da T I hold-Cia A baby-Da
Pass me the baby to hold. (I held the baby.)
- (250) Tilia mai ke **aku** kapua te pōlō.
 throw-Cia Dir C I catch-Cia A ball-Da
Throw the ball for me to catch.
- (251) Ka wō tāua yāele lā te tuāwenua ke a tāua pukea te wonú.
 T go.Pl we.2 walk via A back-P-land C we.2 catch-Cia A turtle-Da
Let's go walking around the back of the island to catch the turtle.
- (252) Ko nā tala i lotó, ko nā tala a te kauliki na **au** tukua mai i loto o Aukute.
 Top A story L inside-Da Prd A story P A children T you give-Cia Dir L inside P August
The stories inside are the stories of the children which you sent [to us] in August. (PW:2:4)

For those verbs which do permit the construction, the form with the preverbal pronoun appears to be more common and less marked than the corresponding clause with an independent pronoun.

The (a) examples below are unmarked answers to questions, while the (b) examples are more emphatic and would commonly be used as interruptions or contradictions of the previous speaker. They suggest a preference for preverbal pronouns although this is not obligatory.

- (253) a. Ko **aku** iloa te tala nā. b. Ko iloa **ēku** te tala ia.
 T I know-Cia A story that T know-Cia Ag-I A story that
I know that story. I [already] know that story.
- (254) a. Ko yē **aku** iloa te tāné. b. Ko yē iloa **ēku** te tāné.
 T Neg I know -Cia A man-da T Neg know-Cia Ag-I A man-da
I don't know that man. [But] I don't even know the man!

The forms with independent pronouns also entail volition or deliberate action, rather than a passive perception, so that *kitea* with an agentively marked pronoun means 'find' rather than 'see', and *iloa* may mean 'learn' rather than 'know'.

- (255) Ulu ke kitea **e koe**, ulu koe ke kitea.
 search C see-Cia Ag you search you C see-Cia
Search until you find [it], search until you find. (MM:C5:10)
- (256) I te vāia o te Kilitimeti, ko iloloa **e tātou** te wānaunga o Ietu,
 L A time P A Christmas T R-know -Cia Ag we A birth P Jesus
 ko **ana** iloa oki e wea na yau ai ki te ao nei.
 T he know-Cia also Prd what T come Pro G A earth here
At Christmas time we learn about the birth of Jesus, he knew the reason why he came to this earth. (KM:MW3:6)

Thus, the agentive pronoun form in postverbal position is inappropriate for situations in which the action is spontaneous and not actively agentive:

- (257) * Taku oko mainga mai te āpii, kitea (ai) (loa) **ēku** te tangata ia...
 Taku oko mainga mai te āpii, **aku** kitea loa te tangata ia, ko kali ia aku i loto o te motokā.
 My return Dir-Nom from A school I see-Cia (Pro) Int (Ag-I) A person Af T wait Acc-A I L inside P A car
When I was coming [home] from school, I saw a man waiting for me in a car.

Chung (1978:35, 221) and Cook (1991:158) describe the differences in Samoan between constructions containing ‘clitic’ pronouns with those containing ergative noun phrases as differences in emphasis or prominence, whereas Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:752) describe the presence or absence of the preverbal pronoun in terms of pragmatic salience. In Pukapukan both volitional agency and pragmatic salience increase with explicit reference of the preverbal pronoun, but the most marked degree of agency and the deliberate nature of the action is expressed by the independent pronoun in the agentive case.

Whereas in Tongan and Samoan both a preverbal pronoun and an independent pronoun may appear together in the same clause to create some kind of emphasis (Chung 1978:32, Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:456), this is not the case in Pukapukan. Clauses containing both an agentively marked independent pronoun and a coreferential preverbal pronoun are not acceptable, nor do they appear in the corpus.

- (258) * Na aku kitea te payī ēku.
 T I see-Cia A ship Ag-I
 (I saw the ship.)

However, fronted pronouns occasionally occur in the corpus in the same clause as a preverbal pronoun although they are not considered to be ‘good’ Pukapukan.

- (259) Ia aku, ko yē aku malaia nā yanga a te Pukapuka.
 A I T Neg I care-Cia A work P A Pukapuka
As for me, I don’t care about Pukapukan things.

Fronted lexical nouns and proper nouns allow a pronominal copy in preverbal position.

- (260) Taku tama lewú, ko yē ana malaia nā yanga a te Pukapuka.
 my child small-Da T Neg he care-Cia T work P A Pukapuka
As for my child, he doesn’t care about Pukapukan things.

- (261) Ia Mea, ko yē ana malaia nā yanga a te Pukapuka.
 A Mea T Neg he care-Cia T work P A Pukapuka
As for Mea, he doesn’t care about Pukapukan things.

It is interesting from a comparative perspective to note that certain ‘tendencies’ that have been described for Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:458) are more like restrictions for Pukapukan. In Samoan preverbal pronouns are more common in embedded clauses than in main clauses, but in Pukapukan, preverbal pronouns are restricted to embedded clauses containing canonical transitive verbs, although they are allowable in main clauses for a very restricted range of verbs. A second tendency in Samoan is that in transitive clauses containing preverbal pronouns, the verb is usually the suffixed form. Chung (1978:85, 162) says that the suffix is ‘strongly preferred’ in clauses with ‘clitic’ pronouns. Mosel and Hovdhaugen attribute the presence of the preverbal pronoun to be a conditioning factor in the selection of the suffixed form of the verb (1992:751). This is an absolute constraint in Pukapukan; preverbal pronouns only occur in clauses where the verb is suffixed. This restriction also prevents placement of preverbal pronouns in intransitive clauses as well as in transitive clauses of the ‘accusative’ and ‘ergative’ patterns. The restriction of preverbal pronouns to transitive clauses in which the verb is suffixed is also found in the Southern dialects of Tuvaluan (Besnier 2000:377).

3.4 PREVERBAL PARTICLES

There two preverbal particles of an adverbial nature which occur following the tense-aspect-mood marker and the negative particle but preceding the verb: *pito* ‘recently’ and *mou* ‘often’. Other preverbal particles of an adverbial nature (*tō* ‘quite’, *ata-* ‘good at’) have been analysed as prefixes (3.5.2) on the grounds that they are bound closer to the verb. Neither of these two preverbal particles nor the adverbial prefixes (3.5.2) condition lengthening of the tense-aspect marker *e*, although they all meet the conditioning criteria of being two morae in length (see 2.6.1). An alternative analysis is that *pito* and *mou* are also prefixes. Such an analysis would avoid an arbitrary set of exceptions to the lengthening rule since the word following *e* will always contain more than three morae.

1. *Pito* ‘recently’

Pito is a preverbal particle meaning ‘recently’. Because of its semantic nature *pito* refers to past time occurrences. However, it is only compatible with *e* (262, 263), and to a lesser extent with *koi* (264), as tense-aspect markers, not the past tense marker *na*, although there is some suggestion from older speakers that it may have co-occurred with *na* in the past.

(262) E **pito** angatu wua loa ki te toa.
T recently go just Int G A shop
[He’s] just recently gone to the shops.

(263) E **pito** mate wua oki ia Temoana e maki.
T recently die just also A Temoana T sick
Temoana, who was sick, has just recently died.

(264) Koi **pito** yau wua mai toku yoa mai tona tele, kāni aku popoa ke kave atu mā ana.
T recently come just Dir my friend from his journey Neg.exist.Pl my.Pl food C give Dir for he
My friend has only just returned from his journey, and I don’t have any food to give him. (KM:L11:6)

Although *pito* may occur with verbs of experience that normally take preverbal pronouns, a preverbal pronoun either preceding or following *pito* does not appear to be acceptable. The only acceptable pattern is for the experiencer to be marked by *e* in the agentive case and to follow the suffixed verb (265, 266). This is likely to be a semantically based restriction rather than a purely syntactic one, since pronominal subjects occur in the agentive case marked by *e* after verbs of experience when volition or agency are being emphasised (see 3.3). Volition is likely to be high when a verb of experience is used in a dynamic sense for a punctual event such as that denoted in example (265). The aspectual particle *pito* is therefore responsible for the change in the sense of a normally stative verb *iloa* ‘know’, to a dynamic sense ‘discover’, which in turn requires the agentively marked pronoun.

(265) E **pito** iloa wua ēna.
T recently know-Cia just Ag-he
He has only recently discovered [it].

(266) *E ana **pito** iloa (wua).
*E **pito** ana iloa-Cia (wua)
T he recently he know just

2. *Mou* ‘often’

Mou is a quantifier of occurrences, meaning ‘often’, ‘frequently’.

(267) E kiai loa au na **mou** wano lā kiai.
T Neg Int I T often go via there
I didn’t go there often.

(268) Ko yē **mou** kai ika loa mātou.
T Neg often eat fish Int we
We don’t often eat fish.

(269) Ko **mou** wō wua mātou ki ai.
T often go.Pl just we G Pro
We go there frequently.

Both *pito* and *mou* precede verbs prefixed with the transitive prefix *waka-* (270, 271).

(270) E **pito** waka-mānea wua iāna i te loki ia.
T recently caus-nice just he Acc A chair Af
He has recently made the chair look nice.

(271) E kovi ko **mou** waka-kino ia aku.
Prd person T often caus-bad Acc-A I
He’s a person who often deprecates me.

3.5 VERBAL PREFIXES

The description of the nuclear minor morphemes begins with the treatment of this class. There are several types of verbal prefixes: some always appear closest to the base, while others may be attached immediately to the base but may also be separated off from the base by another prefix. The prefixes are generally dealt with in their linear order starting with those furthest from the base.

3.5.1 PREFIX (1) : *waka-* ‘causative’

Waka- is primarily a causative prefix, but it has a wide range of functions. It may be prefixed to nouns, stative verbs and intransitive verbs, but rarely transitive verbs.

Undoubtedly because of influence from Cook Islands Māori, *waka-* is commonly shortened to *aka-* (< CIM ‘aka) in everyday speech by old and young alike.⁷ This even occurs in words which do not have cognates in CIM (eg. (w)*akalelei* ‘be good’) and in forms with no apparent bases (eg. (w)*akaaao* ‘marry’) which is indicative that even in such forms *waka-* is still perceived to be a prefix. *Waka-* is seen to be more formal than *aka-* and it often occurs in written form. I shall use *waka-* to stand for all occurrences of the prefix.

1. *waka-* + Noun:

Nouns prefixed by *waka-* are transformed into transitive verbs which have the meaning: ‘add N to, provide with N, treat with N’.

| | | | |
|-------|----------------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| lolo | coconut cream | wakalolo | add coconut cream to |
| kākau | clothes | wakakākau | dress someone |
| yei | flower garland | wakayei | put a garland on someone |
| ela | a wedge | wakaela | apply a wedge to |
| au | smoke | wakaau | treat with smoke |
| lā | sun | wakalā | treat with sun, put in the sun to dry |

Transitive verbs with a causative function ‘cause to become N’ are derived from nouns prefixed by *waka-*.

| | | | |
|----------|-------|--------------|---|
| tāne | man | wakatāne | make s.o. become a man by village decree |
| tamaliki | child | wakatamaliki | demote s.o. to the status of a child, cause to become a child. |

Intransitive verbs may be derived from nouns meaning ‘become like N, act like a N’.

| | | | |
|--------|-------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| wawine | woman | wakawawine | act like a woman, modest |
| ipo | lover, mate | wakaipo | become lovers, fall in love |

Derivation of verbs from nouns by prefixation by *waka-* is not as productive as it is in some other Polynesian languages (for instance Samoan or Tongan). Forms such as **wakapuaka* (‘act like a pig, become a pig’), **wakawalemaki* (‘become a hospital’) do not exist. Only some nouns can take the prefix and there do not appear to be clear semantic patterns as to which nouns do or do not. The resulting verbs may have specialised senses which are not entirely predictable from the nouns. By contrast the prefix *tā-* ‘add N to’ (3.5.3.4) is much more productive within the semantic domain of nouns to which it applies.

2. *waka-* + Intransitive Verb:

Many intransitive verbs can be prefixed by *waka-* to derive transitive verbs. This is a relatively highly productive process, but there are a number of common intransitive verbs like *wano* ‘go’, *yau* ‘come’ which cannot be prefixed by *waka-*.

(a) Stative verbs prefixed by *waka-* are transformed into transitive verbs with a causative meaning.

| | | | |
|--------|----------|------------|--------------|
| kī | full | wakakī | fill up |
| kokoi | sharp | wakakokoi | sharpen |
| lili | angry | wakalili | tease |
| mālama | clear | wakamālama | explain |
| mataku | afraid | wakamataku | frighten |
| māyana | warm | wakamāyana | warm up s.t. |
| yako | straight | wakayako | correct |

Other intransitive verbs are also transitivised by the prefix *waka-* and acquire a causative meaning.

| | | | |
|-------|----------------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| moe | sleep | wakamoe | (try to) put s.o. sleep, be boring |
| nō | sit | wakanō | set down |
| tū | stand | wakatū | set up, build |
| ala | wake | wakaala | wake up someone |
| tupu | grow | wakatupu | foster, rear |
| tangi | cry | wakatangi | make something sound |
| taka | spin | wakataka | spin something |
| witi | climb on board | wakawiti | put s.o. on board |

(b) Some intransitive verbs prefixed with *waka-* derive other intransitive verbs which mean 'behave in a certain manner'.

| | | | |
|-------|---------|--------------|----------------------------|
| kata | laugh | wakakatakata | jovial |
| kino | bad | wakakino | behave badly |
| lali | dirty | wakalalilali | good for nothing |
| lelei | good | wakalelei | act properly, do s.t. well |
| mea | do, say | wakamea | show off |

These same verbs also allow derivation of transitive verbs with a causative meaning:

| | | | |
|-------|-------|-----------|----------------------------|
| kata | laugh | wakakata | make s.o. laugh |
| kino | bad | wakakino | interfere with, spoil s.t. |
| lelei | good | wakalelei | make s.t. good again |
| lali | dirty | wakalali | dirty s.t. |

(c) Verbs of perception may be transitivised by the prefix *waka-*. Some of these bases are transitive verbs which denote a higher degree of volition in the prefixed forms than in the base forms.

| | | | |
|--------|----------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| mau | know (vi) | wakamau | learn (vt) |
| pono | sure (vi) | wakapono | decide (vi, vt) |
| manatu | think about (vi, vt) | wakamanatu | remember (vi, vt) |
| mayala | remember (vi, vt) | wakamayala | remember, recall (vi, vt) |

Similarly, verbs which relate to personal feelings and intransitive actions express a greater degree of volition when prefixed by *waka-*. A reflexive sense is involved: 'cause oneself to do, or be X' where X denotes the action or the state of the base verb (7.7.2.1).

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| makeke | strong, firm | wakamakeke | strengthen oneself |
| maloyi | strong | wakamaloyi | strengthen one's intention |
| yēkilimataku | without fear | wakayēkilimataku | put aside all fear |
| longo | hear | wakalongo | listen |

A reflexive sense or a higher degree of intention may also be involved with other intransitive verbs prefixed by *waka-* which relate to personal orientation or movement. There may be very little difference in the meanings of the prefixed and base forms.

| | | | |
|--------|---------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| pepeke | fly, be able to fly | wakapepeke | fly (intentionally to a destination) |
| manga | open | wakamanga | open one's mouth (e.g. of clam) |
| lulu | gather | wakalulu | gather together, meet (at a place) |
| muli | last | wakamuli | come last |

(d) Verbs prefixed with *waka-* which relate to the movement of vehicles are transitive verbs with agents as subjects. Some of the unprefixed forms are transitive verbs, but active control of the vehicle is emphasised with the prefixed forms.

| | | | |
|------|------------------------|----------|---|
| tele | sail (vi, vt) | wakatele | sail, drive a motor boat (vt) |
| olo | ride (a bike) (vi, vt) | wakaolo | drive (car, bike) (vt), wheel (wheelbarrow) (vt) |
| kave | take (vt) | wakakave | transport s.o. (vt) |

(e) Intransitive verbs prefixed with *waka-* relating to weather or to times of the day indicate an approach towards that state of the sky or that time of the day. These intransitive verbs often have no subjects.

| | | | |
|---------|-----------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| pōpongi | morning | wakapōpongi | getting to be morning, pre-dawn |
| awiawi | afternoon | wakaawiawi | towards evening |
| weweu | black | wakaweweu | darken (of sky) |
| pōuli | dark | wakapōuli | darken (of sky) |
| | | wakatūlangilangi | dark clouds gathering across the sky |

Although it is usually intransitive verbs that allow prefixation by *waka-*, transitive verbs of perception also allow it. Very few other transitive verbs allow *waka-*.

| | | | |
|--------|-----------|------------|--------------------------------|
| kite | see s.t. | wakakite | make s.t. known, announce s.t. |
| kaikai | eat s.t. | wakakaikai | feed s.o., make s.o. eat. |
| wāngai | feed s.o. | wakawāngai | cause to feed s.o. |
| kave | take (vt) | wakakave | cause to take s.o., transport |

Some verbs marked by *waka-* have specialised or idiosyncratic meanings which cannot be predicted from the meaning of the base.

| | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| lepo | dirty | wakalepo | fertilise (a garden) |
| taka | change position | wakataka | change foetal position manually |
| tīngā | in pain | wakatīngā | in labour |
| vāvā | talk | wakavāvā | criticise |

There remains a group of several dozen transitive verbs which appear to have the prefix *waka-* whose cognate base forms cannot be clearly identified, including the following:

| | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| wakaao | marry one's spouse |
| wakaeleele | uncaring |
| wakalei | throw |
| wakalutulutu | ration carefully |
| wakapeketia | pained by |
| wakapoi | drag |

There are a few words which appear to have a reduced form of the prefix *wā-*; for example *wāwū* 'nurse, breastfeed' < *wū* 'milk, breast'; *wāinu* 'offer a drink' < *inu* 'drink'; *wāpiki* 'stick to, unite' < *pipiki* 'stick together'. These forms most likely reflect borrowing from Samoan forms prefixed by *fa'a-*.

3.5.2 PREFIXES (2) : *tō-* ‘quite’, *ata-* ‘good at’

There are two ordered members of this class of adverbial prefixes⁸ which are of a similar nature to the preverbal particles (3.4): *tō-* ‘quite’ and *ata-* ‘good at’. These prefixes seldom co-occur with other prefixes, but *tō-* may occur between the transitivity prefix *waka-* and the verb, which distinguishes it from the preverbal adverbial particles *pito* and *mou* which occur preceding *waka-*.

1. *tō-* ‘quite’

Tō- is a prefix denoting a degree adverbial and may be glossed ‘quite, rather, a little, too’. When it is combined with the directional postverbal particles (274, 275), it implies a comparative and even when it is combined with the postverbal particle *loa* (272, 276), it refers to an implicit comparison with some reference point.

- (272) E *tō-* mamao loa ia Taimani.
T too distant Int A Symonds
Symonds Street is quite far away.
- (273) Yaulā e *tō-* taenawa ana kili ke tuku atu ai nā toe puka ki loto.
but T too heavy his.Pl suitcase C put Dir Pro A other book G inside
But his suitcases were too overweight to put any more books in. (TM3:5)
- (274) E *tō-* angiangi ake te ayo nei.
T quite RR-wind Dir A day this
Today is a bit windier [than yesterday].
- (275) Mea ake nā yua ke *tō-* vela ake.
do Dir A water C quite hot Dir
Make the water a bit hotter [than before].
- (276) Ko *tō-* kanga loa ia Paki.
T too playful Int A Paki
Paki is very playful.

In addition to stative verbs, *tō-* may also be prefixed to locative bases (277).

- (277) Kiai au na kite ia Vita, na aungia pā ki *tō-* mulimuli, na patua ki *tō-* tai likiliki.
Neg I T see Acc-A Vita T blow-Cia probably G too RR-behind T beat-Cia G too sea small
*I didn't see Vita, he had probably been carried [by the current and the waves] further behind [me],
he had been beaten a little further out to sea.* (PS4:13)

To- may occur in a position between the transitivity prefix *waka-* and the verb.

- (278) Nō kiai au na *waka-* *tō-* loaloa ai, ke taka ia kōtou.
P there I T caus quite RR-long Pro C sure By-A you
That's why I have taken quite a long time, so you were certain.

2. *ata-* ‘good at’

Ata- ‘good at’ is a prefix of an adverbial nature. It has a morphological variant *ā-* in colloquial speech (280). It may be prefixed to an intransitive verb to derive a stative which typically occurs in attributive

predicates (279, 280) or modifying a noun (281).

(279) Ia koe i te **ata-** ula.
A you Prd good.at dance
You're good at dancing.

(280) Ia koe i te **ā-** talatala.
A you Prd good.at talk
You're good at talking.

(281) Ko mina te wī tāne i te wawine **ata-** tunu kai.
T like A all men Acc A woman good.at cook food
Men like a woman who is good at cooking. (VL90:6:1)

Ata- may be used ironically or facetiously to tease someone in a lighthearted manner about the way they are acting. For instance *ata-nō* 'good at sitting' may comment on the degree of enthusiasm, expression of intent on one's face in the state of sitting, or the place one has chosen to sit (282).

(282) Ia koe i te **ata-** nō, na nō loa koe ki lolotonu o te puyo, kokoto mai ake te īmene.
A you Prd good.at sit T sit Int you G inside P A middle start Dir Dir A song
You are good at sitting; you've [chosen a place] in the middle of the group [where song leaders usually sit], so start off a song [for us to sing].

Ata- may follow *tō-* 'quite'.

(283) E tō- **ata-** tunu kai ake ia Miliāma ia Tuaine.
T quite good.at cook food Dir A Miliāma than-A Tuaine
Miliāma is a bit better at cooking than Tuaine.

3.5.3 PREFIXES (3)

The members of this class are those prefixes which are always found attached immediately to the base. They are mutually exclusive with each other, but they all allow monomoraic or bimoraic reduplication (R- and RR-) (3.5.5.2, 3.5.4). Some of the members of this class allow prefixation by *waka-*.

3.5.3.1 *wia-* 'desiderative'

Wia- is an unproductive morpheme meaning 'have a bodily need'. It precedes a handful of verbs in common desiderative expressions of physical processes. When used to derive verbs it always occurs in forms suffixed by *-a* (284, 285). This suffix may have been historically related to the transitive suffix *-Cia*, but synchronically it differs from it morphologically in the form of the transitive suffix each verb takes (e.g. *kaina* 'eat-Cia' < *kai* 'eat').

| | | | |
|--------|----------|----------|------------------|
| kai | eat | wiakaia | hungry |
| inu | drink | wiainua | thirsty |
| moe | sleep | wiamoea | tired |
| mimi | urinate | wiamimia | need to urinate |
| titiko | defecate | wiatikoa | need to defecate |

- (284) Na **wiakaia** au, ka wano au ulu ni kai mā aku.
 T want-eat-a I T go I search A food for I
[Because] I'm hungry, I'll go and look for some food to eat.
- (285) Ia Mea ko **wiamimia** wua nō te wolo o tana inunga i te pia.
 A Mea T want-urinate-a just because A big P his drink-Nom Acc A beer
Mea is always needing to urinate because he drank so much beer.

Forms without the suffix *-a* are used as nouns: 'hunger', 'thirst', 'tiredness', 'urgency'.

- (286) Nō toku **wiamoe**...
 because my want-sleep
Because I was tired...
- (287) Kamuloa au kino i te **wiakai** nō tēlā kiai au na kaikai i te tāyao nei.
 really I bad By A want-eat because Neg I T RR-eat L A morning this
I am really hungry because I didn't have any breakfast.

Certain words appear to have *wia-* as a bound morpheme with no corresponding base form, or exhibiting idiosyncratic semantic change from the possible base.

| | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------|------|--------|
| wiaeia | desire many partners | *eia | |
| wiaola | seek to win by trickery | ola | live |
| wiavave | boastful on account of strength | vave | strong |

Monomoraic reduplication ignores the suffix *-a* and reduplicates the penultimate mora of the base:

| | | |
|---------|-----------|--------|
| wiakaia | wiakakaia | hungry |
| wiamoea | wiamomoea | sleepy |

3.5.3.2 *tau-* 'surface'

Tau- commonly occurs with reduplicated roots which refer to the design or texture of a surface.

| | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|----------|---------------------------|
| taukinokino | rough surface | kino | bad |
| taukoyikoyi | checked, striped | koyi | mark |
| taumangamanga | weirdly shaped (of tree) | manga | fork |
| tauoyooyo | uneven surface | oyo | protruberant |
| taupokopoko | muscular, undulating (of sea) | pōpoko | wrestle |
| taupūpū | full of holes | pū | hole |
| taupulepule | patterned unlined design, spotted | pulepule | cowrie shell ⁹ |
| tautalatala | rough and spiny surface | tala | spine |
| tauvokovoko | bumpy surface, full of hollows | vovoko | hollowed |
| tauwatuwatu | stony surface | watu | stone |

The following words support the assignment of *waka-* to a class on its own, since it may precede *tau-*:

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| wakatautotokonga | act of quarrelling |
| wakatauyani | attract one's attention |
| wakatautonu | correct, straighten |

3.5.3.3 *taka-* ‘spin, circular motion’

There are a few instances of this prefix in Pukapukan meaning ‘in a circular motion’, but very few of these forms have free bases.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| taka | spin spontaneously (e.g. of the Earth), change wind direction |
| takalawi | throw someone down in a twisting, slipping, and pushing movement (<i>*lawi</i>) |
| takalopa | twisted, deformed in shape (<i>*lopa</i>) |
| takanimonimo | dizzy, have a whirling head (< <i>ninimo</i> ‘swirl around’) |
| takapelu | twist, sprain a joint (<i>pepelu</i> ancient word in chants) |
| takapini | encircle, go around (<i>*pini</i>) |
| takaponapona | knotted (of string, fishing line) (<i>*pona</i>) |
| takavili | turn or twist (eg pick coconuts, roll tobacco) (<i>vivili</i> ‘shiver’) |
| takawiti | wriggle free, squirm, twist about (<i>witi</i> ‘upset by verbal abuse’) |

Taka- may be prefixed to reduplicated bases.

| | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|
| takavilivili | turn, twist |
| takawitiwiti | twist, squirm (eg. due to pain) |

3.5.3.4 *tā-* ‘add N to’

This prefix has several meanings. Firstly, *tā-* forms transitive verbs from nouns or stative verbs meaning: ‘add N to’, ‘make into that state’. These verbs are all in the semantic domain of food preparation. ‘N’ may denote a spice, flavouring, powder or liquid. Stative verbs denote flavouring or consistency.

| | | | |
|----------------------|---|--------|---------------|
| tāmiti | add salt to | miti | salt |
| tātuka | add sugar to | tuka | sugar |
| tālolo ¹⁰ | add <i>lolo</i> (coconut cream) to food | lolo | coconut cream |
| tāvai | mix, stir (with water) | vai | water [CIM] |
| tākale | add curry powder to | kale | curry |
| tālēmene | add lemon juice to | lēmene | lemon |
| tāōniani | add chopped up onions to | ōniani | onion |
| tāpupulu | thicken | pupulu | thick |
| tāvene | sweeten | vene | sweet |

- (288) **Tākale** ake te pāni moa nā ke kakala, ke kainga lelei.
 add.curry.to Dir A pot chicken there C sweet.smelling C eat-Nom good
Add curry powder to that pot of chicken so it smells nice and so it's nice to eat.

Tā- also denotes repetition of an activity. It may modify distributive numerals.

| | | | |
|------------|-------------------------|------|--------|
| tāwakilua | repeat | lua | two |
| tāwakitolu | repeat three times | tolu | three |
| tāniko | repeat, go around again | niko | return |

- (289) Na **tāwakilua** tātou e te ĩmene i te ĩmene.
 T pre-pre-two we C sing Acc A song
We repeated singing the song.

A small group of words which appear to contain the prefix *tā-* are in the semantic domain of verbal abuse, but again there are few free bases:

| | |
|------------|--|
| tāpepe | blame, accuse |
| tāwīwī | abuse a person verbally |
| tāyī | blame, accuse |
| tāivaiva | cheeky |
| tākinokino | spoil, interfere, speak badly of (< <i>kino</i> 'bad') |

3.5.3.5 *ma-*, *nga-*, *pa-* 'spontaneous'

There are three reflexes of the PPn spontaneity prefix *Ca-* in PUK: *ma-*, *nga-* and *pa-*. They occur in complementary distribution, occurring with different verbal bases. They are subject to a morphophonemic rule which lengthens the vowel in reduplicated forms (see 2.6.1).

| | | | |
|---------|------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| lilingi | pour out | malingi | spilled |
| | | mālilingi | spilled (PI patient) |
| | | mālingilingi | spilled frequently |
| lue | move aside | ngalue | sway |
| | | ngālulue | sway (PI patient) |
| | | ngāluelue | swaying from side to side |
| yeke | slide | payeke | slip |
| | | pāyeyeke | slip (PI patient) |
| | | pāyekeyeke | slippery |

A few unreduplicated forms also have a long vowel in the prefix:

| | | | |
|-----|------------|-----------|---|
| yae | tear apart | ngāyae | have a tear |
| | | ngāyayae | torn (PI) |
| | | ngāyaeyae | ragged, torn in small pieces, easily shredded |

(a) Approximately 50 verbs contain the prefix *ma-*, including the following:

| | | | |
|---------|-------------|---------|---------------------------|
| koyi | make a mark | makoyi | have a scratch |
| lalanga | uproot | malanga | uprooted |
| loloku | bend | maloku | bend under weight |
| tatala | untie | matala | come loose, untangle |
| unu | pull out | maunu | become detached, pull out |
| wowola | open out | mawola | spread out |
| wuwuke | open | mawuke | left open |

Some of the derived forms are not semantically transparent and have specialised meanings:

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------|---------------------------|
| kini | pinch | makini | feel a stinging sensation |
| mulu | break off, snap | mamulu | slip out of one's grasp |
| taka | alone, separate | mataka | come out, be unstuck |
| wuli | turn | mawuli | capsize |

About a third of the verbs which appear to be prefixed by *ma-* do not have cognate bases, although some of these appear to be semantically compatible with agentless events and occur with patient subjects.

| | | |
|------------|----------------------------|-------|
| makaka | bend backwards | *kaka |
| mākalakala | sting after being hit | *kala |
| makulu | fall (of fruit off a tree) | *kulu |
| malona | stretch (of elastic) | *lona |
| manene | bulge | *nene |

(b) A smaller group of verbs numbering less than 20 are prefixed by *nga-*.

| | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| kopi | fold | ngakopi | dented |
| | | ngākopikopi | crumpled |
| lue | move to the side | ngalue | sway |
| vayi | hit | ngavayi | broken, hatch (of eggs) |
| yae | tear | ngāyae | torn |

Some of the derivations are not semantically transparent:

| | | | |
|--------|------------------|---------|----------------------------------|
| lepeti | tear down | ngalepe | broken |
| olo | ride (a bicycle) | ngaolo | slide down, slip off |
| tele | sail | ngatele | shift out of place, slide around |

Many of the verbs which appear to be prefixed by *nga-* do not have identifiable bases. In addition to those which denote spontaneous activities and take patient subjects, it is interesting to note that several of the verbs in this category are in the semantic domain of breaking, tearing and making noises. It is possible that these are derived from a separate prefix *nga-*.

| | | | |
|---------|-------------|------------------------------------|-------|
| ngalewe | ngālewelewe | weak, loose, tattered, flabby | *lewe |
| ngatata | ngātatatata | make a noise by shifting something | *tata |
| ngatutu | ngātutututu | make a noise by pounding | *tutu |
| ngawā | ngāwāwā | broken, cracked | *wā |

(c) *Pa-* is quite restricted and occurs only in a handful of words to derive verbs which denote spontaneous or agentless events. However, with the exception of *koti* ‘cut’, all of the base verbs are intransitive verbs, not transitive. *Koti* ‘cut’ is a departure from the pattern in that the prefix contains a long vowel and it allows derivation of a transitive verb.

| | | | |
|----------|--------------|---------|---|
| yeke | slide, slip | payeke | slip |
| niniwi | unsteady | paniwi | twist out of control |
| ngungulu | rumble, roar | pangulu | drop, thud, fall heavily |
| koti | cut | pākoti | vi. cut (grass, hair), vt. cut with a blade, n. scissors |

Most of the derivations which appear to be prefixed by *pa-* contain bound roots or are semantically opaque. It is also interesting to note the verb *panenu*, meaning ‘happen by chance, accidentally’. Several of these words are euphemisms for dying.

| | | |
|--------|----------------|------------------------|
| *ngole | pangole(ngole) | bald |
| *niki | paniki(niki) | skim, glide over water |

| | | | |
|------|----------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| kili | skin | pākilikili | bald |
| nenu | confused | panenu | by chance, accidentally |
| lewa | die | palewe ~ palewa | die (euphemism) |
| yako | straight | payako | lie straight, die (euphemism) |

Where they occur regularly, the prefixes *ma-*, *nga-* and *pa-* are prefixes which typically derive intransitive verbs with patient subjects from transitive verbs which have agent subjects, although there are a few derivations from intransitive bases including the following:

| | | | |
|------|------------------|--------|-------------------------------|
| taka | alone, separate | mataka | come out, unstuck |
| vā | have a gap | mavava | become unattached, come apart |
| lue | move to the side | ngalue | sway |
| yeke | slide, flow | payeke | slip |

The agent is not usually referred to and the events or activities denoted by the verb often occur spontaneously or accidentally. Although these prefixes have often been called ‘stativisers’ (for example Elbert and Pukui 1979:71-72) and the derived verbs ‘stative verbs’ (for example Pawley 1972:38-39,45), Hooper (1982:116-120) points out that verbs that have been derived in this way are in fact change-of-state verbs which can function in both event and state contexts and are characterised by defective agency, not stative aspect.

The unprefixed stems have agents as their subjects:

- (290) Ka kake au waki i te kāuwi nei.
 T climb I break Acc A pandanus.key this
I'll climb up and break off this pandanus bunch.
- (291) Auwē koe e yae i nā launiu o te pulapula nā.
 Neg.Imp you T tear Acc A leaf-coconut P A young.tree that
Don't tear the leaves of that young coconut tree.

On the other hand, the prefixed forms have the patient as subject and the agent is usually not mentioned:¹¹

- (292) Te lā o te wala nei, na mawaki.
 A branch P A pandanus this T Pre-break
This pandanus branch has broken.
- (293) Tō pilipōu nā, na ngāyae te vae.
 P pants there T Pre-tear A leg
The leg of your pants is torn.
- (294) Aku puka nei na ngāyaeyae nā ūwi.
 my.Pl book here T Pre-RR-tear A cover
The covers of my books are torn to pieces.
- (295) Tau pakete nā kamuloa mālingilingi te yua ki vao.
 your bucket there really Pre-RR-pour A water G outside
The water in your bucket keeps spilling out.

Verbs formed in this way may be used statively; they may occur in verbal (296, 297, 298) or attributive predicates (299), denoting a state (296, 297) or a characteristic (298, 299) of the subject.

- (296) Ko **mawola** te ngūtupa.
T Pre-open A door
The door is wide open.
- (297) Ke **mawuke** te pupuni o te piá, ka kaiāina nā moni i loto.
C Pre-open A lid P A box-Da T steal-Cia A money L inside
If the lid of the box is left open, the money inside will be stolen.
- (298) Nā pou nei ko **māwewela** wua i te ata.
A post here T Pre-RR-spread just By A shadow
These posts fall over easily for no reason at all.
- (299) Te niu nei i te **māwakiwaki** ke yoka.
A coconut this Pred Pre-RR-break C husk
The nuts of this tree are easy to husk.

They may also denote change of state:

- (300) Te takele o toku poti nei na **mavava** nā paina.
A keel P my boat here T Pre-gap A timber
The glued timber keel of my boat has come apart.

Although verbs prefixed in this way are often used statively, they are not inherently stative. They occur equally as commonly in a dynamic sense. They de-emphasise the agency of the action and usually imply that no human agent was the cause, that the action occurred spontaneously, of its own volition, or by some non-volitional cause or natural phenomenon. They often carry a resultative sense, denoting that the action occurred as a result of a previous action.

- (301) Na tuki loa au e te ngalu, akatekatekaina, **māyīyī** oku tulivae i te akau.
T hit Int I Ag A wave caus-RR-roll-Cia Pre-RR-scrape my.PI knee L A reef
When the wave hit me, I was rolled over and over and my knees were skinned on the reef.
- (302) I taku lelenga ia, na talalī loa au i te lā o te lākau ia, **ngāyae** toku pona.
L my run-Nom Af T snag Int I Acc A branch P A tree Af Pre-tear my dress
When I was running, I got hooked on the branch of a tree and my dress tore.
- (303) I te motunga o te kōanga, **payeke** loa ma ona lima i te tino o te niu.
L A break-Nom P A climbing.rope Pre-slip Int and his.PI hand L A trunk P A coconut.tree
When the climbing rope broke, his hands slipped down the coconut trunk.

The cause of the change of state may be expressed by an adverbial clause of reason:

- (304) Na mawuke te pū **nō tei āngiina e te matangi**.
T Pre-open A door because blow-Cia Ag A wind
The door opened because the wind blew [it].
- (305) Na mavava te ivi i toku mulimuli **nō tei yinga au ki lalo**.
T Pre-gap A bone L my RR-behind because fall I G down
The vertebrae in my lower back was put out of joint because I fell down.
- (306) **Nō te ongo o te matangi**, mawuli loa tō lātou vaka.
because A hard P A wind Pre-turn Int P they canoe
Because of the strength of the wind, their canoe capsized.

These verbs may also be used to indicate a change of state as a result of a deliberate action. However, the agency expressed in the first clause is not carried into the result clause. In the first sentence below (307), the resultant action was an accidental result of the ‘jerking’ which was intended to free the anchor, but not pull out the flounder’s eye. This is clear from the context of the story, since the culprit then runs away to hide. The second sentence (308) is harder to explain, but it seems that while the freeing of the anchor was a result of a deliberate act, it was not brought into effect by the agent’s volition alone, but by some other natural factor ceasing to secure the anchor.

(307) Na tongi loa i te mata o te ali ia, **maunu** te mata o te ali ia ki lunga.
 T jerk Int L A eye P A flounder Af pull.out A eye P A flounder Af G up
[He] jerked at the eye of the flounder and it pulled right out. (KS:5:5)

(308) Wutiwuti ai te tau ēku ē, ngalo ki te yolo, **matala**.
 RR-pull Pro A anchor Ag-me Dur as.far.as G A edge.of.reef loose
*I pulled the anchor [rope] until [the boat had come] right up to the edge of the reef,
 and it came loose.* (PS:2:6)

Compare the prefixed form of the verb denoting spontaneous action (309) with the unprefixed form of the verb (310) used to denote intentional agency:

(309) I taku yaelenga ia, **mawuke** loa te pū.
 L my walk-Nom Af Pre-open Int A door
As I walked past, the door opened [of its own accord].

(310) Wano **yuyuke** mai te pū.
 * Wano mawuke mai te pū.
 go R-open Dir A door
Go and open the door for me.

A resultative sense is also found in sentences where the first clause contains the transitive base verb, and the prefixed form is found in the complement marked by *ke* which denotes the purpose or result of the action in the main clause. In such sentences volitional agency is clearly a feature of the main clause, but the prefixed forms of the verb in the complement focus on the result, not the agency.

(311) Ka ūnu au i te naelo ki te āmala ke **maunu**.
 T pull.out I Acc A nail Ins A hammer C pull.out
I will pull up the nail with a hammer to get it out.

(312) Ka yala au i te kongā na wiwi o te taula nei ke **matala**.
 T undo I Acc A place T tangle P A rope this C Pre-loose
I will undo the part of this rope that is tangled to get it free again.

Prefixed verbs of this type are also used to denote processes and activities that occur spontaneously. They often occur with the aspect marker *koa* to refer to the onset of a process.

(313) Te pānga a Lai e wai koa **matala**.
 A mat P Lai T make T Pre-loose
The mat that Lai is making, [the weaving] is coming loose.

(314) Onoono atu lātou, koa **mawola** lua ngali-pāyua.
 look Dir they T Pre-open two shell-clam
As they looked, the two clam shells started to open. (MM:L1:11)

- (315) Nā wua moa nei, e yē loaina atu koa ngāvavayi.
 A egg chicken here T Neg long-Cia Dir T R-hatch
It won't be long before these eggs hatch.

Verbs formed by prefixation in this way usually occur with no agent, but like other intransitive verbs, they allow agents or causes which are marked obliquely by *i*. The meaning expressed is often 'able to do X'.

- (316) Ka maneke ia koe te lākau tongi nā?
 T shift By-A you A tree big that
Can you shift that big log? [Are you strong enough?]

Usually the causes, however, are not human, but a non-agentive activity, state or object:

- (317) Nā pou nei ko māwewela wua i te ata.
 A post here T Pre-R-spread just By A shadow
These posts fall over easily for no reason at all.
- (318) Toku tulivae nei na mayī i toku yinganga ki lalo.
 my knee here T Pre-scrape L/By my fall-Nom G down
I scraped my knee when I fell over.

3.5.4 BIMORAIC REDUPLICATION 'durative'

Reduplication in Polynesian languages has usually been discussed using the dichotomy 'complete' (or 'full') versus 'partial' (e.g. Biggs 1969, Besnier 2000). The terms 'initial' versus 'final' were introduced by Bauer (1981) to refer to reduplication of morae in Māori. The proposed rules adequately account for bimoraic roots but not for all the patterns of reduplication for three mora stems. More recently, Harlow (1991) discussed four different mora-defined rules to account for the patterns in Māori, the most productive of which reduplicates all three morae in a word. I have chosen the terms 'bimoraic' versus 'monomoraic' (3.5.5.2) to refer to rules which are mora-based. The functions of these two types of reduplication are distinct in Pukapukan which is why they have been discussed in separate sections. Rather than postulate a number of different rules, I have tried to account for the facts in the most economical way, with a single rule of reduplication that is governed by a bimoraic principle under which lengthening occurs.

Bimoraic reduplication of a verb may be preceded by the prefix *waka-* and many other prefixes discussed in section 3.5.3. The final two morae of a word are reduplicated. In disyllabic bases, this is manifest as total reduplication of the word.

| | | |
|-------|------------|-------|
| amo | amoamo | carry |
| ngoto | ngotongoto | sink |

Bases consisting of three or more morae reduplicate only the final two morae and there is accompanying lengthening of the first vowel. This rule supports the paired morae principle according to which words tend towards an even number of morae (see 2.6.3).

| | | |
|---------|-------------|-----------------------|
| yaele | yāeleele | walk |
| taomi | tāomiomi | press down |
| ngatutu | ngātutututu | make a pounding noise |
| kokī | kōkīkī | squeak |

| | | |
|--------|------------|-------------|
| tūkē | tūkēkē | different |
| āvei | āveivei | hook up |
| yuvale | yūvalevale | spit |
| manako | mānakonako | think about |

Verbs with a monomoraic prefix, likewise lengthen the first vowel when reduplicated, but a bimoraic prefix is ignored.

| | | |
|------------|-----------------|------------|
| ma-waki | mā-wakiwaki | broken |
| nga-kopi | ngā-kopikopi | crumpled |
| pa-yeke | pā-yekeyeke | slippery |
| tā-niko | tā-nikoniko | repeat |
| tau-taka | tau-takataka | changeable |
| taka-witi | taka-witiwiti | squirm |
| waka-longo | waka-longolongo | listen |

Suffixes are ignored and only the final two morae of the base are reduplicated.

| | | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|
| ngako-a | ngakongako-a | full of fat |
| valu-a | valuvalu-a | scraped |
| manatu-nga | mānatunatu-nga | thinking |

Compounds exist where either the first or the second morpheme is reduplicated, but the meanings of some of these words are not semantically predictable from their component parts. The final word below, *yinukāululelule*, exhibits lengthening of the first vowel of the second morpheme accompanying the reduplication.

| | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|--|
| pakapakaelo | very dry | (< paka 'dry' + elo 'stink') |
| taopakapaka | use very obscene language | (< tao 'swear' + paka 'dry') |
| yinukāululelule | very good, perfect | (< yinu 'oil' + kalule 'perfect', 'oily taro or pulaka pudding') |

There are very few exceptions to the reduplication rule: *pakakina* > *pakapakakina* 'clap loudly' treats the final two syllables as a suffix; *pikikā* > *pikipikikā* 'lying' (< CIM) reduplicates the first two morae as does *yapai* > *yapayapai* 'lift high'. Harlow (1991) postulates a rule of reduplication of the first two morae in a word to account for this pattern in Māori. This pattern is extremely rare in Pukapukan and does not warrant a separate rule.¹²

Bimoraic reduplication (glossed RR-) denotes several overlapping functions:

1. Extended duration through time; do something continuously:

- (319) **Ikaika** koe wakalelei ke mumula te awi.
 RR-rub you properly C burn A fire
Keep rubbing [the sticks] together properly until the fire begins to burn.
- (320) Auwē **ngungungungu** ō matikuku.
 Neg.Imp-T RR-bite P fingernail
Don't keep on biting your nails.

Reduplication is used in this sense to describe things with continuous perpetual motion:

- (321) Te pela nei kamuloa kōvilivili i te matangi.
 A propeller here really RR-spin By A wind
This [toy] propeller is really spinning fast in the wind.

2. Do something repeatedly or frequently:

| | | | |
|------|------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| koti | cut with a single blow | kotikoti | cut repeatedly with chopping action |
| moto | punch once | motomoto | punch again and again |
| lapa | flash once | lapalapa | keep flashing on and off |

Iterative aspect is denoted by reduplication. This is evidenced well by the following example (322) which implies ‘repeatedly carrying and resting in short bursts’.

- (322) Ko amoamo au i toku vaka ki tai.
 T RR-carry I Acc my canoe G sea
I am carrying my canoe to the sea.

3. Intensifier:

Often the verb expresses a more intensive meaning when reduplicated.

| | | | |
|---------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|
| kokī | squeak | kōkīkī | squeak a lot |
| ngaki | try | ngakingaki | try hard |
| mayangi | light weight | māyangiyangi | very light in weight |
| ngakopi | dented | ngākopikopi | crumpled |

4. Plural action:

Plural action or multiple events may be implied by reduplication. This semantic domain often overlaps with (2) and (3) above. However, it is noticeable that the plurality of the action is not related to plural agency as is commonly the case with monomoraic reduplication.

| | | | |
|---------|---------|-------------|--------------------------|
| āvei | hook up | āveivei | many things hooked up |
| ngavayi | cracked | ngāvayivayi | broken many times |
| ngāyae | torn | ngāyaeyae | shredded, torn to pieces |

- (323) Te pou nā, kamuloa āveivei wua te kākau.
 A pole there really RR-hang.up just A clothes
That pole has many clothes hanging on it.

5. Do something easily:

In stative predicates, or when a verb is used attributively modifying a noun, the reduplicated form commonly implies that the action could easily happen or be potentially easy.

| | | | |
|--------|-------|------------|----------------|
| ngalo | lose | ngalongalo | forget easily |
| ngoto | sink | ngotongoto | liable to sink |
| mawaki | break | māwakiwaki | easily broken |

- (324) Te niu nei i te **māwakiwaki** ke yoka.
 A coconut this Prd RR-break C husk
The nuts of this coconut tree are easy to husk.
- (325) Oku nio nei kamuloa **ngāluelue**.
 my.Pl teeth here really RR-sway
My teeth are really loose [easy to wiggle].

6. Stative bases may be attenuative when reduplicated:

| | | | |
|--------|------|------------|---------------|
| anu | cold | anuanu | cool |
| makeke | hard | mākekekeke | slightly hard |
| uyi | dark | uyiuyi | darkish |
| venu | soft | venuvenu | quite soft |

7. Nouns as bases may derive stative verbs when reduplicated, acquiring a similar meaning to those derived from a noun suffixed by *-a* 'full of' (see 3.9.2).

| | | | |
|-------|---------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| ngalu | wave | ngalungalu | rough (weather) |
| lolo | coconut cream | lolololo | full of coconut cream |
| manga | fork, branch | mangamanga | having many branches |
| watu | stone | tauwatuwatu | stony, rough |

Other reduplicated forms are not always derived from a synchronically attested nonreduplicated base, but the root from which the reduplicated form is derived only exists in another reduplicated form.

| | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|---------|----------------------------|----------|
| lingilingi | pour, sprinkle | lilingi | pour out, spill | (*lingi) |
| konokono | expel by grunting | kokono | grunt | (*kono) |
| konekone | colourfully patterned | kokone | variegated colour, striped | (*kone) |

A few verbal forms which appear to be reduplicated do not have identifiable bases or other reduplicated forms.

| | |
|---------------|------------------|
| kulukulu | rinse (of mouth) |
| limalima | hurry |
| melemelekakia | surprised |

3.5.5 PLURAL PREFIXES

Certain verbs show morphological agreement with a plural subject or with one of the main arguments of the verb (7.7.1). The base may be inflected by prefixation (3.5.5.1), monomoraic reduplication (3.5.5.2) or by suppletive change (3.5.5.3).

The concept of plurality is semantically based. The noun phrase which triggers the agreement on the verb is typically, but not necessarily, syntactically plural:

- (326) Koa wowolo **aku punua moa nei**.
 T Pl-big my.Pl young chicken here
My chickens are getting big.

The subject noun phrase may be syntactically singular but semantically plural. Collective nouns which usually take the singular article normally take a verb inflected for plurality.

- (327) **Te wuānga tama a Wuatai** i te wowolo.
A offspring (Pl) child P Wuatai Prd Pl-big
Wuatai's children are big [in size].
- (328) Na welele **te lāngai toloa** ki Kō.
T Pl-fly A flock duck G Kō
The flock of wild ducks flew off to Kō
- (329) Onoono lā nā tūpele i **te kau** e welele mai.
look Int A old.men Acc A people T Pl-run Dir
The old men looked at the people who were running towards them.

3.5.5.1 *we-* 'plural'

Some verbs are inflected for plurality of the subject by the prefixation of *we-*. They number less than 30 and include verbs from the semantic domain of movement and bodily orientation among others.

A representative list of such verbs follows:¹³

| | | |
|-------|---------|---------------------------|
| kake | wekake | climb |
| lele | welele | run |
| pae | wepae | rise up, float |
| tangi | wetangi | cry |
| tau | wetau | perch |
| tele | wetele | sail (Pl; archaic form) |
| tike | wetike | naked |
| tō | wetō | fall |
| tū | wetū | stand |
| tupu | wetupu | grow |
| | weolo | the same as |
| | wekiki | the same as ¹⁴ |

Cognates of this prefix in other Polynesian languages often have reciprocal meanings but this is not the case in Pukapukan. Only a few words reflect a possible reciprocal meaning for the prefix, but these forms do not have free unprefixated bases. One archaic word *weāyongi* 'greet, kiss (Pl subject)' does have an existing base *yongi* (Sg), *yōyongi* (Pl) 'greet, kiss' but is irregular in its derivation.

| | |
|---------|-----------------|
| wekiki | the same as |
| weolo | the same as |
| welāvei | meet |
| wengatu | greet (archaic) |

3.5.5.2 Monomoraic Reduplication (R-) 'plural'

Monomoraic reduplication is used to indicate verbal agreement (7.7.1). A large class of stative and intransitive verbs is inflected for plurality by reduplicating the penultimate mora (C)V and prefixing it to the mora that is reduplicated.

| | | | |
|------------------|--|--|--|
| CVV | moe loa kī pā | momoe loloa kikī papā | sleep long full agree, consent |
| VCV | alo ola uli | ālo ōla ūli | paddle live dark |
| CVCV | wolo ngalo mate moto tangi | wowolo ngangalo mamate momoto tatangi | big lost die unripe, green make a sound |
| (C)V(C)(V)CV(C)V | taumaya matamua tūkē wītoki nēneva mūlale pikikā takayala | taumamaya matamumua tūkekē wītotoki nēneneva mūlalale pikikakā takayayala | feast cheeky different bold, cheeky stupid an idiot lying have mistakes |

In suffixed forms, the penultimate reduplication rule applies only to the base and the suffix is ignored:¹⁵

| | | |
|----------|------------|--------|
| wiakai-a | wiakakai-a | hungry |
| wiamoe-a | wiamomoe-a | sleepy |

The only exceptions to this rule seem to be words of the shape CVV in which the first mora is reduplicated: *wāu* > *wowāu* 'new'.

Some disyllabic intransitive verbs exhibit lengthening of the first vowel accompanying monomoraic reduplication.

| | | |
|-------|---------|--------|
| kata | kākata | laugh |
| niko | nīniko | return |
| luku | lūluku | dive |
| yinga | yīyinga | fall |

In three mora words of syllable shape (C)V(C)V(C)V, including forms with a monomoraic prefix, the first vowel is lengthened in addition to the reduplication.¹⁶

| | | |
|----------|------------|-------------|
| ma-waki | mā-wawaki | broken |
| nga-lepe | ngā-lelepe | broken |
| iloa | īlooa | know |
| kayā | kāyayā | get nothing |
| malie | mālilie | sweet |
| malū | mālulū | weak |
| mataku | mātataku | fear |

Bimoraic prefixes and suffixes are ignored:

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| waka-loa | waka-loloa | lengthen |
| waka-aloa | waka-āloa | feel pity |
| wia-kai-a | wia-kakai-a | hungry |

A few verbs do not adhere strictly to the pattern of monomoraic reduplication:¹⁷

| | | |
|---------|-------------------------|-----------|
| nō | nōnō | sit, stay |
| malūeka | mālulūeka ¹⁸ | weak |
| yaele | yāēle ~ yāele | walk |

These words should become *nonō*, *mālūēka* and *yāēle* respectively.

The class of verbs which allow this form of inflection is much larger than the class allowing *we-* as a prefix. The majority of verbs in this class are intransitive,¹⁹ and most stative verbs are reduplicated in this manner, but there are also many intransitive verbs which do not take any inflection for plurality; for instance: *ala* ‘wake’, *tano* ‘correct’. Verbs which are already reduplicated forms in the singular do not reduplicate further:²⁰ *totolo* ‘crawl’ (Sg, Pl), *tutule* ‘skinny’ (Sg, Pl), *papala* ‘rotten’ (Sg, Pl), *inoinoa* ‘full of maggots’ (Sg, Pl).

Verbs which allow the plural prefix *we-* are not mutually incompatible with monomoraic reduplication. For verbs which reflect both types of plurals there is often a semantic distinction between them. Plurals formed by prefixation by *we-* may indicate a change in bodily orientation, whereas the plurals formed by reduplication indicate plural subjects in the state of that bodily orientation.

| | |
|-------|--|
| tū | stand, stand from a sitting position |
| wetū | stand from a sitting position (Pl) |
| tutū | standing, upright (Pl) |
| tau | perch, land, be in a perching position, landed |
| wetau | perch, coming to land (from flying) (Pl) |
| tatau | in perching position, sitting on a branch (Pl) |

Some verbs make a distinction between human versus non-human subjects in their choice of plural form, but the distinction is not always consistent.

| | |
|---------|---|
| tangi | cry, sound |
| wetangi | cry (Pl) (human) |
| tatangi | sound (Pl) (non-human) |
| tū | standing, stand from a sitting position |
| wetū | stand up (Pl) (of humans) |
| tutū | standing (Pl) (of humans and non-humans eg. plants) |
| totolo | crawl (Sg, Pl) (of babies, also animals and fish) |
| wetolo | crawl (Pl) (of crabs, maggots) |

In addition, forms prefixed by *we-* also allow monomoraic reduplication denoting plurality of the event, or rather emphasising the individuality of each of the participants. Unreduplicated forms indicate that the

activity or change in bodily orientation occurs for plural subjects as a group, whereas reduplicated forms indicate that the event occurs for each individual one after another, or at different times or in different directions. Reduplication is accompanied by lengthening of the vowel of the prefix.

| | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|----------|---|
| wepae | float as a group | wēpapae | float in different directions |
| wetō | fall as a group | wētōtō | fall separately, one after another |
| wetū | stand together | wētūtū | stand up at different times |
| wetuki | rush in a crowd | wētutuki | rush away individually |
| wetupu | grow (e.g. of crop growing together) | wētutupu | grow at different rates, different types of plant, growing all over the place |

A few verbs allow lengthening of the first vowel without reduplication: *welele* ~ *wālele* ‘run, fly’; *wekake* ~ *wēkake* ‘climb’ to emphasise individuality in the performance of the action.²¹

Verbs prefixed by *we-* also allow bimoraic reduplication to indicate repeated occurrences or continuous action.

wekake wēkakekake keep climbing

- (330) Na **wekake** mātou ki lunga o nā lākau.
 T Pl-climb we G on P A tree
We all climbed the trees together.
- (331) Nā **wēkakekake** mātou ki lunga o nā lākau.
 T Pl-RR-climb we G on P A tree
We were all climbing [up and down] the trees.

Monomoraic reduplication is also used for transitive verbs in syntactically conditioned environments; for instance, imperatives have a partially reduplicated form of the verb (332), while the unreduplicated base occurs in motion verb complements (333). Syntactically conditioned monomoraic reduplication does not imply plural agency.

- (332) **Wawaki** mai ake ni lau puapua mā aku.
 R-break Dir please A leaf tree.sp for me
Break me off some Guettardia leaves please.
- (333) Ka kake au **waki** i te kāuwi nei.
 T climb I break Acc A pandanus.key here
I'll climb up and break off this pandanus bunch.

3.5.5.3 Suppletive Change: ‘plural’

The third class of verbs is one which reflects suppletive change, having different stems for singular and plural forms of the verb. This is a closed, unproductive class comprising only a handful of members.

| | | |
|------|-------------|---------------------------|
| yau | lōmamai | come |
| wano | wō | go |
| | wōmamai | go |
| lewu | liliki | be small |
| tai | ni ~ yi | existential verb |
| kāe | kāni ~ kāyi | negative existential verb |

3.6 THE VERBAL BASE

The verbal base carries the lexical content of the verb. Verb classification is dependent on morphological and syntactic criteria, such as the suffixation of the verb and the marking of other clause level constituents. The internal classification of verbs is dealt with in section 7.6.

As in other Polynesian languages (cf. Bauer 1993:254, 1997:65, 73) there are no clearly defining lexical characteristics of the class of verbs, since many bases can occur in the nucleus of either the verb phrase or the noun phrase (e.g. 334, 335, 336) or as a modifier.

(334) I te vāia nā pūāpii ai au...
L A time T teach Pro I
At the time I was a teacher...

(335) Na pō te pō.
T night A night
Night has fallen.

(336) Na tītia au i te ayó. Aku tītia wōu nei i te mālama wua.
T glasses I L A yesterday my.Pl glasses new here Prd clear just
I got glasses yesterday. My new glasses are really clear.

This led Biggs (1973b:50ff) to deny the existence of traditional word classes in Māori and to propose instead the classes of ‘universals’ and ‘statives’, abandoning traditional labels such as ‘verb’. However neither of his classes form a homogeneous syntactic class (cf. Hooper 1982, Bauer 1997:73) and it appears that some syntactic processes in Polynesian languages do refer to traditional classes of nouns and verbs. The lexical class of verbs can be defined on the basis of a combination of structural and distributional factors.

A morphological criterion that distinguishes the class of nouns from verbs in Pukapukan is the nominalising suffix *-nga* (4.6). It is possible to attach this suffix to any verb, including neuter verbs, to derive a nominalised clause. It is not possible to attach it to a noun, although some nouns already contain the suffix through the process of derivation. However, verbs can nominalise without the suffix or without any changes in form, so the nominalising suffix is not a defining characteristic of nouns.

The *-Cia* suffix (3.9.3) can occur with several subclasses of verbs, including all transitive verbs, and it can be suffixed to certain intransitive verbs, even some which are derived from nouns. However it cannot occur with neuter verbs or intransitive motion verbs so it is not a defining characteristic of all verbs.

Co-occurrence with the tense-aspect markers can be used as a broad operational definition of a verb, except when it appears in a verb chain (3.7), however some of the special classes of verbs discussed below do not co-occur with all tense-aspect markers but only appear with *e* ‘non-specific’ tense-aspect marker. Some of these words do not function as full verbs in other respects (e.g. the negative verbs cannot be nominalised or be suffixed by *-Cia*). Auxiliary verbs such as *auwā* ‘probably’, *kamuloa* ‘really’ and *toitoi* ‘almost’ (10.2) never occur with any tense-aspect marker and yet they appear to function as verbs in some respects.

A verb must be able to occur with a noun phrase as its argument, although many clauses in natural discourse appear without any overt arguments (7.5.3).

The base may be a member of one of the following special classes of verb. These verbs are compatible with tense-aspect markers (3.1), and the postposed particles (5.1) but none of the other preverbal particles or prefixes. Numerals and interrogatives are compatible with numeral classifiers.

1. Cardinal Numerals:

Cardinal numerals may be preceded by the relative present tense marker *e*.

- (337) E wā awāniu.
 T four pair-coconut
There are four pairs of coconuts.

The numerals are commonly prefixed by numeral classifiers (see 4.3.2.2).

2. Interrogatives:

Interrogative words may occupy the nucleus of the verb phrase. These are: *wea* ‘what? how many? why?’, and *pēwea* ‘how?’.

- (a) *Wea* ‘what? how many? why?’

- (i) When preceded by a tense-aspect marker, *wea* is an interrogative verb meaning ‘do what?’.

- (338) Ka *wea* ia Pukapuka?
 T what A Pukapuka
What will Pukapuka do?
- (339) Ko yoka uto te wī tāngata, ko *wea* ia Wutu?
 T husk sprouting.nut A all people T what A Wutu
When everyone was husking sprouting nuts, what was Wutu doing? (W2:F2:3:7)
- (340) ...mē ka wō mātou, mē ka *wea*?
 Q T go.Pl we Q T what
...whether we will go or what?

Wea may be a transitive verb in a clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern:

- (341) Wō! Ka *wea* au ia Tāvita, ka maka.
 gosh T what I Acc-A Tāvita T leave
Gosh, what will I do with David, I’ll leave [him]. (P:S5:1)

There is also one example in the corpus of an ergatively marked agent with *wea*.

- (342) Nō tona totoko lā, totoko, totoko ē, Ka *wea* ai oki e tāua, eā?
 because his stubborn Int stubborn stubborn Dur T what Pro also Ag we.2 tag
Because he was so stubborn [about it], and carried on being stubborn, What else could I [lit. we two] do?
 (MK:S5:62)

Wea may be modified with postverbal particles:

- (343) **Wea** atu ai?
 what Dir Pro
And then what will happen?

(ii) *Wea* may be the head of a numeral predicate meaning ‘how many?’:

- (344) E **wea** yika o te tavake i te vāia nei?
 T how.many tail.feather P A tropic.bird L A time here
How many tail feathers does the tropic bird have nowadays? (W1:F2:8)

- (345) Toe **wea** niu i lunga?
 other how.many coconut L up
How many more nuts are left up there?

Wea ‘how many?’, like cardinal numerals, takes the numeral classifiers *toka-* and *tino-* when reference is to humans. It also takes other prefixes when referring to objects which normally are counted in classes using classifiers.

- (346) E **toka-wea** te kauliki na wō pai manini?
 T cls- how.many A children T go.Pl net fish.sp
How many children went to catch manini fish? (PP2:13:10)

(iii) *Wea* may also act as an interrogative verb of reason (see 9.1.5.1).

- (347) E **wea** ia Rōti na wano ai lā ngāuta ma te tangi?
 T what A Ross T go Pro via land and A cry
Why did Ross go [home] along the reef crying? (PP2:13:7)

- (348) E **wea** koe na yē uwi ai tō pilipōu nā?
 T what you T Neg take.off Pro your pants there
Why didn't you take off your pants?

(b) *Pēwea* functions as a stative verb meaning ‘in what state? how?’

- (349) Ko **pēwea** mai kōtou i Wale nā? Mē ko yinukalule, ke peia atu lāi.
 T how Dir you L Home there C T very.good T like-that Dir Int
How are you on Pukapuka now? If you are well, may you continue to be so. (TM:2:3)

- (350) Na **pēwea** te tununga o nā wāwā nā?
 T how A cook-Nom P A taro there
How did the cooking of that taro turn out?

Pēwea...ai denotes ‘how can X be done?’ The subject of *pēwea* may be a nominalised clause.

- (351) Ko **pēwea** ai tō lātou tutupunga?
 T how Pro P they RR-grow-Nom
How do they grow? (KM:PY1:5)

- (352) Ka **pēwea** te Atua e yanga ai lā loto o koe?
 T how A God T work Pro through inside P you
How could God work through you? (KM:S10:1:4)

Pēwea is also used adverbially and attributively (see 9.1.5.2).

3. Existential Verbs:

The existential verbs and the negative existential verbs occupy the nucleus of the verb phrase (3.1.3, 8.4). While the positive existential verbs are marked by the non-specific tense marker *e*, the negative existential verbs are portmanteau forms incorporating the tense and the negative particles into their form.

4. Negatives:

The negative past tense marker *kiai* (8.2.1) and the negative imperative markers (8.2.2) as well as certain auxiliary verbs (10.2) may also function as verbs.

3.7 VERB CHAINS

Serial verbs or verb chains are well attested in Oceanic languages (e.g. Foley and Olson 1985). In Polynesian languages strings of certain verbs resemble verb chains in some respects (Hooper 1993:239, Besnier 2000:538-539), but whether or not they are in fact verb chains is open to question. Bauer (1993:480) thinks they are best regarded as compound verbs in Māori.

In Pukapukan, strings of two verbs are found with a single tense-aspect marker. Some of the strings are semantically transparent collocations (e.g. *moe tū* 'sleep on one's feet' [lit. 'sleep standing']; *tui lele* 'make a running tackle' < *tui* 'tackle in wrestling', *lele* 'run'), while others are more clearly compound verbs since their meaning is not semantically transparent from the component parts (e.g. *tolomuyu* 'whisper' < *tolo* 'push' *muyu* 'gossip, chat'; *yauleka* 'tame' < *yau* 'come', *leka* 'nice'). A continuum seems to exist with more clear-cut cases of verb chains at one end of the continuum and compound verbs comprising two verbs at the other. At the far end of the spectrum are marginal compounds in which only one of the base verbs occurs in a free form (e.g. *naumate* 'persevere, be patient' < *nanau* 'persist' (< **nau*), *mate* 'dead').

For a verb chain to exist, both of the parts must be independently usable as verbs, but the meaning of the chain is not necessarily totally predictable since in combination the verbs may acquire a new meaning. The use of one verb to modify another verb falls into this category but the second verb has often been analysed as an adverbial in Polynesian grammars. In discussing the existence of serial verbs in Tuvaluan, Besnier (2000:538) notes that the most dynamic verb usually comes first in the chain while the second denotes a more backgrounded, atelic or continuous situation. Examples of this type in Pukapukan follow. The second verb in chains of this type is usually intransitive or stative. The first sentence (353) shows both verbs of the chain *talatala vave* 'speak fast' acting independently as a verb or nominalised verb in the second clause.

- (353) Auyē koe e talatala vave, ko vave loa au talatala-nga nā.
 Neg.Imp you T speak fast T fast Int your speak-Nom there
Don't speak quickly, you are speaking too quickly [lit. your speaking is too fast]. (KM:WK:7:8)

In chains where the second verb is a stative verb, its meaning is not always semantically transparent, for instance *lelei* 'good' and *kino* 'bad' are often used as adverbials of degree:

- (354) Auwae maka e tangata, ke **pau lelei** o tātou ingoa ki tā tātou kauwanga tangata nei.
 Neg.Imp leave A person C finish good P we name G P we count-Nom people here
Don't leave anyone out, so that all the names are completely [included] in our census. (V80:3:1)
- (355) Pī pē mō nā yanga mai mai te vāiá, auwā na **lelei kino** atu.
 if def maybe T work Dir from A time-Da probably T good bad Dir
If only [we] had been working [on that] since the past, probably it would have improved. (PS:6:2)

Verbs in a chain share the same tense-aspect marker and nothing can intervene between them. Thus postposed modifiers (3.11) follow the chain:

- (356) Ko **moe wowowowo** wua.
 T sleep rouse just
[He] just sleeps fitfully.
- (357) Ko **moe tū** wua.
 T sleep stand just
[He] is asleep on his feet.
- (358) **Lē akawōu** oki te tīmi wā.
 win again also A team four
Team Four won again.

The structure of a verb chain is that of a single clause. The following sentence illustrates that the clause has a single tense-aspect marker, a negative particle before the verb chain and subject noun phrase.

- (359) ...ke yē **tele pāniwiniwi** tātou
 ... T Neg sail Pre-RR-turn we
 ... so that we don't sail twisting and turning in all directions

The verbs in the chain do not necessarily have to share the same valency or argument structure. In the following sentences the argument structure of the clause follows that associated with the first verb in the chain, but this is not always the case (see below). In (360) the first verb is intransitive and agrees in number with the subject while the second is normally used transitively. In (361) and (362) the first verb is transitive whereas the second is intransitive. In (363) the first verb is an intransitive verb which takes an agent marked by *i*.

- (360) **Nōnō wakatai** tātou.
 R-sit join we
Let's all sit together.
- (361) Ka **kai pakapaka** wua lā taku walaoa pakapaka nei, e yē palai ki te pata, e yē tokotoko ki te tī?
 T eat RR-dry just Int my bread dry here T Neg spread G A butter T Neg RR-dip G A tea
Shall I really just eat my cabin bread dry, and not spread butter on it or dunk it in the tea?
- (362) Ka **tao takataka** wua nā wāwā, mē kāle ka loloi.
 T bake RR-alone just A taro or not T loloi
Shall [we] bake the taro by itself [lit. individually] or shall we make a loloi dish [baking it with coconut cream].
- (363) Na **ngalopoaina lelei** ia aku te uyunga o te mako o Wulipapango.
 T forget good By-A me A first.line P A chant P Wulipapango
I have completely forgotten the first line of the mako of Wulipapango.

The first element in the series is not always the most dynamic. One of the most productive verbs as the first element in a series is (*w*)*akatau* meaning ‘join, be unified’. The form *wakatau* is considered to be old-fashioned and is regularly replaced by *akatau* in colloquial speech. The combination *wakatau X* means ‘do X together’ where X denotes the action of the second verb. Thus for this type of verb chain it is the second verb which is, or may be, the most dynamic. The verb that follows (*w*)*akatau* is inflected for plurality. Some examples of verbs which combine with *wakatau* are given below:

| | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| akatau momoe | sleep together |
| akatau wō | go together |
| akatau kai | eat together |
| akatau yāele | walk together |
| akatau totoko | argue [lit. be stubborn together] |

In sentences (364, 365, 366) below, the argument structure of the clause is determined by the second in the series. The argument structure of the clause therefore appears to follow that associated with the most dynamic verb.

(364) Ko **akatau momoe** mātou i tō mātou loki.
 T together Pl-sleep we L P we bed
We all sleep together in our bed.

(365) Na **akatau yīyinga** ia Pēpē ma Tina.
 T together Pl-fall A baby and Tina
Baby and Tina fell down together.

(VP:17:1)

(366) **Akatau kave** nā pūtē.
 together take A sack
Take all the sacks together.

A series of two verbs with (*w*)*akatau* as the first verb is also used to express reciprocal relations (7.7.2.2):

(367) Ko **akatau kakalo** lātou ia lātou lāi.
 T together look they Acc-A they Int
They keep looking at each other.

The concept of the continuum from verb chain to compound is supported for chains of this type. Verb chaining is a very productive process and can occur with many verbs as the second element. The productivity of the process and the fact that the second verb in the series agrees with the subject of the clause suggests that verb chains exist at one end of the continuum. At the other end of the continuum there are a few compound verbs and marginal compounds whose meanings are not predictable from the component morphemes or for which there is no independent base for the second verb: *akataukati* ‘argue’ < *kati* ‘bite’, *akatauyani* ‘bribe, entice, sweet-talk’ < **yani*.

Another possible analysis for these verb chains is that one of the verbs is like an adverbial modifier. Although adverbials normally follow the verb (see 3.10), the second verb is unlikely to be an adverbial since no other adverbs in the language agree with their subjects.

3.8 OBJECT INCORPORATION

A noun may be incorporated into the verb phrase immediately following the verb. This is an optional process by which in Polynesian languages the direct object of a transitive verb may be ‘stripped’ of its case marker and article and merges with the verb as a unit. The notional object of the verb can be regarded as being in the nucleus of the verb phrase, which consists of the verb as head and the noun as modifier. Whether this process most closely resembles ‘noun stripping’ (Miner 1986, 1989) or noun incorporation (Mithun 1984, 1986) in Polynesian languages is open for debate. ‘Noun stripping’ requires surface adjacency of the two elements which remain as separate words. The valence of the clause is decreased as it is in compounding incorporation. Both Mithun (1984, 1986) and Rosen (1989) see Oceanic languages as having a compounding type of incorporation whereby nouns combine with verbs to produce a complex verb. The primary difference between ‘noun stripping’ and incorporation is that in true incorporation the noun and verb form a single word (Gerdtz 1998:94). I use the term ‘object incorporation’ following the standard terminology usually used for this type of process, but as discussed in 7.8.2.6 it is more appropriate in Pukapukan to talk about ‘patient incorporation’ in the ‘accusative’ and ‘ergative’ patterns, since there are no tests for direct objects.

In Pukapukan some cases of compounding exist in which the resultant unit has become lexicalised and a new meaning has developed (e.g. *makamuna* ‘boast’ < *maka* ‘throw’, *muna* ‘word’; *kaimotu* ‘greedy’ < *kai* ‘eat’, *motu* ‘food reserve’). At the other end of the scale the result is a semantically transparent compound in which the noun is loosely connected to the verb. These two types Besnier calls ‘tight’ and ‘loose’ incorporation in Tuvaluan respectively, which are poles of a continuum (2000:528, 533).

An incorporated object denotes an entity which is nonreferential, nonindividuated or generic. The activity of the verb is foregrounded while the identity of the object is not important and is backgrounded. Contrast the following examples in which the transitive clause contains a referential or individuated patient, with the second of each pair which denotes a nonreferential, nonindividuated or generic notional object:

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (368) | Wano koe teletele i nā wāwā lā kilā. go you RR-peel Acc A taro over there <i>Go and peel that taro over there.</i> | Ko teletele wāwā au. T RR-peel taro I <i>I’m peeling taro.</i> |
| (369) | Ka kai tātou i taku ika na maua i te awiawi nei. T eat we Acc my fish T catch L A afternoon here <i>We’re going to eat the fish that I caught this evening.</i> | Ka kai ika tātou i te awiawi nei. T eat fish we L A afternoon here <i>We’re going to eat fish this evening.</i> |
| (370) | Ka akaolo au i te pātikala kula o Melé. T caus-ride I Acc A bicycle red P Mele- Da <i>I’m going to ride on Mary’s red bike.</i> | Ko aku iloa e te akaolo pātikala. T I know-Cia C caus-ride bicycle <i>I know how to ride a bike.</i> |

A few examples of verbs and their incorporated objects follow:

| | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| umiti māngalo | crave a sweet nut |
| newu kākā | throw stones at white terns |
| wāngai puaka | feed pigs |
| ulu puaka | look for pigs |
| yī ika | fish for fish |

(374) ? Ka wō mātou wuli **kaipea vae wowolo**.
 T go.Pl we turn crab leg R-big
Let's go and look for crabs with big legs.

(375) ? ...ke langa **wāwā wowolo**
 C uproot taro R-big
...to dig up big-sized taro

An incorporated noun may be 'coordinated' to another NP; however, the 'coordinated' NP can be separated from the incorporated noun by the subject and is marked by the definite plural article but remains semantically generic. The noun phrases thus appear to be loosely connected by *ma* 'and', but not truly coordinated (see 10.1.3 for discussion on the differences between coordination and comitative phrases).

(376) Nā liko **kākā** mātou **ma nā takupu** i Te Ulu Puka.
 T hold tern we and A booby L A Ulu Puka
We were catching terns and red-footed booby birds at Te Ulu Puka.

(377) Ka wai **donati** mātou **ma nā walaoa** ke oko.
 T make donut we and A bread C sell
We are making donuts and bread for sale.

The verb and its incorporated object form a compound. No other constituent can intervene between the verb and the incorporated object. Postposed particles do not often occur with the construction, but if they do, they are found after the incorporated object.

(378) Wano tunua e tī, ke **kai tī ai** tātou
 go cook-Cia A tea C eat tea Pro we
Go and cook some tea so we can then eat together.

(379) Ko mina **kai puyipuyi** lā au.
 T like eat RR-smoke Int I
But I like smoking.

Nominalisations exist in which the suffix occurs after the verb and its incorporated object, which shows that they are being treated as a unit (380). Even oblique nouns which have been incorporated can occur in nominalisations of this type (381).

(380) **I tā mātou wuli kaveu-nga o te pō** ni kaveu loa totongi a mātou kaveu na maua.
 L P we turn coconut.crab-Nom P A night-Da Prd coconut.crab Int R-big P we coconut.crab T catch
When we were gathering coconut crabs last night, we caught some really big ones.

(381) **I taku tunu pāni-nga** i nā wāwā, na papaku.
 L my cook pot-Nom Acc A taro T R-burn
When I was cooking the taro in a pot, it got burned.

However many incorporated objects allow an alternative order in which the suffix is attached to the verb, leaving its notional object outside the nucleus of the nominalisation (382).²³ This shows that the constituents of the compound are not inseparable, but that there is a loose connection between the verb and its incorporated object. The appearance of the positional particle *ia* 'aforementioned' marking the end of the noun phrase in sentence (383) shows that the incorporated noun is still considered to be part of the noun phrase even when it follows the nominalised verb.

- (382) i tā mātou wuli-nga kaveu...
 L A we turn-Nom coconut.crab
when we were looking for coconut crabs...
- (383) Yali loa tā mātou yalinga tikava ia, yeyele wua te pōlo.
 scoop Int P we scoop-Nom fish.sp Af R-full just A bowl
We scooped up sprats until our bowl was full.

Another type of nominalisation is found with verbs and their incorporated subjects or their incorporated objects linked by *-a-* < ‘possessive marker’ (e.g. *p̄p̄-nga-a-tai* ‘water’s edge’ [lit. ‘spitting-of-sea’], *kāke-nga-a-wonu* ‘turtle tracks’ [lit. ‘climbing-of-turtle’], *wati-nga-a-ngalu* ‘edge of reef’ [lit. ‘breaking-of-wave’], *uwinga-a-pule* ‘village meeting to change duty guards on the reserve’ [lit. ‘changing-of-guard’]). This is a derivational process by which nouns are formed (see 4.5.4).

Lexicalised compounds allow only one form of nominalisation with the suffix attached to the verb-object compound. A few of these compounds function as transitive verbs, but they cannot undergo further object incorporation. The concept of a continuum is supported by the existence of some incorporated compounds which share features of ‘loose’ incorporation in some respects but features of ‘tight’ incorporation in other respects. For instance, *tunu p̄ni* ‘cook in a pot, boil’ allows both types of nominalisation strategy but is a transitive verb (381).

Clauses containing ‘loosely’ incorporated objects are intransitive. Their subjects are always in the nominative/absolute case. Incorporated objects cannot occur with verbs which have the transitive suffix *-Cia*. Verbs and their incorporated objects thus follow the pattern for intransitive clauses in framing questions about the identity of an actor/agent. Transitive verbs require the ‘passive’ case marking pattern for interrogative clauses in the past tense (384), while intransitive verbs and verbs with their incorporated objects are never suffixed (385).

- (384) Ko ai na yoka-ina nā uto a mātou i kinei?
 Prd who T husk-Cia A sprouting.coconut P we.Pl L here
Who husked our sprouting coconuts here?
- (385) Ko ai na yoka uto i te kongā nei?
 * Ko ai na yoka uto-ina i te kongā nei?
 Prd who T husk sprouting.coconut L A place here
Who husked sprouting coconuts here?

Besnier (2000:532) notes that in Tuvaluan there is evidence to suggest that incorporated objects are inherently plural. They can trigger number agreement on the verb or on a modifier of the noun and the plural form of the noun must be used when incorporated for those nouns which have both singular and plural forms. While I was able to find only a few examples of modified incorporated objects which were totally acceptable to native speakers, they agreed that in the marginal cases of (374, 375) that the plural form of the adjective was required and that a nonreduplicated form would be ungrammatical. However, for nouns which have both singular and plural forms, the singular form is allowed in certain constructions which are probably lexicalised, while the plural form is either ungrammatical (386, 388) or marginal (387).

- (386) Ka wano au ulu wawine / *wāwine.
 T go I search woman / *women
I am going off to find a girlfriend.

- (387) ? Ko ulu wāwine ia Nuku ke tunu donati.
 T search women A Nuku C cook donut
 ? *Nuku is looking for women to cook donuts.*
 (cannot mean: *Nuku is looking for women partners...*)
- (388) Ia koe i te mina wawine / *wāwine
 A you Prd like woman / *women
You like being with your wife [lit. you are a woman-liker].
 * *You are a womaniser.*

Incorporated objects can occur with reduplicated verbs. In fact durative, habitual, and iterative situations which are often encoded by reduplicated verbs are commonly associated with the presence of nonspecific and nonindividuated objects (Hopper and Thompson 1980).

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| inuinu kava | in the habit of drinking beer |
| valuvalu yakali | keep scraping nuts |

The V-O construction can occur in other types of predicates apart from verbal clauses; for instance, attributive predicates (389) and intensified nominal predicates (390).

- (389) Ia koe i te ata tunu kai.
 A you Prd good.at cook food
You're good at cooking.
- (390) E wawine loa toku māmā ata wai mawu.
 Prd woman Int my mother good.at make mawu
My mother is really good at making mawu [taro pudding].

3.9 VERBAL SUFFIXES

There are a few stative verbs which appear to have suffixes in their derivation. These suffixes are: *-kole* 'without' and *-a* 'full of'. The transitive suffix *-Cia* is very productive and can be attached to almost any transitive verb.

3.9.1 *-kole* 'without'

This suffix derives statives from both verbal and nominal bases.²⁴

| | | | |
|-----------|------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| akamākole | without shame | akamā | ashamed |
| tangikole | pitiless, unmerciful | tangi | cry |
| waivakole | without skill, useless | waiva | skill, skillful |
| ipokole | without a lover | ipo | lover, lovers |
| yalakole | without sin, blameless | yala | sin, sin |

3.9.2 *-a* 'full of'

This suffix derives a stative verb from a noun meaning 'full of N' or 'infested with N'.

| | | | |
|----------|---------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| ipiipi | coconut flesh | ipiipia | full of coconut flesh |
| kili | sore | kilia | full of sores |
| kilikili | coral gravel | kilikilia | full of gravel |

| | | | |
|----------|----------|-----------|-----------------------|
| lango | flies | langoa | infested with flies |
| manu | bird | manua | plenty of birds |
| manumanu | insect | manumanua | infested with insects |
| namu | mosquito | namua | mosquito ridden |
| tangata | person | tangatā | crowded with people |

Some of these words allow optional reduplication of the base with an intensified meaning.²⁵ In each case, the second of each pair indicates more of the quality than the unreduplicated form.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|--------|-------------|---------------------------|
| ngako | fatty flesh | ngakoa | ngakongakoa | full of fat |
| ngalu | wave | ngalua | ngalungalua | having many waves |
| ilo | maggot | iloa | iloiloa | infested with maggots |
| ivi | bone | ivia | iviivia | full of bones |
| lā | branch | lāa | lālāa | branchy, full of branches |
| limu | moss | limua | limulimua | full of moss |

However, some derivations formed in this way are unpredictable in their meaning:

| | | | |
|-------|-------|-------------|-------------------------|
| ngutu | mouth | ngutungutuā | unable to keep a secret |
|-------|-------|-------------|-------------------------|

The words that are formed by this type of derivation function as stative verbs; they modify noun bases attributively (391) and may occur as intransitive verbs in attributive predicates (392, 393) and in tensed verbal predicates (394, 395).

- (391) Ko Te Itū te akau **ngalua** **ma te ngalu wowolo**.
 Prd Te Itū A reef wave-full.of and A wave R-big
Te Itū is a reef which has many big waves.
- (392) Te ngākau o te lui nei **i te ngakoa**.
 A intestine P A fish-sp here Prd fat-full.of
The black trevally's intestines are full of fat.
- (393) Te pō nei **i te mālooa**.
 A night here Prd flying-fish.sp-full.of
The flying fish are plentiful tonight.
- (394) Na **namua** ia Kō.
 T mosquito-full.of A Kō
Kō is mosquito-ridden.
- (395) E vai lākau e omoomo ki te ulu **na wutua**.
 Prd water tree T RR-rub G A head T louse-full.of
It's a medicine to rub in lice-ridden hair [lit. head which is lice-ridden].

3.9.3 -Cia : 'PASSIVE' SUFFIX

Cognates of the PPn suffix *-(C)ia* are found in Pukapukan. It is a very productive suffix and can be used with any transitive verb (396), some stative verbs (397) and verbs derived from nominal bases (398), as well as English borrowings (399). Discussion of the clause structure is found in Chapter 7.

- (396) Toku lima nei na kāti-a e te kalou.
 my hand here T bite-Cia Ag A eel
My hand was bitten by an eel.

- (397) Na vela-ngia au.
T hot-Cia I
I've got (too) hot.
- (398) Na pō-ina tātou.
T night-Cia we
We have become be-nighted.
- (399) Wano ānsa-ngia ake te pounú.
go answer-Cia please A phone-Da
Please go and answer that phone.

There are a number of allomorphs of this suffix:

*-a, -ina, -ngia, -na, -lia, -tia, -wia, -kia and -yia.*²⁶

Each verb may allow several different allomorphs according to the inclination of a speaker within a particular type of discourse. However, the most common forms of the suffix are *-a*, *-ina*, *-ngia* and to a lesser extent *-na*. The more old-fashioned forms, *-wia*, *-tia*, and *-lia*, are not common in everyday speech while *-kia* and *-yia* are heard only in chants and a few lexicalised expressions²⁷.

There are a few noticeable trends which have some influence on the choice of suffix for a particular word. These are based on phonological features of the base.

The most common suffix for disyllabic words is *-a*, although the words which allow *-a* also allow other suffixes. However, bases ending with a final *-a* commonly take only the suffixes *-ina* or *-ngia*, and not *-na* or *-a*²⁸. Monosyllabic bases of the form (C)VV frequently take *-ina* or *-ngia* and not *-a*²⁹. Monosyllabic bases ending in *-i* take the suffix *-na* instead of *-ina*. Disyllabic bases of the form CuCu allow *-na* especially in imperatives, although there may be semantic differences for the bases that allow both *-na* and *-ina*.³⁰

The following examples are taken only from spontaneous speech in the corpus:

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| CVCV | | CVV | |
| miti-a | sucked | au-ngia | smoked out |
| kite-a | seen | mea-ina | called |
| liko-a | held | pō-ina | benighted |
| patu-a | hit | waka-wōu-ina | renewed |
| CVCa | | CVi | |
| vela-ina ~ vela-ngia | get hot | kai-na | eaten |
| yila-ina ~ yila-ngia | enlightened | tui-na | have caught a disease |
| kaiā-ina ~ kaiā-ngia | stolen | | |
| tātā-ina ~ tātā-ngia | written | CuCu | |
| tapa-ina ~ tapa-ngia | named | ulu-na | search for |
| | | tuku-na | place |
| | | wulu-na | wash |

Words longer than one syllable ending in *-ī*, (but not *-i*), may take *-na* as an alternant of *-ina*, in addition to *-a* and *-ngia*.

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------|----------|
| āpii-ina ³¹ | ~ āpii-na | taught |
| wīwī-ina | ~ wīwī-na | mixed up |
| aumai-ina | | brought |
| koyikoyi-ina | | written |

These trends are certainly not absolute and many words allow variation in the form of the suffix:

| | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|
| vāvā | -ina, -ngia, (-tia, -wia) | noisy |
| valo | -a, -ina, -ngia, (-tia, -wia) | call |

Some disyllabic verbs lengthen the first vowel accompanying the addition of the suffix *-a*. This lengthening does not accompany other suffixes. This lengthening follows the bimoraic principle mentioned earlier (2.6.3).

| | | | |
|------|--------|----------|--------------|
| tili | tīli-a | tili-ina | throw |
| kave | kāve-a | kave-ina | take |
| koti | kōti-a | koti-ina | cut |
| puke | pūke-a | puke-ina | catch |
| puni | pūni-a | puni-ina | close, block |
| wuli | wūli-a | wuli-ina | turn |

The choice of allomorph is lexically determined in some cases, and a few forms do not have unsuffixed equivalents:

| | | |
|------------|----------|------------|
| longo | langona | hear |
| *iliwi(ti) | iliwitia | blown away |

- (400) Tatao ake te pānga nā, ka iliwitia loa e te matangi.
 pin.down please A mat there T blow-away-Cia Int Ag A wind
Please put something on that mat so it won't be blown away by the wind.

Vāea 'separate, put aside', is an interesting word and appears to be derived from PPn **vae* 'separate' by suffixation. However it functions as an active verb, and has suffixed forms *vāea-ina* and *vāea-ngia*.

There may be a semantic distinction between *-a*, *-ina* and *-ngia*. The latter two are said to distance the event from the immediate past, whereas verbs suffixed by *-a* may denote events in the past that still have relevance in the present.

- (401) Ko te tangata teia na kaveina toku motokā.
 Prd A person here T take-Cia my car
That is the person who took my car [a long time ago].

- (402) Ko te tangata teia na kāvea toku motokā.
 Prd A person here T take-Cia my car
That is the person who took [and still has] my car.

Since the function of the suffix relates to the syntax of the clause, a more detailed study will be left until Chapter 7.

3.10 ADVERBIALS

There are a few words which can modify a verb, but do not occur as lexical bases in verbal or nominal phrases. These are: *ngaleka* ‘completely’ which modifies neuter verbs: *pau ngaleka* ‘finished completely’, *mate ngaleka* ‘absolutely dead’; and the adverbials *ngāwie* ‘easily, taking a short time’, *ngatā* ‘difficult, slow to perform’ which form compounds with *wai* ‘do, make’ in their verbal use: *waingāwie* ‘easy’, *waingatā* ‘difficult’. In these compounds they are included as part of the word for reduplication indicating plurality of the subject: *waingatā* > *waingatatā* ‘difficult’. Since *ngaleka*, *ngatā* and *ngāwie* do not occur as free bases in the noun phrase or the verb phrase, they are members of a small class of words which function exclusively as adverbs. They are joined by the classes of postposed modifiers (5.1-5.2) which are adverbial in nature when they modify verbal predicates and which also do not occur as lexical bases in verbal phrases.

(403) ...ke oti **ngaleka** te yanga nei
 C finish completely A work this
...so that this work can be completely finished

(404) Na kī **ngāwie** tā mātou ola i te ika.
 T full easy P we basket By A fish
We easily filled our basket with fish.

Apart from this closed class of adverbials, intransitive verbs and stative verbs may modify the verb in postverbal position. Because they can occur independently as verbs, the resulting structure is a series of two verbs which can best be analysed as a verb chain (3.7). The verbs in series may not be separated by other phrases, including postposed modifiers.

However, certain intransitive verbs must function as adverbials when they modify another verb, since they can be separated from the verb they modify by the postposed modifiers. A few adverbials can also be separated from the verb phrase by the subject. These include *wakalelei* ‘properly’, *wakawāu* ‘again’ and *pēwea* ‘how? in what manner?’ (9.1.5.2), which may occur in several positions in the clause: preceding (405, 406 a) or following (405, 406 b) the postverbal particles, or separated from the verb phrase by the subject (407, 408, 409). They may even occur in the middle of a complex locative phrase (410).

(405) Na yawe nā pō e kake **wakawōu** mai ai te wonu ki ngāuta...ke kake mai **wakawōu** ki ngāuta...
 T finish A night T climb again Dir Pro A turtle G shore C climb Dir again G shore
The nights [indicating] when the turtle would climb on shore again had come to an end...
...to climb up on shore again... (LW:2:2)

(406) Ka maua **pēwea** ai te mea nei? ... Ka maua ai **pēwea** te mea nei?
 T able how Pro A thing here T able Pro how A thing here
How can this thing be?...How can it happen? (KM:LK:1:34)

(407) Wakalongo koe **wakalelei**.
 caus-hear you properly
Listen attentively.

(408) Kakalo atu au **wakawōu**...
 look Dir I again
I looked again... (PP2:9:5)

- (409) Na mea kōtou pēwea i te puaka nei?
 T do you how Acc A pig here
What have you done to the pig? [that it is in such a state?] (F4:S2:4:9)
- (410) Wao atu au ki lunga wakawōu o te mafini...
 jump Dir I G on again P A machine
I jumped up onto the machine again... (LS:2:30)

Nominalisations of clauses usually prefer these adverbials in a position following the nominalising suffix:

- (411) ...te kake mai-nga wakawōu a te wonu ki ngāuta
 A climb Dir-Nom again P A turtle G shore
...the climbing again of the turtle to shore

It is not completely clear what the constraints are regarding which adverbials can occur immediately following the postverbal particles and there is also a certain amount of variation between speakers in terms of acceptability. It appears that adverbials which occur as stative verb bases are more flexible in their possible positions than other intransitive verbs: *moe tū wua*, **moe wua tū* ‘sleep standing’ but:

- (412) Wano wua mālie.
 go just slowly
Just go slowly.

Adverbials may also occur in phrases marked by *ma* (6.2.11) and sentence finally in purpose clauses introduced by *ke* (10.7.3).³²

3.11 POSTPOSED MODIFIERS

Most of the modifiers that can postmodify a verb may also occur in a noun phrase. These are discussed in depth in Chapter 5 and are only listed here in the order in which they occur after the verb. The only two of these which relate solely to the verb phrase are the anaphoric pronoun *ai* and the durative modifier *ē*.

Adverbials:

wua ‘only, just, merely’
 tikāi ‘truly’
 lava ‘definitely’

Directionals:

mai ‘towards speaker’
 atu ‘away from speaker’
 ake ‘upwards’, ‘oblique to speaker’; ‘please’
 io ‘?downwards’, ‘misfortune’

Anaphoric Pronoun:

ai ‘previous reference’

Intensifier:

loa ‘intensifier’

Positionals:

nei ‘near to speaker’
 nā ‘near to addressee’
 lā ‘away from both’, ‘intensifier’

Other modifiers:

lāi ‘still’
 oki ‘also’
 pā ‘probably’
 mō ‘maybe’
 mua ‘warning’
 ē ‘durative’
 pē ‘definitely’
 keke ‘confirmation’
 koia ‘indeed’
 angaoti ‘exactly’

3.11.1 ANAPHORIC PRONOUN : *ai*

Ai is a postverbal pronoun with an anaphoric function. It generally stands for a noun phrase in an oblique case and is usually co-referential with some other noun phrase in the same sentence or a preceding sentence. A large number of cases of anaphora marked by *ai* involve relative clauses in which the antecedent of *ai* is the head of the relative clause. As Chapin (1974:260) notes, the anaphoric reference of *ai* is not always to some specifically identifiable noun phrase but may be to conceptual elements of the discourse or to some element perceived by both speaker and addressee.

Anaphoric *ai* as a postverbal particle may stand for oblique noun phrases in various cases or roles within a clause.

1. Locative:

Ai may stand for a locative phrase marked by *i*. The anaphoric reference may be between coordinate clauses:

- (413) E tangata nō ona te akamalu ia. Ko nō **ai**, ko akamalu **ai** te lākau ia.
 Prd person P he A shade Af T sit Pro T shade Pro A tree Af
He was the person who owned the tree. [He] would sit [there] and be shaded by it. (MM:L1)

or there may be a relative clause on the antecedent of *ai*:

- (414) Kave ki loto o te pā a lātou... e pā kave tangata e patu **ai** lātou.
 take G inside P A wall P they Prd wall take people T kill Pro they
[They] took [them] inside their barricade, ...it was a place for taking people where they would kill [them]. (MM:L2)

It may also stand for locative phrases marked by case markers other than *i*, for instance *lā* 'via', *mai* 'from':

- (415) Kī ma te pū na wō **ai** lātou.
 full with A hole T go.PI Pro they
Even the door through which they went was full. (MM:L3)
- (416) Na wakamata iāna mai Wale, mai Utupoa lā, tana kongā na waowao mai **ai** iāna.
 T begin he from Home from Utupoa there his place T RR-jump Dir Pro he
He began from Wale [the main island], from Utupoa there, [from] his place that he [began] to jump here from. (U:5)

2. Goal:

Ai may be anaphoric to a NP specifying the goal of a motion verb. The following examples are relative clauses whose heads serve as the antecedents for *ai*:

- (417) Ko Witi oki te wenua ka wō **ai** lātou.
 Prd Fiji also A land T go.PI Pro they
The land they were going to was Fiji. (MM:L2)

- (418) Wō lātou yī ika i nā kongā nā wō ai lātou.
 go.Pl they catch fish L A place T go.Pl Pro they
They went fishing in the spots they used to go to. (PK:M1)

The anaphor of *ai* may be a dative phrase marked by *ki*, or the goal of a verb of communication:

- (419) Wō i leila lātou ki te atua wolo o Wale nei, kia Tāua, mea e pulepule ai lātou
 go.Pl L then they G A god big P Home here G-A Tāua thing T RR-pray Pro they
 ke akamālulūina te lau a Uyo.
 C caus-R-weak-Cia A 100 P Uyo
*They then went to the great god of Pukapuka, to Tāua, who was one to whom they prayed
 to make Uyo's men weak.* (U:7)

3. Temporal:

Ai may have a temporal reference. The anaphoric reference may be within a clause or from one clause to another.

- (420) Ka kali ki te Palapalau ma te Walaile. Ka wai ai i leila, pēnei ka lelei te tai.
 T wait G A Thursday and A Friday T make Pro L then like-so T good A sea
[We] will wait until Thursday or Friday. Then [we'll] make [it], when the sea is calm. (U:C2)
- (421) Te mālamanga lā, welele atu ai te wī atua...
 A clear-Nom Int Pl-run Dir Pro A all god
But when [it] got light, all the gods ran away. (PK:M3)

A relative clause containing *ai* may be formed with the head of the relative clause as the antecedent of *ai*.

- (422) ...i te vāia nā yanga ai te puka nei.
 L A time T work Pro A book this
...at the time when [we] were working on this book. (TA:E1)
- (423) Ko te tāpati mua o Tepetema nei, na mate ai.
 Prd A week first P September here T die Pro
It was the first week of September that [he] died.
- (424) Nō te vāia wea lāua na wō ai?
 P A time what they.2 T go.Pl Pro
How long have they been gone? (KM:C2)

Ai may precede its antecedent:

- (425) Ka patu ai te kau ia i te tāyao.
 T kill Pro A people Af L A tomorrow
The people would kill them tomorrow.
- (426) Ka wea ai koe i leila i te vāia nei?
 T what Pro you L then L A time here
What are you going to do now?

Ai may be anaphoric to a clause:

- (427) Na mea oki ke yau tana wawine mai Wale, mai Pukapuka, ka āpale ai.
 T say also C come his woman from Home from Pukapuka T funeral Pro
[They] said that when his wife comes back from Pukapuka, the memorial service will be held.

- (428) Kali ke ngāyae wakawōu, tui ai koe ki te āuli māīni.
wait C torn again sew Pro you Ins A iron machine
Wait until it gets torn again, and then sew it with a sewing machine.
- (429) Ko tā mātou kaikainga ōpenga tēnei, ka wō ai mātou ki Niu Tīleni.
Prd P we RR-eat-Nom final this T go.PI Pro we G New Zealand.
This is our last meal, and then we'll go to New Zealand.

4. Accusative:

Occasionally *ai* stands anaphorically for an accusatively marked noun phrase. Chapin (1974:265), using Chung's data, suggests that this is a recent borrowing from Rarotongan and that it occurs for transitive verbs that cannot be marked ergatively in Pukapukan (ibid:267). In the main, this seems to be supported by my own data, since semitransitive verbs such as: *mina* 'like' and *kai(kai)* 'eat' may be modified with *ai* when refers anaphorically to an accusatively marked noun phrase.

- (430) Ko te kalōma, e ika ko mina ai te tangata ke kai.
Top A fish.sp Prd fish T like Pro A person C eat
The young goatfish is a fish that everyone loves eating. (KM:YK1:2)

There are also a few examples in the corpus of canonical transitive verbs which take *ai*.

- (431) Tai ki ai tā lātou ana na keli ai.
reach G Pro P they tunnel T dig Pro
The tunnel that they had dug reached there. (MM:L3)
- (432) Wano loa au ulu ni lua watu tō wowolo, yele ai ki te taula o toku tau.
go Int I search A two stone too R-big tie Pro G A rope P my anchor
I went and looked for two stones that were quite big, to tie [them] to my anchor rope. (KM:YK2:3)

5. Instrumental:

Ai may be anaphoric to a noun phrase specifying the role of instrument:

- (433) Aumai ake te tauanga ke kuku ai te niu.
bring Dir A fibrous.sieve C squeeze Pro A coconut
Bring me the tauanga with which to wring out the [grated] coconut.
- (434) Ko lua vae mātutua e kakati ai koe.
Prd two leg R-parent T R-bite Pro you
They're the two big pincers with which [the crab] bites you.
- (435) Wano wakiwaki mai i tuāniu ke tui ai nā kalōma.
go RR-break Dir A back-P-coconut C sew Pro A goatfish
Go and break off some midribs of coconut leaflets with which to thread the young goatfish. (AP:C2)

6. Causal:

Ai can function as a causal anaphor. The causal reference may be between two conjoined clauses:

- (436) Na mingimingi oki, nō leila na tuku ai ki te tai.
T RR-wrinkle also P then T leave Pro G A sea
[They] were wrinkled, that's why [I] put them in the sea.

Ai may occur in a relative clause of which its antecedent is the head. The head of such relative clauses is often *mea* ‘thing’ or *tumu* ‘reason’.

- (437) E tolu tumu wowolo na āwū ai o mātou manako...
 T three reason R-big T agree Pro P we idea
There are three major reasons why we agreed together... (TA:E1)
- (438) E wea te tumu na maka ai koe i tō māmā?
 Prd what A reason T leave Pro you Acc your Mother
Why did you leave your mother? (AP:C1)

Ai may refer anaphorically to an adverbial clause or phrase of reason:

- (439) Nō toku taenawa na kōkīkī ai te loki nei.
 P my heavy T RR-squeak Pro A bed here
This bed squeaked a lot on account of my weight.
- (440) Nō leila au na maka ai toku māmā.
 P that I T leave Pro my mother
That's why I left my mother.

Ai may anaphorically refer to the agent or cause of a neuter or intransitive verb:

- (441) Ko ai na ngālepelepe ai te konga nei?
 Prd who T pre-RR-broken Pro A place here
Who made this place so untidy?
- (442) Ko te ngalu loa ia, na mawuli ai te vaka.
 Prd A wave Int Af T capsized Pro A canoe
It was that wave which caused the canoe to capsize.

7. Idiomatic function:

Ai is used postverbally in a number of idiomatic expressions, including rhetorical questions and exclamations which express implicit judgements by the speaker. These include the forms: *e wea...ai*, *e yē...ai*, and *(ti)ā...ai*.

- (443) E wea koe na vayi ai?
 Prd what you T hit Pro
Why did you hit [her] [for nothing]?
- (444) E yē yelea ai tā kōlua puaka?
 T Neg tie-Cia Pro P you.2 pig
Why don't you tie up your pig? (U:C2)
- (445) Tiāi koe ka totoko ai!
 exc you T stubborn Pro
Gosh you're stubborn!
- (446) Āi lā kōlua ka tupu Malike ai!
 exc Int you.2 T appear America Pro
Why, you two look like Americans!

Narrative Function:

Since narrative clauses are often linked together by temporal or causal relationships, *ai* has a role in establishing narrative continuity and binding the narrative together. This is a natural outcome of the specific anaphoric functions of *ai* outlined above. In a sequence of temporally ordered events, several, but not all of the clauses are often marked by *ai* postverbally (447). It is interesting to note that *loa*, the other common marker of sequenced narrative clauses is mutually exclusive with *ai*. Thus it is common to find several clauses marked by *loa* and the final one in the sequence marked by *ai* (448, 449). Alternatively, following a section of background clauses or direct speech, the first clause may be marked by *ai*, indicating temporal sequencing of a subsequent event (450).

- (447) Niko **ai** ki Lalotonga, akatomo **ai**, yau nō tātou.
 return Pro G Rarotonga get.loaded Pro come for us
[Then the ship] will return to Rarotonga, get loaded and come for us. (U:C2)

- (448) Wano **loa** au wuli kaipea, maua lua aku kaipea, yau **loa** au liko i taku matila ma taku ola,
 go Int I turn crab get two my.Pl crab come Int I hold Acc my rod and my basket

yaele **loa** au ki te mata i Utupoa, wuli aku unganini, wano atu **ai** au ki te tukutai.
 walk Int I G A point L Utupoa turn my.Pl crab go Dir Pro I G A beach

I went and collected crabs, got a couple of crabs, then I went and picked up my fishing rod and basket, then I walked to the point at Utupoa, collected some hermit crabs and then [finally] went to the beach [to start fishing]. (KM:YK1:2)

- (449) Nīniko mai **loa** lāua ma nā tuāniu, tui **loa** lātou i nā kalōma, tau **loa** te awi ngāipu,
 R-return Dir Int they.2 with A stick thread Int they Acc A fish.sp light Int A fire coconut.shell

toe wua ko nā kalokalo awi, tuku **loa** nā tui ki lunga, wuliwuli **ai** ke momoyo.
 left just Top A ember fire put Int A skewer G on RR-turn Pro C cook

They returned with the coconut leaflet midribs and threaded the young goatfish [onto them], lit the fire of dried coconut shells, [waited till] only the embers remained, and put the threaded [fish] on top, turning them frequently until they were cooked. (KM:YK1:9)

- (450) Oko mai atu ki lunga, mea **loa** te pāpā, “E wāpuku pē taku mea nei”, tuku **loa** ki loto o te poti...
 arrive Dir Dir G on say Int A father Prd fish.sp def my thing here put Int G inside P A boat
 [a section of direct speech interspersed with comments lasting eleven clauses]...

Wōmamai **ai** lāua ki wale.
 go.Pl Pro they.2 G home

[The fish] arrived at the surface, and the father said, "It's definitely a wāpuku" and put it in the boat...[direct speech]... Then they went home. (KM:YK3:7)

Verbs of completion, *oti* and *pau*, also are commonly marked by *ai* especially discourse finally. This use appears to be more related to the instrumental anaphoric function of *ai*: ‘with this we finish’.

- (451) Pau **ai** te wanonga o te yukenanga o Te Ulu o Te Watu ki te ao o te Mālama.
 finish Pro A story P A open-Cia-Nom P A head P A stone G A world P A light
*[Lit. The story of the opening up of Pukapuka to the world of the light is thus finished.]
 That was how Pukapuka opened up to the light of the Gospel.]*

- (452) Oti ai.
 finish Pro
That's all. [typical end to a telephone conversation]

Ai may also be part of the nucleus of a tensed locative predicate with an existential meaning. This, however, is not a postverbal function of *ai* (see 7.2).

3.11.2 DURATIVE MODIFIER : *ē*

Ē is a postverbal particle with the sense that the action occurred over a long period of time. Part of its understood meaning is that the length of time was longer than the speaker anticipated or desired. It commonly occurs with verbs of waiting or going.

- (453) Na kali ē au ke oko mai koe.
 T wait Dur I C arrive Dir you.
I've been waiting for a long time for you to come.
- (454) Na yanga ē mātou e te yī mai te awiawi oko mai ki te ao nei...
 T work Dur we C fish from A evening reach Dir G A daylight here
We have been trying to fish since evening right until the dawn... (KM:L3:5)

Typically in narratives it is often associated with repetition of the verb to express durative action. It occurs either as a phrase modifier, where it is not linked so tightly to the verb, or as a verbal conjunction linking a clause expressing durative aspect to a subsequent action or result (see 10.1.1.1).

- (455) Tau loa tā lāua awi. Mumula te awi ē, mate te awi.
 light Int P they.2 fire burn A fire Dur die A fire
They lit their fire, and it burned until at last it died. (KS:2:9)
- (456) Tele loa, tele loa, tele loa ē.
 sail Int sail Int sail Int Dur
[They] sailed on and on.
- (457) Welele loa lua tamaliki ia, welele loa, welele loa ē, ngalo ki lunga o te langi.
 Pl-run Int two children Af Pl-run Int Pl-run Int Dur disappear G up P A sky
Those two children ran on and on until they disappeared right up in the sky. (KS:2:11)
- (458) Keli loa lāua i te lua, keli loa, keli loa ē, pū ki tona kongā i to lātou vaká.
 dig Int they.2 Acc A hole dig Int dig Int Dur hole G his place L P they canoe-Da
They dug a hole, they dug and dug until [at last] [they tunnelled through] to his place at their canoe. (MM:L2:10)

A specialised usage exists when *ē* occurs with *wano* 'go'; *wano ē* is a collocation which means 'happen over a long time' (see 5.1.5.4).

NOTES

1. *Ka* may co-occur with *yē* in two similar idiomatic sentence types where it does not retain its meaning as future tense marker. Instead, it usually refers to present time. It is notable also, that in these two lexicalised expressions, *ka* does not obey the phonological rule given earlier. The vowel remains short even when it precedes verbs of two morae in length.

Both of these constructions (one in the form of a rhetorical question which does not expect an answer) are exclamations of disapproval expressing surprise that an event or state occurred contrary to expectation or in violation of normal behaviour. They are of the form:

1. (Ti)āi NP₁ VP (NP₂) ai!
- (i) Āi kōtou ka mālulūeka ai!
exc you.PI T Pre-R-weak Pro
Goodness, you lot are weaklings!
- (ii) Tiāi koe ka totoko ai!
exc you T stubborn Pro
My, you're stubborn!
2. E wea NP₁ VP (NP₂) ai!
- (iii) E wea koe ka kata ai?
Prd what you T laugh Pro
Why are you laughing [for nothing]? (AT:C3)

In both constructions, the NP₁ is normally the second person pronoun, either singular, dual or plural, and is the subject of the following predicate. The NP₂ is the object. *Ka* does not contrast with *ko* 'present tense' in these idioms, but *na* may substitute for *ka* in the second of the above structures to denote past tense.

- (iv) E wea oki koe na vayi ai?
Prd what also you T hit Pro
Why did you hit her [for nothing]? (AT:C1)

Some postposed particles may follow the exclamatory particle, (ti)āi.

- (v) Āi lā kōlua ka tupu Malike ai!
exc Int you.2 T appear American Pro
Goodness, you two look like Americans! (AT:C2)

This structure may have an optional negative component, *yē*, which normally co-occurs with neither *ka* nor *na*. (Future negatives and past negatives are respectively *e yē* and (*e*) *kiai* (NP) *na*... see sections 3.1.3, 8.2.1.) This provides further evidence that the structure of these expressions has been lexicalised.

- (vi) E wea ka yē maua ai?
Prd what T Neg be.able Pro
Why shouldn't [they] catch [something]? (KM:C3)
- (vii) E wea koe na yē mea ai ke aku langona?
Prd what you T Neg do Pro C I hear
Why didn't you play [it] so I could hear? (MU:C4)

2. The tense marker *e* should not be confused with the marker of nominal predicates which is discussed in 7.1.1.

3. *Nī* and *yī* are two alternative forms of the existential verb. *Yī* is considered to be slightly old-fashioned and is used more frequently by older speakers. It is possible that the forms were derived from different structures:

- nī < PPn *nisi
yī < PPn *isi (Pawley 1967)

But phonological change from *y* to *n* must also be considered in the light of the relatively recent change from *yā* to *nā* (see 3.1.7).

4. In elderly people's speech, *ko* may also precede the plural existential verbs, but no other tense-aspect markers are allowable.

- (i) E/ko yī tangata ko wō ki ai?
T exist.Pl people T go.Pl G Pro
Are there any people who are going there?
- (ii) Mē (ko) yī au niūti...
C T exist.Pl your.Pl news
If you have any news...

5. Further possible instances of a similar phonological change are found in the alternation of *y* and *n* in existential verbs:

- (i) e yī ~ e nī ‘have some’
kāyi ~ kāni ‘have none’

6. Otherwise it is deleted to a regular form of the imperative. This supports Clark’s view (1976:31) that *Ø as an imperative marker “is the result of optional deletion of *kia”.

7. In the corpus of transcribed texts, approximately one third of the tokens exhibit the form *waka-* as opposed to *aka-*. Although the trend is generally in the direction of CIM, some obviously CIM borrowings in PUK occur with *waka-* as prefix (e.g. *wakameitaki* ‘thank’) and there is one instance of hypercorrection in an unprefixated word: *ki lunga o te wakau, o te akau*, ‘on the reef’ (LS2:30).

8. In the rest of this thesis, apart from in this section, these prefixes are written as separate morphemes.

9. Cowrie shells are often spotted in design.

10. Some of these compounds are recognisable by native speakers as borrowings from CIM since separate Pukapukan equivalents exist.

| | | |
|--------|----------|----------------------|
| CIM | Puk | |
| tālolo | wakalolo | add coconut cream to |
| tāvai | ilo, oi | stir |

11. Occasionally these verbs have human subjects, however the subject NPs are non-volitional experiencers or patients.

- (i) Kamuloa te wī tāngata ngāvavayi e te kākata.
really A all people Pre-R-break C R-laugh
Everyone really cracked up laughing. (F3:S10:7)

12. Treating a final *-i* as a suffix (*Cia*) could account for *yapayapai* ‘lift high’. Perhaps a general rule for three syllable words with a final long vowel could be proposed to account for words like *pikipikikā* ‘lying’, but this is the only word I have found with this pattern. Again such a rule would be motivated by the bimoraic principle.

13. *We-* is no longer a productive morpheme, and is also seen as a bound morpheme in some words which do not have corresponding unprefixated base forms, or which show idiosyncratic change in their meaning from a possible base form.

| | | |
|---------|--------|--|
| weala | | see dead people coming alive in a dream |
| | ala | awake, wake up |
| wengatu | | archaic formal greeting to village members |
| | angatu | come towards hearer |
| wenake | | arise, of constellation (Sg). |
| | *nake | |
| weniti | | sprout profusely with many shoots |
| | *niti | |
| wetē | | bulge (of sides) |
| | *tē | |

14. For semantic reasons *weolo* and *wekiki* have no corresponding singular forms.

- (i) Te vāyanga nei, ko weolo wua nā tupu.
A twins here T same just A face
These twins have identical faces.

15. In a few words from historically suffixed bases, the penultimate mora of the suffixed base is reduplicated, indicating that the suffix is no longer considered as a separate morpheme in these words.

wai-ngatā wai-ngatatā difficult

16. This may in fact be related to the syllable in question gaining stress according to the rule which stresses the penultimate syllable and the second of each preceding syllable.

17. Only a very few verbs exhibit reduplication of a directional particle instead of the base, indicating lexicalisation of the phrase.

- (i) Lua tama nei, ko tike-wuwua.
two child here T naked-R-only
These two children are naked.

18. This word follows the rule for reduplication if *-eka* is treated as a suffix.

19. A few transitive verbs reduplicate for plural subjects including verbs of the shape VCV: *alu* 'follow', *uwe* 'chase'; and some semitransitive verbs of emotion and perception: *iloa* 'know', *wakaaloa* 'have pity'.

20. Also: *lelei* 'good' (Sg, Pl), which appears to have a partially reduplicated form.

21. It also seems that the choice of allomorph may be phonologically conditioned, since a preceding past tense *na* conditions the short form, while *nā* conditions the form with a lengthened first vowel for plural subjects. If this is the case, the bimoraic principle, whereby phonological rules work towards groups of two morae, is supported (see 2.5.3).

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|------|----------------------------|
| (i) | Nā wēlele lāua i wea? | (ii) | Na welele lāua i wea? |
| * | Nā welele lāua i wea? | * | Na wēlele lāua i wea? |
| | T Pl-run they.2 L where | | T Pl-run they.2 L where |
| | <i>Where were they running?</i> | | <i>Where did they run?</i> |

22. A proper noun denoting the language of an island or country can modify a verb (i) but it is doubtful whether this is object incorporation since the noun does not represent the direct object of the verb, but is a modifier of the head of an oblique noun phrase (ii).

- (i) E wea tātou e talatala Lalotonga wua ai, e yē talatala Pukapuka wua ai?
Prd what we T speak Rarotongan just Pro T Neg speak Pukapuka just Pro
Why do we speak Rarotongan, why don't [we] just speak Pukapukan?
- (ii) ...talatala i te leo Pukapuka
talk L A language Pukapuka
...talk in the Pukapukan language

23. There seems to be some inconsistency between the perceptions and practice of native speakers. Nominalisations in which the suffix occurs after the incorporated noun are said to 'sound better' and yet those found in the corpus are almost exclusively those in which the suffix is attached to the verb rather than to the verb-object compound. Perhaps the language is in the process of change in this respect.

24. Many native speakers consider this suffix to be borrowed from CIM because most of the words it derives are also found in CIM, but a few words it derives are exclusively PUK, not shared with CIM.

25. Although reduplicated forms have a stronger meaning than unreduplicated forms, the prefix *tō-* 'a little' diminishes the meaning of the reduplicated forms so that they become less intense than the unreduplicated forms.

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| ngalua < ngalungalua | [a place where there are] many waves breaking at once |
| tō ngalua > tō ngalungalua | a few waves to worry about, but not very dangerous |

26. The suffix *-ngina* has been heard sporadically in discourse. It seems to occur with stative verbs, especially those which contain several vowels together: *e tangata veia-ngina* 'a person who is disliked'. However native speakers seem to consider it an aberration of *-ngia* or *-ina*, and not 'correct' Pukapukan.

The suffix *-ia* is also heard, but only in discourse which is considered by native speakers to be Rarotongan. It occurs only with words that are distinctively CIM, such as: *akameitaki-ia* 'thank', *lave-ia* 'hold an occasion'.

27. The appearance of certain allomorphs of the suffix seem to be lexically conditioned in certain words and phrases. The allomorphs *-yia* and *-kia* are very seldom found and only in old-fashioned words or lexicalised phrases in which there is no variation found with other allomorphs: *lemoyia* 'satisfied'; *talinga tai*, *talinga lua*, *talinga tawitikia* 'one, two, three, go'; *wolowolongia*, *mitimitikia*, *pau ki loto o te kōpū*. (phrase from a chant in the legend of Mokoyikungavali) 'swallowed, sucked, finished inside the stomach'. Those containing *-tia*, *-lia* and *-wia* are not common, but a little less restricted in their use. Some are lexically determined: *walonatia* 'satiated', *yelewutia ōtalinga* 'slap your ears', *yemutia* 'cut down', *pikitia* 'stuck in a quandary', *iliwitia* 'blown away'; while others have been heard (usually produced by elderly speakers) with verbs which normally take the regular suffixes *-a*, *-ina* and *-ngia*. Verbs found in the corpus of spontaneous speech include: *tāā-wia* 'written', *onoono-wia* 'seen', *wakapono-wia* 'decided on', *makalili-tia* 'get cold', *wakatienitieni-lia* 'change one's lifestyle'.

28. One or two disyllabic bases ending in *-a*, which also contain *a* in their first syllable, lengthen the final vowel to indicate the suffix.

- (i) Ko ai na talā kia koe te ala?
 Top who T tell-Cia G-A you A road
Who told you the way?
- (ii) Ko ai na tapā te ingoa o te pēpē?
 Top who T name-Cia A name P A baby-Da
Who named the baby?

29. Although monosyllabic bases containing rising diphthongs allow *-a*: *māoa* 'cooked', *muia* 'attractive', falling diphthongs ending in *-a* only allow *-ina*: *loaina* 'a long time', *meaina* 'called'.

30. For instance, *tuku-na* means 'place, put' while *tuku-ina* means 'give'. However for other verbs there is no semantic difference between suffixed forms: *wulu-na* ~ *wulu-ina* ~ *wulu-ngia* ~ *wulu-a* 'wash'.

31. This verb fulfills the condition of a final long vowel but because it is cognate with CIM *āpi i* native speakers prefer to see it written with two vowels.

32. One idiomatic adverbial phrase appears to be marked by *i te* but there is no extant base *eva*.

- (i) Lele i te eva!
 run L A ?
Run fast!

CHAPTER FOUR : THE NOUN PHRASE

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The constituents of the noun phrase are as follows. Optional elements are enclosed in brackets.

{ determiner
{ possessive pronoun } } (premodifier) nucleus (postmodifier)

A full list of nominal particles is set out in Table 6 which displays the linear ordering of classes of nominal morphemes. It does not indicate co-occurrence restrictions between members of different classes; where appropriate these are mentioned in the text. Like the verb phrase, the noun phrase consists of a nucleus with a number of preposed and postposed modifiers in its peripheries.

The majority of noun phrases in Pukapukan consist of a determiner, the nucleus and optional modifiers. The presence of a determiner is not a sufficient criterion to define the noun phrase since several classes of nouns do not allow a determiner in certain situations, but do require a determiner in other situations (cf. 4.1). All noun subclasses occur with a determiner in the nominative/absolute case, so that the possibility of occurrence with a determiner can be used as a defining feature of a noun phrase. Possessive pronouns are optional modifiers which contain a determiner component so that they are mutually exclusive with the class of determiners. Premodifiers consist of quantifiers: numerals and several terms which refer to collective groupings. Postmodifiers include a number of particles of an adverbial nature as well as adjectives, possessive pronouns and other lexical, phrasal and clausal modifiers. The order of several of the postmodifiers is not fixed, so that variable order can reflect fine differences of meaning. However, the general ordering pattern is for adjectives to occur next to the nucleus, directly followed by possessive pronouns, postposed particles and lastly modifiers of a phrasal or clausal nature, such as possessive phrases, prepositional phrases and relative clauses. The definitive accent is a suprasegmental element which functionally forms part of the positional particle paradigm, but which always occurs phrase finally.

Noun phrases are normally marked for case, although one case marker, the nominative/absolute case is left unmarked. A noun phrase can occur as the complement in a prepositional phrase (6.1-2) and noun phrases can be conjoined to form compound noun phrases (10.1.2.1). Syntactic processes normally treat the noun phrase as an entity; the various components can be separated only in one or two situations (7.3.3).

TABLE 6: Constituents of the Noun Phrase

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| <p>DETERMINERS: (4.1)</p> <p>ARTICLES</p> <p><i>ia</i> 'personal article' <i>e</i> 'nonspecific Sg' <i>ni</i> 'nonspecific Pl' <i>i</i> 'nonspecific Pl' <i>te</i> 'specific Sg' <i>nā</i> 'specific Pl' \emptyset 'plural'</p> | | <p>PREMODIFIERS: QUANTIFIERS: (4.3)</p> <p><i>wainga</i> 'many' <i>wī</i> 'all' <i>onge</i> 'few' <i>mō</i> 'small' <i>toe</i> 'other' <i>wua</i> 'fleet' <i>uwi</i> 'group'</p> | | <p>NUCLEUS (4.4-4.6)</p> |
| <p>POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS (4.2)</p> | | <p>NUMERALS (4.3.2)</p> | | |
| <p>POSTMODIFIERS: (4.7)</p> | | | | |
| <p>LEXICAL MODIFIERS: (4.7.1)</p> | <p>POSSESSIVES (4.8.2)</p> | <p>ADVERBIAL PARTICLES: (4.7.2, 5.1.1)</p> <p><i>wua</i> 'only' <i>tikā</i> 'really' <i>lava</i> 'definitely'</p> | <p>DIRECTIONALS: (5.1.2)</p> <p><i>mai</i> 'hither' <i>atu</i> 'away' <i>ake</i> 'please' <i>io</i> 'misfortune' '?'downwards'</p> | <p>INTENSIFIER (5.1.3)</p> <p><i>loa</i> 'intensifier'</p> |
| <p>POSITIONALS (5.1.4, 4.7.2.2)</p> <p><i>nei</i> 'here' <i>nā</i> 'there, by you' <i>lā</i> 'there' <i>ia</i> 'aforementioned'</p> | <p>OTHER PARTICLES: (5.1.5)</p> <p><i>lā</i> 'intensifier' <i>lā</i> 'still' <i>oki</i> 'also' <i>ē</i> 'durative' <i>pā</i> 'probably' <i>mō</i> 'maybe' <i>mua</i> 'warning' <i>mā</i> 'associative plural' (4.7.2.3)</p> | <p>PHRASAL MODIFIERS (4.8)</p> | <p>CLAUSAL MODIFIERS (4.8.4)</p> | |
| <p>-V 'definitive accent' is a suprasegmental which occurs phrase finally (4.7.2.1)</p> | | | | |

4.1 DETERMINERS

There are two types of determiner in Pukapukan: the personal article *ia* (4.1.1), which precedes a personal name, pronoun, place name or locational noun in certain cases, and the common articles *e*, *te*, *i/ni* and *nā* (4.1.2), which precede common nouns and mark number, specificity and definiteness. The determiner is the first element of a noun phrase:

- (1) *nā wuti mamata i loto o te pia nei*
 A banana R-unripe L inside P A box here
 the green bananas in this box

Most noun phrases require a determiner, but there are certain situations in which the determiner is absent. The definite plural article is realised as zero for possessive pronouns and sometimes for nouns which are modified by the numeral *lua* ‘two’ (4.1.2.5). An article is not required before personal names, personal pronouns, place names and locational nouns in certain oblique cases, but the personal article co-occurs with all of these classes in fronted subject position and in the accusative case. The occurrence of the personal article is predictable by subclass of noun and the case marking of the noun phrase (4.1.1.2). Noun phrases in lists also sometimes occur without an article.

4.1.1 PERSONAL ARTICLE : *ia*

Historically *ia* derives from the Proto-Polynesian particle **a* which is reflected in a number of Polynesian languages as a personal article preceding a personal name or pronoun in the absolutive or nominative case and following the prepositions **i*, **ki*, and **mai*, but not following prepositions ending in non-high vowels (Clark 1976:58). Justification of the synchronic classification of the personal article as *ia* in Pukapukan is found in 4.1.1.1 and its distribution is discussed in 4.1.1.2. Comparison between the distribution of *ia* and that of PPn **a* is made in 4.1.1.3.

Phonological processes such as fusion and lengthening affect the personal article and its immediately adjacent elements. The form of the personal article is obscured following the accusative case marker *i* and the locative prepositions *i*, *ki* and *mai*, because the article fuses phonologically with the prepositions ending in *-i* producing the forms *ia*, *kia* and *maia*.

- (2) *ia Mele* *kia koe* *maia mātou*
 L-A Mele G-A you from-A we.PI
 at Mele to you from us
- (3) *Ko mamao au maia Ota mā.*
 T distant I from-A Ota etc
 I am far away from Ota and [her family].

A combination of the personal article and the singular pronouns produces predictable phonologically fused forms. The preverbal pronoun forms (*aku* 1Sg, *aula koe* 2Sg, *ana* 3Sg...) (3.3) are used as the base forms for all case paradigms except the nominative/absolutive (4.5.2.1), so that the forms of the pronouns marked by *i*, *ki* and *mai* are regular except for the coalescence with the personal article. The singular pronoun forms in these cases are shown in Table 7.

The vowel *a* of the personal article is lengthened preceding words of two morae according to a morphophonemic rule of lengthening (2.6.1). The lengthening also applies to the final vowel of the fused forms *ia*, *kia* and *maia*. However, the forms preceding pronouns are not lengthened beyond the straight morphological addition of the personal article.

- (4) Mea ai ia Uyo kia Kūluea,
 [ia:] [kia]
 say Pro A Uyo G-A Kūluea
 Then Uyo said to Kūluea, (U:11)

TABLE 7: Singular Pronoun Forms Marked by *i*, *ki* & *mai*

| | <i>i</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>mai</i> |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| First Person | ia aku [ia:ku] | kia aku [kia:ku] | maia aku [maia:ku] |
| Second Person | ia koe [iakoe] | kia koe [kiakoe] | maia koe [maiakoe] |
| Third Person | ia ana [ia:na] | kia ana [kia:na] | maia ana [maia:na] |

It is notable that the third person singular pronoun marked by the locative or accusative case marker *i* is homophonous [ia:na] with the nominative/absolutive form *iāna*, since the pronoun fuses phonologically with the case marker and the personal article.

4.1.1.1 Reanalysis of the Personal Article: *a* versus *ia*

There are two possible synchronic analyses of the form of the personal article in Pukapukan. The first is that the personal article is *a*, a regular reflex of PPn **a*. The alternative analysis is that the personal article has been reanalysed historically and now has the form *ia*.

Chung (1978:61, 322-3) advocated the first analysis; that the personal article in Pukapukan is *a*. This analysis readily accounts for the forms *ia*, *kia* and *maia* (discussed above), which result when the personal article immediately follows the prepositions *i*, *ki* and *mai*. However, in the nominative/absolutive case a personal noun is marked by *ia*, rather than by *a* (cf. (4)). Moreover, the nominative/absolutive forms of the singular personal pronouns are not regularly derived from the base forms of the preverbal pronoun paradigm (4.5.2.1). The third person singular pronoun is *iāna* in the nominative/absolutive, but *ana* in the preverbal paradigm. To account for these anomalies, Chung (1975:61) proposed a nominative marker *i* for proper nouns and the third person singular pronoun:

- (5) Yapu loa i a Leiakunavai.
 pregnant Emp Nom prop Leiakunavai
 'Leiakunavai became pregnant.' (Chung ex. (25) b.)
- (6) Na wano i a-na lā Victoria Park.
 past go Nom pro-he across Victoria Park
 'He went across Victoria Park.' (Chung ex. (25) a.)

There are several difficulties with this analysis. Firstly, none of the other pronouns in the nominative/absolutive case have an initial *i-*, so that the ‘nominative’ marker for the third person singular form is quite exceptional in the pronoun paradigm. Secondly, the subclasses of personal and proper nouns which are marked by *i (+a)* in the nominative/absolutive case are a disparate group consisting of personal names, place names and locational nouns (but not pronouns) occurring in a non-fronted position as the nominative noun phrase of an intransitive verb or a transitive verb of the ‘accusative’ pattern, or as the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of a transitive clause of the ‘passive’ or ‘ergative’ patterns (see 4.1.1.2). In clause initial position the distribution is different. The ‘nominative’ marker or ‘topic’ marker that Chung proposed (1975:331) would need to apply to nominative/absolutive pronouns as well as to personal names, place names and locational nouns in a topicalised position. Finally, absence of external evidence for such a nominative marker makes this analysis less than satisfactory (Hooper 1993a:37).

The alternative analysis is that in Pukapukan the personal article has been reanalysed as *ia* and coalesces with case markers ending in *-i* so that the resultant form does not contain a lengthened *i*:

| | | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|------|
| ki | + | ia | → | kia |
| i | + | ia | → | ia |
| mai | + | ia | → | maia |

The second analysis is the more general. Chung’s exceptional treatment of the third person singular pronoun is obviated under this analysis. The nominative/absolutive case is unmarked in all instances, both for common and proper nouns. The classes of personal names, pronouns, place names and locational nouns all take the personal article in clause initial position, but pronouns are excluded from the classes which take the personal article in postverbal position.

The classification of *ia* as personal article deserves discussion because in some respects this particle behaves like an article, while in other respects it behaves like a preposition or a case marker. If *ia* functions as a preposition, it could be argued that it is a nominative/absolutive marker which only applies to certain classes of noun. Behaviour in accordance with that of the articles would support the analysis of *ia* as a personal article. Similar arguments have been advanced for the analysis of *ia* in Tokelauan (Hovdhaugen 1989:50, Vonen 1988:38-9, cited in Hooper 1993:37-39).

In coordinated noun phrases an article is retained in the second conjunct, whereas a case marker or a preposition preceding the second coordinated noun phrase is omitted:

- (7) ...tō mātou pukeanga e te matangi ma (*e) te uwa
 P we.Pl catch-Cia-Nom Ag A wind and Ag A rain
 ...our being caught by the wind and the rain
- (8) Wāngai iāna ki te ipiipi ma (*ki) te uto.
 feed he Ins A coconut.flesh and Ins A sprouting.coconut
 He fed [it] with dried coconut flesh and sprouting coconuts.

In this respect *ia* behaves like a preposition:

- (9) Na winangalo ia Pōuli ma (*ia) Pilipa ke ālu oki ke vave.
 T want A Pōuli and A Pilipa C follow also C quick
Pōuli and Pilipa wanted to go too so [it] would be quicker.

Apart from the fused forms with prepositions in which its form is obscured, *ia* is found only in environments where there is no preposition. This lends further support for its analysis as a nominative/absolute marker. Against this analysis is the widespread occurrence of *ia* marking all subclasses of proper and personal nouns as well as pronouns, in the accusative case.

Ia also acts like an article. Unlike prepositions, *ia* never co-occurs with the common articles and its behaviour therefore parallels that of the articles. While Hooper (1993:38-39) leaves the analysis of *ia* in Tokelauan somewhat unresolved but leans towards its classification as an article but distinct from the determiners, in Pukapukan the appearance of *ia* in the nominative/absolute case as well as in the accusative case provides compelling evidence that it is not a preposition or case marker, but is in fact an article.

4.1.1.2 The Distribution of the Personal Article

The personal article occurs only preceding nouns in the absolute or nominative case and following the prepositions *i*, *ki*, and *mai*. It never occurs following prepositions or case markers which end in non-high vowels, i.e. agentive *e*, possessive *a/o*, *na/no*, *ma/mo*, comitative *ma*, similitive *pe*, *lā* 'via, along' or the topic marker *ko*.

Personal proper nouns and pronouns take the personal article in accusative and oblique cases ending in *-i* as well as in fronted subject position. Locational nouns take the personal article only in nominative/absolute and accusative cases, but not oblique cases. Personal proper nouns and locational nouns, but not pronouns, take the personal article in non-fronted nominative/absolute cases.

Table 8 summarises the occurrence of the personal article with the subclasses of nouns and pronouns for which it is relevant. It shows that pronouns function as a class with personal proper nouns, except in non-fronted nominative and absolute cases when they behave like common nouns. On the other hand, locational proper nouns function as a unified class with personal proper nouns (exclusive of pronouns) in subject as well as object cases. In oblique cases, locational proper nouns behave similarly to common nouns.

Co-occurrence of the personal article with each type of noun class is illustrated below according to case.

TABLE 8: Co-occurrence of the Personal Article with Noun Subclasses in Various Cases.

| | Personal Proper | Pronoun | Locational Proper | Locational Common | Common Noun |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| examples: | <i>Uyo</i> | <i>māou</i> | <i>Pukapuka</i> | <i>mua</i> | <i>vaka</i> |
| Locatives: <i>i</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>ilia</i> | <i>i</i> |
| <i>ki</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>ki (kia)</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>ki</i> |
| <i>mai</i> | <i>maia</i> | <i>maia</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>mai</i> |
| Accusative: <i>i</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>i</i> |
| Fronted Subject: | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | ∅ |
| Nominative: | <i>ia</i> | ∅ | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | ∅ |
| Absolutive: | <i>ia</i> | ∅ | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | ∅ |
| Other cases: <i>e, ko, a/o...</i> | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ |

1. Nominative:

In the nominative case when the noun phrase follows the predicate, the personal article *ia* precedes personal names (10), locational proper nouns (11), and locational common nouns (12, 13).

- (10) Kekemo atu **ia Uyo**.
R-blink Dir A Uyo
Uyo blinked. (U:10)
- (11) Ko ngalungalu **ia Tua**.
T RR-wave A Tua
Tua [the back of the island] is rough. (KM:C2)
- (12) E watu ko pū **ia loto**.
Prd stone T hole A middle
It is a stone with a hole in the middle. [Lit. It is a stone whose middle has a hole.]
- (13) Ko Āwanga **ia lolotonu o te konga nei**.
Prd Āwanga A middle P A place here
The middle of this place is Āwanga. (U:5)

Pronouns, unlike personal names and locative nouns, do not take the personal article in the nominative case.

- (14) Wō loa **lātou** kia Kūluea.
go.Pl Int they G-A Kūluea
They went to Kūluea.

2. Nominative/Absolutive

Personal names (15), locational proper nouns (16) and locational common nouns (17, 18), but not pronouns (19) that are nominative/absolutive arguments of clauses of the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns take the personal article.

- (15) Kitea loa e Kālevāmotu **ia Wekao**.
see-Cia Int Ag Kālevāmotu A Wekao
Kālevāmotu saw Wekao. (TV:T2)
- (16) Ko yē kitea te wenua, ko yē kitea **ia Wale nei**.
T Neg see-Cia A land T Neg see-Cia A Home here
[We] couldn't see the land, [we] couldn't see the main island here. (PS:5:8)
- (17) Na tukia **ia mua o te motokā**.
T hit-Cia A front P A car
The front of the car has been hit.
- (18) Ko ai na vāelea **ia loto o te imu?**
Prd Pro T sweep-Cia A inside P A cook-house
Who swept inside the house?
- (19) Wano ki vao, ka tokia **koe e te niu**.
go G out T hit-Cia you Ag A coconut
Go out [from under the tree] or you will get hit by a coconut. (KU:4:5)

3. Fronted Subjects and Appositional noun phrases

For noun phrases which have been fronted without the topic marker *ko* (20-23), the form is the same; *ia* introduces all classes: personal names (20), pronouns (21), locational proper nouns (22) and locational common nouns (23).

- (20) **Ia Tai** na wano yī ika.
A Tai T go catch fish
As for Tai, he went fishing. (KM:C2)
- (21) **Ia aku** e yē oko atu, ko maki oki au.
A I T Neg arrive Dir T sick also I
As for me, I won't go, I'm sick. (F4:S4:4)
- (22) **Ia Pukapuka** i te vela kino.
A Pukapuka Prd heat bad
Pukapuka is extremely hot.
- (23) **Ia kinei** i te kaikai.
A here Prd eat
Here there is plenty to eat. (MK:S5:10)

The same is true for appositional noun phrases (24-26):

- (24) tana tama, **ia Miliāma**.
her child A Miliāma
her child, Miliāma.

- (25) Ka wō ki te papu, **ia Astor**.
 T go.Pl G A pub A Astor
We will go to the pub, the Astor.
- (26) Na mina oki kōlua i te konga **ia Niukulā**.
 T like also you Acc A place A Niukula-Da
You both liked the place, Niukula. (WT:F1:13)

4. Accusative : *i*

In the accusative case, personal nouns (27), pronouns (28), locational proper nouns (29) and locational common nouns (30) all take the personal article:

- (27) Na mea oki te wenua ka maka **ia Uyo**.
 T say also A land T leave Acc-A Uyo
The island said they would leave Uyo. (U:11)
- (28) Ka angatu au kave **ia kōtou** ki te wenua o Tinilau.
 T come I take Acc-A you G A land P Tinilau
I will come and take you to the land of Tinilau. (MK:S1:6)
- (29) Takapini lātou **ia Pukapuka**.
 circle they Acc-A Pukapuka
They went around Pukapuka.
- (30) Yaulā pē ia Lata ko kalokalo nei wakalelei **ia loto o te pāyua**.
 but def A Lata T RR-scoop here carefully Acc-A inside P A clam
But Lata was scooping out the inside of the clam. (MM:L1:11)

Comparative phrases which are also marked by *i* appear to be similar to accusatively marked phrases. Personal names (31), pronouns (32), locational proper nouns (33) and locational common nouns (34) all occur with the personal article.

- (31) Ko wolo atu te tama nei **ia Tāmāti**.
 T big Dir A child this comp-A Tāmāti
This child is bigger than Tāmāti.
- (32) Ko vaeolo atu koe **ia aku**.
 T fast Dir you comp-A I
You're faster than me.
- (33) Ko vela atu ia Wale **ia Lalotonga**.
 T hot Dir A Home comp-A Rarotonga
Pukapuka is hotter than Rarotonga.
- (34) Ko vela atu ia Wale **ia kinei**.
 T hot Dir A Home comp-A here
Pukapuka is hotter than here.

5. Locative Cases : *i*, *ki*, *mai*

Apart from the accusative case, *i* may mark cause as well as locative or temporal location. *Ki* marks not only goals, but also instrumental case, and *mai* marks source. Personal names and pronouns but not locational nouns take the personal article in all locative cases: goal, source, causal and locative cases.

However, comparative phrases marked by *i* allow the personal article for all three noun classes including locational nouns (see (4) above). Locational proper nouns may take the personal article in locative phrases marked by *i*, *ki* or *mai* only when the locational noun stands for a personal noun. There are no examples in the corpus of personal or locational nouns acting in the role of instrument, or locational nouns as cause, but this reflects the tendency for these roles to be filled by concrete nouns or verbs denoting events.

(a) Locative : *i*

Locative *i* differs from the accusative case marker *i*. Personal names and pronouns take the personal article.

(35) ...i te konga **ia Lautana mā**, i te pō.
L A place L-A Lautana etc L A cemetery
...at the place where Lautana and the others [are] in the cemetery.

(36) **Ia Vete mā**, i Mt Eden.
L-A Vete etc L Mt Eden
[I stayed] at Vete and the others' place in Mt Eden. (MU:C3)

(37) **Ko ia lātou** wua te tika.
T L-A they just A right
The decision is up to them.

However, proper locational nouns generally do not take the personal article:

(38) Na aku iloa e te tunu olo ma te tunu mawu **i Wale**.
T I know C cook taro.pudding and C cook mawu L Home
I learned how to cook olo and mawu on Pukapuka.

Locational common nouns are more complicated: they do not take the personal article when they are part of a complex locative phrase, but they may when they stand alone phrase finally.

(39) Na pākoti vayavaya au **ia mua.**
ia lolotonu.
i mua o te wale.
T cut grass I L-A front
L-A centre
L front of the house
I cut the grass at the front / at the middle / at the front of the house.

(40) Liko i te niu **i lolotonu.**
hold Acc A coconut.tree L middle
[He] held the coconut tree in the middle. (U:6)

(41) Patu **i loto.**
kill L inside
[They] killed them inland. (U:10)

Months of the year behave like personal names and allow the personal article in locative and appositional phrases:

- (42) Na longolongo tātou **ia** **Āpelila** te payī koa oko mai lā te kaokao.
 T RR-hear we L-A April A ship T arrive Dir round A side
We've heard that [it will be] in April when the ship comes round the corner. (UU:46:1)
- (43) Mē lā, ka oko mai i te matawiti lā mua nei **ia** **Tiulai** mē Tiānuale.
 C but T arrive Dir L A year through front here L-A July or January
But if [not], [it] will arrive next year, in July or January. (SF:T3:13)
- (44) i te malama **ia** **Pepeluale**, i te tāpati openga o Pepeluale.
 L A month A February L A week end P February
in the month, in February, in the last week of February. (AR:2:6)

(b) Causal : *i*

Personal names and pronouns which denote causes are marked with the personal article *ia*:

- (45) Na kino tā mātou kēmu **ia** **Tuli**.
 T bad P we game By-A Tuli
Our game was spoilt by Tuli.
- (46) Te pālā, na tō ki lalo **ia** **koe**.
 A knife-Da T fall G down By-A you
The knife fell down on your account.

(c) Goal : *ki*

Goals marked by *ki* take the personal article for personal names (47) and pronouns (48) but generally do not for locational nouns (49).

- (47) Uwi ia Māui Mua ki te ngāloto, **kia** **Māui Loto**...
 ask A Māui Mua G A middle.one G-A Māui Loto
Māui Mua asked his middle brother, Māui Loto... (PK:M1)
- (48) ...ka aumai **kia** **kōlua** i te tāyao nei.
 T bring G-A you.2 L A day here
 ...which we will bring to you today. (V:1)
- (49) Nā i Onehunga te uwa ko wano **ki** **Mangere**.
 T L Onehunga A rain T go G Mangere
The rain was at Onehunga and is going to Mangere.

In the Beaglehole manuscript (n.d., a) there are a few instances of locational proper nouns being marked with a personal article (50), although most are not (51):

- (50) Oko mai **kia** **Ngangie**.
 arrive Dir G-A Ngangie
They came to Ngangie. (BB:1136)
- (51) Yali mai loa **ki** **Te Kokonga i Loto**.
 net Dir Int G Te Kokonga L Loto
They netted to Te Kokonga at Loto. (BB:1136)

However, where a locational proper noun stands for people at a certain place, the personal article is appropriate even today. Village names are among those that commonly take a personal article with such a reference.

- (52) Na peke lava **kia Loto**.
 T win Int G-A Loto
It was an absolute victory to [the village of] Loto.

Names of months of the year behave as personal nouns and are marked with a personal article in other cases; however, they are restricted in their occurrence with *ki* and often occur instead as the possessor element in a complex locational phrase.

- (53) Ka kali **ki loto o Āpelila**.
 * Ka kali ki(a) Āpelila
 T wait G inside P April
[The boat] will wait until April.

Names for the days of the week are common nouns which take the common article:

- (54) Ka kali **ki te Palapalau ma te Walaile**.
 T wait G A Thursday and A Friday
[We] will wait until Thursday and Friday. (U:1)

(d) Source : *mai*

In prepositional phrases marked by *mai*, personal names (55) and pronouns (56), but not locational nouns (57, 58), take the personal article.

- (55) Na wengatu te kaikai malie ma te atawai wolo **maia Kerephino ma tona yoa**.
 T come A food sweet with A thanks big from-A Kerephino and his friend
This gift comes with many thanks from Kerephino and his wife.
- (56) Mē kāe tika e maua mai **maia kōlua**, oti.
 if Neg-exist agree T get Dir from-A you finish
If [we] don't get any agreement from you, that will be the end of it. (UU:9:1)
- (57) Ke ōla kōtou, e te kau pātete na lōmamai **mai Wale ma Lalotonga**.
 C live you Voc A people passenger T come.PI from Home and Rarotonga
Greetings to you, the passengers who have come from Pukapuka and Rarotonga. (S:L2:2)
- (58) Ka yaele au **mai kinei**.
 T walk I from here
I'll walk from here.

Locational proper nouns referring to people at a certain place allow the personal article:

- (59) Wakamata loa iāna e te wano **maia Yātō wawine**, yau ki Loto, yau oki ki Ngake.
 start Int he C go from-A Yātō woman come G Loto come also G Ngake
He started to go from the women of Yātō, then coming to Loto and also to Ngake. (L:WW:1:1)

4.1.1.3 Historical Issues

The occurrence of the personal article in Pukapukan largely follows the regular pattern for Polynesian languages in that, as in virtually every Polynesian language, it is found only ‘between the prepositions **i*, **ki*, **mai* and a following personal name or personal pronoun’ or ‘with no preposition at all (i.e. in the nominative)’ (Clark 1976:58). It does not occur following the prepositions or case markers *e* ‘agentive’, *pe* ‘similative’, *ko* ‘topic’, *ma* ‘comitative’ or *alo*, *nālnō*, *mālmō* ‘possessive’, which concurs with the morphophonemic explanation proposed by Clark (*ibid.*) for the distribution pattern in PPn: that the personal article **a* was lost after prepositions ending in non-high vowels.

Although the actual form of the personal article has been reanalysed in Pukapukan as *ia* (4.1.1.1), the language reflects a close approximation to the distribution pattern of the personal article in the proto-language (cf. 4.1.1.2). A few differences are evident: the class of nouns which take the personal article has been extended to include the locational nouns in the nominative/absolutive and accusative cases, but not with the locative preposition *i*; the personal article is not used with pronouns in the nominative/absolutive case in postverbal position, but fused forms such as *iāna* ‘he’ suggest that it may have once been present as *ia* before pronouns. Likewise, the fused forms of the preverbal pronoun paradigm attest an initial *a* for all members of the set, which most likely represents the personal article in its earlier form. For nominative/absolutive noun phrases in clause initial position, the personal article precedes all classes of proper nouns as well as pronouns. Clark noted that the languages which most closely preserve the PPn situation are Cook Islands Māori, Penrhyn and N.Z. Māori, none of which use the personal article with pronouns in the nominative case at all. They more closely approximate the PPn pattern than do other Pn languages which have lost the nominative use entirely or have reinterpreted the personal article either as a case marker or as a plural article (1975:59-61). In this respect Pukapuka preserves an even closer approximation to the PPn situation than do Cook Islands Māori, Penrhyn, and New Zealand Māori since the personal article is retained with pronouns in the nominative/absolutive case, although only in clause initial position.

4.1.2 COMMON ARTICLES

The common articles are contrasted for number and type of reference. The primary means by which number is marked in noun phrases is through the distinction made in the articles, although there are a few nouns which have singular as well as plural forms (4.5.1.3) and some attributive modifiers of a noun can be inflected for plurality (4.7.1). The binary distinction made in the common article paradigm between singular and plural contrasts with the singular/dual/plural distinction that is made in the personal and possessive pronoun paradigms.

The noun phrase is also marked for specificity, definiteness and genericness by means of the common articles. The positional particles (4.7.2), including the definitive accent (4.7.2.1), also play a role in the marking of definiteness. A generic noun can be incorporated into the verb (3.8).

The distinction made between specificity and definiteness in the common article paradigm is not clearcut. For the singular articles, the primary contrast is one of specific/nonspecific, and for the plural articles the definite/indefinite contrast appears to be more important, but sometimes these distinctions are neutralised. In some respects *te* could be described as an ‘elsewhere’ type of category, since it can also be used for generic situations and with collective nouns, even when the noun itself is in the plural form.

Table 9 lists the forms of the common articles, according to the number and specificity contrasts, but does not distinguish between types of reference. The distinctions that can be made are elaborated below.

TABLE 9: Common Articles

| | Singular | Plural |
|-------------|----------|--------|
| Nonspecific | e | ni / i |
| Specific | te / t- | nā / Ø |

An indefinite nonspecific noun phrase is marked with a nonspecific article:

- (60) Ka wano au pū e imu.
 T go I light A fire
I'll go and light a fire. (PP2:5:1)
- (61) Aumai ake ni lau puapua.
 bring Dir A leaf tree.sp
Bring [me] some Guettardia leaves.

An indefinite specific noun phrase is marked with a specific article:

- (62) Mea oki te toe tangata...
 say also A other person
Another person said... (KM:AM1:3)
- (63) Kamuloa mātou i nā toe ayo nēnevaina o mātou lolo, waingatā oki nā toe konga ke wakapono.
 really we L A other day stupid-Cia P we brain difficult also A other place C decide
Some days our brains get completely stupified, because certain parts are so hard to decide on. (PW:2:12)
- (64) I te toe ayo, yau loa te tavake tau ki lunga o te watu i te alo.
 L A other day come Int A tropic.bird perch G on P A stone L A lagoon
One day a tropic bird came and perched on a rock in the lagoon. (W1:P5:2:3)
- (65) Wano loa tāpena, pī ai iāna ki te manongi tangaloa,... pilipou oki te pilipou vae loloa,
 go Int ready sprinkle Pro he Ins A perfume man pants also A pants leg R-long
 pona ma te pona lima loloa, pale ma tona kēpu. Kaina loa te pōvī ula papaa.
 dress with A shirt arm R-long hat with his cap just.like Int A old.person dance European
[He] went and got ready, sprinkled himself with perfume,...put on long trousers, dressed with a long-sleeved shirt and put on his cap. [He] was just like an old person going to a European dance.

A generic noun phrase is also marked by the singular article *te*:

- (66) **Te malau e ika loa kula.**
 A fish.sp Prd fish Int red
The soldierfish is a really red fish.
- (67) ...ma a mātou kōpelú, na pau wua e te kavea e **te tangata** wāngai manu.
 and P we fish.sp-Da T finish just C take-Cia Ag A people feed bird
...and our mackerel scad were all taken by people to feed [their] birds. (LS:2:16)
- (68) **Toku kili, na pau i te namu.**
 my skin T finish By A mosquito
My skin is finished on account of mosquitoes.

A definite specific noun phrase is marked with a specific article, and may also be further specified for definiteness by postposed positional particles including the definitive accent, possessive modifiers or a relative clause.

- (69) **Patu loa e te wai i te tao o te akulā, wati.**
 hit Int Ag A stingray L A spear P A swordfish, broke
The stingray hit at the bill of the swordfish and it broke. (W1:P5:3:2)
- (70) **Kave ake te kapu kaope nei ki te tangatá.**
 take Dir A cup coffee here G A person-Da
Please take this cup of coffee to that person over there.

A specific indefinite noun phrase may also be marked with the positional particle *ia* to indicate the first mention of a certain object in the discourse. This is an exceptional use of the positional particles to indicate a specific but indefinite noun phrase. All other positional particles mark only definite noun phrases.

- (71) **Ko valenga māua e te yāele, onoono atu au i te weke ia** koa lele ki loto o te pū.
 T enjoy we.2 C walk look Dir I Acc A octopus Af T run G inside P A hole
We were happily walking along, when I saw an octopus darting into a hole.
- (72) **I te pō ia, i te vāia ētene,**
 L A night Af L A time heathen
On a certain night in heathen times,

In summary, *te* is normally used when a particular individual or object is referred to, but it is not necessary that the addressee should be able to identify the referent. It is used to refer to specific entities which can be definite or indefinite. However, it can also be used in nonreferential or generic noun phrases. A singular, nonspecific noun phrase is marked by *e*.

In the plural, the contrast between *ni/i* and *nā* seems to be one that distinguishes indefinite/definite rather than nonspecific/specific. *Ni* can occur in noun phrases with specific but indefinite reference, as in (73), as well as with nonspecific indefinite reference (74), whereas *nā* occurs in noun phrases with specific definite reference (75).

- (73) Tuku atu ai **ni puka** mā lātou i kilā.
send Dir Pro A book P they L there
[I] sent some books for them over there.
- (74) Me ko maua ia kōtou e te liko mai **ni lua manu**...
if T able By-A you.PI C catch Dir A two bird
If you are able to catch a couple of birds...
- (75) Tuku atu ai **nā puka ia** mā lātou i kilā.
send Dir Pro A book Af P they L there
[I] sent those books for them over there.

However, the distinction between definite/indefinite and specific/nonspecific is not clearcut; the contrast between *ni/i* and *nā* is sometimes neutralised. Conjoined specific indefinite noun phrases typically mark the first noun phrase with *ni* and the second with *nā*:

- (76) Ko i loto o te pia ia **ni kākau** ma **nā puka** mō te kau i Wale.
*ma ni puka
T L inside P A box Af A clothes and A book for A people L Home
Inside this box are some clothes and some books for the people on Pukapuka.

Contrast between the singular articles is also sometimes neutralised in conjoined noun phrases (77), but not always (78):

- (77) Wānau loa e lua a lāua tama, e **tamatāne** ma **te tamāwine**.
give.birth Int A two P they.2 child A son and A daughter
They gave birth to two children, a son and a daughter. (KS2:4)
- (78) Wano aumaia **e wala** ma **e wuti**.
go bring-Cia A pandanus and A banana
Go and bring me a pandanus and a banana.

Similarly, in oblique cases a nonspecific article is often disallowed although the reference is to a nonspecific entity.

- (79) Onoono atu lā, ko Leiakunavai, ko i loto o te pūwala, ko ngīngī ai **pe te kirole**.
*pe e kirole.
look Dir there Top Leiakunavai T L inside P A trunk-pandanus T squeak Pro like A rat
But when they looked there, Leiakunavai was inside the trunk of a pandanus tree squeaking like a rat.

Noun phrases in lists of three or more do not always require the article:

- (80) Ni ika kupenga ni mū, **kanae** ma **nā āyeu**.
Prd fish net A snapper mullet and A trevally
Fish [caught in a] net are snapper, mullet and trevally. (KM:LL1:7)

The common articles occur with common nouns, which includes days of the week, but not months of the year.

- (81) mai te Luilua na topá. te pō o te Luitolu. ki loto o Āpelila.
since A Tuesday T past-Da A night P A Wednesday L in P April
since last Tuesday. Wednesday night. in April

Locational common nouns do not occur with the common articles, but they behave similarly to locational proper nouns in taking the personal article in certain cases (4.1.1.2).

4.1.2.1 Nonspecific Singular : e

The article *e* identifies a noun phrase as nonspecific, indefinite and singular. An indefinite nonspecific noun phrase commonly occurs as the head of an equational nominal predicate to denote class membership or a characteristic.

(82) E tangata teki vave ia Uyo.
Prd person hop fast A Uyo
Uyo was a person who could hop fast.

(83) Ko te tangata nei e tangata yila pe te taulātua.
Top A person here Prd person enlightened like A rope.god
As for this person, he was a visionary like a seer. (U:6)

An indefinite nonspecific singular noun phrase may occur as the absolutive noun phrase of an ‘ergative’ clause:

(84) Wawaki mai e wala.
R-break Dir A pandanus.key
Break me off a pandanus fruit.

or as the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of a clause of the ‘passive’ pattern:

(85) Wano okoa mai e ika.
go buy-Cia Dir A fish
Go and buy a fish.

(86) Wano tunua e tī ke kai tī ai.
go cook-Cia A tea C eat tea Pro
Go and cook a [pot of] tea so [we] may have a small meal.

However, indefinite noun phrases do not generally occur as the subjects of intransitive verbs and never as the subject of accusatively marked transitive verbs. Instead an existential predicate must be used:

(87) * Na wati e lā o te lākau nei.
T break A branch P A tree here

E tai mō lā na wati o te lākau nei.
T exist maybe branch T break P A tree here
A branch has broken off this tree.

(88) * Na vayi e tangata i taku tamá.
T hit A person Acc my child-Da

E tai tangata na vayi i taku tamá.
T exist person T hit Acc my child-Da
Someone has hit my child.

- (95) I **wea** a kōtou popoa i te ayo nei?
Prd what P you.Pl food L A day here
What is your food to be today?
- (96) I **ingoa wua** nā lātou ko māni.
Prd name just P they T make
[They] are just some names that they make up. (MM:C1:12)
- (97) Ni **wea** au talatala nā?
Prd what your RR-talk there
What are you talking about?! (AT:C3)
- (98) Ni **pilipou vae popoto wua** o māua mea.
Prd pants leg R-short just P we.2 thing
We only had shorts on. (P:S6:1)
- (99) Ko nā wale atua oki o lātou **ni wale yayā**.
Top A house gods also P they Prd house R-sacred
The houses of their gods were sacred houses. (U:7)

Indefinite plural noun phrases may occur as the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of a clause of the ‘passive’ pattern:

- (100) Nōnō wua kōtou i kinei ke wano au topea mai i **lua mata-wāwā nā tātou**.
RR-stay just you L here C go I harvest-Cia Dir A two cls- taro P we.Pl
You stay here while I go and dig up a couple of taro tubers for us. (F3:4:1)
- (101) Wō tulituliina mai i **lua toa nā tātou**.
go.Pl RR-chase-Cia Dir A two warrior P we.Pl
Go and chase a couple of warriors for us. (F3:4:1)

or as the absolutive noun phrase of an ergative clause:

- (102) Aumai ake **ni maunu**.
bring Dir A bait
Please give me some bait. (PP2:11:2)
- (103) Nōnō wua lā kōlua i kinei, tunu **ni kīnaki**, ke nīnaki ai a tātou pāyua.
RR-stay just Int you L here cook A accompaniment C accompany Pro P we clam
You two stay here and cook something to go with our clams. (KU:6:4)
- (104) Manatu loa tona manako ke talikai **ni lua tawa** ki tona māmā ke oko ai **ni pōlo** mā lāua.
think Int her thought C ask A two money G her mother C buy Pro A ball for they.2
She thought of asking her mother for some money to buy some balls for them both. (KM:ET1:6)

Occasionally indefinite plural noun phrases occur as subjects of intransitive verbs:

- (105) Tō loa **ni uwa toka**.
fall Int A rain rock
Some hailstones fell. (MM:L2)
- (106) Nā toe konga koa kakao mai **ni lākau**.
A other place T appear Dir A tree
As for other places, trees were beginning to appear. (PK:M1)

or as a subject of a locative predicate:

- (107) Ko i loto pā o te puka nei ni mō takayala.
 T L inside probably P A book here A few mistake
There are probably a few mistakes in this book. (T:2:6)

The analysis of indefinite noun phrases as the object of an accusatively marked transitive clause is somewhat tricky since *i* may be either an indefinite article or an accusative marker. For direct objects both *ni* and *i* are permitted. However, like the nonspecific singular article *e*, the plural nonspecific articles may not co-occur with the accusative marker *i*. This analysis is justified by a parallel constraint in the singular (see 4.1.2.1) and the marking of indefinite subjects and predicates which also allow both *ni* and *i*. For indefinite direct objects, *i* is more common than *ni* in noun phrases qualified by the numeral *lua* ‘two, a couple’.

- (108) Ka tuku atu au i lua mea mā au.
 T leave Dir I A two thing for you
I will leave a couple of things for you. (AP:C1)
- (109) E kino i te oko mai i lua kālani, pule ai i nā pō?
 T bad C buy Dir A two gallon pray Pro L A night
Would it be bad to buy a couple of gallons [of kerosene] with which we could hold our services at night?
- (110) Ko akaputupu au ni lua tawa mā aku, ke peke toku pona nō te ayo ia.
 T caus-RR-ple I A two money for me C buy my dress P A day Af
I am saving up some money so that I can buy a dress for that occasion.
- (111) I te vāia nei, ka tāmata au e te tala ni tala wenua.
 L A time here T start I C tell A story land
I'm going to start telling some traditional stories now. (KM:ET3:1)

Noun phrases marked by *ni/i* do not otherwise occur marked for case or as the second of two conjoined noun phrases. Instead, *nā* is required and the object may be qualified as being indefinite by the modifier *toe* ‘other, some’:

- (112) Wano atu iāna ki nā toe wenua /*ki ni wenua.
 go Dir he G A other land
He went to some other lands.
- (113) Ni ika kupenga ni mū, kanae ma nā āyeu / *ma ni āyeu
 Prd fish net A snapper mullet and A trevally
Fish [caught in a] net are snapper, mullet and trevally. (KM:LL1:7)

4.1.2.3 Specific Singular : te

Te identifies the noun phrase as being singular and specific.

- (114) Na ālai loa te toka loa tongi i te ava.
 T block Int A rock Int big Acc A channel
A very large rock was blocking off the channel. (MM:L2)

It is reduced to *t-* as the article component of possessive pronouns (see 4.3).

Te is often used to refer collectively to a group of entities.

- (115) Ka pau **te yakali**.
 T finish A dry.coconut
[We]'ll finish [husking] the dry coconuts.
- (116) Ka pōina e **te ngalu**.
 T sweep.away-Cia Ag A wave
[They'll] be swept away by the waves. (U:C1)
- (117) Kamuloa ia Tēnana pewu **te ivi**.
 really A Tēnana strong A bone
Tēnana had really strong bones. (MM:T5)

A common use of *te* to refer to a whole group is with the modifier *wī* 'all', as in the expression *te wīmea* 'everything [lit. the whole group of things]'.

- (118) Yīyinga **te wī wuti**, yīyinga ma nā toe niu.
 R-fall A all banana R-fall with A other coconut
All the banana trees fell down and so did some of the coconut trees.

Locational nouns are not typically marked by the common articles. They allow the personal article in certain situations (4.1.1.2).

- (119) Ka wano au ki Pukapuka.
 T go I G Pukapuka
I will go to Pukapuka.

However, a locational proper noun may be preceded by *te* to refer collectively to people belonging to that place.

- (120) Te Yāmoa Te Ngake
 Samoans Ngake villagers
- (121) Te wī yanga a **te Pukapuka** i Niu Tīleni.
 A all work P A Pukapuka L New Zealand
All the things that the Pukapukan people do in New Zealand.
- (122) Kāni wale o Ngake i ai, nā nō wua mai **te Ngake** ki te Ā.
 Neg.exist house P Ngake L Pro T stay just Dir A Ngake G A Ā.
There were no houses of Ngake there, Ngake village used to stay at Te Ā. (MM:LK3:72)

A number of personal names and place names contain a common article, *te*: *Te enua*, *Te Yawea*, *Te Itū*, *Te Ā*. In addition, the common article may be added to a person's name as a type of endearment. The common article may even co-occur with a personal article in this type of situation:

- (123) **Ia te Ola** i te viti!
 A A Ola Prd nice
Ola is beautiful.

- (124) Wuti mai loa taku ika, wuti mai oki **ia te** Limapēni.
 Pull Dir Int my fish pull Dir also A A Limapēni
I pulled my fish in, and Limapēni pulled his in too. (PS:3:3)

The common article *te* has two other variants when it co-occurs with personal names in this use as an endearment: *ti*, *pe*. Thus: *ia ti Mala* ~ *ia te Mala* ~ *ia pe Mala* ~ *ia Mala*.

4.1.2.4 Specific Plural : *Nā*

Nā typically identifies a noun phrase as being plural, specific and definite:

- (125) **Nā manu nā** ni kākā.
 A bird there Prd tern
Those birds are white terns.

Nā is also used in plural noun phrases where the distinction between definite/indefinite specific/nonspecific has been neutralised as discussed earlier (see 4.1.2).

4.1.2.5 Plural : \emptyset

There are two syntactically conditioned situations in which a zero article denotes plurality.

1. Possessive Pronouns

In plural possessive pronouns the article is \emptyset . Singular possessive pronouns are marked by *t-* (4.2). The possessive pronoun paradigm does not make a distinction between definite/specific indefinite/nonspecific.

- (126) E nī \emptyset a kōtou ika na maua?
 T exist.Pl A P you fish T get
 [Lit. Do your fish that [you] caught exist?]
 Did you catch any fish?
- (127) Tāmaka ai au i \emptyset oku tāmaka.
 shoe Pro I Acc A my.Pl shoe
 I put on my shoes.

2. A noun which is modified by the number *lua* ‘two’ also has a zero article. This is not true of nouns modified by other numerals which require an article, *te*, and a suffix attached to the numeral (4.3.2.6). The syntactic restriction applies to noun phrases which are marked for case:

- (128) Mea atu au ki \emptyset lua tama nei...
 *ki tolu tama nei
 ki te tolu-ngaua tama nei
 say Dir I G A two child here
 three-suff
I said to these two children / to these three children... (F4:S1:6)

Definiteness is indicated by other markers within the noun phrase, for instance postmodifiers, including a positional particle (128), possessive phrase (129, 130) or relative clause (130). The zero article does not mark definiteness. The noun phrase can be definite (129, 130) or indefinite (131) (cf. 4.3.2.6):

- (129) Ko i wea Ø lua tama a koe, na momoe?
 T L where A two child P you T R-sleep
Where are your two children, are they asleep?
- (130) Ko Ø lua ayo āku na manatū, Luitolu koa wō, Palapalau koa nīniko.
 Prd A two day P-my T think-Da Wednesday T go.Pl Thursday T return
The two days I am thinking of are: Wednesday to go and Thursday to return. (UU:1)
- (131) Kali wua ki Ø lua toe ayo lā mua nei, ka angaanga ai tāua.
 wait just G A two other day there front here T RR-work Pro we.2
Just wait for a couple more days and then we'll work together.

In addition to these syntactically conditioned situations in which there is a zero article representing plurality, there are several related classes of predicates which do not allow an article in their subjects. These are: numeral predicates (132), existential predicates (133) and negative existential predicates (134, 135). The subject of these types of predicates commonly has a possessive pronoun modifier, as in (126), which often corresponds to the agent of a relative clause. In these situations, the article is Ø in the possessive pronoun. The following sentences show that the subjects of this type of predicate do not take an article even when they are not modified by a possessive pronoun. Subjects of these predicates are intrinsically plural as indicated by number agreement of a postmodifier (134) or of the verb in a relative clause (132) and there is never a contrast with the singular article *te*. The absence of an article does not indicate definiteness since subjects of negative existential predicates are indefinite.

- (132) E lima wale poti na yīyinga.
 T five house boat T R-fall
There are five boatsheds that have fallen down. (UL1:1)
- (133) E yī tikava ko i te kolo i Tuá!
 T exist.Pl fish.sp T L A causeway L Tua-Da
There are some sprats around the causeway at Tua!
- (134) I te taime ia oki, kāni matīni yoyolo pēnei.
 L A time Af also Neg.exist.Pl machine R-swift like.this
At that time there were no fast outboard motors like there are today. (MN2:13)
- (135) Akatele loa ē, ngalo lā muli o te toka, kākole tangata, kākole poti.
 caus-sail Int Dur lost via behind P A rock Neg.exist person Neg.exist boat
[They] sailed on, until [they] disappeared behind the rock, but there was not a single person, not a single boat. (MN2:15)

Mass nouns are marked with a plural article, *nā* or Ø.

- (136) Nā yua nei i te anu.
 A water here Prd cold
This water is cold.
- (137) Liko mai koe i oku lauulu.
 hold Dir you Acc my.Pl hair
Hold on to my hair. (P:S5:7)

4.2 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Closely associated with the personal pronouns (4.5.2.1) are the possessive pronouns which normally precede the nucleus of the noun phrase. Like other Polynesian languages, Pukapukan has a large inventory of possessive pronoun forms. They occur as modifiers in a noun phrase, but their grammatical functions are wider than simply the marking of pronominal possession. Possessive pronouns are incompatible with the articles because the possessive pronouns are fused forms containing reduced articles, discussed below.

The class of preposed possessive pronouns occurs in linear order preceding the numerals.

- (138) Na wano au yī ika ma **taku** tolungaua tamatāne.
 T go I catch fish with my three-suff son
I went fishing with my three sons.
- (139) Na patu au i **taku** limangaua moa totongí nō te imukai.
 T kill I Acc my five-suff chicken R-big P A feast
I killed my five fattest chickens for the feast.

It also precedes the other quantifiers including *toe*, *wī* and *mō*:

- (140) Katikati loa au i nā vae o **taku** toe kaipea.
 RR-bite Int I Acc A leg P my other crab
I bit the leg of one of my kaipea crabs [for bait]. (KM:YK:1:3)
- (141) Tatau ai lātou ki o **lātou** wī atua.
 R-pray Pro they G P they all god
They prayed to all their gods. (U:1:8)
- (142) Na oti ai i kinei **aku** mō muna.
 T finish Pro L here my.Pl few word
That finishes my few words. (TW:1:6)

However, there seems to be some flexibility in the position of the numeral *lua* ‘two’. The possessive pronouns normally follow the number *lua* ‘two’, which supports the view that it acts as a type of determiner (see 4.3.2.6).

- (143) Tala loa iāna ki lua **ana** tamatāne nei.
 tell Int he G two his son here
He told his two sons. (F4:S3:4)

But there are a number of instances in the corpus of *lua* following the possessive pronouns, especially in children’s speech. This may reflect a change in process based on the order of possessive pronouns and numerals higher than two.

- (144) ...mē ko lelei iāna ma **aku** lua tamatāne.
 C T good she with my.Pl two son
[to see] if she was alright with my two sons. (W2:F2:6:1)
- (145) Yau ai ki te kongā i **ana** lua lākau.
 come Pro G A place L his.Pl two tree
He came to the place where his two sticks were. (F4:S1:1)

The possessive pronouns consist of two parts: the possessive marker and the person marker. The person marker indicates the number and person of the possessor. Short variants of the pronominal morphemes are used in the formation of the singular possessive pronouns. These are:

| | |
|---------------|-----|
| first person | -ku |
| second person | -u |
| third person | -na |

The possessive marker also consists of two elements. The first part denotes whether the possession is definite, emphatic, benefactive or irrealis, while the other denotes the type of possession; *a* for dominant possession, *o* for subordinate or inalienable possession. The criteria that determine the choice of type of possession are the same as for non-pronominal forms (see 6.2.8). The article component is fused as part of the pronoun and indicates whether the possessed entity is singular or plural. The definite possession marker, *t-*, is a contraction of the singular specific article, while the plural is \emptyset . The definite/specific, indefinite/nonspecific contrast found in the common articles is not maintained in this paradigm. Nouns which are modified by a preposed possessive pronoun normally refer to definite entities, except for those few situations discussed in 4.1.2.5 including subjects of negative existential predicates. Indefiniteness of the possessed entity must be expressed by means of a nonspecific article and a postposed *n/m-* marked possessor (see 6.2.9):

| | | | |
|-------|--|--|--|
| (146) | toku vaka my canoe <i>my canoe</i> | e vaka nō oku A canoe P I <i>a canoe of mine</i> | *e toku vaka A my canoe <i>(a canoe of mine)</i> |
|-------|--|--|--|

Preposed possessive pronouns are incompatible with the common articles apart from those found in the fused forms. Possessive pronouns precede the nominals they modify and agree in number with their head nouns.

| | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (147) | toku matua tāne my.Sg parent man <i>my father</i> | oku mātutua my.Pl parent.Pl <i>my parents</i> |
|-------|---|---|

Possessive pronouns, like the other pronominal paradigms, encode the number of the possessor in a three-way distinction which contrasts singular, dual and plural forms.

One collective noun changes meaning when it is accompanied by a plural possessive pronoun and the definitive accent, namely *kau* which normally means ‘people’, but means ‘spouse’ if it is marked by a plural possessive pronoun: *tō kōrou kau* ‘your (Sg) spouse’ [lit. your (Pl) people]; *tō mārou kau* ‘my spouse’ [lit. our (Pl) people].

The preposed possessive pronoun paradigm is presented in Table 10. Length of the vowels is conditioned morphologically. For the dual and plural pronouns, the singular forms have a long vowel in the possessive morpheme, *tō/tā*, while the plural possessive morphemes contain a short vowel *o/a*. The plural form of the second person singular contains a long vowel: *ō*. This contrasts with the length of the genitive case marker *o* which is conditioned morphophonemically according to the length of the following word (see 6.2.8, 2.6.1).

TABLE 10: Preposed Possessive Pronouns

| | Singular | | Dual | | Plural | |
|---------------------|----------|------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| First Inclusive Sg. | | | tā tāua | tō tāua | tā tātou | tō tātou |
| plural | | | a tāua | o tāua | a tātou | o tātou |
| First Exclusive Sg. | taku | toku | tā māua | tō māua | tā mātou | tō mātou |
| plural | aku | oku | a māua | o māua | a mātou | o mātou |
| Second Person Sg. | tau | tō | tā kōlua | tō kōlua | tā kōtou | tō kōtou |
| plural | au | ō | a kōlua | o kōlua | a kōtou | o kōtou |
| Third Person Sg. | tana | tona | tā lāua | tō lāua | tā lātou | tō lātou |
| plural | ana | ona | a lāua | o lāua | a lātou | o lātou |

- (148) taku tama ona kākau o lātou ingoa a mātou manatunga
my child his.Pl clothes P they name P we think-Nom
my child his clothes their names our thoughts

The chief syntactic domain of possessive pronouns is the attributive function. Besides this there is a series of possessive pronouns which occurs postpositively (4.8.2.1).

Nouns modified by possessive pronouns may be marked for any case including the genitive case. The vowel-initial possessive pronouns combine phonologically with a preceding *a/o* genitive case marker, resulting in coalescence and lengthening of the first vowel if the adjacent vowels are identical:

- (149) Te vaka **ōku** āngkala: o Lakulaku, o Tio, o Tāne. (o + oku)
A canoe P-my.Pl uncle P Lakulaku P Tio P Tāne P my.Pl
The canoe belonging to my uncles: of Lakulaku, Tio and Tāne. (MM:L4:2)
- (150) i loto **ō mātou** wale (o + o mātou)
L inside P-P we house P P we
inside of our house
- (151) lā loto **ō** mata (o + ō)
through inside P-your eye P your.Pl
through your eyes
- (152) te tātānga **ā tātou** tama (a + a tātou)
A write-Nom P-P we child P P we
our children's writing

But non-identical adjacent vowels remain distinct:

- (153) te kotikotinga o **a tātou** wī mako.
A RR-cut-Nom P P we all chant
the writing of all our chants (LL:24:1:8)
- (154) te pule a **o tātou** tūpuna
A prayer P P we ancestor
the prayer of our ancestors (V:80:4:4)

Possessive pronouns typically signify human possession, but they can also apply to animals, inanimate objects and abstract notions.

- (155) Yaulā na wō loa lāua totoi i te wonu mai te kongā i **tona kākenga**.
 but T go.Pl Int they.2 drag Acc A turtle from A place L its track
but they went and dragged the turtle from the place where its track was. (MN4:17)
- (156) ...ke kitea e te kaú **tona yila**, ke ulu mai ki loto.
 ... C see-Cia Ag A people-Da its light C enter Dir G inside
...so that people will see its light and come inside. (LK1:21)
- (157) **Ko tona aiteanga ia.**
 Prd its meaning Af
That is its meaning. (MC4:17)

4.3 QUANTIFIERS

Noun bases may be preceded by a variety of lexical modifiers which define the size, number or grouping relationship of the item(s) denoted by the head noun. There are two types of quantifiers in Pukapukan: indefinite quantifiers and numerals.

4.3.1 INDEFINITE QUANTIFIERS

This class includes a small group of words composed of quantifiers and modifiers expressing part-whole relationships. They fall into two groups; those which can modify mass nouns, and those which can co-occur with the numerals:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| wainga | many, much |
| onge | few, scarcity |
| mō | very small amount |
| wī | all, grouping, whole, every |
| au ³ | many, all, group of |
| toe | other, another |
| wua | fleet |
| vāyanga | piece |
| awa | pair |
| tū | type |

- (158) Pau te wī tāne o Ngake e te wō ki Kō.
 finish A all men P Ngake C go.Pl G Kō
All the menfolk of Ngake had gone to Kō
- (159) ni mō mea lewu wua
 A small.amount thing small just
just a very small amount
- (160) e tolu **wua** vaka
 Prd three fleet canoe
three fleets of canoes

- (161) e lua **vāyanga** walaoa
 T two piece bread
two slices of bread

One of the problems in deciding membership of this class is whether in fact certain quantifiers are actually head nouns which combine with other head nouns to form complex heads to the noun phrase. In the following sentences, *onge* ‘scarcity’ and *tū* ‘type’, could be analysed either as preposed qualifiers or else as parts of a complex head noun.

- (162) ...nō te **onge** kīnaki lā i a lātou ika.
 because A scarcity accompanying.food Int Acc P they fish
...because of the paucity of the complement to their fish.
- (163) Ko te wī **tū** lākau ko tano i te māni ukalele.
 Top A all type tree T right C make ukulele
All types of tree are suitable for making ukuleles.

Toe ‘other’ is one member of this group which perhaps should form a class of its own since it may either precede or follow another member from the same group of quantifiers. It may be considered to be a specifier occurring before the quantifiers, although it commonly follows the numeral *lua* ‘two’.

- (164) Ko yē i loto nā **toe** wainga talatala tawito.
 T Neg L inside A other many speech ancient
Many of the ancient words aren't in it. (TA:E1)
- (165) Nō ai te **toe** tolungaua poti i lunga o te tukutai?
 P who A other three.some boat L on P A beach-Da
Whose are those three boats on the beach?
- (166) **Toe** mō mea lewu wua.
 other small.amount thing small just
Just a tiny bit more.
- (167) Kali wua ki lua **toe** ayo lā mua nei, ka angaanga ai tāua.
 wait just G two other day there front here T RR-work Pro we.2
Just wait for two more days time and then we'll work.

Toe is interesting in that it commonly appears with specific articles to convey indefiniteness:

- (168) nā toe mea i te toe ayo
 A other thing L A other day
some other things on another day
- (169) Yau te **toe** tāne, liko i tana lākau.
 come A other man hold Acc his stick
Another man came and picked up his spear. (U:7)
- (170) Ko mau ia aku nā **toe** konga o te tala o Lata. Ko ngalongalo nā **toe**.
 T able By-A I A other place P A story P Lata T RR-lost A other
I know some parts of the tale of Lata. Other parts I've forgotten. (MM:L1)

Toe also functions as a base, both as a noun and as a verb:

- (171) Ko koe te **toe** o toku wāoa.
 Top you A other P my crew
You're another of my crew. (MM:L2)
- (172) Kali loa iāna ni mō **toe**.
 wait Int he A small other
He waited a little longer. (KM:YK3:3)
- (173) **Toe** lua wua aku piliālo tamaliki, pau ai.
 remain two just my.Pl shirt children finish Pro
I have only two children's shirts left, that's all.
- (174) **Toe** loa te tuanga e tayi nei.
 remain Int A share T one here
There was one share remaining.

4.3.2 NUMERALS

Several types of numerals are discussed in this section: cardinal numerals and numeral classifiers associated with cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, distributive numerals and multiplicative numerals. In a final section, the syntactic functions of numerals are outlined and the attributive use is discussed.

4.3.2.1 Cardinal Numerals

There are two basic counting systems in the language, the 'one unit' and the 'two unit' counting systems.

1. The 'one unit' system

This system counts in units of one. The cardinal numerals are listed as follows:

| | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------|
| tayi | one | laungaulu ma tayi | eleven |
| lua | two | laungaulu ma lua | twelve |
| tolu | three | laungaulu ma tolu | thirteen |
| wā | four | laungaulu ma wā | fourteen |
| lima | five | laungaulu ma lima | fifteen |
| ono | six | laungaulu ma ono | sixteen |
| witu | seven | laungaulu ma witu | seventeen |
| valu | eight | laungaulu ma valu | eighteen |
| iva | nine | laungaulu ma iva | nineteen |
| laungaulu ~ kātoa | ten | lau lua ~ luangaulu | twenty |
| angaulu | ten [archaic] | lalu ma tayi | twenty-one |
| lau tolu | ~ | tolungaulu ⁴ | thirty |
| lau wā | ~ | wāngaulu | forty |
| lau lima | ~ | limangaulu | fifty |
| lau ono | ~ | onongaulu | sixty |
| lau witu | ~ | witungaulu | seventy |
| lau valu | ~ | valungaulu | eighty |

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------|------------------------|
| lau iva | ~ | ivangaulu | ninety |
| lau | ~ | ānele | one hundred |
| lau ma tayi | ~ | e tai ānele ma tai | one hundred and one |
| lau ma laungaulu ma tayi | | | one hundred and eleven |
| lua lau | | | two hundred |
| tolunga lau | | | three hundred |
| wānga lau | | | four hundred |
| mano | ~ | tauwatini | one thousand |
| lua mano | | | two thousand |

Numerals higher than *mano*:

There are several names for numerals higher than *mano* ‘one thousand’. They are mainly archaic in usage and have indeterminate numerical reference; several words refer to concepts that are impossible to count. The words for large numerals are listed in increasing numerical order.

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| ngaulu tini | ?one hundred thousand |
| manomano muamua | numeral greater than <i>mano</i> |
| mātinitini | countless |
| mākelekele | countless as the sand |
| ngini mangone | unable to be counted |
| yē | infinity, uncountable |

Compound numerals (multiples of ten) are formed by postposing the multiplier to the shortened form of the number 10.

- (175) lau tolu
ten three
thirty

Multiples of 100 are formed by preposing the multiplier to the number 100:

- (176) lua lau
two hundred
two hundred

For multiples of 100 equalling 300 or higher, the preposed multiple is linked to the head by *-nga*:

- (177) tolunga lau
three-nga hundred
three hundred

Compound numeral phrases are formed by linking a cardinal number less than ten to a multiple of ten with the conjunction, *ma*⁵:

- (178) laungaulu ma tolu
ten and three
thirteen

- (179) lau tolu ma iva
ten three and nine
thirty nine

Such a compound numeral phrase may be linked to a multiple of 100 (or 1000) by the same means:

- (180) tolunga lau ma lau iva ma witu
 three-nga hundred and ten nine and seven
three hundred and ninety seven

In expressing dates and ages, the second conjunct phrase is commonly used by itself:

- (181) Ko te tamaki wolo o te ma wā.
 Prd A fight big P A and four
It was the World War of [1914] [lit. and four]. (MM:C6:18)
- (182) Pāpā Mā-iva
 father and-nine
the name of a man born in 1909

2. The 'two unit' system

The second counting system involves counting in pairs. This system is used especially in counting large numbers of coconuts (*niu*). It is also possible to count coconuts individually using the one unit system although this is infrequent.

- (183) e wā -ngau niu
 T four individual coconut
four individual nuts

When counting in pairs, a person usually stands legs apart, counting as he throws the nuts in pairs through his legs behind him. In the case of copra coconuts (made by splitting each coconut in half), the person counting will pick up two halves in each hand. Drinking nuts are commonly tied in pairs using part of the husk as the tie. The pairs of nuts are then often tied together in groups of ten as a convenient weight to carry on the shoulder using a carrying stick (*āmonga*). Coconuts are counted as follows:

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-----------------|-----|
| e tayi | awāniu | a pair of nuts | 2 |
| e lua | awāniu | 2 pairs of nuts | 4 |
| tolu | awāniu | 3 pairs | 6 |
| wā | awāniu | 4 pairs | 8 |
| yēpulpulu | | | 10 |
| ono | awāniu | 6 pairs | 12 |
| witu | awāniu | 7 pairs | 14 |
| valu | awāniu | 8 pairs | 16 |
| iva | awāniu | 9 pairs | 18 |
| yaea | | | 20 |
| yaea ma tayi | | 11 pairs | 22 |
| tolu ~ yaea ma lima | | 15 pairs | 30 |
| yaea ma valu | | 18 pairs | 36 |
| wā | | | 40 |
| lima | | | 50 |
| ono | | | 60 |
| witu | | | 70 |
| lau | | | 100 |
| lualau | | | 200 |
| tolungalau | | | 300 |

| | |
|------------|------|
| wāngalau | 400 |
| limangalau | 500 |
| mano | 1000 |

Compound numerals and compound numeral phrases are formed in the same way as the ‘one unit’ system. The system is a base ten system, similar to the ‘one unit system’ in that multiples of ten (at least those higher than twenty) are labelled using the names of the digits.

4.3.2.2 Numeral Classifiers

Numeral classifiers (glossed *cls-*) are prefixes which are used for counting over ten and for enumerating different kinds of objects. Counting using numeral classifiers differs morphologically from the ‘one unit’ and ‘two unit’ counting systems in two ways. These are: the prefix *a-* that characterises the numerals for ten with each classifier, and the prefix *we-* to the numerals for a hundred.

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>cls-a-10</i> | |
| matāngaulu | ten tubers of taro or pulaka |
| kau(w)āngaulu | ten fruit |
| <i>cls-we-100</i> | |
| tino-we-lau | 100 people |
| mata-we-lau | 100 tubers |

Inanimate objects or animals are counted with the following numeral classifiers for numbers over ten:

1. *mata-* is used for counting taro or *pulaka* tubers, either raw or cooked. This classifier is not used for taro dishes which do not leave the tubers whole (for instance *olo* and *mawu* taro puddings).

| | |
|---------------|------------|
| mata-a-ngaulu | 10 tubers |
| mata-lua | 20 tubers |
| mata-we-lau | 100 tubers |

2. *kau-* is used for counting fruit, round objects, native marbles (*pei*), oven stones, weight stones for bonito fishing, pandanus leaves and plaited wall mats (*pola*).

| | |
|------------------------|-----|
| kau-a-angaulu ~ kautai | 10 |
| kau-lua | 20 |
| kau-lima | 50 |
| kau-we-lau | 100 |
| kau-lua-lau | 200 |
| kau-tolu-ngalau | 300 |

(184) kau-(w)ā-ngaulu ma lua āpala.
cls- ten and two apple
twelve apples

3. *ua-* is used for counting shellfish and clams.

| | |
|-------------|----------|
| ua-a-ngaulu | 10 clams |
| ua-lua | 20 clams |

4. *tua-* is used for counting coconut crabs.

| | |
|--------------|------------------|
| tua-a-ngaulu | 10 coconut crabs |
| tua-lua | 20 coconut crabs |

5. *yeke-* is used for counting the number of seats in a canoe (not usually for a modern dinghy).

(185) yeke-ono
 cls- six
six-seater

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| (186) E yeke-wea tō vaka nā? | E yeke-witu. |
| T cls- what P canoe there | Prd cls- seven |
| <i>How many seats does your canoe have?</i> | <i>It's a seven-seater.</i> |

6. *wua-* is used for enumerating offspring of humans, animals and turtles. It differs from the other counting prefixes in that it is also used for numbers under ten in counting human offspring.

(187) E wua-tolu te mea a Mele.
 T cls- three A thing P Mele
Mele has three children.

(188) E wua-we-lau ma wua-lima te mea a te wonu ia.
 T cls- we-100 and cls- five A thing P A turtle Af
The turtle had a hundred and fifty offspring.

In comparing the one unit system with these classifiers, one could analyse the one unit system as being a residual class including all other objects not specified by other classifiers. This class would take a classifier *lau-* with the slightly different morphology mentioned above.

This system of numeral classifiers is the subject of debate and prescriptive discussions among native speakers. The classifiers listed above are still used fairly commonly in every day speech although there is sometimes difference of opinion among speakers as to the uses of the various classifiers. For instance, one youth interviewed thought that coconut crabs and fish had the same counting system which was different from that for other crabs, but he could not remember the appropriate classifiers. Another person classed shellfish (*ua-*; Beaglehole 1938:355) with coconut crabs (*tua-*). Hooks and rods were attributed by another to be classified by *kau-*. Beaglehole gives two alternate classifiers for various types of fishhooks (*kai-* and *kau-*) but does not mention rods. The classifiers, *kai-*, *kau-*, *kupu-*, *ipu-*, *manga-* and *ulu-*, all of which were noted in the *Ethnology* (Beaglehole 1938:354-355) did not arise in general discussion with native speakers and have likely disappeared from usage.

7. Length of rope is measured by arm-lengths, with the arms and fingers outstretched. The same system is used for measuring depth of water (based on equivalent length of line). No classifier prefix is used, but a base ten system is evident.

| | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|
| ngawa | tip to tip of outstretched arms |
| e tolu ngawa | three arms' lengths, three fathoms |
| kumi | ten arms' lengths, ten fathoms |
| lau | 100 <i>ngawa</i> , 100 fathoms |

- (189) Tuku te kati ki te tolu kumi.
leave A line G A three ten.fathom
Put the line down to thirty fathoms.

The verb used for measuring length is based on the arms' span measurement: *ngangawa*, or more commonly the metathesised form *wawanga*.

- (190) Wawanga ake koe i taku kawa ia, mē na lava te kumi.
measure Dir you Acc my sinnet Af whether T enough A ten.fathom
Please measure my sinnet rope to see whether it is as long as ten fathoms.

The measurement terms for lengths shorter than *ngawa* (Beaglehole 1938:355) are generally not remembered by most Pukapukans today. However, the system of measuring size of fish, for instance, is still practised; the length of the finger joints is the smallest unit, increasing to span of hand, and then from fingertips up the arm. A few people interviewed gave the terms *watingālima* as the measurement from fingertip to elbow joint and *ngangawālima* 'span of hand from thumb-tip to tip of middle finger', although the term listed in Beaglehole (ibid.) for the latter is *ngawa mangamangālima*. The measurements *ini* 'inch' and *tapuae* 'foot' have almost superceded the older labels.

- (191) E lua ngangawā-lima e tai tapuae.
T two span -hand T one foot
Two handspans are one foot.

8. Humans are the only class which exhibits a prefix for numbers less than ten.

(a) *toko-* is used for one person:

- (192) Ka nō koe toko-tai.
T stay you cls- one
You'll stay by yourself.
- (193) Ko koe toko-tai na yau?
Prd you cls- one T come
Did you come by yourself?

(b) *toka-* is used for counting people from two to nine.⁶ This prefix is also used with other quantifiers such as *lewu* 'few', *wolo* 'many'.

- (194) E toka-lua māua.
Prd cls- two we.2
There are two of us.
- (195) te toka-tolu tamaliki
A cls- three children
the three children
- (196) E toka-lewu wua mātou.
T cls- few just we
There are only a few of us.
- (197) Ka wō tātou toka-lima ki te māneanea.
T go.Pl we cls- five G A sports
The five of us are going to the sports.

- (198) Ka wō te **toka**-lima yī ika i lunga o te yeke-ono.
 T go.PI A cls- five catch fish L on P A cls- six
The fivesome will go fishing on the six seater.

(c) *tino*- is used for counting people from ten upwards. This classifier is also used for large deep-sea fish such as *kakai* ‘yellowfin tuna’ and *atu* ‘bonito’ and for birds. However, terms for birds and fish do not take the prefixes *toko*- and *toka*- for numbers less than ten.

| | |
|------------|------------|
| tino-lua | 20 people |
| tino-tolu | 30 people |
| tino-welau | 100 people |

- (199) E **tino**-a-angaulu mātou.
 T cls- a- ten we
There are ten of us.
- (200) E **tino**-lima-nga-lau te tāne.
 T cls- five- nga-hundred A man
There were five hundred men.

Human classifiers can also be used when counting *mako* ‘traditional chants’ because they represent people for whom they were composed:

- (201) Te wolo o tā tātou mako e mau nei, ko mau pā e tino-a-angaulu, e tino-lua tangata.
 A big P P we.PI chant T know here T know probably A cls- a- ten A cls- two person
The number of chants that we know is probably ten to twenty people. (U13:20:1)

In interrogative clauses asking ‘how many?’, the appropriate prefix is used to qualify the interrogative *wea* according to the semantic class of the head noun. The exception is the general residual class normally specified by *lau*- in which there is no prefix for *wea*.

- (202) E **kau-wea** au lito?
 T cls- how.many your.PI pandanus.leaf
How many pandanus leaves have you?
- (203) E **yeke-wea** tō vaka nā?
 T cls- how.many P canoe there
How many does your canoe seat?
- (204) E **tino-wea** te tangata?
 T cls- how.many A person
How many people are there?
- (205) E **wea** au awāniu?
 T how.many your.PI pair-nut
How many pairs of nuts do you have?
- (206) E **wea** te wolo o tā kōtou kakai na maua? E tino-lua.
 T what A big P P you.PI tuna T get T cls- two
How many tuna did you catch? [We caught] twenty.
- (207) E **wea** te wōwonu o te kongā nei?
 T what A depth P A place here
How deep is it here?

4.3.2.3 Ordinal Numerals

The same forms can be used for cardinal and ordinal numerals, but forms using the numeral classifiers are seldom found with ordinal numerals. Ordinal numerals are commonly found in enumerating points in a speech. A specific article is preposed to the numeral in order to form ordinal numerals. In expressing ‘first’, a head noun is usually modified by *mua*.

| | |
|------------|-----------------|
| te mea mua | the first thing |
| te lua | the second |
| te tolu | the third |

- (208) Ko **te lua** o toku manako i **te tolu** o te ayo
 Top A two P my thought L A three P A day
my second point *on the third day*

- (209) Ko te aitamu mua ko **te ngolo mua**. **Te lua** o te aitamu ko **te lua** o te ngolo.
 Top A item first Prd A pig first A two P A item Prd A two P A pig
The first item [of entertainment] is the first pig. The second item is the second pig. (S:LN:1:15)

Ordinal numbers are used to express age and duration of time.

- (210) Ko **tona lima matawiti** tēnei.
 Prd his five year this
He is five years old. [lit. This is his fifth year]

- (211) Ko wano **te wā o te matawiti**.
 T go A four P A year
[It's] almost four years [since I left Pukapuka]. [lit. the fourth year is going]. (VL:90:8:1)

4.3.2.4 Distributive Numerals

1. Distributive numerals are formed by preposing the prefix *taki-* ‘each’ to numerals or to the interrogative word *wea* ‘how many?’:

| | |
|-----------|----------------|
| taki-tolu | three each |
| taki-wea? | how many each? |

- (212) E **taki-laungaulu** tene a kōtou tūtaki i nā wua moa.
 T each-ten cent P you.Pl pay Acc A egg chicken
Ten cents for each of you as payment for the eggs.
- (213) E **taki-lau** te tiniu ma te wī tāne, e **taki-lima** te tamaliki.
 T each-hundred A women and A all man T each-five A children
The men and women [are to collect] a hundred [nuts] each, the children fifty each. (MM:C2:20)
- (214) Nā poti totongi, **taki-laungaulu** tūmā. Nā poti liliki, **taki-wā** me kāle, **taki-tolu**, **taki-lua**.
 A boat R-big each-ten or.more A boat R-small each-four or else each-three each-two
Big boats [carry] ten each or more. Small boats [carry] four or else only three or two.

Alternative numerals are usually placed in descending numerical order as in (214).

The distributive prefix *taki-* precedes the counting prefixes:

- (215) E **taki-**matā-ngaulu te wāwā patupatu.
 T each-cls-a-ten A taro RR-hit
Each [woman is to provide] ten beaten taro [for the feast]. (K:U2:13)
- (216) Ka wō e **taki-**toka-lima tāne i te wī ōile.
 T go.Pl A each cls-five man per A all village
Five men are to go from each village. (K:U3:4)
- (217) E taki-wea te awāmea a te tiniu? E **taki-**mata-tolu.
 T each-how.many A pulaka.tuber P A women T each-cls-three
How many pulaka tubers is each woman [to harvest]? Thirty each.

2. One by One, One at a Time:

Beaglehole (1938:354) notes two prefixes *tokitaki tū-* used of things and *takitau-* of people to denote events happening in groupings of ‘one at a time’, ‘two at a time’ or in other numerical groupings. The morpheme *taki-* in both of these forms appears to be related to the distributive prefix.

of things:

- (218) toki-taki-tū-tayi toki-taki-tū-lua
 prefix one prefix two
one at a time two at a time

of people:

- (219) taki-tau- toka-lua
 each-together cls-two
two [people] at a time

The first term appears to be a form combined with the verb *toki* ‘plant’ and is used only for planting *taro* and *pulaka* shoots or tubers and young coconuts.

- (220) Ko toki **taki-tū**lua au i aku pulapula ia.
 T plant each-two.at.a.time I Acc my.Pl young.coconut.tree Af
I am planting my young coconut trees two together [in each hole].

The second term, which refers to people doing things in pairs or other numerical groupings, is more common. It contains the prefix *toka-* for counting humans (4.3.3).

- (221) Tāpātana loa tātou **taki-tau-** **toka-lua** i te titi.
 partner Int we each-together cls- two per A skirt
We will divide into pairs; two people [working on making] each skirt. (TU4:3)
- (222) E ngali ake tātou i te tuku atu i te tiniu **taki-tau-** **toko-tai** te tiniu i lunga o nā poti.
 T better Dir we C take Dir Acc A women each-together cls- one A women L on P A boat
It would be better for us to take the women one at a time on the boats. (UU48:1)

4.3.2.5 Multiplicative Numerals

To express the number of times an event is repeated, the prefix *taki-niko-* ~ *tā-niko-* (*niko* ‘return’) or the alternate form *tā-waki-* is used.

- (223) **taki-niko-lua** **taki-niko-tolu**
to repeat *to repeat three times*
- (224) **tāwaki-lua** **tā-waki-tolu**
to repeat *to repeat three times*

4.3.2.6 Attributive Numerals

The numerals, like other bases, are compatible with both verbal and nominal particles. As predicates, numerals may occupy the nucleus of a verb phrase. They are usually marked by the tense-aspect marker *e* in a similar manner to the existential verbs (225, 226), but they also allow certain other tense-aspect markers (227) (3.1.3).

- (225) **E tolu** a mātou ika na maua.
 T three P we fish T get
We caught three fish.
- (226) **E tino-wea** kōtou ka wō yī kakai?
 T cls- how.many you.Pl T go.Pl fish tuna
How many of you will be going fishing for tuna?
- (227) **Nā tolu** aku ika i te vāiá, yaulā i te vāia nei **na wā**.
 T three my.Pl fish L A time-Da but L A time here T four
I had [caught] three fish before, but now [I have] four.

As attributes, numerals may either be preposed or postposed to the nouns they qualify. In postposed position (4.8.5), they share many features with relative clauses (4.8.4) and few features with postposed adjectives (4.7.1). Numerals may also co-occur with nominal particles and occupy the nucleus of a noun phrase (4.5.1.2).

Preposed attributive numerals may modify either definite or indefinite noun phrases.

- (228) Mea loa pēnei **lua tamatāne nei** ki tō lāua matua wawine:
 say Int like-this two boy here G P they.2 parent woman
These two boys said this to their mother: (F4:S3:4)
- (229) Walaile, tulituli mātou **e lima puaka**.
 Friday RR-chase we A five pig
On Friday we chased five pigs. (UU29:2)

The numerals *tayi* ‘one’ and *lua* ‘two’ behave differently from the numerals three and up. The latter grouping will be discussed first.

1. Numbers three to nine:

(a) Definite noun phrases are characterised by the affixation of *-ngaua* to the numeral for numbers between three and nine. A definite noun phrase is marked by the singular specific article *te* or singular possessive pronoun. The plural specific article is not permitted.

- (230) Tua loa nā te **tolu-ngaua** lulu nā kakai.
 divide Int for A three-suff village A tuna.fish
[They] divided the tuna among the three villages. (F3:S3:2)
- (231) Nō ai te toe **tolu-ngaua** poti i lunga o te tukutai?
 P who A other three-suff boat L on P A beach-Da
Whose are those three remaining boats on the beach?
- (232) Valu ake te **witu-ngaua** yakali.
 scrape Dir A seven-suff nut-Da
Please scrape those seven dry nuts.

Only a numeral which is prefixed by a classifier does not take the suffix:

- (233) tō lātou **toka-valu** tangata ia
 P they cls- eight people Af
the eight of them (MC1:5)

(b) Indefinite noun phrases optionally take the suffix *ngaua-* and are marked by the nonspecific singular article *e*, but not the plural articles *ni* or *i*.

- (234) Wano oko mai e **tolu (-ngaua)** moa, tao ki loto o te imu.
 go buy Dir A three-suffix chicken cook G in P A oven
Go and buy three chickens to cook in the oven.
- (235) Totoli mai koe e **ono** wua niu mai te wūniu e tautau nā.
 Totoli mai koe e **ono-ngaua** niu mai te wūniu e tautau nā.
 R-pick Dir you A six (-suffix) only nut from A bunch T RR-hang there
Pick (only) six nuts from the bunch hanging there.

A numeral containing a classifier or the distributive prefix does not take a suffix:

- (236) Ka wō e **taki-toka-lima** tāne i te wī ōile.
 T go.Pl A each-cls- five man per A all village
Five men are to go from each village. (K:U3:4)

(c) Noun phrases which are marked for case take the specific article *te* whether they refer to definite (237) or indefinite (238) entities. The numeral cannot be marked with *e*, the nonspecific article, if a case marker or preposition is present. The numeral is always suffixed by *-ngaua*.

- (237) Liko loa iāna i te **lima-ngaua** walaoa ma lua ika.
 pick.up Int he Acc A five- suff bread and two fish
He picked up the five loaves of bread and two fish [previously mentioned in discourse]. (KM:LK3:1)
- (238) Pū ai au i te imu, oti. Wano ai au palupalu i te **ono-ngaua** ipu / *i e ono(ngaua) ipu
 light Pro I Acc A oven finish go Pro I RR-wash Acc A six-suff coconut.shell
I lit the oven and then I went and washed six coconut shells [for cooking] [not previously mentioned].
 (F3:S3:2)

2. Numbers ten and above do not take the suffix *-ngaua*:

- (239) Wano koe tope i te **mata-tolu** wāwā a tāua.
 go you plant Acc A cls- three taro P we.2
Go and plant our thirty taro.

- (240) Ko te **tolungaulu** awāniu ko **onongaulu** niu.
 Top A thirty pair-nut Prd sixty coconut
Thirty pairs of coconuts are sixty coconuts.
- (241) Ke yī kakai tāua, tuku te kati ki te **tolu** kumi.
 C fish tuna we.2 leave A line G A three 10.fathom
When you fish for tuna, let down the line to 30 fathoms.

3. Number two : *lua*

The number *lua* ‘two’ differs from the other numerals under ten. It does not take the suffix *-ngaua*.

(a) The specific article *te* accompanying this numeral denotes only an ordinal number.

- (242) Akaipoipo atu au i **te lua o taku tāne**.
 marry Dir I Acc A two P my husband
Then I married my second husband. (MM:LK4:43)

It cannot mark a noun phrase which is qualified by a cardinal numeral:

- (243) * Valu ake **te lua yakalī**.
 scape Dir A two dry.coconut-Da
(Please scrape those two dry coconuts.)

(b) Definite noun phrases that contain the numeral *lua* ‘two’ are marked by a zero plural article. The specific plural article *nā* is not permitted.⁷ Definite noun phrases frequently occur predicatively as definite nominal predicates:

- (244) **Ko Ø lua oku mātutua tēlā**.
 Prd A two my.Pl parent.Pl there
Those [people] are my parents. (KM:WK:7:9)
- (245) **Ko Ø lua maunu** tēnei lelei, kaikaina e te pātuki, e makave weke ma te yalo unga kula.
 Prd A two bait this good RR-eat-Cia Ag A fish.sp Prd tentacle octopus and A scrotum crab red
These are the two best types of bait for catching hawkfish: octopus tentacles and the abdomen of red hermit crabs. (KM:YK:4:4)

Definite noun phrases which are marked for case are also marked by a zero article. Unlike noun phrases containing numerals between three and nine, the singular article *te* is not permitted. The numeral *lua* ‘two’ may therefore be considered to be a type of determiner, since for definite noun phrases it does not co-occur with the articles.

- (246) **Ko Ø lua toa oki a Tawiti ia**, ko Tepalo ma Yukui.
 Top A two warrior also P Tahiti Af Prd Tepalo and Yukui
Those two Tahitian warriors were [called] Tepalo and Yukui. (MM:TN1:5)
- (247) E wea ia Mōvingi nā lili ai **ki Ø lua tokalua nei**?
 Prd why A Mōvingi T angry Pro G A two cls-two here
Why was Mōvingi angry with those two? (PP2:13:13)
- (248) Wō ai akamata i **Ø lua Wūnui**.
 go.Pl Pro start L A two Wūnui
[They] went and started at the two Wūnui [gardens]. (KU:3:7)

- (249) Wano atu ia Te Vaemata, velo atu tana launiu, tulitulia mai e Ø lua toa ia, e Tepalo ma Yukui.
 go Dir A Te Vaemata throw Dir his coconut.leaf RR-chase-Cia Dir Ag A two warrior Af Ag T. and Y.
*Te Vaemata went and threw his coconut leaf [sign], he was chased by those two warriors,
 by Tepalo and Yukui.* (MM:TNI:5)

The same is true for definite noun phrases which are in the accusative case (250, 251). Although there is ambiguity, definite noun phrases have a different grammatical structure from indefinite noun phrases containing the numeral *lua* ‘two’. In the former there is a case marker but no article (250, 251), whereas in the latter there is an article but no case marking (252) (see discussion in section 4.1.2.2 and (c) below).

- (250) Kite atu iāna i Ø lua tamaliki nei, ko kangakanga.
 see Dir he Acc A two children these T RR-play
He saw these two children playing. (KU:6:7)
- (251) Na ūmele au i Ø lua lōpā o te taka nei.
 T surprise I Acc A two youth P A group here
I am surprised at these two youths of the group. (S:LN:1:16)
- (252) Ka tuku atu au i lua mea mā au.
 T leave Dir I A two thing for you
I will leave a couple of things for you. (AP:C1)

(c) An indefinite noun phrase modified by *lua* ‘two’ is marked with the nonspecific articles *e*, *ni* or *i*. The difference between *e* and *nili* is in the degree of exactness of the number reference. Phrases marked by *e* indicate that there are exactly two items which are unspecified for reference, while *ni* focuses more on the existence of unspecified items which are two in number more or less.

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (253) | E lua lōpā nō Takanumi. Prd two youth P Takanumi <i>There are [only] two youths of Takanumi.</i> | Ni lua lōpā nō Takanumi. Prd two youth P Takanumi <i>[Once upon a time] there were two youths of T.</i> |
| (254) | Mea mai e lua wāwā. do Dir A two taro <i>Do exactly two taro.</i> | Mea mai ni lua wāwā. do Dir A two taro <i>Do a couple of taro [more or less].</i> |

Indefinite noun phrases marked by the nonspecific articles frequently occur predicatively in existential predicates:

- (255) I te vāia nei, e lua wua yika o te tavake ko toe.
 L A time here Prd two only tail.feather P A tropic.bird T left
At the present day the tropic bird has only two tail feathers remaining. (WP5:2:7)
- (256) I te vāia ia, ni lua lōpā nō Takanumi.
 L A time Af Prd two youth P Takanumi
At that time there were two youths of Takanumi [Yāō village]. (L:WW2:2)

They also occur commonly in equational or attributive predicates:

- (257) I lua Ngake oki kōlua.
 Prd two Ngake also you.2
You are both Ngake village members. (N:F1:3)

- (258) Ni lua tangata pēwea lua ana mea na kite?
Prd two people how two his.Pl thing T see
What sort of people were the two things he saw? (W2F2:7:14)
- (259) Wōmamai loa lua nanue ia, ni lua nanue loa totongi, ka kai i tō lātou vaka.
come.Pl Int two fish.sp Af Prd two fish.sp Int R-big T eat Acc P they canoe
Along came two rudderfish. They were two huge fish which were going to eat their canoe. (Lata 1:2)

They occur as the nominative/absolutive argument of an intransitive or transitive verb:

- (260) Ko te akāonga ia, wānau loa e lua a lāua tama.
Top A couple Af born Int A two P they.2 child
As for that couple, two children were born to them. (KS:2:4)
- (261) Na maua ni lua tālā ke tautulu ai te tūtaki i te kau e tautulu ia mātou.
T get A two dollar C help Pro A pay Acc A people T help Acc-A we
[We] have got a couple of dollars to help pay the people who help us. (P:W1:4)
- (262) Wō tulituliina mai i lua toa nā tātou.
go.Pl RR-chase-Cia Dir A two warrior P us
Let's go and chase a couple of warriors for us. (F3:S4:1)

Subjects of intransitive verbs allow a zero article:

- (263) Wōmamai loa Ø lua nanue ia,
come.Pl Int A two fish.sp Af
Along came two rudderfish. (L1:2)

An indefinite noun phrase which is marked for case, like a definite noun phrase which is marked for case, is also marked by a zero article:

- (264) Kali wua ki Ø lua toe ayo lā mua nei, ka angaanga ai tāua.
wait just G A two other day there front here T RR-work Pro we.2
Just wait for a couple more days and then we'll work together.
- (265) E kiai na loaina, lōmamai loa ia Moko ma Kauwi mai Laló ma Ø lua toa totongi.
T Neg T long-Cia come.Pl Int A Moko and Kauwi from Lalo-Da with A two warrior R-big
Not long afterwards, Moko and Kauwi came from Lalo with two huge warriors. (F3:S4:2)

This implies that there is no formal distinction between definite and indefinite noun phrases which are marked for case. Although they appear similar superficially, definite and indefinite noun phrases can be differentiated on semantic grounds by contextual information and also by other syntactic means, since only definite phrases allow postposed demonstrative particles.

In the accusative case there is some degree of structural ambiguity because indefinite noun phrases may be marked by *i* which is identical in shape to the accusative case marker. However, since object noun phrases may also be marked by the other nonspecific articles *e* and *ni*, they must be analysed as marked by a nonspecific article with no additional marking by accusative *i*:

- (266) Lele loa iāna ki te toa, oko mai Ø e lua pōlo.
run Int she G A shop buy Dir Acc A two ball
She ran to the shop and bought two balls. (KM:ET1:7)

- (267) Mea mai koe Ø **ni lua toe** wāwā.
do Dir you Acc A two other taro
Do a couple more taro.
- (268) Ka tuku au Ø **i lua mea** mā au.
T leave I Acc A two thing for you
I will leave a couple of things for you.

(AP:C1)

This means that definite and indefinite numeral phrases, containing the numeral *lua* ‘two’, have two different grammatical structures in the accusative case. Definite noun phrases (discussed in (b) above) contain no article but are marked for case, yet indefinite noun phrase take the article but do not allow the accusative marker.

- (269) Ko ūmele te wenua nei **i Ø lua pēpē** nō te kekena o nā ulu.
T surprise A land here Acc A two baby-Da because A R-white P A head
This island is surprised at the two children because of their fair hair.
- (270) Ke wano au aumai Ø **i lua lākau** ke yali mai ai a tātou tikava.
C go I bring Acc A two stick C scoop Dir Pro P we fish.sp
Let me go and bring a couple of sticks with which to scoop up our tikava fish. (F4:S1:1)

This gives rise to the situation where all definite noun phrases in the ‘accusative’ case containing *lua* ‘two’ are marked only by *i*, while indefinite objects allow *e*, *ni* and *i*. Moreover, for clauses containing an indefinite object (270) there are two arguments which are unmarked for case.

4. The numeral *tayi* ~ *tai* ‘one’ rarely occurs in a preposed position. It allows the nonspecific singular article *e*, but not the specific article *te* or the suffix *-ngaua* and therefore behaves in some respects like the numeral *lua* ‘two’:

- (271) Tuku mai i leila lātou **e tai tauwatini tālā**.
give Dir L then they A one thousand dollar
So they gave a thousand dollars.
- (272) Onoono mai ai **e tai tangata** kia Mala.
look Dir Pro A one person G-A Mala
Someone looked at Mala.

(LK5:12)

4.4 REDUPLICATION

The discussion of reduplication as it pertains to nouns begins the treatment of the nucleus of the noun phrase. The same processes of monomoraic (R) and bimoraic reduplication (RR) are inflectional strategies affecting verbs (3.5.4; 3.5.5.2). Prefixes used in deriving nouns have been ignored as there are no productive derivational prefixes.

4.4.1 BIMORAIC REDUPLICATION

Bimoraic reduplication is a common derivational strategy. Nouns may be reduplicated to derive other nouns, or nouns may be reduplicated to derive stative verbs. Nouns which are derived by reduplication generally represent a smaller entity than that denoted by the unreduplicated base, while stative verbs denote

an abundance of the item denoted by the base noun.

1. Numerous nouns are derived from noun bases by reduplicating the final two morae. Only nominal bases of two morae have been found to undergo this process so that the rule, which also applies to verbal bases (3.5.4), is reflected as reduplication of the nominal base. There is a semantic relationship between the base and its reduplicated form, but reduplication may not necessarily result in any predictable meaning change from the base form. The reduplicated forms are best placed as distinct entries in the lexicon. Reduplication of a nominal base normally results in a noun with a diminutive meaning. There are many names of fish whose young are named with reduplicated forms.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------|--------------------------|
| aku | garfish | akuaku | young garfish |
| ali | flounder | aliali | young flounder |
| kawa | mullet sp. | kawakawa | young of <i>kawa</i> sp. |
| manu | bird, animal | manumanu | insect |
| ila | mark | ilaila | faint marks |
| namu | smell | namunamu | mild smell |
| tae | flying fish net | taetae | net with smaller mesh |

An exception to the above trend is:

| | | | |
|------|----------------|----------|---------------------------------------|
| lupo | small trevally | lupolupo | fish slightly larger than <i>lupo</i> |
|------|----------------|----------|---------------------------------------|

However, many nouns which appear to be reduplicated forms are semantically unrelated to the apparent base.

| | | | |
|------|-------------|----------|-----------|
| awi | fire | awiawi | afternoon |
| kumi | ten fathoms | kumikumi | beard |

2. There are also a few locational nouns which allow reduplication accompanied by the prefix *tō-* 'a little', meaning 'a little way in that direction'. Because *tō-* is normally a verbal prefix (3.5.2), these forms might be expected to be derived verbs; however, they only occur in noun phrases marked for case.

| | | | |
|--------|--------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| tai | sea | tō taitai likiliki | a little further out to sea |
| ngāuta | shore | tō ngāutauta | a little closer to shore |
| mua | front | tō muamua | a little further ahead |
| muli | behind | tō mulimuli | a little further behind |
| lunga | on top | tō lungalunga | a little higher, older |

- (273) Na aungia pā ki tō **mulimuli**, na patua ki tō **mulimuli**, ki tō **taimai likiliki**.
 T current-Cia prob G too RR-behind T hit-Cia G too RR-behind G too RR-sea RR-small
[He] had probably drifted a little behind, [he] had been hit [by the waves] a little behind,
out to sea a little way. (PS:4:13)

3. Bimoraic reduplication can derive a stative verb from a noun. These often have a similar meaning to verbs formed through suffixation by *-a* 'be full of N' (3.9.2).

| | | | |
|-------|---------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| ngalu | wave | ngalungalu | rough (of seas) |
| lolo | coconut cream | lolololo | full of coconut cream |
| manga | fork, branch | mangamanga | having many branches |
| watu | stone | tauwatuwatu | stony |

4.4.2 MONOMORAIC REDUPLICATION ‘plural’

Monomoraic reduplication is an unproductive inflectional strategy denoting plurality. It affects a very small group of nouns which are listed in 4.5.1.3. The penultimate mora is reduplicated, accompanied by lengthening of the first vowel in a three mora word (see 3.5.5.2 and 2.6.1 for a similar but productive process affecting verbs).

4.5 THE NUCLEUS

The nucleus of the noun phrase may be filled by nouns (4.5.1), pronouns (4.5.2) and verbal nouns (4.5.3).

4.5.1 NOUNS

The simple base is normally a noun, of which there are two subclasses: proper nouns and common nouns. The majority of nouns are unchangeable in form although a few have inflected forms in the plural (4.4.2, 4.5.1.3). Nouns can occur with a determiner (4.1).

Distinguishing between the open classes of nouns and verbs poses some difficulty (cf. 3.6), as is the case for all Polynesian languages, since words that denote nominal entities can occur in the nucleus of a verb phrase (3.6) and words that denote actions or states can also occur in the nucleus of a noun phrase (4.5.3; 10.8).

In the following sentences, a base which typically refers to a nominal entity is behaving syntactically as a noun in (a) and as a verb in (b).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(274) a. te lōpā māwitiwiti o Te Lāngaikula A young.man RR-energetic P Te Lāngaikula <i>the young energetic man of Te Lāngaikula</i></p> | <p>b. Nā i Wale mātou i te taime nā lōpā ai au. T L home we.Pl L A time T youth Pro I <i>We were on Pukapuka when I was a young man.</i></p> |
| <p>(275) a. e pulūmu tiāniu. A broom coconut.leaf.midrib <i>a broom made out of coconut leaf midribs</i></p> | <p>b. Wano ake koe pulūmu i te wale. go Dir you broom Acc A house <i>Please go and sweep the house.</i></p> |
| <p>(276) a. lā mua o te Kilitimeti via front P A Christmas <i>before Christmas</i></p> | <p>b. Ke oko ki lua tāpati i mua ake ka Kilitimeti ai... C arrive G two week L front Dir T Christmas Pro <i>When it gets to two weeks before Christmas... (VK12:2)</i></p> |

However, as Besnier (2000:257-258) points out for Tuvaluan, this does not mean that the distinction between noun and verb is irrelevant to the language. He proposes a number of characteristics which suggest that some words are nouns in their most basic forms and that the verbal usage is less basic. The following of his criteria are useful in attempting to distinguish the class of nouns in Pukapukan:

1. The meaning of a noun is often less specific than that of the associated verb. For example, *lama* as a noun means ‘torch’, but when it is used as a verb it does not just mean ‘use a torch’, but has a very specific meaning: ‘go fishing at night using a torch’.

2. Native speakers are more likely to provide the nominal meaning than the verbal meaning as their first response in elicitation and translation exercises.
3. The nominal occurs with greater frequency as a noun than as a verb in natural discourse. The word for Christmas '*Kilitimeti*' was found only twice used as a verb as in sentence (276), but over thirty times used as a noun in the corpus. Of the names for days of the week, only one token was found used as a verb out of 150.
4. A fourth characteristic of nouns, not mentioned in Besnier's discussion, is that not all words denoting things can be used freely in verbal predicates. The ability of bases denoting nominal entities to be used verbally appears to be a transparent productive process because it applies to many bases and the meaning of the verb is often predictably related to that of the noun. The verb typically means 'use as a N' or 'act as a N'. For instance, *pulūmu* 'broom' can be used verbally to mean 'use a broom on, to sweep' as in (275). However, *pātikala* 'bicycle', *payīlele* 'plane' and *komipiuta* 'computer' cannot be used verbally even though the following verbal meanings might be expected: 'use a bicycle, ride a bicycle', 'go by plane, fly a plane', and 'use a computer to enter data' respectively.

However, the value of these distributional and semantic criteria is limited, and identification of nominal properties of a given word depends primarily on contextual syntactic information.

4.5.1.1 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns are compatible with the personal article but not with the common articles. While common nouns may be indefinite, proper nouns are always definite. There are three types of proper nouns: personal nouns, proper locational nouns and proper temporal nouns. Each of these types is defined by their differing compatibility with the personal article. They all take the personal article as a fronted subject and in the accusative case (4.1.1.2). Pronouns share some features with proper nouns (4.5.2). For convenience, Table 8 showing the co-occurrence of the articles with noun classes is repeated below.

1. Personal Nouns

This class comprises names for people. The characteristic feature of this class is compatibility with the personal article (cf. 4.1.1) in the greatest number of case marking possibilities, namely in subject and object position as well as in oblique cases marked with *i*, *ki* and *mai*. Personal nouns share the ability to take the personal article with the classes of proper locational nouns, proper temporal nouns and pronouns in some situations. Proper locational nouns, proper temporal nouns and personal nouns all take the personal article in the nominative/absolutive and the accusative cases, while pronouns behave similarly to personal nouns in the accusative and oblique cases but not in the nominative/absolutive case.

TABLE 8: Co-occurrence of the Personal Article with Noun Subclasses in Various Cases.

| | Personal Proper | Pronoun | Locational Proper | Locational Common | Common Noun |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| examples: | <i>Uyo</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>Pukapuka</i> | <i>mua</i> | <i>vaka</i> |
| Locatives: <i>i</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>ilia</i> | <i>i</i> |
| <i>ki</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>ki (kia)</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>ki</i> |
| <i>mai</i> | <i>maia</i> | <i>maia</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>mai</i> |
| Accusative: <i>i</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>i</i> |
| Fronted Subject: | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | ∅ |
| Nominative: | <i>ia</i> | ∅ | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | ∅ |
| Absolutive: | <i>ia</i> | ∅ | <i>ia</i> | <i>ia</i> | ∅ |
| Other cases: <i>e, ko, alo...</i> | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ | ∅ |

2. Proper Locational Nouns

Proper locational nouns are compatible with the personal article in the nominative/absolutive and the accusative cases. In locative and other oblique cases they may directly follow a case marker and do not take the common articles. This subclass includes all place names as well as locational nouns.

(a) Place Names:

Pukapuka
Wale
Yāmoa

Pukapuka
the main island of Pukapuka [lit. Home], Pukapuka
Samoa

(277) **Ia Wale** *i te vela ongo.*
A Home Prd hot very
Pukapuka is very hot.

(278) **Wō loa lātou ki Yayake.**
go.Pl Int they G Yayake
They went to Yayake.

A place name may take a common article to refer to the people at that place: *Te Yāmoa* ‘the Samoan people’.

(b) Locational Nouns:

This closed class is listed here:⁸

| | |
|-------|------------------------------------|
| lalo | down, westward side |
| lunga | top, over |
| tua | back, behind, outer side of island |

| | |
|----------|--|
| tai | sea ⁹ , lagoon side of island |
| mua | front |
| muli | back, rear |
| tawa | beside |
| loto | inside |
| lolotonu | middle, within |
| vao | outside |
| ngake | eastern side |
| katea | starboard |
| ama | outrigger side |
| ngāuta | shore |
| | |
| kilā | there [yonder] |
| kinā | there [by you] |
| kinei | here |
| kiai | there [anaphoric reference] |
| wea | where |

The class comprises words which denote relative location. Some of these forms can also apply to temporal relative location. For instance, *muli* and *mua* can be used in a temporal sense to mean ‘after’ and ‘before’, respectively.

The behaviour of the locational nouns with the locative prepositions, *i*, *ki*, and *mai*, distinguishes them as a class. They are incompatible with the common articles as well as the personal article following these prepositions. Locational nouns behave like proper nouns. They only take the personal article; never the common articles. Their compatibility with the personal article is the same as that of place names. They differ from place names in that locational nouns are relational and a subclass is able to occupy the head of a complex locational phrase (279) (see 4.8.1).

(279) Ulu ki **loto** o tona vaka ia.
 enter G inside P his canoe Af
[He] got into his canoe.

(280) Lele mai lā **ngāuta** ki Wale nei.
 run Dir across shore G Wale here
[He] ran via the reef [shore] to Wale.

(281) Wuli koe ki **ama**.
 turn you G outrigger
Turn [the boat] to the side of the outrigger.

(282) Ka angatu au ki **kinā**.
 T come I G there
I'm coming there [to your place].

(283) Ko yē i **kiai** ia Tā.
 T Neg L L-Pro A Tā
Tā isn't there.

Certain of these locational nouns also act as place names:

| | |
|-------|--|
| Loto | Name of Central Village |
| Ngake | Name of Eastern Village |
| Lalo | Name of western residential area on Motu Kō |
| Tua | Name of place at the back of the island where hospital and government offices are located. |

Denotation as a place name is often distinguished from the relational meaning by the definitive accent (4.7.2.1):

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (284) | Ka wano au ki Tuá oko kava. T go I G Tua-Da buy alcohol <i>I'm going to Tua to buy some beer.</i> | Ka wano au ki tua , yoliyoli ai. T go I G back RR-tread Pro <i>I'm going to the back of the island for a walk.</i> |
|-------|--|---|

3. Proper Temporal Nouns

The names of the months of the year, listed below, behave like personal nouns in being compatible with the personal article in the nominative/absolute and the locative cases (285-287) but not taking an article in other oblique cases (286) or when coordinated (287). However unlike personal nouns, they rarely occur in the nominative/absolute case, and there are no examples in the corpus of them occurring in the accusative case.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Tiānuale | January |
| Pepeluale ~ Pepuale | February |
| Māti | March |
| Āpelila | April |
| Mē | May |
| Tiunu | June |
| Tiulai | July |
| Aukute | August |
| Tepetema | September |
| Okotopa | October |
| Nōvema | November |
| Tītema | December |

- (285) Na longolongo tātou **ia** Āpelila te payī koa oko mai lā te kaokao.
T RR-hear we A April A ship T arrive Dir round A side
We've heard that [it will be] April when the ship comes round the corner. (UU:46:1)
- (286) i te malama **ia** Pepeluale, i te tāpati openga **o** Pepeluale
L A month A February L A week end P February
in the month, February, in the last week of February (AR:2:6)
- (287) Mē lā, ka oko mai i te matawiti lā mua nei **ia** Tiulai mē Tiānuale.
if but T arrive Dir L A year through front here L-A July or January
But if [not] [it] will arrive next year, in July or January. (SF:T3:13)

Names for days of the week are common nouns and are compatible only with the common articles.

4.5.1.2 Common Nouns

The subclass of common nouns is an open class of words compatible with the common articles, but incompatible with the personal article. Some examples are: *lima* 'hand', *wenua* 'country, island', *vaka* 'canoe', *tāne* 'man'. The class contains many borrowings from other languages: *tuka* 'sugar', *vāteo* 'video' from English; *mātalō* 'sailor' from French; *pātileia* 'kingdom' from Greek; *Mānākai* 'Saturday' from Tahitian (*mahana-a-kai*).

Names for days of the week (288-290) and names for annual festivities (291) function differently from the names for months of the year. They belong to the class of common nouns and take the common articles.

- (288) i **te Palapalau**, lā e luangaulu ma tai o Māti
L A Thursday day T ten and one P March
on Thursday, the eleventh of March (PP2:2:1)
- (289) mōtāyao loa o **te Mōnitē**
morning Int P A Monday
early on Monday morning (PP2:12:8)
- (290) i **te Walaile** o te tāpati na topá
L A Friday P A week T past-Da
on Friday of last week (F3:10:1)
- (291) Ke vĕvĕia kōtou i **te Kilitimeti** ma **te Matawiti Wōu**.
C happy you.PI L A Christmas and A Year New
May you be happy at Christmas and the New Year. (T1:8)

Mass nouns and count nouns may be distinguished by the type of quantifying modifier they take and the marking on the verb for plurality. Mass nouns do not occur with numerals (4.3), whereas count nouns can. Mass nouns commonly take a plural form of the article (4.1.2.2; 4.1.2.4-5) and plural verbal agreement.

Like many bases which can occur in the nucleus of a predicate or a noun phrase, numerals may stand for a common noun:

- (292) Ka wō **te toka-lima** yī ika i lunga o **te yeke-ono**.
T go.PI A cls- five catch fish L on P A cls- six
The fivesome will go fishing on the six seater.
- (293) Nā pekapeka au nō tei māwiwiti **te tolungaua**.
T worry I because R-blown.away A three-suff
I was worried because the three [of them] had been blown [out to sea]. (P:S2:34)
- (294) **Te lua** nō te katoatoa.
A two about A all
The second [thing] was concerning everyone. (U:C1)
- (295) Ka vayi tā tātou e **taki-lau**.
T split P we A each-100
We'll break a hundred each. (AP:N2)
- (296) I te taime ia, kāni matīni yoyolo pēnei, **ni ono wua**, ni matīni liliki wua.
L A time Af Neg.exist machine R-fast like-this Prd six just Prd machine R-small just
*At that time there weren't any fast outboard motors, there were just sixes [6 h.p.],
[they] were just small motors.* (MN:2:13)

In some respects, *mea* 'thing' is a general noun which can stand for a specific referent which is not made explicit. It can function as a dummy insertion for virtually any lexical item of any class type to denote an unspecified referent. When it stands for a personal noun it takes the personal article and for a common noun it takes a common article.

4.5.1.3 Number Marking in Nouns

A small group of common nouns show a number distinction in the base. Plural forms are made by internal inflection, namely monomoraic reduplication (4.4.2), lengthening of the first vowel or by irregular change. It is noticeable that these are all in the semantic domain of names for people, including kinship terms.

1. There are a couple of nouns which exhibit monomoraic reduplication to denote plurality. The penultimate mora is reduplicated, accompanied by lengthening of the first vowel in a three mora word (4.4.2, 3.5.5.2, 2.6.1). The only examples are:

| | | | |
|-------|------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| matua | parent | mātutua | parents |
| pōvī | old person | kau mātutua pōvivī | elders old people |

2. The group of nouns with a lengthened first vowel to denote plurality are:¹⁰

| | | | |
|---------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|
| tangata | person ¹¹ | tāngata | people |
| wawine | woman | wāwine | women |
| tupuna | ancestor | tūpuna | ancestors |
| taina | same sex sibling | tāina | same sex siblings |

Note that the word *taina* lengthens two vowels in its plural form.

3. In addition, *tama* ‘child’ shows irregular forms in the plural, *tamaliki* ‘children’, *kauliki* ‘children’. *Tamaiti* ‘child’ is a form with a singular meaning only.

Certain common nouns, including those referring to certain body parts and personal characteristics, are idiomatically marked as plural by the form of the articles or possessive pronoun with which they co-occur:

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| ki oku tawa | moto loa i oku tupu | nā vave o Iva | tō kōtou kaú |
| G my.Pl side | punch Int Acc my.Pl face | A strength P Iva | P you.Pl people-Da |
| to my side | punched my face | Iva's strength | your (Sg) spouse |

Some items normally found as a pair are marked as singular, while others are plural:

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------|
| te | pākoti | oku tītia | oku tāmaka |
| the [pair of] scissors | my.Pl glasses, goggles | my.Pl sandals | |

4.5.2 PRONOUNS

There are several types of pronoun. Personal pronouns (4.5.2.1) form a closed class together with the anaphoric pronoun *ai* (4.5.2.2). The characteristic feature of this class is compatibility with the personal article. Members of this class behave like personal nouns in that they take the personal article after a preposition ending in *-i*: *i*, *ki* and *mai*. However, they do not take it in subject position except when in clause initial position (4.1.1.2). Preposed and postposed possessive pronouns are discussed in 4.2 and

4.8.2 respectively. Interrogative words and demonstratives function as pronouns and are discussed in sections 4.5.2.3 and 4.5.2.4 respectively. There are no separate reflexive or reciprocal pronoun forms (see 7.7.2).

4.5.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns typically refer to humans, but sometimes to animate entities and, very occasionally, to inanimate entities.

The pronouns in Pukapukan, like other Polynesian languages, distinguish three persons in singular, dual and plural forms. In the first person dual and plural, a distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive pronouns according to whether or not the addressee is included in the meaning.

In Pukapukan there is a residue of two sets of personal pronouns; full and short form pronouns exist, similar to the emphatic and non-emphatic forms of other Western Polynesian languages. The short pronouns occur only in the singular as a residue of the distinction between the two classes. Table 11 below displays the longer set of pronouns in the nominative/absolute case. Shorter forms occur as preverbal pronouns within the verb phrase and are used as the basis of all the other case paradigms of pronoun forms.

TABLE 11: Personal Pronouns in the Nominative/Absolute Case

| | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|-------------------------|----------|-------|--------|
| First Person Inclusive: | | tāua | tātou |
| First Person Exclusive: | au | māua | mātou |
| Second Person: | koe | kōlua | kōtou |
| Third Person: | iāna | lāua | lātou |

These are the cardinal pronouns and are used in subject position. Case is marked by case markers or prepositions (6.1-6.2) which regularly fuse with the short singular forms of the preverbal pronoun paradigm, listed in full below. The second person singular has two forms in this paradigm; *au* is more colloquial than *a koe* which is less common, more formal and somewhat archaic.

TABLE 12: Preverbal Pronouns

| | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|-------------------------|------------|---------|---------|
| First Person Inclusive: | | a tāua | a tātou |
| First Person Exclusive: | aku | a māua | a mātou |
| Second Person: | au / a koe | a kōlua | a kōtou |
| Third Person: | ana | a lāua | a lātou |

Object forms in the ‘accusative’ pattern are marked by the accusative case marker *i*, plus the personal article in a fused form, *ia*.

TABLE 13: Personal Pronouns in the Accusative Case

| | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------|----------|
| First Person Inclusive: | | ia tāua | ia tātou |
| First Person Exclusive: | ia aku [ia:ku] | ia māua | ia mātou |
| Second Person: | ia koe [iakoe] | ia kōlua | ia kōtou |
| Third Person: | ia ana [ia:na] | ia lāua | ia lātou |

Clause initial subject pronouns which are marked only by the personal article *ia* have the same forms as those in the accusative case.

- (297) **Ia koe** i te ata tunu kai.
 A you Prd good.at cook food
You are good at cooking.

Pronouns which are marked by the locative case marker *i* also follow the same paradigm as that of the accusative case.

The singular pronoun forms in other cases fuse with preceding case markers and prepositions. Following the locative prepositions ending in *-i* (*i*, *ki* and *mai*) the fused form contains the personal article. The singular pronoun forms are listed in Table 14:

TABLE 14: Singular Personal Pronouns Marked for Case

| Case Markers | First Person | Second Person | Third Person |
|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>ki</i> ‘goal’ | kia aku [kia:ku] | kia koe [kiakoe] | kia ana [kia:na] |
| <i>mai</i> ‘from, source’ | maia aku [maia:ku] | maia koe [maiakoe] | maia ana [maia:na] |
| <i>ko</i> ‘topic’ | ko oku [ko:ku] | ko koe [kokoe] ko ou [ko:u] | ko ona [ko:na] |
| <i>e</i> ‘agentive’ | ēku [e:ku] | e koe [ekoe] | ēna [e:na] |
| <i>nō</i> ‘benefactive’ | nō oku [no:ku] | nō koe [no:koe] nō ou [no:u] | nō ona [no:na] |
| <i>nā</i> ‘benefactive’ | nā aku [na:ku] | nā koe [na:koe] nā au [na:u] | nā ana [na:na] |
| <i>mō</i> ‘benefactive’ | mō oku [mo:ku] | mō koe [mo:koe] mō ou [mo:u] | mō ona [mo:na] |

In polite speech, *tāua*, the first person inclusive form, may be used to refer to a singular addressee alone.

- (302) Kai maka te pēpē a tāua.
T leave A baby P we.2
You might miscarry.
- (303) Kino ke teletele wāwā peia, ka kōtia tāua.
bad C RR-peel taro like-so T cut-Cia we.2
It's not good to peel taro like that, you'll cut yourself.
- (304) Nā tama a tāua nei i te totoko.
A child P we.2 here Prd stubborn
Your children are stubborn. (PP2:2:7)

On occasion a dual inclusive pronoun (*tāua*) can also be used to refer to the speaker alone. It includes the listener out of politeness.

- (305) Ēnei nā mō talatala nā aku kia koe nō lunga o tā tāua yanga tātā mako.
here A few RR-talk P I G-A you P on P P we.2 work write chant.sp
Here are a few words from me to you concerning how I have written the chants [which I enclose].
[lit. concerning our-incl. work of writing chants]. (LL:1:2)

The dual pronouns may also be used honorifically to refer to plural entities. This usage is most apparent in a specialised speech form, the *vānanga* ‘village announcement’.¹² In the following excerpts from a *vānanga*, not only is a dual pronoun used to refer to all the inhabitants of the village (306, 307), but it is also used to refer to a group of individuals who have been fined (308). The honorific style is also augmented by the use of an archaic formulaic greeting to begin the announcement.

- (306) Wengatu kia kōlua lā lolotonu nei.
greeting G-A you.2 across middle here
Greetings to all of you in the centre here. (V:1)
- (307) E yē wai tā tāua imukai i te ayo nei.
T Neg make P we.2 feast L A day here
We won't make our feast today. (V:1)
- (308) Kōlua o tā māua pule e te kau lōpā, koa taki limangaulu kōlua....
you.2 P P we.2 duty.group Voc A group youth T each fifty you.2

Ko kōtou te kau na akautungaina i te tāyao nei.
Prd you.Pl A group T fine-Cia L A morning here
You in our group, several of the youths of our group are up for fifty cents each.
You are the people who have been fined this morning [for letting your pigs loose]. (V:2)

Verbal “agreement” for a dual numbered pronoun is usually plural as verbs distinguish only singular and plural forms:

- (309) Na wō lāua ki tai.
T go.Pl they.2 G sea
They both went to sea.

However, instances have been noted where the form of the verb for the dual pronoun *tāua* is singular. Notably all these occurrences are from a discourse style describing or prescribing how something should

be done. This use of the first person dual pronoun *tāua* corresponds to the impersonal pronoun, ‘one’. This is linked to the polite usage of the dual pronouns to refer to singular entities (noted above).

- (310) Wano **tāua** wakiwaki mea mai te lau wuti.
 go.Sg we.2 RR-pick thing from A leaf banana
One goes and picks them from the banana leaf. (MU:E2)
- (311) Wano **tāua** mē kī i te pulūmu, wano **tāua** tae i nā vayavaya.
 go.Sg we.2 if full By A weed go we.2 weed Acc A grass
You go, and if it's full of weeds, you go and pull out the grass. (MU:E2)
- (312) Ko te kōanga oki, ko pipiki o **tāua** vae ki lunga o te tino o te niu.
 Top A climbing.twine also T R-stick P we.2 leg G on P A trunk P A coconut
The climbing rope [attached around ankles] [helps] one's legs to stick onto the trunk of the coconut tree. (KM:WK5:3)

4.5.2.2 Anaphoric Pronoun : ai

The anaphoric pronoun *ai* combines phonologically with the case markers and occupies the nucleus of the noun phrase. In the locative cases marked by *i*, *ki* and *mai*, the anaphoric pronoun *ai* may replace a personal noun or a proper locational noun, although the former is infrequent and *mai* seldom co-occurs with *ai*. Even when it refers to a personal noun in these oblique cases, *ai* is not marked with the personal article.

| | | |
|--------|---------|--------------------------|
| i ai | [iaɪ] | at there, at him/her |
| ki ai | [kiaɪ] | to there, to him/her |
| mai ai | [maiaɪ] | from there, from him/her |

- (313) Ka niko au ki toku wale nā i **ai** au.
 T return I G my house T L Pro I
I will return to my house where I used to [live]. (KM:LK11:2:1)
- (314) Wano loa iāna aumai loa i te toe witungaua vaelua ko kino atu lā lunga ōna, nōnō loa lātou i **ai**.
 go.Sg Int he bring Int Acc A other seven-suff spirit T bad Dir L on P-he RR-stay Int they L Pro
He [a spirit] went and brought seven other worse spirits onto him [person] and stayed there/on him. (KM:LK11:2:1)
- (315) Yau loa ia Tutau uwi ki **ai**:
 come Int A Tutau ask G Pro
Tutau came and asked her: (PP2:9:6)
- (316) Wō loa te wenua ki **ai** nō te kotikotinga o te uwi ia.
 go.Pl Int A island G Pro P A RR-cut-Nom P A garden Af
The whole island went there for the subdividing of the gardens. (KU:3:2)

Ambiguity exists in many cases between reference to a place or a person at that place. This may be a reason why the uses of the pronoun are not differentiated by the personal article.

- (317) Ka wō mō tātou kia Tūtū, i te ava nā i kilā? I te Ava Tonu, ka wō tātou ki **ai**.
 T go.Pl Q we G-A Tūtū L A channel T L there L A Ava Tonu T go.Pl we G there/him
Shall we go to Tūtū [person's name], at that channel over there, at the Ava Tonu. Let's go there/to him. (PS:2:6)

The pronoun *ai* may have non-singular reference:

- (318) Ke welele mai ni manu ka talikai tātou ki **ai**.
 C Pl-run Dir A bird T beg we G Pro
If any birds come flying along, we'll ask them. (MK:S1:3)
- (319) Lele mai oki au ki te kongā ia Viliamu mā, tala ki **ai**.
 run Dir also I G A place L-A Viliamu etc tell G Pro
Then I ran to the place where Viliamu and the others were, and told them. (P:S7:2)

There is a distinction between the locative pronouns *ai* and *kiai* (cf. 4.5.2.4) although their functions overlap to a certain extent.

4.5.2.3 Interrogative Pronouns

There are only two interrogative pronouns that may occur in the nucleus of the noun phrase: *wea* 'what?' and *ai* 'who?'.

1. *wea* 'what?' [inanimate]

The interrogative *wea* may behave as a nominal base and as such may be marked for case. It may replace a common noun or a locational noun. When it substitutes for a common noun it co-occurs with the common articles:

- (320) Ko te ngutu o te **wea**?
 Prd A mouth P A what
The entrance of what?
- (321) Ko kaikai ia Tāvita ki te **wea**?
 T RR-eat A Tāvita G A what
What is Tāvita eating?
- (322) Ko patupatu tātā ki te **wea**?
 T RR-beat taro.dish Ins A what
What do you beat tātā with?

Like other nouns, *wea* may also constitute the nucleus of a nominal predicate (7.1.1; 9.1.5.1) and substitute for a common noun denoting an inanimate entity (323, 324), quantity (325), reason (326) or source (327).

- (323) E **wea** te mea nei?
 Prd what A thing here
What is this thing?
- (324) Ni **wea** a lātou ika na kite?
 Prd what P they fish T see
What type of fish did they see? (PP2:13:6)
- (325) E **wea** te wolo o tā lātou uto na yoka?
 Prd what A big P P they sprouting.coconut T husk
How many sprouting coconuts did they husk? (PP2:13:12)

- (326) E wea te mea na yau ai au ki te ao nei?
Prd what A thing T come Pro I G A world here
Why did I come to this earth? (KM:MW:3:6)
- (327) Nō wea te wuti nei?
P what A banana here
Where does this [type of] banana come from?

Where it substitutes for a locational noun, *wea* does not occur with an article:

- (328) Ka yaele koe ki wea?
T walk you L where
Where are you going?
- (329) Koa maka te payīlele tāyao i wea?
T leave A plane tomorrow L where
Where will the plane leave from tomorrow?
- (330) Ko i wea te māti?
T L where A matches
Where are the matches.

2. Interrogative *ai* 'who?' [human]

Ai has been described previously as an anaphoric pronoun which replaces a personal noun or a locational noun (4.5.2.2). It is also used as an interrogative pronoun which substitutes for a personal noun. As such it may constitute the nucleus of a nominal predicate which is normally filled by a noun.

| | | |
|-------|---------|-------------------|
| ko ai | [koai] | who |
| nō ai | [no:ai] | belonging to whom |
| nā ai | [na:i] | belonging to whom |

- (331) Ko ai te tangata mua na oko mai ki kinei?
Prd who A person first T arrive Dir G here
Who was the first person to arrive here?
- (332) Nō ai nā kākau nei?
P who A clothes here
Whose are these clothes?
- (333) Nā ai te tama nei?
P who A child here
Whose is this child?
- (334) Nā ai nā kai a Mainemula ka kave?
P who A food P girl-red T take
For whom did Red Riding Hood take the food? (W2:F2:4:9)

Interrogative *ai* may also be found occurring as the nucleus of a noun phrase marked for case by a preposition.

| | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|
| i ai | [jai] | at whom |
| ki ai | [kiai] | to whom |
| mai ai | [maiai] | from whom |
| o ai | [oai] | of whom |
| ma ai | [ma:i] | and whom |
| e ai | [eai] | by whom |

(335) Ka kave ki ai te koke?
 T carry G who A saw
To whom are you taking the saw?

(336) Ko kōlua ma ai na lōmamai?
 Prd you.2 and who T come.Pl
Who (Sg) did you come with? (VL90:11:1)

In the nominative and accusative cases and as head of a locative predicate, it coalesces with the personal article.

| | | |
|-------|--------|---|
| ia ai | [ia:i] | who, whom [nominative, accusative case] |
| ia ai | [ia:i] | at whom [head of locative predicate] |

(337) Alāvei ai au ia-, ia ai?, ia Tuaine.
 meet Pro I Acc-A - A who A Tuaine
I met um-, who [was it]? Tuaine.

(338) Ko ia ai te meá? Ko i toku taina, e pito kave wua atu.
 T L-A who A thing-Da T L my brother T recently take just Dir
With whom is that thing? It's with my brother, he's only just taken it. (KM:PP3:1)

4.5.2.4 Demonstrative and Locative Pronouns

The positional demonstrative particles *nei*, *nā*, *lā* and *ia* (5.1.4) form compounds with the singular articles *te* and *e* and with the preposition *ki* 'to'. The compounds occur independently as demonstrative pronouns or locative pronouns.

1. The definite demonstrative pronouns are formed with the singular specific article *te-* as the first morpheme. *Tēnei* 'this (by me)', *tēnā* 'that (by you)', *tēlā* 'that (over there)' and *teia* 'this (being demonstrated or mentioned previously)' occur only as subjects of nominal predicates. As such they can be equated with personal nouns (339), pronouns (340-341) or definite common noun phrases (342, 343).

(339) Ko oku tēnei ko Vakayala.
 Prd I this Prd Vakayala
This is me, Vakayala. (N:V1)

(340) Ko koe koia tēnā na langaina toku kongá?
 Prd you exactly that T uproot-Cia my place-Da
Was that indeed you who uprooted my garden? (PP2:14:1)

(341) Ko ai tēlā e yaelé?
 Prd Pro that T walk-Da
Who is that walking over there?

(342) Ko tona teina teia.
 Prd his brother this
This is his brother.

(343) Ko te lili teia o te wī lōpā.
 Prd A anger this P A all youth
This was [why] all the youths were angry. (U:4)

If the nominal predicate is a complex phrase whose head is modified by a postposed possessive phrase, the demonstrative subject may separate the head from the possessive phrase (7.3.3)

- (344) Ko te kau **teia** o tona vaka.
 Top A group here P his canoe
These are the people belonging to his canoe.

2. The demonstrative pronouns that are formed from nonspecific singular article *e* and the positional demonstrative particles are: *ēnei* ‘this (by me)’, *ēnā* ‘that (by you)’, *ēlā* ‘that (over there)’ and *eia* ‘herewith (being demonstrated)’. These compounds fill the nucleus of a nominal predicate:

- (345) **Ēnei** toku manako, ka wō tāua ki te keonga, tunu i a tāua manu nei.
 this my thought T go.Pl we.2 G A point cook Acc P we.2 bird here
This is my idea, let's go to the point and cook our birds. (F3:S5:5)

- (346) **Ēnā** ake te puká.
 that Dir A book-Da
Please pass that book there.

- (347) **Ēlā** te weke koa lele ki loto o te pū.
 that A octopus T run G inside P A hole
Over there's an octopus fleeing to his hole. (PP2:7:1)

- (348) **Eia** tau kapu kaope.
 here.with your cup coffee
Here is your cup of coffee [handing it over].

3. The demonstrative particles form compounds with the preposition *ki-* ‘to’. The compounds function as proforms for locational nouns. The compound formed by *ki + ia* is realised as *kiai* and is homophonous with the anaphoric pronoun *ai* marked for case by *ki* (4.5.2.2).

| | |
|-------|-------------------|
| kinei | here |
| kinā | there, by you |
| kilā | over there |
| kiai | there (anaphoric) |

These forms occur as the head of a locative predicate:

- (349) Nā i **kinei** oki te tele i te taime ia.
 T L here also A tour.group L A time Af
The tour group was here at that time. (W:F:1:12)

- (350) Ko i **kinā** mō ia Kalaka ma Pilipa?
 T L there Q A Kalaka and Pilipa
Kalaka and Pilipa are where you are, aren't they? (TM:L2:2)

- (351) Angatu atu au ki wale, ko i **kiai** ia Pāpā mā.
 go Dir I G home T L there A Father etc
When I got home, Father and the others were there. (PP2:6:1)

They may substitute for a noun phrase which is marked for case by a preposition:

- (352) Ka lōmamai ai ia Ngake ki kinei angaanga.
 T come.Pl Pro A Ngake G here RR-work
The whole of Ngake will come here to work. (TTU:7:2)
- (353) Na kave atu e Tele nā toe puka ki kinā, ki Lalotonga.
 T take Dir Ag Tele A other book G there G Rarotonga
Tele took some books to there [where you are], to Rarotonga. (TM:3:5)
- (354) ko te tokatolu lā kilā
 Prd A pre-three over there
the three of them over there
- (355) Wōmamai ai lātou ki nā ninitā o Tā, inuinu ai lātou i kiai.
 go.Pl Pro they G A pawpaw P Tā RR-drink Pro they L there
They came to the pawpaw trees of Tā, and there they drank. (PP2:2:1)

Typically locative pronouns denotespatial location as in all of the above examples, but they can sometimes indicate temporal location:

- (356) Na yele oki taku tamāwine i te malama lā kilā.
 A tie also my daughter L A month over there
My daughter also married last month.

4.5.3 VERBAL NOUNS

Verbs may undergo nominalisation by derivational affixation (4.6), or they may occur as the nucleus of a noun phrase without any suffixation (10.8.2).

- (357) Kiai na loaina a māua talatalanga.
 Neg T long-Cia P we.2 talk-Nom
We didn't talk for long. (PP2:10:1)
- (358) Auwā na lava wua i kinei nā mō talatala a mātou.
 probably T enough just L here A few talk P we
That's probably enough talking from us. (PS2:4)

4.5.4 COMPOUND NOUNS

Many compounds in Polynesian languages appear to be no different from head modifier constructions, which has led some linguists (e.g. Hohepa 1967:16) to deny the existence of compounds. However, there are several reasons to justify the existence of compounds in Pukapukan.

1. Some formal changes occur in compounding. Stress changes occur predictably. The penultimate mora of a word receives primary stress (*īpu* 'coconut shell') (2.3.1), and in a compound the penultimate mora of the compound receives primary stress (*īpu-kōti* 'taro dish cooked in a coconut shell [lit. coconut shell-cut]'). Another formal change is the linking morpheme *-a-* that joins two elements of some compounds (*mata-a-wale* 'house front [lit. front-a-house]', but which does not link a head and a lexical modifier.

2. The meaning of some compounds cannot be ascertained from the meanings of the component parts (*ngutu-manu* ‘tiny taro tubers [lit. mouth bird]’). However, this is not a very reliable criterion for distinguishing compounds because there are many compounds whose meanings are transparent from their component parts.

3. A head is normally modified only by a single modifier, either nominal or verbal. However, compounds, which are comprised of two parts (a head and a modifier), can also be modified (*wale lau-niu wolo* ‘big coconut-thatch house’). The modifier (*wolo* ‘big’) semantically qualifies the entire compound, and not *lau-niu* ‘coconut leaf’.

4. A stative verb used attributively is inflected for plurality of the head (359), but this is not true for compounds comprising a head followed by a stative verb (360).

| | | |
|-------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (359) | wale wolo | nā wale wowolo |
| | house big | A house R-big |
| | <i>big house</i> | <i>the big houses</i> |

| | | |
|-------|--------------------|------------------------|
| (360) | wale- maki | * nā wale- mamaki |
| | house sick | A house R-sick |
| | <i>hospital(s)</i> | <i>(the hospitals)</i> |

5. Some compounds contain an element which is not found in the same form as a modifier or an independent base. For instance, *mata-pula* ‘globe-eye (fish sp.) [lit. eye-stare]’ has as its second element a base form which does not exist as a verb in its unreduplicated form (*pupula* ‘stare’ **pula*).

Compound nouns have the order head + modifier. They may be formed by the juxtaposition of two nouns. This is the most productive category.

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| (361) | ngali-pāyua | pū- niu | ivi- tua | puaka-nio | lau- punu |
| | shell clam | trunk coconut | bone back | pig tooth | leaf iron |
| | <i>clam shell</i> | <i>coconut tree trunk</i> | <i>backbone</i> | <i>goat</i> | <i>sheet of corrugated iron</i> |

Combinations of a noun and a locational noun can be found. The locational noun represents the habitat of the entity denoted by the head noun:

| | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| (362) | atua-moana | moa-vao | ngongo-moana |
| | god ocean | hen out | noddy ocean |
| | <i>god who lives in the sea</i> | <i>wild fowl</i> | <i>brown noddy tern</i> |

A locational noun can precede another noun:

| | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (363) | lalo- ao | muli- vaka | lalo- moana | muli-tuluma |
| | under-storm | behind canoe | under ocean | back satchel |
| | <i>squall, whirlwind</i> | <i>stern, mature aged man</i> | <i>type of deep-sea fishing</i> | <i>precious article</i> |
| | | | | <i>kept well back in satchel</i> |

Combinations of a noun and a verb are found. This is also a large category.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|--|--|---|---|
| (364) | payī-lele ship fly <i>aeroplane</i> | ipu- koti coconut.shell cut <i>type of taro dish</i> <i>[cooked in coconut shell]</i> | tupua- kaiā creature steal <i>thief</i> | wale- pule house pray <i>church</i> | malau- loa fish.sp long <i>species of soldierfish</i> |
| (365) | wū- koti parrotfish-cut <i>parrotfish sp.</i> | imu- langa oven lift <i>sports challenge</i> | mata- pula eye stare <i>globe-eye [fish sp.]</i> | | |

Combinations of a verb followed by a noun are found, but this is a small category.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (366) | Koti-polo cut coconut.branch <i>name for Loto village</i> | valo-yeu- nga call send-Nom <i>messenger</i> |
|-------|---|--|

There are a few nouns which are formed with prepositions or particles as one of the elements:

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (367) | lā- ngāuta via- shore <i>type of reef fishing</i> | muli-wua back just <i>edge of taro swamp</i> |
|-------|---|--|

A small group of compound nouns are formed by two nouns conjoined by a linking morpheme *-a-*, which is likely to have been a possessive marker historically. The only compounds that have been found have as their first part a morpheme ending in *-a* which fuses phonologically with the linking morpheme. Some are comprised of a locational noun as either the first or the second part:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|--|---|---|
| (368) | muā- vaka front-a-canoe <i>proW of canoe</i> | tuā- wenua back-a-land <i>back of the island</i> | te tilā- lalo A mast-a-down <i>lower stay of a sail</i> | Tuā- Loto back-a-centre <i>part of the island behind Loto</i> |
|-------|--|--|---|---|

Other compounds formed in this way are comprised of two common nouns. Several denote parts of the body:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|---|---|--|
| (369) | mangamangā-lima RR-branch-a-hand <i>finger</i> | mangamangā-vae RR-branch-a-leg <i>toe</i> | yuā- wū water-a-breast <i>breast milk</i> | yuā- uwa water-a-rain <i>rainwater</i> |
|-------|--|---|---|--|

The first element can be a nominalised verb which is linked to a noun by the same linking morpheme *-a-*:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|---|---|---|
| (370) | pīpī- ngā- tai RR-splash-Nom-a-sea <i>water's edge</i> | uwi- ngā- pule change-Nom-a-guard <i>village meeting</i> <i>to change guards</i> | kāke- ngā- wonu climb-Nom-a-turtle <i>turtle tracks</i> | wati-ngā- ngalu break-Nom-a-wave <i>edge of reef [where breakers</i> <i>crash onto reef]</i> |
|-------|--|---|---|---|

The elements of a compound can themselves be compounds:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|---|---|---|
| (371) | wale lau -niu house leaf coconut <i>a coconut-thatch house</i> | ika pae- tai fish float sea <i>green turtle</i> | pula yiku-toto spot tail blood <i>red-spotted surgeonfish</i> | wū nio- kila parrotfish tooth show <i>species of parrotfish</i> |
|-------|--|---|---|---|

- (372) kalou ulu- ā-lau- puka
 eel head P leaf tree.sp
species of speckled moray eel
[with a yellow patch on its head like a puka leaf]

Two nouns denoting fish names have been found which consist of a lexicalised noun phrase:

- (373) te-ika- a-Walemate te-ika- nā-talā- te-wai
 A fish P Walemate A fish T tell-Cia A stingray
species of parrotfish *species of fish*
[lit. Walemate's fish] *[lit. the fish that told on the stingray]*

4.6 NOMINALISING SUFFIX *-(C)(a)nga*

Pukapukan has a productive nominalising suffix *-nga*, which is a regular reflex of the PPn nominalising suffix, **-C(a)nga*. The same process is used to form action nominalisations and lexical nominalisations (cf. Comrie and Thompson 1985). Action nominalisations derive a noun denoting an event from a verb (see 10.8). The meaning of the nominalisation is predictably related to that of the base verb:

| | | | |
|-----|------------|-----------|--|
| iko | to wind up | ikoikonga | the act of winding something up the way something is wound up |
|-----|------------|-----------|--|

The verb and a following directional modifier may be nominalised together:

- (374) i **taku niko mai-nga** ki Niu Tileni nei,
 L my return Dir-Nom G New Zealand here
when I returned to New Zealand,

Lexical nominalisations reflect three different forms of the suffix *-(C)(a)nga*. The meaning of a lexical nominalisation is not predictable from that of the verb. Other differences between action nominalisations and lexical nominalisations are discussed in 10.8.

The consonant of the suffix, which reflects a root dependent consonant in proto-Oceanic, is found in only a handful of lexical nominalisations: *wolomanga* 'oesophagus' (*wolo* 'swallow'); *tupulanga* 'family tree, creation [of Pukapuka which grew out of the sea]' (*tupu* 'grow').

The regular form of the suffix is *-nga*. As shown in the following list, the meaning of a lexical nominalisation is not predictable from that of the original verb, but it does bear some relationship to it.

| | | | |
|-------------|------------------|----------|-------------|
| koinga | amount collected | koi | to collect |
| potonga | piece | poto | to be short |
| putuputunga | pile | putuputu | to gather |
| tuanga | food share | tua | to divide |
| tupunga | descendants | tupu | to grow |

A few words seem to contain a suffix and yet there are no extant base verb forms, or the meaning of the noun is widely divergent from that of a possible base:

| | | | |
|-----------|--|-----------------|---------|
| ngaluenga | feast celebrating the end of village work | < *ngalue (PPn) | to work |
| monotanga | island-wide feast of <i>olo</i> (taro) pudding | < ?mono | to push |

A small group of nouns exhibit unpredictable lengthening of the first vowel in addition to the suffix *-nga*:

| | | | |
|---------|---------------------------|---------|----------------------------|
| āmonga | load-bearing pole | amo | to carry on one's shoulder |
| kākenga | tracks of a turtle | kake | to climb |
| lālanga | style, quality of weaving | lalanga | to weave |
| mātenga | period of mourning | mate | to die |
| wānonga | voyaging story | wano | to go |

A number of lexical nominalisations appear with the suffix *-anga*. Cook Islands Māori is the likely source of many, but not all, of these words:

| | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| ikianga | coronation | iki | to elect |
| nōanga | seat, chair | nō | to sit, stay |
| pauanga | answer | pau | to answer |
| pilianga | relationship | pili | to be near, close |
| uwianga | question | uwi | to ask |
| tauanga | pair of copulating turtles | tau | to perch |
| tauanga | coconut cream wringer | tatau | to wring |

4.7 POSTPOSED MODIFIERS

The postposed periphery may contain a series of lexical modifiers expressing size, colour, shape and possession of the nucleus as well as a number of postposed particles of an adverbial nature. Phrasal and clausal modifiers of the noun are discussed in 4.8.

4.7.1 LEXICAL MODIFIERS

Lexical modifiers of the head noun immediately follow the nucleus and are either nominal (375) or verbal (376). There is no independent class of adjectives. Lexical modifiers may refer to size, shape, colour and other attributes of the noun. Normally there is only one lexical modifier postposed to the noun.

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (375) | e wale launiu A house coconut.leaf <i>a thatched house</i> | e aloa Kilitimeti A love Christmas <i>a Christmas present</i> |
| (376) | ngutu talatala A mouth RR-talk <i>a spokesman</i> | ni wuti papala A banana R-rotten <i>some rotten bananas</i> |

Two postposed modifiers are not commonly found. If more than one modifier is to qualify the head noun, then a compound phrase conjoined by *ma te* may be used.

- (377) E atua loa ma te tino nui.
Prd god long and body big
[He was] a tall god with a big body.

- (378) Ko Te Itū te akau **ngalua** ma te **ngalu wowolo**.
 Prd Te Itū A reef wave-full.of and wave R-big
The reef at Itū has many big waves.
- (379) Ko te tama lā koe wai lāvenga **ma te tangitangi**.
 Prd A child Int you demanding and RR-cry
You're a child [who is] demanding and grizzling.

1. Nominal Modifiers

Nominal modifiers are identical in meaning to nouns and are not inflected for plurality.

- (380) e poti **punu**
 A boat tin
an aluminium dinghy
- (381) ni tamaliki **Papā**
 A children European
some European children

2. Verbal Modifiers

Verbal modifiers are identical in meaning to verbs. Stative verbs used attributively agree in number with the head noun. Plural forms are formed by monomoraic reduplication or suppletive change (3.5.5, 7.7.1).

- (382) oku mātutua **vavave**
 my.PI parent.PI R-strong
my strong parents
- (383) nā manu **liliki**
 A bird Pl.small
the small birds

Numeral qualifiers normally precede the noun (4.3) but certain quantifiers relating to the number of entities in a group and ordinal numerals can be postposed to the head.¹³ Postposed numeral qualifiers share several characteristics of a relative clause (see 4.8.5).

- (384) Ka wō tātou **toka-lima** ki te māneanea.
 T go.Pl we cls- five G A sports
The five of us will go to the sports.
- (385) Ko nōnō tātou **toka-tolu** i te wale nei.
 T R-sit we cls- three L A house here
The three of us are staying at home.
- (386) te pō **tolu**
 A night three
the third night of the moon

Several quantifiers can be postposed to the noun they modify or they may optionally occur as a postmodifier of the verb. For discussion of Quantifier float see section 7.7.3.

4.7.2 POSTPOSED PARTICLES

These are all noun-modifying particles which relate to both the verb phrase and the noun phrase. They are listed here in linear order for convenience and are discussed in 5.1.

Adverbials:

wua 'only, just'
tikāi 'really'
lava 'definitely'

Directionals:

mai 'towards speaker'
atu 'away from speaker'
ake 'upwards', 'oblique to speaker'; 'please'
io '?downwards,'
'misfortune'

Intensifier:

loa 'intensifier'

Positionals:

nei 'near to speaker'
nā 'near to addressee'
-V definitive accent¹⁴
'away from both'
ia 'aforementioned'

Other modifiers:

lā 'intensifier'
lāi 'still'
oki 'also'
pā 'probably'
mō 'maybe'
mua 'warning'
ē 'durative'
mā 'associative plural'
pē 'definitely'
keke 'confirmation'
koia 'indeed'
angaoti 'exactly'

The most common of the phrase markers to occur in the noun phrase are the adverbials and the positionals. The directionals occur only rarely with temporal or locational nouns and never with common or proper nouns. The definitive accent and *ia* 'aforementioned' are functionally part of the positional paradigm, but positionally they occur phrase finally. They, together with *mā* the associative plural marker, are the only particles relating uniquely to the noun phrase. They are now discussed.

4.7.2.1 Definitive Accent -V

The definitive accent occurs on the final vowel of a definite noun phrase and is realised as lengthening of the vowel with accompanying pitch changes. Although the definitive accent is represented here as -V, it has been argued in section 2.3.2 that it is not phonemically equivalent to an additional vowel, but is a morpheme which is realised as a prosodic unit. Functionally, it fills part of the demonstrative paradigm as illustrated in Table 15 below:

TABLE 15: Demonstrative Paradigm

| | Postposed Positionals | Subject Pronouns | Nominal Predicate Heads | Similitive Pro-verbs | Locative Pronouns |
|-------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Pattern I | nei | tēnei | ēnei | pēnei | kinei |
| Pattern II | nā | tēnā | ēnā | pēnā | kinā |
| Pattern III | -V | tēlā | ēlā | pēlā | kilā |
| Pattern IV | ia | teia | eia | peia | (kiaia) |

Pattern I generally corresponds to ‘near speaker, or deictic centre’, pattern II ‘near addressee’, pattern III ‘away from both speaker and addressee’ and pattern IV ‘aforementioned or being demonstrated’.¹⁵

- (387) Ko i loto o te pia nei.
T L inside P A box here
[It] is inside the box [that I am holding].
- (388) Ko i loto o te pia nā.
T L inside P A box there
[It] is inside the box [that you are holding].
- (389) Ko i loto o te piá.
T L inside P A box-Da
[It] is inside the box over there.
- (390) Ko i loto o te pia ia.
T L inside P A box Af
[It] is inside the box [that we mentioned, or that I am giving to you].

4.7.2.1.1 Placement of the definitive accent

The definitive accent occurs phrase finally, falling on the last vowel of the noun phrase. If the head noun is modified by a relative clause it falls on the last vowel of the relative clause. Thus it may occur on almost any word class:

- (391) Ko ai [te wawine [e yaelé]_{S,NP}? Ēlā, ēlā.
Prd Pro A woman T walk-Da There there
Who is that woman walking over there? Over there. [That one] over there [pointing]. (MM:T3:3)
- (392) Ka liko au i [te kākā [e tau i lunga o te lā o te walá.]_{S,NP}
T hold I Acc A tern T perch L above P A branch P A pandanus-Da
I'm going to catch that tern which is perching on the branch of the pandanus tree.
- (393) Ia aku toitoi loa tōia ki tai e [te mangō wolo [na kai maí]_{S,NP}
A I almost Int drag-Cia G sea Ag A shark big T eat Dir-Da
I was almost dragged into the sea by the enormous shark which ate [took my line].
- (394) E wea [te mea [na pangulu i vaó?]_{S,NP}
Prd what A thing T thud L out-Da
What was that which made a thud outside?

However, there are constraints on the placement of the definitive accent:

1. Because it is part of the positional demonstrative paradigm, the definitive accent may not co-occur with the other members of the set *nei*, *nā* or *ia* in a simple noun phrase. At the end of a relative clause or a modifying prepositional phrase, the definitive accent may potentially fall on *nei* or *nā* but it never co-occurs with *ia* ‘aforementioned’ (4.7.2.2).

- (395) Ko nā lito ka koti mai neí, nō nā papawū ma nā pale.
Top A pandanus.leaf T cut Dir here-Da P A bra and A hat
The pandanus leaves we are about to cut are for the bras and hats [of the traditional dancing costumes].

2. The definitive accent does not mark personal names or pronouns which are the head of the noun phrase:

(396) **Ko māua ma Wale** na wō yī kakai.
Top we.2 and Wale T go.Pl fish tuna
Wale and I went fishing for tuna fish.

(397) **Ia Lata** na ngalo.
A Lata T lost
Lata disappeared [inside the clam].

However, the definitive accent may fall on a personal name or pronoun which is a modifier of the head (398, 399) or which is phrase final in a relative clause (400):

(398) Ko yē māliuliu mō ia koe **te tala o Tuyiyauolá?**
T Neg hazy Q By-A you A story P Tuyiyauola-Da
Do you not know even the slightest bit about the legend of Tuyiyauola?

(399) **Te yapū a Matá,** na yua.
A pregnancy P Mata-Da T miscarry
[Lit. The pregnancy of Mata miscarried]. Mata miscarried.

(400) Ka wano au yī ika i [**toku tau [e manaki ai aú.]_S**]_{NP}
T go I catch fish L my anchorage T trust Pro I-Da
I will go fishing at my fishing anchorage which I [can always] depend on.

4.7.2.1.2 Functions of the definitive accent

The definitive accent has two main deictic uses: it points out a literal position in space ‘away from both the speaker and addressee’, and it marks discourse deixis by recalling to the addressee’s mind a previous shared experience or previously mentioned object.

1. The definitive accent commonly means ‘over there’, and the referent is usually pointed out by gestures simultaneously with the utterance.

(401) Wano ake koe ki **te ōpatí,** aumai ake ai taku kete.
go Dir you G A office-Da bring Dir Pro my basket
Please go over to the office over there [pointing], and bring [me] my basket.

(402) Ko nā tiale nei, mē kole ko **nā tialé.**
Prd A flower here or not Prd A flower-Da
Either these flowers or those ones.

(403) Ko yē kitea loa, ko pupuni loa e **te tamá.**
T Neg see-Cia Int T block Int Ag A person-Da
I can't see at all [because] [my view] is completely blocked by that person.

(404) Kai langona io a tāua talatalanga nei e **te wawiné.**
T hear-Cia Dir P we.2 talk-Nom here Ag A woman-Da
That woman over there might overhear our conversation.

(405) Ko tūkē te puka nei mai **te puká.**
T different A book here from A book-Da
This book is different from that one.

2. When an object is not being literally pointed out, the definitive accent plays a role in discourse deixis. It carries an element of presupposition of known information between the participants in a discourse and marks a referent as being one which is known about by both the speaker and the addressee. The referent may have been previously mentioned in the discourse, or it may be implicit information such as a shared experience between the participants. The definitive accent thus indicates definiteness, whereas the specific article *te/t-* alone indicates specificity. The two sentences below are a contrastive pair, differing only with respect to the definitive accent:

(406) Ka akoako tātou i tā tātou tilá.
 T RR-practise we Acc P we chant.sp-Da
We will practise learning our chant [we all know which one to practise; fully specified].

(407) Ka akoako tātou i tā tātou tila.
 T RR-practise we Acc P we chant.sp
*We will practise learning one of our chants [lit. our chant].
 [which could be any chant of the tila variety; not yet specified.]*

Both sentences contain specific goals in that there will be only one chant practised. The difference lies in the degree to which the referentiality is known by the parties in the discourse. Definiteness denoted by the definitive accent may be interpreted as metaphorical pointing.

3. The definitive accent commonly occurs marking new information to the discourse. It functions as a facilitator to the discourse in a similar way to ‘y’know’ in English, by recalling a particular item or occasion to the addressee’s attention. The presupposition is that the item being recalled is common knowledge to both participants.

(408) Takitaki atu ai mātou, takitaki pakeva, āyeu. Ēlā tā tātou lui, tā tātou lui lewu wua.
 RR-troll Dir Pro we RR-troll fish.sp trevally there P we fish.sp-Da P we fish.sp small just
*We were trolling [for fish], catching pakeva and trevally. [turning to the person who was with them]
 You know our black trevally, our small black trevally. [That’s when we caught that too]. (PS1:1)*

(409) Toe wea wuti o nā wuti malié?
 other how.many banana P A banana sweet-Da
How many more of those sweet bananas [that we both know about] are left?

(410) Te motokā na ū i kilá, na kavea e te tolōka.
 A car T hit L there-Da T take-Cia Ag A truck
You know that car that had the accident over there [which we both saw], it was towed away by a towtruck.

The definitive accent is a definite marker which is usually optional and dependent on the semantic context and the pragmatic situation. However, there are certain grammatical positions (discussed in 4.7.2.1.3) which require the definitive accent, the most important being a topicalised noun phrase.

4.7.2.1.3 Syntactically conditioned uses of the definitive accent

1. Topicalised noun phrases

One of the most common roles of the definitive accent is to mark the end of a topicalised or clause initial noun phrase. The only noun phrases in this position which are exempt are those which have generic or

non-specific reference (411, 412):

- (411) **Ko te punua a te āyeu** e lupolupo.
 Top A young P A trevally Prd fish.sp
The young of a trevally is called a lupolupo.
- (412) **Te māyakitanga** e mea loa wakaemaema nā te vāiá.
 A sacred.maid Prd thing Int beloved P A time-Da
The sacred maid was a person [who was] loved and well looked after in the old days.

However, all other definite fronted noun phrases with specific reference, which are not otherwise specified by a postposed positional particle, are marked by the definitive accent. Typically, the topicalised noun phrase is in the nominative/absolutive case:

- (413) **Te kotawá,** ko ino lā lunga o te moana.
 A frigatebird-Da T circle L on P A ocean
[Look] that frigatebird is circling high above the ocean.
- (414) **Ko te wale vaka o Makuare i Yeumamaó,** na yuaina.
 Top A house canoe P Makuare L Yeumamao-Da T demolish-Cia
Makuare's canoe shed at Yeumamao has been demolished.
- (415) **Te wilinga o te ulu o te tamāwiné,** na matala.
 A plait-Nom P A head P A girl-Da T loose
The braiding of the girls' hair came undone.
- (416) **Taku niu nā kaí,** e kiai na pau nō te lāpapalu.
 my coconut T eat-Da T Neg T finish P A R-big
My coconut that I was eating, I did not finish it because it was so big.

A topicalised adverbial phrase denoting a specific time in the past is also commonly marked with a definitive accent:

- (417) **I te Palapalau nā kotikoti uwi aí,** wano loa au ki tō mātou wale.
 L A Thursday T RR-cut garden Pro-Da go Int I G P we house
On the Thursday when they were dividing the swamps, I went home. (PP2:6:1)
- (418) **I te vāia muá,** ko akatano lātou i te kaveinga ki nā mata o te langi.
 L A time front-Da T correct they Acc A direction G A start P A sky
In the old days, they steered by the stars in the sky.
- (419) **I te awiawi o te Walailé,** yau loa ia Tengele ki tō mātou wale.
 L A afternoon P A Friday-Da come Int A Tengele G P we house
Last Friday afternoon, Tengele came to our house. (F4:S2:1)

2. The subject of an exclamatory attributive predicate marked by *i te*, which is always clause initial (7.1.5), is also marked by the definitive accent if it is not otherwise marked by a positional particle.

- (420) **Te tūtū o taku tamá** i te lelei ma te mālamalama.
 A photo P my child-Da Prd good and clear
The photo of my child is nice and clear.
- (421) **Taku putunga na wakaputú** i te yakali lānunui.
 my pile T caus-gather-Da Prd dry.coconut R-large
The dry coconuts that I gathered were all large in size. *

4.7.2.1.4 Semantic effects of the definitive accent

There are several specific semantic effects of the definitive accent.

1. Temporal Nouns

The definitive accent has a special function with temporal nouns. It specifies a time in the immediate past one degree or unit distant from the present.

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| te ayo nei | today | te ayó | yesterday |
| te awiawi | afternoon, early evening | te awiawí | yesterday afternoon, last evening |
| te pō nei | tonight | te pō | last night |
| te matawiti nei | this year | te matawití | last year |
| te taimé nei | now | te taimé | the past |
| te vāia nei | present day or time | te vāiá | the past era |

- (422) Na lautokamala taku yī ikanga o te ayó.
T bad.luck my catch fish-Nom P A day-Da
I had no luck fishing yesterday.

- (423) Na pakapakaelo te wenua nō te yē tō te uwa i nā ayó.
T RR-very.dry A land P A Neg fall A rain L A day-Da
The land is very dry because there has been no rain during the last few days.

- (424) Nā ula mātou i te pō. Ka ula mātou i te pō nei.
T dance we L A night-Da T dance we L A night here
We were dancing last night. We will dance tonight.

2. Locational Nouns

The definitive accent is required for certain place names when they refer to a location and occur in a locative phrase which is introduced by the prepositions *i*, *ki* or *mai*. There is a degree of lexical differentiation with the definitive accent since a number of locational nouns are used as specific place names. Some locational nouns are also used with the definitive accent in locative phrases to mean ‘further in that direction’.

| | | | |
|--------|------------------|--------|---|
| tua | back of island | Tuá | specific area at back of island where government offices are located |
| lalo | down, west | Laló | residential area in the west of Motu Kō |
| tai | sea, lagoon side | Taí | specific area on lagoon side |
| ngake | east | Ngaké | Eastern Village, the eastern-most point of land on the main island, old Ngake village at Utupoa |
| ngāuta | ashore, shore | ngāutá | further inland |
| mua | front | muá | further in front |
| muli | behind | mulí | further behind |

- (425) E tai āuli a Mani ko i Tuá, tui ai koe i tō ana nā.
T exist treadle.sewing.machine P Mani T L Tua-Da sew Pro you Acc your mosquito.net there
Mani has a sewing machine at Tua, you can sew your mosquito net with that.

- (426) Nā i Ngaké au, ka wano au ki Lotó.
T L Ngake-Da I T go I G Loto-Da
I have been in the Ngake residential area, I am going to Loto village.

- (427) Nā yī ika loa au, ngalo ki te ava nui i **Nukuwetaú**.
 T catch fish Int I as.far.as G A channel big L Nukuwetau-Da
I kept on fishing until I reached the big passage at Nukuwetau.
- (428) Totoi ake te vaka nei ki ngāuta. Kave ake ai a tātou ika ki **ngāutá**.
 drag Dir A canoe here G shore take Dir Pro P we fish G shore-Da
Drag the canoe ashore and then take our fish inland.

Village names referring to village membership rather than to location do not require a definitive accent:

- (429) E **Ngake** au i te taimé, na tau au ki Loto i te taimé nei.
 Prd Ngake I L A time-Da T divide I G Loto L A time here
I was a Ngake villager before, but now I've become a Loto villager.

Nor do village names require the definitive accent when they occur in the nominative/absolute case (430). The definitive accent is required on place names only in locative phrases marked by a locative case marker.

- (430) **Ia Ngake** te konga na wano ai au.
 A Ngake A place T go Pro I
Ngake village was the place I went to.

Except for one large food reserve at the back of the main island *Uta ~ Utá*, place names referring to areas larger than the village do not require the definitive accent:

- (431) Ka wō mātou ki **Motu Kotawa** / ki **Niu Tīleni** / ki **Lalotonga**.
 T go.Pl we G Motu Kotawa G New Zealand G Rarotonga
We are going to Motu Kotawa / to New Zealand / to Rarotonga.

3. Exclamations:

(a) Name-calling expressions are marked with a definitive accent. The names are usually called in jest and are often derogatory.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(432) Te kau ipokolé! A people lover-none-Da <i>the group without boyfriends!</i></p> | <p>Toku vēiá. my hate-Da <i>my worst enemy!</i></p> |
| <p>(433) Wō! Ko te tama tō yeyeu! oh Prd A person bit thief-Da <i>[Look at] the thief!</i></p> | |

(b) Exclamations which point out surprising events or objects are typically marked by the definitive accent. The use in exclamations follows from the meaning 'over there' accompanied by pointing.

- (434) Ko yē au kitea! **Te payī e tele māi, wuá!**
 T Neg you see-Cia A ship T sail Dir-Da excl-Da
Can't you see! The ship coming [in the distance]! Over there!

(c) The word *kau* 'people', 'group of people' acquires a new meaning 'spouse' when it is marked by the definitive accent and is also modified by a plural, rather than a singular, possessive marker.

- (435) Ko i wea te kaú?
 T L where A people-Da
Where's the group of people [we both know who I mean]?
- (436) Ko i wea tō kōtou kaú?
 T L where P you.Pl spouse
Where's your[Sg] spouse [lit. belonging to you Pl]?
- (437) Ka wano au ke tai taulua a tō mātou kaú.
 T go I C one bunch.coconut P P we spouse
I am going to pick a bunch of coconuts for my [lit. our] spouse.

(d) The definitive accent also occurs in exclamatory sentences which make a comparison with a generic class of entities. In a comparative phrase it marks nouns which have non-specific reference although they occur with a specific article. This is an unexpected use of the definitive accent, since it normally denotes definiteness of the noun phrase which it marks.

- (438) Ia koe ko mea loa ke mamaina pe te tamaití.
 A you T do Int C spoon.feed-Cia like A child-Da
You wait all the time until you are spoon-fed like a child [lit. like that child].
- (439) Au yanga nā ko nā yanga oki a nā pīvaieló.
 your work there Prd A work also P A lazy-Da
The way you work is [like] the work of a lazy good-for-nothing [lit. like those lazy ones].

4.7.2.2 Positional Particle : *ia* 'aforementioned'

Like the definitive accent, *ia* 'aforementioned' is part of the positional particle paradigm. These are the only two members of the paradigm to occur only with noun phrases; they cannot occur postmodifying a verb. However, they can occur phrase finally at the end of a complex noun phrase. Thus, they can be used as diagnostic markers which signal the end of a relative clause. The definitive accent can occur on the final vowel of a relative clause (4.7.2.1.1), but *ia* is the only particle to occur phrase finally after a relative clause:

- (440) [Te tamaiti [na lē tai]_S ia]_{NP} na lekaleka iāna.
 A child T win first af T RR-happy he
The child who came first was happy. (AT:S3)

The function of this positional particle is to refer to literal position in space or, by a process of metaphorical extension, it may refer to a previous mention in the discourse.

1. It marks a noun phrase referring to an object which is being demonstrated by the speaker or which is in the process of being handed over to the addressee.

- (441) Kave ake te niu a Lavalua ia ki ai.
 take Dir A coconut P Lavalua Af G Pro
Take Lavalua's coconut [which I am giving you now] to him.

2. The primary role of *ia* is to refer anaphorically to a previously mentioned noun phrase. It means 'the thing about which reference has already been made', and its function may be likened in some respects to

the anaphoric function of *ai*, which is a postposed particle in the verbal phrase (3.11.1). *Ia* usually occurs in a noun phrase which has a common noun as its head (442-444). While it can occur with personal nouns (444), anaphoric reference to personal nouns is usually by pronominalisation instead.

- (442) Kiai lā na a kōlua kitea **te akaaonga ia?**
 Neg Int T you.2 see-cia A couple Af
Haven't you two met that couple then [whom we have been discussing]?
- (443) Maua loa e tolu a māua ngongo. Wō oki māua tunu i **a māua ngongo ia**, kai ai māua pau.
 catch Int A three P we.2 bird.sp go.Pl also we.2 cook Acc P we.2 bird.sp Af eat Pro we.2 finish
We caught three noddy terns. Then we went and cooked them and ate them all. (F3:7:6)
- (444) Ko nā manamana o **te atua ia**, o **Tepou ia**, na kitea wua loa.
 Top A power P A god Af P Tepou Af T see-Cia just Int
The power of that god [previously mentioned], of Tepou, was manifest. (U:8)

The reference may occasionally be forward-looking in the discourse. *Ia* commonly occurs postposed to a nominal predicate which stands alone without a subject. This type of predicate may function as an assertion of an event, or with communicative verbs it indicates that the content of the speech either precedes or follows.

- (445) Ēia, **ko nā talatala ia**.
 here Prd A RR-talk Af
So, this [what I have just told you] is what was said.
- (446) Pō loa te pō, kite loa ia Teta ia Waiva, **ko te meanga ia**:
 night Int A night see Int A Teta Acc-A Waiva Prd A say-Nom Af
When night fell, Teta saw Waiva and said [to him]: [what follows] (PP2:2:8)

Reference of *ia* may be anaphoric to a previously mentioned concept or to a known concept which is assumed in the discourse. In the following passage, anaphoric reference in the third line to the death of the pig in the first line is marked by *ia*. This is a lexical anaphoric reference. But in the second line, the lexical item *wāwā* 'taro' has not been previously mentioned explicitly, yet the prior event of going to the garden in the first line gives the listener the information required to assume that taro was procured. Thus, mention of information accessible from the context of the discourse is marked by *ia*. Likewise, the reference to time in the third line refers to the time period in which the whole discourse took place.

- (447) Kamuloa iāna lili tikāi nō tēlā **na mate tana puaka**. Oti, wō ai **mātou ki te uwi**.
 really he angry very because T die his pig finish go.Pl Pro we G A garden
 Wō atu ai mātou ki wale, tao i **a mātou wāwā ia** ke kīnaki ai nā matū puaka.
 go.Pl Dir Pro we G house bake Acc P we taro Af C accompany Pro A fat pig
 Māli ake i **te matenga o te puaka ia**, na kai matū ai i **te ayo ia**.
 lucky Dir L A die-Nom P A pig Af T eat fat Pro L A day Af
*He was really angry because his pig had died. After that, we went to the garden.
 We went home and cooked our taro to go with the pig meat.
 It was quite fortunate that the pig died [because] we got to eat pork that day.*

3. Although *ia* is a particle denoting anaphoric reference, it is also used to identify a referential noun phrase containing a common noun the first time it is mentioned in the discourse. In the second line of the

passage below, the phrase *te wuakau ia* is the first mention of ‘parrotfish’ which enters the discourse at this point and which is referred to in subsequent mentions by use of the same anaphoric particle.

(448) Tele loa lātou i tā lātou telenga ia, lā tawa wua o te akau takitaki pāla.
sail Int they L P they sail-Nom Af via side just P A reef RR-troll fish.sp

Onoono atu lātou i **te wuakau ia**, ko i lunga o te akau, ko i ngāuta.
look Dir they Acc A parrotfish sp. Af T L on P A reef T L shore

*They sailed on their way alongside the reef [on the ocean side] trolling for wahoo.
They saw [a school of] parrotfish on the reef, on the shallow part of the reef [lit. ashore]. (MN1:5)*

The ability of *ia* to denote a first mention has a specific use in distributive expressions where entities in a group are linked pair-wise.

(449) Apoapo ake **te tāne ia** i tana lākau.
RR-prepare Dir A man Af Acc his stick
Each man got a spear ready for himself [lit. his stick ready]. (U:7)

Time elements may also be marked by *ia* as first mentions in the discourse as in the following introductory phrases to a story:

(450) **I te pō ia**, i te vāia e valu oku matawiti...
L A night Af L A time T eight my.PI year
One night, when I was eight years old... (KM:JF1:1)

Locational nouns may also be postposed by the particle *ia*:

(451) Patu atu ia Teleeta ki lunga o nā niu, ko i **lunga ia** te wainga ngongo.
shine.torch Dir A Teleeta G up P A coconut T L up Af A many bird.sp
Teleeta shone his torch up into the coconuts, where there were many noddy terns [roosting] up there. (F3:S7:6)

4.7.2.3 ‘Associative Plural’ : *mā*

This postnominal particle is a plural marker meaning ‘and the others’ (glossed ‘etc’). It usually follows a personal noun and thus extends the meaning of the noun phrase to include a group of people determinable by context. It often makes reference to a household grouping (452), but can refer to a group of friends or people engaged in the same activity or associated in some way with the person denoted by the head noun (453-455).

(452) i tawa o te wale o Tiaki **mā**
L side P A side P Tiaki etc
beside the house of Tiaki and his family... (PP2:3:2)

(453) Kai loa ia Tēnana **mā** i Yayake.
eat Int A Tēnana etc L Yayake
Tēnana and those with him ate in Yayake. (MM:T4)

(454) Wō ai mātou ma Velonika **mā** wuli kaipea.
go.PI Pro we and Velonika etc turn crab
Velonika and I with some others went to catch crabs. (PP2:14:3)

- (455) Yau te poti o Paleula mā nā lā muli o mātoú, kae a lātou kōpelu na maua e te yī.
 but A boat P Paleula etc T over back P we-Da Neg.exist P they fish.sp T able C fish
But the boat of Paleula and the others which was behind us, [they] weren't able to catch any scad. (PS1:4)

This particle occasionally occurs with place names to indicate places of a similar nature, but does not occur with other locational nouns or common nouns.

- (456) E kino loa oki ke nōnō tātou i tai, ko te pupuyi mai, palia atu ai tātou ki Niu Kāletonia mā.
 T bad Int also C RR-stay we L sea lest R-blow Dir drift-Cia Dir Pro we G New Caledonia etc
It would have been bad for us to stay at sea, in case [the wind] sprang up and we were blown out to New Caledonia or somewhere. (PS3:9)

This particle very rarely occurs with other postmodifying particles because it is used only with personal names and place names, but one example in the corpus shows that it precedes the positional particles:

- (457) Mea loa lā ia Tawiti koa onoono i te motu ia, pēnei, pe Kō mā nei.
 do Int Int A Tahiti T look Acc A island Af like-this like Kō etc here
Tahiti decided to inspect the island, like this [one], like Kō [where we are] and the other [reserve islets]. (MT1:5)

4.8 PHRASAL AND CLAUSAL MODIFIERS

Phrases and clauses may occur modifying the head of a noun phrase. Postmodifying phrases and clauses occur following all lexical and particle modifiers, with the exception of the definitive accent and *ia* 'aforementioned', which have been discussed earlier (4.7.2.1 - 4.7.2.2). The first type of phrasal modifier to be discussed is the prepositional phrase which modifies a locational noun, creating a complex locational phrase (4.8.1). After this section postposed possessive phrases (4.8.2) and other types of postposed phrases which can modify a noun are discussed (4.8.3), followed by short sections on relative clauses (4.8.4) and postposed numerals (4.8.5).

4.8.1 COMPLEX LOCATIONAL PHRASES

Complex locational phrases are comprised of three elements: a common locational noun, a preposition and a following noun phrase (Clark 1976:55). The locational noun is therefore modified by a prepositional phrase. The locational noun occurs as it normally does, without an article.

- (458) Na wō kōlua ki **lunga o te akau**?
 T go.Pl you.2 G on P A reef
Did you two go on the reef?
- (459) Ka tao ai tā tātou malie i **loto o te pā**
 T cook Pro P we sweet L inside P A fe.nce
Then we'll cook our sweet [morsel] inside the fence.
- (460) Wō lātou ki **ngāuta o Witi**.
 go.Pl they G shore P Fiji
They went ashore in Fiji.

The preposition may combine phonologically with an adjacent possessive marker of a vowel-initial possessive pronoun (see 4.8.2).

(461) Ko mau lāi i loto ō kōlua lolo?
 T know really L inside P-P you.2 brain
Do you really know them by heart?

(462) Ka yau lā muli ōku nei.
 T come through back P-me here
[He] will come after me.

(KM:LK2:15)

Only very rarely does a locational phrase allow a preposed possessive pronoun instead of the postposed phrase. Some of the locational nouns (including *tawa* ‘side’, *lalo* ‘under’, *lunga* ‘on top’, *muli* ‘behind’, *mua* ‘front’) allow preposed possessive pronouns, but apart from *tawa*, these all acquire new meanings as body parts instead of locations. The preposed form of the possessive pronoun is the plural form. Besnier (2000:361) uses this as evidence in Tuvaluan that ‘local’ nouns are inherently plural, but this is a specialised sense applying only to body parts.

(463) i ona tawa i tawa ōna
 L his.Pl side L side P-he
at his side at his side

(464) ki ona muli ki muli ōna
 G his.Pl behind G behind P-he
onto his bottom to behind him

(465) ki ona lalo ki lalo ōna
 G his.Pl down G under P-he
onto his lower half underneath him

The example below shows a fairly complex noun phrase with *lunga* as its head noun.

(466) Talotalo iāna ki **lunga o te au lā** o te tamanu na kōtia e Lata.
 RR-chant he G on P A all branch P A tree.sp T cut-Cia Ag Lata
He chanted over all the branches of the tamanu, that had been cut by Lata.

As can be seen from the examples above, the identity of the preposition used in forming a complex locational phrase is normally *o* (genitive), marking the relation of ‘part to whole’ or inalienable possession. However, there are a number of examples in the corpus of the locative preposition *i* being used instead.

(467) Wolo nā kupu na watu i muli mai i te oko mai-nga o te Ēvangelia.
 many A chant T compose L after Dir P A arrive Dir-Nom P A Gospel
Many kupu chants were composed after the Gospel came.

Below are two parallel sentences from a young person’s spontaneous speech showing the use of *o* and *i* in variation.

(468) Te uwipānga nō lungu i te payī.
 A meeting about on P A ship
The meeting was about the ship.

- (469) Te toe talatala nō lunga o te imukai.
 A other talk about on P A feast
The other matter was about the feast.

The most frequently used case marker in this environment is without doubt *o*, which is used in 90% of all instances in the corpus. It is interesting that most occurrences of *i* are in complex locational phrases denoting abstract meanings of the locational nouns. In 50% of instances of phrases of the form *nō lunga i/o*, the case marker which follows is *i*. In Cook Islands Māori, *i* is used exclusively in complex locational phrases, and it seems likely that the use of *i* in Pukapukan is a recent borrowing.

When the locational phrase is the head of a predicate, the subject noun phrase separates the head of the locational phrase from its genitive phrase.

- (470) Ko i lunga nā popoa o te kaingākai.
 T L on A food P A table
The food is on the table.
- (471) Ko i lalo te pēni o te pānga.
 T L under A pen P A mat
The pen is under the mat.
- (472) Ko i loto te leo Pukapuka o te mako.
 T L inside A language Pukapuka P A chant
The [real] Pukapukan language is in the chants.

A similar phenomenon occurs with complex heads to nominal predicates which may be separated from their postposed possessive phrase by the demonstrative subject *teia* (see 7.1.1).

4.8.2 POSTPOSED POSSESSIVE MODIFIERS

Postposed possessive modifiers can be pronouns (4.8.2.1) or entire phrases (4.8.2.2). Only one postposed possessive modifier of a head noun is permissible.

4.8.2.1 Postposed Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns usually precede the head noun (4.2), but there is also a series of possessive pronouns which occur postpositively. They consist only of the possession type marker *a* or *o* and the person marker. The article component of the preposed possessive pronouns is not present because the article occurs independently preceding the head noun. The paradigm is closest to that of the preverbal pronoun paradigm but differs from it in that the singular short forms have lengthened initial vowels and in the *a/o* alternation. The paradigm is displayed in Table 16 below.

TABLE 16: Postposed Possessive Pronouns

| | Singular | | Dual | | Plural | |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| First Person Inclusive | | | a tāua | o tāua | a tātou | o tātou |
| First Exclusive | āku | ōku | a māua | o māua | a mātou | o mātou |
| Second Person | āu /a koe | ōu /o koe | a kōlua | o kōlua | a kōtou | o kōtou |
| Third Person | āna | ōna | a lāua | o lāua | a lātou | o lātou |

- (473) a. te poti o koe
A boat P you
your boat
- b. nā mako a tātou
A chant P we
our chants [to perform]
- (474) E tai oki āyeu tongi a Lima, e lua āku.
T exist also trevally big P Lima T two P-I
Lima [caught] a big trevally [and] I [caught] two. (P:S2:8)
- (475) I te longonga ōku i tō leo welāvei ia...
L A hear-Nom P-I Acc your voice greet Af
When I heard your voice greeting [me]... (KM:LK1:44)

These are also the forms of the pronouns normally used in a complex locational phrase since preposed possessive pronouns have a restricted meaning with locational nouns (4.8.1). Pronouns combine phonologically with the genitive preposition.

- (476) a. lā lunga wua o koe
through above just P you
on top of you
- b. lā loto ōna
through inside P-he
through him
- (477) Peia oki ki lua atuyiva i lolotonu o kōtou nā.
like-so also G two foreigner L middle P you.PI there
[Greetings] also to the two foreigners in your midst. (PW:2:2)
- (478) Ko te kovi lā ka yau lā muli ōku nei, e wolo atu tona mana ia aku.
Top A person but T come L behind P-I here T big Dir his power comp-A I
But the person who will come after me, his power is greater than mine. (KM:LK1:15)

There are three other distinctive ways in which postposed possessive pronouns are typically used.

1. Postposed possessive pronouns are often used for emphasis. In the following sentence, the action of the possessor is being emphasised and contrasted with that of two previously mentioned people:

- (479) Ko te yanga lā āku kia lāua, ka tala wua atu au e yanga poto.
Prd A work but P-I G-A they.2 T tell just Dir I Prd work short
But the work I did for them, I'm telling you, it was insignificant [lit a short work]. (WF1:10)

The following comment was heard at a wedding feast where the groom had broken with tradition by not wearing a hat:

- (480) Ko i wea te pale ōna?
 T L where A hat P-he
Where is his hat?

The more usual form of the same question would use the preposed possessive pronoun:

- (481) Ko i wea tona pale?
 T L where his hat
Where is his hat?

It seems that a postposed possessive pronoun phrase makes the possession semantically marked. This illustration perhaps reflects a difference between established or presupposed possession and the expectation that something known to be possessed is not being used. Duranti and Ochs (1990:19, fn 6) suggest for Samoan that new information tends to be expressed with postposed pronominals, while given information tends to be expressed via preposed pronominals. Besnier (2000:403-405) also notes contrastive affective differences between the two types of pronominal possession. These aspects of possession require further investigation for Pukapukan.

2. In narratives, a phrase or clause containing a postposed possessive often follows a phrase or clause in which a preposed possessive pronoun occurs. The repetition appears to add variation and emphasis or further explanation in a discourse.

- (482) Ko maka o lātou tau, nā taulā o lātou.
 T leave P they anchor A rope P they
They put down their anchor, their rope.
- (483) Ko lewu wua lā tō yuāwū. Kaikai koe ke kī tō kōpū, ke wolo te yuāwū o koe.
 T small just Int your water-a-breast RR-eat you C full your stomach C wolo A breastmilk P you
Your milk supply is low. Eat plenty to increase your milk.
- (484) Papa lelei o lātou manako, te manako o te wenua.
 decide good P they thought A thought P A land
Their ideas were well decided, the intention of the island.

3. A pronoun possessor representing the actor of a relative clause usually occurs in a position postposed to the head, although it can also occur in a preposed position (10.6.1).¹⁶

- (485) Wolo te mea āku [na oti].
 many A thing P-I T finish
I have done a lot [lit. finished many things]. (P:S7:5)
- (486) Ēnā nā tūtū āku [na tuku atu].
 there A photo P-I T give Dir
You now have my photos which I have sent [to you]. (P:W1:9)
- (487) Mē ka tuku mai oki koe i nā mea o koe [nā talatala mai] ia...
 if T put Dir also you Acc A thing P you T RR-tell Dir Af
If you will send [us] the things that you said [you would]... (P:S2:2)

4.8.2.2 Postposed Possessive Phrases

Where the possessor is not a pronoun (4.8.2.1) the possessive phrase is always postposed to the head. The *a/o* distinction is maintained (6.2.8).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (488) | te manaki o te kakai A trust P A people <i>the hope of the people</i> | te wale o Lutera A house P Lutera <i>Lutera's house</i> |
| (489) | nā tama a Mele ma Kevini A child P Mele and Kevini <i>Mary and Kevin's children</i> | te wuānga a Tei A family P Tei <i>Tei's family [his offspring]</i> |
| (490) | te maonga o te uwa A clear-Nom P A rain <i>the clearing of the rain</i> | te talatala a te kau A RR-talk P A people <i>the people's discussion</i> |

Possessive pronouns are usually preposed to the noun (4.2), but they can be postposed to the noun (4.8.2.1).

A noun is not usually modified by both a preposed and a postposed possessor, but if the postposed possessor denotes the actor in a following relative clause, it is possible for there to be two possessors of a head noun, but both cannot be pronouns.

- (491) Ko [toku pona wōu **a toku māmā** [na tuī]_S]_{NP}, na ngāyae.
Top my dress new P my mother T sew-Da T torn
My new dress that my mother sewed, is torn.

A postposed possessive phrase may be embedded within another possessive phrase:

- (492) Eia nā ingoa **o nā tāngata o tona vaka ia**.
here A name P A people P his canoe Af
Here are the names of the people belonging to his canoe.

A possessive phrase usually occurs closer to the head than locative or other phrases:

- (493) Ko te yanga lā **āku** kia lāua, ka tala wua atu au e yanga poto.
Prd A work but P-I G-A they.2 T tell just Dir I Prd work short
But the work I did for them, I'm telling you, it was insignificant [lit a short work]. (WF:1:10)
- (494) I te longonga **ōku** i tō leo welāvei ia...
L A hear-Nom P-I Acc your voice greet Af
When I heard your voice greeting [me]... (KM:LK1:44)

However, a postposed possessive phrase can sometimes occur after a locative phrase. In (495), the possessive phrase is separated from the head of the nominal predicate by an adverbial and a locative phrase denoting time:

- (495) Kāyi uto wakawōu i te taime nei **a te toe kau**.
Neg.exist sprouting.coconut again L A time here P A other people
Some people have no sprouting coconuts at the moment.
[lit. There are no sprouting coconuts now belonging to other people.]

4.8.3 OTHER POSTPOSED PHRASES

A range of other phrases apart from possessive phrases can modify a head noun. A postmodifying phrase follows all lexical modifiers of the noun. The most common phrasal modifier is a locative phrase:

- (496) nā niu i Yeumamao
A coconut.tree L Yeumamao
the coconut trees at Yeumamao
- (497) nā wuti papala i loto o te pia nei
A banana rotten L in P A box here
the rotten bananas in this box

A range of other types of prepositional phrases can modify a head noun:

- (498) Mea ai au kia Tokolua ke wano lā te ala lā lotó, ka wano au lā te ala lā vaó.
say Pro I G-A Tokolua C go via A path through middle-Da T go I via A path through out-Da
I told Tokolua to go along the path through the middle while I would go along the path around the outside.
(F3:S5:3)
- (499) a. te matawiti lā mua nei b. te kaokao lā kinei
A year through front here A side over here
next year the side over here
- (500) ...ma te wī tangata mai te Moana o Kiva
and A all people from A Ocean P Kiva
...and all the people from the Ocean of Kiva [Pukapuka] (A:E1:2)
- (501) ...nō lunga i te uwianga mai mua nā
P on P A question-Nom from front there
...concerning the previous question (UU:20:5)

Where there is more than one postmodifying phrase, a possessive phrase precedes other types:

- (502) te vaka o Makuare i loto o te wale vaka i Yeumamao
A canoe P Makuare L inside P A house canoe L Yeumamao
Makuare's canoe inside the canoe shed at Yeumamao
- (503) te vā o te Kilitimeti ki te Matawiti Wōu
A gap P A Christmas G A year new
the period between Christmas and the NewYear
- (504) te tanginga a lua tama ki tō lāua matua wawine
A cry-Nom P two boy G P they.2 parent woman
the two boys' crying to their mother

4.8.4 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses, which are discussed in detail in 10.6, are postposed to the head of the noun phrase and usually follow all other modifiers of the noun: lexical modifiers (505), possessive modifiers (506, 507) and other types of phrasal modifiers (508)

- (505) [Ko a kōtou lautai likiliki wua [nā tokitokī]_S]_{NP}, ke mā, akalepolepo ai.
 Top P you leaf-one RR-small just T RR-plant-Da if clean caus-RR-dirt Pro
As for your small taro shoots that [you] were planting out, when they are clean, then fertilise them. (UI49:2)
- (506) Ēnā [nā tūtū āku [na tuku atu.]_S]_{NP}
 there A photo P-I T give Dir
You now have my photos which I have sent [to you]. (P:W1:9)
- (507) Ko nā tala i lotó, [ko nā tala a te kauliki [na au tukua mai i loto o Okotopa.]_S]_{NP}
 Top A story L inside Prd A story P A children T you send-Cia dir L inside P October
The stories inside are the children's stories that you sent us in October.
- (508) [te tolungaua mako [i lunga o te teipi nei]_{PP} [na tāina e Māmā Mōlingi]_S]_{NP}
 A three-suff chant L on P A tape here T chant-Cia Ag Māmā Mōlingi-Da
the three chants on this tape that Māmā Mōlingi chanted

The only elements that can occur phrase finally at the end of the relative clause are two from the positional particle paradigm. Since *ia* 'aforementioned' (4.7.2.2) can only occur in a noun phrase and never in a verb phrase, it is the only particle to occur phrase finally after the end of the relative clause:

- (509) Mē ka tuku mai oki koe i [nā mea o koe [nā talatala mai]_S ia.]_{NP}
 if T put Dir also you Acc A thing P you T RR-tell Dir Af
If you will send [us] the things that you said [you would]... (P:S2:2)

The definitive accent (4.7.2.1), which is part of the same paradigm, can fall on the last vowel of the relative clause:

- (510) Ka wano au yī ika i [toku tau [e manaki ai aú.]_S]_{NP}
 T go I catch fish L my anchorage T trust Pro I-Da
I will go fishing at my fishing anchorage which I [can always] depend on.

4.8.5 POSTPOSED NUMERALS

Postposed numeral phrases share many features with relative clauses and few features with postposed lexical modifiers. They are marked with the tense-aspect marker *e*. The tense-aspect marker cannot in most circumstances be deleted, which distinguishes numerals from other postposed lexical modifiers.

- (511) Na wotu te yanga o nā lulu *(e) tolu.
 T great A work P A village T three
The work of the three villages was outstanding. (PW1:2)

There are several restricted situations which allow an optional tense-aspect marker.

When a numeral refers to a date, the tense-aspect marker is optional:

- (512) I te Palapalau, lā (e) luangaulu ma tai o Māti, pōlo loa ia Ngake ma Yātō i te malae i Yātō.
 L A Thursday, day T twenty and one P March play.cricket Int A Ngake and Yātō L A ground L Yātō
On Thursday, the 21st of March, Ngake and Yātō played cricket on the field at Yātō. (PP2:21)
- (513) Na wakamata mātou i te yanga nei i te matawiti witungaulu ma valu.
 T caus-start we L A work here L A year seven-ten and eight
We started this work in (19)78.

When the numeral is modified by a classifying prefix (4.3.2.2) or distributive prefix *taki-* (4.3.2.4), *e* is usually deleted:

- (514) ...ma a tātou uto **taki-tolu**
 and P we sprouting.coconut each-three
...and our sprouting coconuts thirty each [which we are to collect] (UW43:1)

A noun can also be postmodified by a numeral to identify one of several numbered items and in telling the time. The tense-aspect marker *e* is absent in both cases. In this respect numerals behave like postmodifying lexical modifiers.

- (515) te pupu **lua** ma te pupu **tolu**
 A group two and A group three
groups two and three
- (516) Ko te ola o te āpii, mai te ola **valu** ki te ola **lua** nō te āpii ia.
 Top A hour P A school from A hour seven G A hour two P A school Af
School hours are from seven o'clock to two o'clock.

Like relative clauses, a numeral follows all other modifiers of the noun. Phrasal modifiers and postposed possessive pronouns, for instance precede the numeral:

- (517) Totoli loa taku niu i Tuá, i a māua niu popoto i Tuá **e tolu**.
 R-climb Int my coconut L Tua-Da Acc P we.2 coconut R-short L Tua-Da T three
I picked coconuts from [our] trees at Tuá, from our three short coconut trees at Tuá. (LL2:6)
- (518) nā wakayaelenga ēvangelia o tātou **e tolu**.
 A caus-lead-Nom church P we T three
the leaders [of] our three churches

However, postposed numerals differ from relative clauses in that they are not marked with any other tense-aspect marker apart from *e*. Postposed numerals can also co-occur with relative clauses, in which case the numeral phrase precedes the relative clause:

- (519) tā lāua tama **e tai** [na akaao ki te pāwenua]
 P they.2 child T one T marry G A foreigner
their only child who married a foreigner
- (520) nā ēkālētia **e tolu** [ka teletele]
 A church T three T RR-tour
the three churches which will visit each other [for singing and feasting]

NOTES

1. It is possible that this constraint is a fairly recent one, since one of my language consultants said that accusative *i* is still occasionally heard in the speech of elderly people in this context. The following imperative clause was given in which the indefinite noun phrase is a direct object:

- (i) Avatu koe i e ika mā ana.
 give you Acc A fish for him
Give him a fish.

It should be noted that imperative clauses with surface pronoun subjects require accusative marking for all definite objects, disallowing ergative case marking, so this type of sentence would be the most resistant to change over time.

Accusative (or possibly locative) *i* is also retained in the idiom:

- (ii) Ia Tā, ko yē kayā loa i e mea.
 A Tā T Neg get.nothing Int ?Acc/?L A thing
Tā does not lack for anything.

2. Note that the plural existential verbs *nī* and *yī* also contain long vowels.

3. Cook Islands Māori *au* has been included here because it is a very common borrowing, often used in place of *wī*, but is readily recognised as such by native speakers.

4. The optional variants in this column are common borrowings from Cook Islands Māori. The variants for multiples of a hundred: *e lua ānele* ‘two hundred’, *tolu ānele* ‘three hundred’, from the English word ‘hundred’, are also in more common usage than the traditional forms. Traditional numerals for numbers higher than a thousand are almost unknown today.

5. This particle is subject to a morphophonemic rule of lengthening before numerals of two morae (see 2.6.1).

6. The term *tokolua* is also acceptable to many people but most attribute it to borrowing from CIM (*tokorua*).

7. Occasionally the specific plural article *nā* is found marking a definite noun phrase which is modified by *lua*, but native speakers consider this to be aberrant, or like children’s speech.

- (i) Ko nā lua tāngata ia, ni lua tāngata loa loloa, pe nā niu.
 Top A two people Af Prd two people Int R-tall like A coconut
Those two people were really tall, like coconut trees. (stories by Form 2 children) (W2:F2:7:2)

8. Some members of this class also have polysemous senses in which they behave as common lexical nouns: *toku tua* ‘my back’, *oku tawa* ‘my side’, *ki te vao* ‘to the bush’.

9. Note that *moana* ‘ocean’ behaves as a common noun.

10. A few nouns exhibit lengthening of the first vowel in their derivations from verbs, but this is not related to the formation of plurals (2.6.1, 10.8.2).

- | | | | | |
|-----|------|----------|---------|---|
| (i) | amo | to carry | āmonga | stick for carrying coconuts or fish on shoulder |
| | mate | to die | mātenga | funeral wake and proceedings |

11. The forms *tāngata* and *wawine* are also used collectively to mean ‘people’ and ‘women’ respectively.

12. The *vānanga* ‘announcement’ is performed daily by the duty guards (*pule*) when the island makes working party expeditions to the outlying food reserve islets. Its function is to give the village’s daily news.

13. It is possible that these are in fact compound head nouns since the quantifier of the group may stand alone as a noun.

- (i) Ko te **toka-tolu** lā kilā.
 Top A cls- three there G-there
The three of them of there.
- (ii) ...tutu i nā vaka o te **toka-lua**.
 burn Acc A canoe P A cls- two
 ...*burn the canoes of those two.*

14. The particle *lā* 'there' is replaced by the definitive accent of the positional paradigm in the noun phrase which occurs as a phrase final suprasegmental.
15. See Clark 1974 for a parallel paradigm in Tongan.
16. Possession denoting agency of a subordinate clause may also occur in a preposed position in most sentences and perhaps emphasises the concept of possession of the object rather than agency of the subordinate clause. However the third of these examples does not allow preposed possessor since *o mea* allows only a body part interpretation.



CHAPTER FIVE : PHRASE AND DISCOURSE PARTICLES

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters have dealt with morphemes that have functions confined to the verb phrase (Chapter 3) and the noun phrase (Chapter 4). However, there are two other classes of particles, which are discussed here. It was noted in 3.11 and 4.7.2 that there is a set of modifiers which function within both the noun phrase and the verb phrase. This class of modifiers is outlined in 5.1. Some of these modifiers occur in a set position in the clause. Then there is a collection of modifiers whose meaning is relevant at levels beyond the phrase and clause. These are considered as a separate class of discourse markers in 5.2. Interjections and imprecatives are noted in 5.3.

5.1 PHRASE MODIFIERS

The postposed periphery of the phrase comprises several classes of modifiers with functions of manner, direction, position and modality. These modifiers are discussed below with reference to the occurrence of each particle in both the verb phrase and the noun phrase. Certain modifiers more commonly occur with verb phrases or noun phrases than others. The adverbials predominantly occur in the verb phrase, while the directionals and the positionals more commonly occur in the noun phrase. The anaphoric pronoun only occurs in verb phrases, and the definitive accent only occurs in noun phrases. They are discussed in 3.11.1 and 4.7.2.1 respectively.

Adverbials:

(5.1.1)

| | |
|-------|----------------------|
| wua | 'only, just, merely' |
| tikāi | 'truly' |
| lava | 'definitely' |

Directionals:

(5.1.2)

| | |
|-----|---|
| mai | 'towards speaker' |
| atu | 'away from speaker' |
| ake | 'upwards', 'oblique to speaker'; 'please' |
| io | '?downwards', 'misfortune' |

Anaphoric Pronoun:

(3.11.1)

| | |
|----|----------------------|
| ai | 'previous reference' |
|----|----------------------|

Intensifier:

(5.1.3)

| | |
|-----|---------------|
| loa | 'intensifier' |
|-----|---------------|

Positionals:

(5.1.4)

| | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|
| nei | 'near to speaker' |
| nā | 'near to addressee' |
| lā | 'away from both', 'intensifier' |
| -V | definitive accent: 'away from both' |
| ia | 'aforementioned' |

Other modifiers:

(5.1.5)

| | |
|---------|----------------|
| lāi | 'still' |
| oki | 'also' |
| pā | 'probably' |
| mō | 'maybe' |
| mua | 'warning' |
| ē | 'durative' |
| pē | 'definitely' |
| keke | 'confirmation' |
| koia | 'indeed' |
| angaoti | 'exactly' |

5.1.1 ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

These include *wua* ‘only’, *tikāi* ‘really’, and *lava* ‘definitely’. The latter two are likely to be borrowings from Cook Islands Māori.

5.1.1.1 *wua* ‘only, just, merely’

This modifying particle is a downtoner meaning ‘only, just, merely’. In verb phrases, *wua* immediately follows the nucleus of the verb phrase or a lexical adverbial.

- (1) Ka ngaengaea vave **wua** koe.
 T RR-tired quickly just you
You will just get tired quickly.

It precedes the directional particles:¹

- (2) Kali **wua** mai ke onono mātou i te vāia lelei.
 wait just Dir C look we L A time good
Just wait until we find the right time. (V80:2:2)

- (3) e vāia **wua** atu
 Prd time just Dir
for evermore.

In modifying quantity it means ‘only’:

- (4) E lua **wua** a kōlua tama?
 T two only P you.2 child
Do you have only two children? (AT:C3)

It may be used deprecatingly meaning ‘merely’:

- (5) Ia koe ko ngalewe **wua**.
 A you T lazy just
You’re merely lazy.
- (6) Ko akapau **wua** au pātīli.
 T caus-finish just your.Pl battery
You’re just wasting your batteries. (AT:C1)
- (7) Aulaka oki tātou e lōmamai **wua**. Ke lōmamai tātou, takitaki mai ni lito.
 Neg.Imp also we T come.Pl just C come.Pl we RR-carry Dir A pandanus.leaf
Don’t just come [with nothing]. When you come, bring some pandanus leaves [for weaving]. (TU:3:1)

It may imply that no forethought is necessary for the action denoted by the verb to be fulfilled. It may even mean ‘haphazardly’ or ‘without much care’:

- (8) Kamuloa koe e yē wiakaia, kai **wua** koe ki te uto, ki te niu, ma te kaipea.
 really you T Neg hungry eat just you G A sprouting.coconut G A coconut and A crab
You are never hungry, you can just eat sprouting coconuts, drinking nuts and crabs
[whenever you like and without preparation]. (F3:S3:7)

- (9) Ko wano **wua**, akamea ke motu ngāwie.
 T go just caus-do C break easily
[He] just goes and does it so it breaks easily. (U:C2)

It may indicate a continuous occurrence or state or habitual action, and often follows reduplicated forms of the verb it modifies:

- (10) Toku pilipou nei ko ngāoloolo **wua**.
 my pants here T nga-RR-slip just
My pants are always slipping down.
- (11) Ia koe ko ngaungau **wua** tō ngutu.
 A you T RR-chew just your mouth
You're always grinding your teeth.

Possibly because of its association with reduplicated verbs which may denote intensification of the action, *wua* can also be used to intensify a verb:

- (12) Kamuloa oki yekeyeke **wua** te toto.
 really also RR-flow just A blood
The blood was really pouring out. (PP2:14:2)
- (13) Oko loa mātou ki Motu Kotawa, amuloa te manu yayaka **wua** ki lalo.
 arrive Int we G Motu Kotawa really A bird R-low just G down
When we arrived at Motu Kotawa, the birds were really [flying around] low to the ground. (F3:S7:1)
- (14) Tangi, tangi **wua** au ia aku e liko i te poti nei.
 cry cry just I Acc-A I T hold Acc A boat here
I was just crying and crying to myself as I held on to the boat. (L:S2:27)

Certain verbs are typically followed by *wua*. Among these are *weolo* 'be the same' and *pili* 'be close':

- (15) Ko weolo **wua** pe te kumete nei.
 T same.as just like A bowl here
It's just the same as this bowl.
- (16) Ko pili **wua** au kia Ota mā.
 T close just I G-A Ota etc
I'm very close to Ota and her family.

There are at least two common collocations of *wua* with directional particles including *atu* 'away' and *ake* 'oblique'. *Wua atu* means 'as far as' when it is used with temporal and spatial goals. In other situations *wua atu* may have a combined meaning of 'eventually', implying that the onset of the action has been waited for, or is very much desired:

- (17) ...oko **wua atu** ki te tanginga o tō iyu
 reach just Dir G A sound-Nom P P nose
...right up till the time you die (KM:WK3:1)
- (18) Lui loa koe i te niu tākatoa mai nā yakali, ngalo **wua atu** ki nā kōua.
 hook.down Int you Acc A coconut all from A dry.coconut as.far.as just Dir G A immature.nut
Harvest all the nuts completely, from the dry nuts right down to the smallest immature nut. (KM:P1:4)

- (19) Kitea **wua atu**.
see-Cia just Dir
[He] eventually found [it] [after much searching].

Wua ake has a combined meaning of ‘just as soon as’ for future time reference and ‘just past’ for past time reference:

- (20) Ke oti **wua ake** ka wano au ki te māneaneanga.
C finish just Dir T go I G A sports-Nom
Just as soon as I've finished, I'll go the sports. (KM:C3)
- (21) I te tāpati **wua ake** na topá, wō loa mātou pai ika i te akau lā Yātō.
L A sabbath just Dir T past-Da go.Pl Int we net fish L A reef along Yātō-Da
Just this last week we went netting fish on the reef near Yātō village. (PP2:8:1)

Wua may modify nouns and pronouns as well as verbs. In modifying nouns and pronouns, it most commonly means ‘only, exclusively’:

- (22) Ko nā kākau **wua** o Kali na palu ēku i te ayo nei.
Top A clothes only P Kali T wash Ag-I L A day here
I washed only Kali's clothes today.
- (23) Ni pilipou vae popoto **wua** o māua mea.
A pants leg R-short just P we.2 thing
We only had shorts on. (P:S6:1)
- (24) Ko mātou **wua** tēia nā i ai.
Prd we just this T L Pro
It was just us who were there. (P:S4:10)

Because it can occur in both a noun phrase and a verb phrase, *wua* can sometimes appear twice in the same clause:

- (25) Ko lāua **wua** ko lē **wua** i te wī taime.
Top they.2 only T win just L A all time
It's only those two who win all the time. (AT:S1)

It may also modify locatives meaning ‘just’:

- (26) Ko tili lā oki aku ngākau ki lalo **wua** o tō mātou poti woewoe.
T throw Int also my.Pl intestine G under just P P we boat RR-paddle
I was throwing my [fish] guts just under our canoe. (PP2:9:2)
- (27) nō muli **wua** mai i te taime o te Metua Penetio
P behind just Dir L A time P A father Penetio
just after the time [when] Father Penetio [was here] (MM:C1:4)

When *wua* modifies the head of a locative predicate which denotes a human referent, it means ‘just’ and the meaning can be extended metaphorically from the concept of physical location to mean that it is just up to [the opinion of] that person; similar to the English expression ‘the ball is in your court’.

- (28) Ko ia koe **wua**.
Top L-A you just
It's just up to you. [I defer to your opinion. Lit. It is just at you.]

5.1.1.2 *tikāi* ‘truly’

Tikāi means ‘truly, really, actually, certainly’. Native speakers perceive this word to be a borrowing from Cook Islands Māori. However, the form in Cook Islands Māori *tika* ‘ai’ is two morphemes *tika* + *ai*. In Pukapukan, the form is only one morpheme and although it is unusual, the particle can co-occur with the anaphoric pronoun *ai*:

- (29) ...ki te konga na kake **tikāi ai** te wonu ia ki lunga
 G A place T climb truly Pro A turtle Af G up
...to the place where the turtle climbed right up [on shore]

Tikāi is partially synonymous with the adverbial *ngaleka* ‘completely’ (3.10) and the postposed particles *loa* and *lāi* in their senses as ‘intensifier’ and *pē* ‘definitely’ (5.1.3; 5.1.5.1; 5.1.5.7). *Tikāi* often means ‘certainly’:

- (30) Na kite **tikāi** mātou i te tieniangā leva.
 T see truly we Acc A change-Nom-P weather
We certainly noticed the change of weather.
- (31) Kiai **tikāi** mātou na mātau ake.
 Neg truly we T used..to Dir
We certainly weren’t used to it.
- (32) ...i te waiva kole **tikāi**
 Prd skill none truly
...[they] certainly have no skill at all (KM:C3)

It may be an intensifier meaning ‘completely, right (into/up/onto)’.

- (33) Yaulā te wonu ia, e wonu na kake **tikāi** i Uta.
 but A turtle Af Prd turtle T climb really L Uta
But this turtle was one which had climbed right up [onto the land] at Uta. (M:N4:17)
- (34) Liko mai oki te taume, na vayi loa, amuloa ia Lima takawitiwiti **tikāi**.
 pick.up Dir also A coconut.spathe T hit Int really A Lima RR-squirm Int
[She] picked up the coconut spathe and hit him. Lima really squirmed with the pain. (PP2:10:6)

It can modify locational nouns, meaning ‘completely’:

- (35) Koa yeketia toku poti i loto **tikāi** o te keonga.
 T slide-Cia my boat L on really P A point
My boat was starting to be swept right into the [huge waves at the] point. (L:S2:27)

When modifying nouns it may mean ‘true’:

- (36) Ke onoono atu au e taina nō oku **tikāi**.
 C look Dir I Prd brother P I truly
When I look at [it], he’s been a true brother to me. (AR:1:10)
- (37) Na mate lā toku matua wāngai **tikāi**, ko Moekali te ingoa.
 T die but my mother feed true Prd Moekali A name
But my true adoptive mother died, Moekali was [her] name. (MM:L4:2)

- (38) Ko nā tala nei ko yē tika ki lungā o te tala wenua tikāi.
 Top A story here T Neg correct G on P A story land true
These stories are not exactly according to the true [versions of the] traditional stories. (WP5:1:3)

With temporal nouns and measurements it means ‘exactly’:

- (39) Pule loa wakawōu i te ola valu tikāi.
 pray Int again L A hour eight exactly
[They opened with] prayer again at exactly eight o'clock. (PP2:5:4)

Tikāi precedes *oki* ‘also’, but rarely occurs with other particles.

- (40) Nā mea tikāi oki au ka lele atu ki Niu Tileni.
 T think truly also I T run Dir G New Zealand
I had really wanted to go to New Zealand. (MK:S5:48)

5.1.1.3 *lava* ‘definitely’

Lava may modify verbs or nouns and means ‘definitely, certainly’:

- (41) Wano lava koe kia Mataola.
 go definitely you G-A Mataola
You should definitely go [and discuss this] with Mataola.
- (42) Na peke lava kia Loto.
 T win definitely G-A Loto
The victory decidedly went to Loto. (KM:C2)
- (43) Ko oku lava, kāni aku moni.
 Top I definitely Neg.exist my.PI money
As for me, I certainly don't have any money. (U:C2)

It can modify the auxiliary verb *pī* ‘if only’ (10.2.2) and its meaning applies to the consequence, not to the hypothetical condition:

- (44) Pī lava na yau lā kinei, ka kite au, ke onoono au i te tupu.
 if.only definitely T come via here T see I C look I Acc A face
If only he were to come past here, I would certainly know then, if I were to see [his] face. (MM:T3:6)

Lava seldom occurs with other particles, but may precede *lāi* ‘still’ and *oki* ‘also’. There is one example in the corpus of it following *wua* ‘just’.

- (45) Pī lava oki tātou...
 if definitely also we
And if only we had... (T:U7:2)
- (46) Pī pē mō koe ke lelei, ke tāwi wua lava peia.
 if definitely probably you C good C stay just definitely like-so
I really hope you are well and that you indeed continue to be so. (MM:L2:2)

5.1.2 DIRECTIONAL PARTICLES

The directional particles are as follows:

| | |
|------------|--|
| <i>mai</i> | hither, towards speaker |
| <i>atu</i> | away from speaker |
| <i>ake</i> | upwards, oblique to speaker; politeness particle |
| <i>io</i> | ?downwards; misfortune |

Cognates of the directional particles are found in all Polynesian languages (Clark 1976:34). They primarily indicate spatial or temporal direction relative to the speaker, but there are many uses of these particles which are not readily explained in terms of relative spatial orientation and the particles often have aspectual uses (Hooper 2002). The directional particles tend to modify verbs more frequently than nouns. They are often associated with verbs which denote movement and verbs of speech as well as verbs of perception, cognition and social interaction, and they are also used in comparative structures. The movement metaphor has therefore been extended to include abstract conceptual relations. But, as Hooper points out for Tokelauan, it is difficult to say with certainty that the abstract directional use with verbs of speech has been derived from the physical directional usage, since in textual examples *mai* and *atu* occur more frequently with verbs of speech than they do with verbs of physical movement. Rather, she sees that both uses are fundamental. In narratives, the directional particles often indicate deixis relative to the narrator rather than to the participants in the story, and the deictic centre may change within the narrative.

The particles *ake* and *io* have acquired some new meanings and uses in Pukapukan. *Ake* now has both the meanings ‘upwards’ and ‘oblique to speaker’ as PPn **hake* ‘upwards’ and **aʔe* ‘oblique to speaker’ appear to have merged into this one particle in Pukapukan. *Ake* also has aspectual meanings, but its most frequent function is as a politeness particle and it may therefore modify the negative verbs, *kiai* and the negative imperative which cannot be modified by *mai* or *atu*. *Io* is found only rarely, and has almost lost the original meaning of ‘downwards’ (< PPn **hifo*) and instead is used with a modal meaning, to qualify the event denoted by the predicate as being a misfortune in the eyes of the speaker.

Certain verbs do not occur with certain of the directional particles, either because the notion of relative direction is inherent to the meaning of the verb or because historically a directional particle has become part of the form of the verb. The motion verb *yau* ‘come’ is never modified by *mai*, as its meaning inherently denotes motion towards the speaker. Its plural form (*lō*)*mamai* is historically related to *mai* and is also synchronically incompatible with *mai*. Somewhat surprisingly, both these verbs can occur modified by *atu*. On the other hand, *wano* ‘go’ can occur modified by *atu* ‘away’, but is semantically incompatible with *mai*. One of its plural forms *wō**mamai* ‘go together’ is also historically related to *mai* and is therefore also incompatible with *mai*. Several verbs contain a fossilised form of the directional particles *mai* or *atu* and are synchronically incompatible with either of these particles: *aumai* ‘bring’ and an archaic verb of formal greeting *wengatu*. However, other forms containing a fossilised directional particle are compatible with *atu*, but not *mai*, for instance *avatu* ‘take to someone, give’ and *angatu* ‘come/go to you’. Several verbs have converse meanings depending on whether they are modified by *mai* or *atu*. *Tuku mai* means ‘give’, whereas *tuku atu* means ‘take’. Without any modification *tuku* means ‘put (down)’. Similarly, *oko* can mean ‘buy’ or ‘sell’ depending on the positional particle used.

5.1.2.1 *mai* 'towards speaker'

Mai indicates real or implied movement in the direction of the speaker:

- (47) Teketeke **mai** kia aku nei.
RR-move Dir G-A I here
Move a little closer to me.
- (48) Auwē koe e tāpīpī **mai**, ka yuyū toku kākawu.
Neg.Imp you T sprinkle Dir T wet my clothes
Don't splash water on me in case my clothes get wet.
- (49) Oko **mai** iāna ki Motu Kotawa nei.
arrive Dir he G Motu Kotawa here
He arrived here at Motu Kotawa. (U:A)

The movement can be in the direction of one of the participants in a discourse, with whom the speaker identifies and whom he/she chooses as the deictic centre:

- (50) Mē kakapu **mai**, wolo loa ia lātou.
if scoop Dir swallow Int Acc-A they
If it scooped towards [them] it would swallow them. (PT:L4)
- (51) Wuwuti **mai** loa ia Māui Pōtiki i tana ika.
RR-pull Dir Int A Māui Pōtiki Acc his fish
Māui Pōtiki pulled in his fish.

When postposed to verbs of communication, *mai* has a directional function and denotes that the speech is addressed towards the speaker:

- (52) Tala **mai** ake te tala o Lata (kia aku).
tell Dir please A story P Lata G-A me
Please tell me the story of Lata.
- (53) Na talatala **mai** lātou ke wano koe i te tāpati lā mua nei.
T talk Dir they C go you L A week L front here
They told [me] for you to go next week.

However with certain verbs of speech, particularly verbs of summoning, the orientation of the resultant movement, rather than the direction of speech itself, is towards the speaker:

- (54) Tauvalo **mai** te kauliki.
call Dir A children
Call the children [to come] here.
- (55) Tulituli atu loa lua mātutua ia, tulituli, tauvalo **mai** lua mātutua, "Pipili mā e Oimai e."
RR-chase Dir Int two parents Af RR-chase call Dir two parents Pipili etc Voc Oimai Voc
The two parents chased [them] and chased them and called [to them to come to them], "Pipili and you guys, Oimai". (KS2:11)

Mai may have a benefactive use, denoting that the speaker will benefit from the action denoted by the predicate:

- (56) Kokoti **mai** ake te kapa o te lui nā.
R-cut Dir please A fin P A fish.sp that
Please cut off the pectoral fin of that black trevally [for me].
- (57) Yuyuke **mai** ake te pū.
R-open Dir please A door
Please open the door [for me].

Verbs expressing social interaction are commonly postposed by *mai* to denote that the action of the verb is directed towards the speaker or for the benefit of the speaker:

- (58) Kāni moni oki na maua e te tautulu **mai**.
Neg.exist money also T get C help Dir
[We] haven't got any money to help [us].

Verbs of perception and cognition may be postposed by *mai* to denote relative orientation towards the speaker or another participant in the discourse.

- (59) Akalongo **mai** kōtou.
caus-hear Dir you
Listen [to me].
- (60) Ka akalongo **mai** tātou ki te pēpa nei.
T caus-hear Dir we G A paper here
We will listen to [what is on] this paper.
- (61) Tala koe ki lunga ke langona **mai** e te kaú.
Tell you G up C hear-Cia Dir Ag A people-Da
Speak up [louder] so that [you] can [then] be heard by those people over there.

Sometimes, *mai* denotes a reflexive type of action:

- (62) Ko te manatu **mai** oki lātou ko ulu moni tātou.
lest think Dir also they T search money we
They [might] be thinking to themselves that we looking for money [out of this].
- (63) Tāmaka **mai** i oku tāmaka.
sandal Dir Acc my.Pl sandal
I put on my sandals.

Temporal deixis is encoded by *mai*. It can denote a time span from a point in the past to another point in time closer to the present, or it can denote a point in time closer to the present than the narrative time.

- (64) Mai tau wanonga loa, oko **mai** ki te ayo nei...
from your go-Nom Int arrive Dir G A day here
from the time you left, right up till now... (PS2:2)
- (65) Mea **mai** te toe pō, nīniko oki lāua lamalama.
do Dir A other night R-return also they.2 RR-torch.fishing
When the next night came, they went torch fishing again. (KS2:10)

Mai may also indicate temporal progression towards the present from the past:

- (66) Pī pē mō nā yanga **mai** mai te vāiá, auwā na lelei kino atu.
if definitely maybe T work Dir from A past-Da probably T good bad Dir
If only we had carried on working from before, it would have been much better. (PS6:2)

It is also possible for *mai* to be used with future time orientation:

- (67) Mē yē maua ko lelei wua, onono **mai** ki nā ayo lā mua nei.
if Neg able T good just look Dir G A day via front here
If you aren't able to [do it] that's OK, look to the future.
- (68) Vātata koa pūla **mai** te ata, koa mālama, koa vātata te lā koa pūla **mai**.
near T appear Dir A shadow T light T near A sun T appear Dir
*It was near to when the shadows would start to appear, it was getting light,
close to when the sun would rise. (KS2:11)*

Mai can denote temporal ordering of future events, or a single verb marked by *mai* denotes that the next planned event in time is imminent:

- (69) Ka tala au taumua i taku tala, tala **mai** ia Pāpā Elikana, tala **mai** te toe pāpā, tala **mai** te toe pāpā,
T tell I first Acc my story tell Dir A Pāpā Elikana tell Dir A other father tell Dir A other father

ke oko loa tātou ki te tuaelo, koa akaoti ai.
T arrive Int we G A twelve T caus-finish Pro
*I will tell the first story, and then Pāpā Elikana will tell a story, followed by another old man,
and then another, and when we get to midnight, we'll stop. (KS2:7)*
- (70) Ka akanō te manako ki ai, ka iki **mai** o tātou kūmiti āpīi ke papa.
T caus-sit A thought G Pro T elect Dir P we committee school C ready
[We] will leave the discussion there, and elect our school committee [now] so that it's done.

Sometimes *mai* is used with aspectual meanings. This is especially true in conjunction with the aspectual verb *oko* 'arrive'. *Mai* often denotes progress within a state or a continuous action or state:

- (71) Wolo loa te moko ia, oko **mai** ki kinei, oko **mai** ki kinei, tangi lewu te leo.
swallow Int A lizard Af arrive Dir G here arrive Dir G here sound small A voice
The lizard swallowed [her] as far as here, [it] got as far as here, [her] voice was very small. (KS3:7)
- (72) Mea mai te toe ayo, koa tō wolowolo **mai** te manini ia.
do Dir A other day T bit RR-big Dir A fish.sp Af
The next day, the manini fish had started to grow bigger. (KS2:10)
- (73) Angiangi **mai** loa te matangi mai tonga.
RR-blow Dir Int A wind from south
The wind was blowing up from the south. (PT:L2)
- (74) Kāni wale o Ngake i ai, nā nō wua **mai** te Ngake ki Te Ā
Neg.exist house P Ngake L Pro T stay just Dir A Ngake G Te Ā
There were no Ngake houses there [at that time], Ngake just used to stay at Te Ā. (ML3:72)
- (75) Ia kōtou ka wō ki nā wenua mamao, peia oki mātou ka nōnō **mai**...
A you T go.Pl G A country distant like-so also we T R-stay Dir
You who are going to distant lands, and also we who are staying on [here]... (SF:T1:1)

However, the aspectual uses are not clearly differentiated as they often overlap with other uses. For instance, (73) also implies that the speaker is likely to be affected by the wind and (75) gives the orientation of the speaker to the action denoted by the predicate as including the speaker as one who is staying.

Mai sometimes is used with predicates denoting the sudden appearance of an entity as a metaphorical extension from the basic directional use:

- (76) Tupu **mai** te tumulangi, kakao **mai** ki lungā.
 grow Dir A cloud appear Dir G up
Storm clouds arose, they were coming up. (PT:L2)

There is also an evidential function of *mai* which indicates that the speaker has first hand knowledge of a situation:

- (77) Akalongo **mai** lā au, koa yeketia toku poti i loto tikāi o te keonga.
 caus.hear Dir Int I T slide-Cia my boat L inside truly P A point
I felt that the boat was being swept into the [huge waves] at the point. (LS2:27)

Sometimes there is no actual movement involved in the predicate marked by *mai*, but the entity described is oriented in some way towards the field of vision of the speaker:

- (78) Wuwuli atu au, ko tū **mai** te akavā.
 R-turn Dir I T stand Dir A policeman
When I turned around, the policeman was standing there [facing me].

The directional particle *mai* can be contiguous in the clause with the preposition *mai* 'from' (66).

5.1.2.2 *atu* 'away from speaker'

Atu indicates physical movement away from the speaker:

- (79) Yaele **atu** lā.
 walk Dir there
Goodbye [to person going] [lit. go away there].
- (80) Yoloyolo **atu** koe ki te toe kaokao.
 RR-move Dir you G A other side
Move away from me to the other side.
- (81) Liko **atu** te pukā.
 hold Dir A book-Da
Pick up the book and take it away.

For verbs of perception and communication *atu* indicates direction away from the deictic centre:

- (82) Ko tātā **atu** iāna kia koe?
 T write Dir he G-A you
Does he write to you?

- (83) Ia Tāmāti, ko tangi **atu** kia koe.
A Tāmāti T cry Dir G-A you
Tāmāti is crying for you.

Temporal progression away from the present or a reference time can be encoded by *atu*:

- (84) Ko ngakingaki **atu** oki au ke maua toku pēpa āpii.
T RR-try Dir also I C get my paper school
I'm trying hard to get my School Certificate.
- (85) Ola **atu** ai iāna ma tona wāoa.
live Dir Pro he and his crew
He escaped with his crew [lit. lived on]. (PP:L3)
- (86) Wea **atu** ai koe?
what Dir Pro you
What did you do then?

Even though the literal meanings of *mai* and *atu* appear to be contradictory, they can co-occur modifying the same verb, when one has a directional meaning and the other has a temporal or aspectual meaning. It is usually *mai* that has the directional meaning. *Atu* can mean 'again', as in (87, 88), in which *mai* orientates the action towards the deictic centre in both sentences:

- (87) Niko loa ia Ēmily ki wale, ulu ke ni a lāua pōlo.... Niko **mai atu** lā, na ngaongao wua te pāka.
return Int A Emily G house search C exist P they.2 ball return Dir Dir but T deserted just A park
Emily returned home to look for some balls [for them to play with]. ... But when she returned to the park again, it was deserted. (KM1:8)
- (88) Akavāvā loa ia Levi i taku talatalanga ia. ...Wuwuli **mai atu** ia Levi, ko lekaleka nei au.
caus-talk Int A Levi Acc my RR-talk-Nom Af R-turn Dir Dir A Levi T RR-happy here I
Levi criticised what I was saying... [Then I caught a fish.]... When Levi turned back to me, I was happy.

When both particles occur together in the same clause, *atu* can also have an aspectual meaning denoting continuous action. In the following excerpt, the deictic centre determined by the use of *mai* is the fish, and *atu* denotes continuous aspect:

- (89) Te taime lā ko wano te manini ia lā te moana, onoono **mai atu** loa nā tāngata ia mai te langi...
A time but T go A fish.sp Af via A ocean look Dir Int A people Af from A sky

Onoono **mai atu** lātou ki te moana, ko tele te manini tongi a Limutaemoa.
Look Dir Dir they G A ocean T swim A fish.sp big P Limutaemoa
But at the time that this surgeonfish swam out to the ocean, the people [gods] looked down from the sky [at it]... [background clauses]... They kept on looking at the ocean as Limutaemoa's big fish was swimming along. (KS7:7)

Similarly in (90), *mai* denotes a benefactive meaning and orientates the action towards the speaker while *atu* denotes continuous aspect:

- (90) Tautulu **mai atu** oki te kau i Niu Tileni nei i te yanga wolo nei.
help Dir Dir also A people L New Zealand here Acc A work big here
The people in New Zealand here have carried on helping [us] on this huge undertaking. (PS1:7)

The directional particles *mai* and *atu* are used in separate clauses to denote reciprocal action:

- (91) Onoono **atu** ia Lata, ko onoono wua **mai** nā mata.
 look Dir A Lata T look just Dir A eye
Lata looked [at them] and [their] eyes were just looking towards him. (PT:L4)

Atu is used in comparative sentences to denote comparison of inequality:

- (92) Ko vaeolo **atu** koe ia aku.
 T fast Dir you comp-A I
You're faster than me.
- (93) Ko wolo **atu** ia Tāvita ia Tāmāti.
 T big Dir A Tāvita comp-A Tāmāti
Tāvita is bigger than Tāmāti.
- (94) Ko tō maolalo **atu** pe te kumete nei?
 T bit deep Dir like A bowl this
Is it a bit deeper, like this bowl?

5.1.2.3 *ake* 'upwards', 'oblique to speaker'; 'please'

One or two verbs contain *ake* as a fossilised part of their form (e.g. *wenake* 'rise' [of sun, moon, stars]). *Ake* has as its main function a politeness particle meaning 'please', although it can also mean 'upwards' or 'oblique to the speaker' and, like *mai* and *atu*, it can also have temporal and aspectual meanings. Its function as a politeness particle and its temporal and aspectual uses account for more than 80% of tokens. Out of more than 300 tokens in the corpus, less than ten have meanings that could possibly be related to the meanings 'oblique' or 'upwards' and some of these are more likely aspectual uses. The minor uses are discussed first because they reflect the original meanings of the PPn forms.

Ake can denote that the direction of action is not oriented either towards or away from the deictic centre, or that the movement is at an oblique angle from the participants in the narrative:

- (95) Kakalo **ake** lātou na teka tokotai ia Tēnana lā te toe kaokao.
 look Dir they T on.one's.own cls-one A Tēnana via A other side
They looked out into the distance, and [saw] Tēnana by himself alone on one side [of the canoe]. (MM:L4)

Upwards movement is more often metaphorical than physical, and *ake* can apply to changes of state, for instance from sleeping to waking or darkness to light. However, these uses often also carry some additional aspectual meanings, for instance, implication that change of state is sudden or unexpected.

- (96) Kai alaala wua **ake** au ko lōmamai lua akavā kave ia lāua ki te wale āuli.
 T RR-wake just Dir I T come.PI two police take Acc-A they.2 G A house iron
I might just wake up [one day] [and find] two policemen coming to take them to prison. (SL1:16)

Ake has some aspectual qualities. It can indicate progression within a state, increase in intensity or size (cf. *mai* (5.1.2.1) and *atu* (5.1.2.2)).

- (97) Koa mālama **ake**.
 T clear Dir
It was getting lighter.

Sometimes *ake* denotes continuous aspect:

- (98) Akamāloloyi **ake** kōtou i kinā, kamuloa mātou māyalayala wua ia kōtou i te wī ola.
 caus.R-strong Dir you L there really we RR-remember just Acc-A you L A all hour
May you continue to be strong over there, we keep on remembering you all the time. (PW3:7)
- (99) Nō loa ia Tuakātua ia ki loto, ākono **ake** lātou i te konga wakalelei.
 stay Int A Tuakātua Af G in look.after Dir they Acc A place well
Tuakātua stayed inland and they were looking after the place well. (MKS5:5)

It can denote action subsequent to that of a previous clause, which introduces a continuing state:

- (100) Ko winangalo au e te wano ki wale, moe **ake**.
 T want I C go G house sleep Dir
I want to go home and lie down [and stay there].

More commonly, *ake* has temporal reference denoting time relative to the present or to the narrative present. In association with the locational nouns *muli* ‘behind’ and *mua* ‘front’, it almost always occurs with a future time predicate:

- (101) Ke oko ki lua tāpati i mua **ake** ka Kilitimeti ai...
 C arrive G two week L front Dir T Christmas Pro
When it gets to two weeks before Christmas... (V90:12:2)
- (102) I mua **ake** ka pō ai te pō
 L front Dir T night Pro A night
Before night falls

With past time reference it denotes a point in time or a period just past:

- (103) I te Palapalau na topa **ake** nei,
 L A Thursday T past Dir here
This past Thursday [just gone],

Ake has some other overlapping uses with *mai* and *atu*. For instance, with weather phenomena, *mai* and *ake* can both be used to indicate change of state. *Mai* denotes that the deictic centre is affected by the change, whereas *ake* does not have the same connotations of affectedness. Contrast the following pair of sentences:

- (104) Koa tupu **mai** te tumulangi.
 T grow Dir A storm
A storm is brewing [and we will get caught in it].
- (105) Koa tupu **ake** te tumulangi.
 T grow Dir A storm
A storm is brewing up [but may not affect us].

Like *atu*, *ake* may also mark predicates denoting comparison of inequality. There is no apparent difference of meaning between them.

- (106) E lelei **ake** te kete wōu i te kete papala nā.
T good Dir A basket new comp A basket rotten there
The new basket is better than that rotten one.
- (107) Mea ake nā yua ke tō vela **ake**.
do Dir A water C bit hot Dir
Make the water a bit hotter please.
- (108) E kiai ake iāna na tala mai mē na lelei **ake** mē ko kino lāi.
T Neg Dir he T tell Dir Q T good Dir Q T bad still
He hasn't yet told me whether it is better now, or whether it is still bad [not working]. (WT:P1:6)

Ake has two functions not shared with the other directional particles.

1. *Ake* can modify negative predicates, meaning 'yet'. This meaning is related to the aspectual function denoting continuous action, and it can imply that the action denoted by the predicate is not finalised and that the outcome may change in the future:

- (109) Te tele mai Wale, kiai **ake** na pono ia tātou.
A trip from Pukapuka Neg Dir T sure By-A we
We're not yet sure about the trip from Pukapuka. (V80:2:2)
- (110) E kiai **ake** au na wano ki ai.
T Neg Dir I T go G Pro
I haven't gone there yet [but I intend to].
- (111) Kāe ninitā **ake** na oko mai kia aku.
Neg.exist pawpaw Dir T arrive Dir G-A me
Not [even] one pawpaw has come to me [yet]. (UU:34:1)

In narratives, *ake* denotes that the action in the predicate had not yet happened at that point in the discourse.

- (112) Ko lelei i te taime ia, kiai **ake** na mea te matangi o te laloao.
T good L A time Af Neg Dir T do A wind P A squall
At that time it was fine, the wind of the squall had not yet happened. (PS1:1)

2. *Ake* can be used as a politeness particle, translatable by 'please'. This is the most common function in the corpus. It is commonly found in imperatives and requests:

- (113) Nō **ake** ki lalo.
sit please G down
Please sit down.
- (114) Ēlā **ake** te pōlō, e Tī.
there please A ball-Da Voc Tī
There is the ball, Tī [please throw it here].

In complex imperative sentences containing subordinate clauses to motion verbs, it commonly modifies both verbs:

- (115) Lōmamai **ake** tulituli **ake** taku puaka nei.
come.PI please RR-chase please my pig here
Please come and [help me] chase my pig. (F4:S2:5)

- (116) E te takupu ia e, yau **ake** kave **ake** mātou ki te wenua o Tinilaú, kamuloa mātou makalilia.
 Voc A bird.sp Af Voc come please take please we G A land P Tinilau-Da, really we cold-Cia
Oh booby bird, please come and take us to the land of Tinilau, we're really cold. (MK:S1:6)

As a politeness marker *ake* also occurs in the complements of verbs of asking for something:

- (117) Nō leila e talikai atu ai nei ke yī **ake** moni ke tautulu ai te wowounga o nā puka nei.
 P because T ask Dir Pro here C exist please money C help Pro A R-make-Nom P A book here
That's why [we] are asking for some money to help make these books.

Ake is also used in expressing wishes and plans; thus it is not restricted to imperatives and requests:

- (118) Ke wano **ake** au onoono i taku vale, me ko lelei iāna ma aku tamatāne.
 C go please I look Acc my wife Q T good she and my.Pl son
Let me go and check on my wife [to see] if she and my sons are alright. (W2:F2:6:1)
- (119) Pī mō **ake** e wenua wawine wua,
 if maybe please Prd land woman only
If only [I wish] there was a land of women only, (L:W1:2)
- (120) Ko winangalo au e te wano ki te āpii ke talatala **ake** au ki tona pūāpii.
 T want I C go G A school C RR-talk please I G his teacher
I want to go to the school to talk with his teacher. (V90:9:1)
- (121) Uwipānga loa te wenua, talatala loa lātou ke wō **ake** onoono **ake** te lau ia koa loaloa.
 meeting Int A land RR-talk Int they C go.Pl please look please A men Af T RR-long
*The island held a meeting and they discussed going to check on the men who were taking
 a long time [on the reserve]. (U:1:7)*

It is possible for *ake* to occur in the same clause as another directional particle when they both have different functions, but *ake* may not appear twice modifying the same verb. *Ake* follows *mai* and *atu*.

When *ake* is used as a politeness marker, it may co-occur with *mai* or *atu*:

- (122) Lele **mai ake**, limalima **mai ake** i te eva. Mate loa au i te tīngā.
 run Dir please hurry Dir please fast die Int I By A pain
Please run here fast, hurry here [to me]. I'm dying with the pain. (KM:WK1:10)
- (123) Tuku **atu ake** kōlua i tō māua aloa ki tō kōlua wuānga i kinā.
 give Dir please you.2 Acc P we.2 love G P you.2 family L there
Please give our love to your family. (TM:6:10)
- (124) Kāe mea a Pukapuka, mea **atu ake** lā ki te pongá i lunga o te niu.
 Neg.exist thing P Pukapuka do Dir please Int G A deformed-Da L on P A coconut
There is nothing for Pukapuka, but give it that deformed coconut up there on the tree. (ML2:2)

In the following sentence, *mai* has a benefactive use and also denotes the appearance or creation of an entity, and the meaning of *ake* is possibly one of upwards direction, but it also marks a clause denoting an intention or wish.

- (125) Mea ai ia Leiakunavai ke tupu **mai ake** e punga lewu.
 do Pro A Leiakunavai C grow Dir Dir A coral.head small
Leiakunavai decided to create a small coral head [for her use]. (F4:3:3)

Ake is commonly associated with certain verbs, for instance *ngali* ‘be better, be an advantage’, *māli* ‘just as well’ and *pānei* ‘like this’:

- (126) **E ngali ake** koe i te wano ki Wale i te tāyao.
 T better Dir you C go G Wale L A tomorrow
It would be better for you to go to Wale tomorrow.
- (127) **Pānei ake** oti ai nā mō manako o Te Lāngaikula.
 like-so Dir finish Pro A small thought P Te Lāngaikula
Maybe that finishes the speeches of [the village members of] Te Lāngaikula. (N:F1:7)

There are still some instances where the role of *ake* is unclear:

- (128) Ka mea lā pēwea e maua ai ia tātou e te totoli ke tongi ake tona malie?
 T do Int how T able Pro By-A we C R-pick.coconut C taste Dir its sweetness
How shall we act to be able to climb up and taste its sweetness? (TM1:2)

5.1.2.4 *io* ‘?downwards, misfortune’

Of the four directional particles, *io* is the one found the least often. In fact it appears quite rarely. Reflexes of its Proto-Polynesian form have traditionally been glossed ‘downwards’, but this meaning is hardly apparent in Pukapukan. It rarely, if ever, occurs associated with a literal downwards movement. In the vast majority of cases of its use, it is associated with undesirable events or misfortune. Its most likely meaning is that of ‘misfortune coming upon one’ rather than a literal downwards movement. *Io* usually occurs in conjunction with the modal marker *kai* ‘might’ (3.1.10).

Io occurs in clauses expressing an adversative possibility. It intensifies the undesirability of the outcome and often has a pragmatic function of forewarning. Examples (129, 130) show that *io* may be associated with a downwards movement, but examples (131, 132) show that this is not necessarily the case.

- (129) Kai yinga **io** koe mai lunga o te lokí.
 T fall Dir you from above P A chair-Da
[Watch out] you might fall from that chair.
- (130) Kai mimi **io** ia Pēpē.
 T urinate Dir A Baby
Baby might wet.
- (131) Kai langona **io** a tāua talatalanga nei e te wawiné.
 T hear Dir P we.2 speak-Nom here Ag A woman-Da
That woman might overhear our conversation.
- (132) Kai malemo **io** te tamá.
 T drown Dir A child-Da
That child might drown.

Io may occur in mild negative imperatives and in caveats.

- (133) Kai kai **io** koe i te vae moa a Tao na tuku nā.
 T eat Dir you Acc A leg chicken P Tao T leave there
You might [but please don't] eat the chicken leg that [I've] saved for Tao.

- (134) Wano lā tā koe wakalelei, kai wati io toku toki.
 go there cut you carefully T break Dir my adze
Go and cut carefully, lest you break my adze. (BB:1056)

Io occurs in prohibitions and warnings which may threaten a negative consequence or punishment. *Io* intensifies the prohibition. Pragmatically a prohibition formed by *kai...io* is fairly severe although polite. It has a stronger semantic force than the negative imperative *auwē* ‘don’t’ or the caveat *ko te* ‘lest’, but not as strong as the negative imperative verb intensified by *loa* (*auwēloa* ‘definitely don’t’).

- (135) Pī lā mō te mōina wū e ngawā io, e tope loa te ulu o koe.
 if.only Int maybe A bottle milk-Da T break Dir T slap Int A head P you
If you break that bottle of milk, I’ll slap your head!
- (136) Kai kai io koe ki te kaveu ke wano koe ki Kō.
 T eat Dir you G A coconut.crab C go you G Kō
You must not eat of the coconut crabs when you go to Kō

Kai...io may carry a negative implication or a hope that the action denoted by the predicate does not come true:

- (137) Ka wō ia Yātō ki Motu Kotawa i te ayo nei, kai valo mai io toku matua ke ālu au
 T go.Pl A Yātō G Motu Kotawa L A day this T call Dir Dir my mother C follow I
 wai tokotoko mō ona.
 as assist for her
Yātō is going to Motu Kotawa today; my aunt might call me to go [there] and work on her behalf [but I hope she doesn’t because I don’t want to].
- (138) Kai lōmamai io nā akavā.
 T come.Pl Dir A police
I fervently hope the police don’t come.

In a few cases *io* may modify verbs which have a positive semantic force and the whole clause has a positive semantic force. In these instances it seems to intensify the verb. It may also suggest a sudden onset or a spontaneous happening which befalls the participants.

- (139) Kai vēvēia io koe ke tano tau Golden Kiwi.
 T happy Dir you C right your Golden Kiwi
Happiness might befall you [you would be very lucky] if your Golden Kiwi ticket was the right one.

Io may co-occur with directional particles.

- (140) Kai vayia mai io koe e te kau wowolō.
 T hit-Cia Dir Dir you Ag A people R-big-Da
The elders might hit you.
- (141) Lele koe i te eva, kai pukea mai io koe e te akavā.
 Run you fast T catch-Cia Dir Dir you Ag A police
Run fast, lest you be caught by the police.
- (142) Kai wano atu io koe wakamamao, yanga loa au e te ulu ia koe.
 T go Dir Dir you caus-distant work Int I C search Acc-A you
I really hope that you don’t go off to a distant place, it would be so hard to find you [there].

There appears to be a tense-aspect-mood restriction with the particle *io*. It is usually linked with the modal marker *kai* which is also commonly found in clauses denoting misfortunes, undesirable consequences and warnings (3.1.10). The negative force of the modal marker and the postverbal particle reinforces each other. *Io* is not compatible with other tense-aspect-mood markers in main clauses:

- (143) Kai vayia **io** koe e tō māmā.
 *Na
 *Ka
 T hit-Cia Dir you Ag P mother
Your mother might /^{}has/^{*}will hit you.*

Io can occur without *kai* in some limited circumstances:

1. In hypothetical or conditional clauses with an implicit warning function either the auxiliary verb *pī* 'if only' (10.2.2) or the verb in a subordinate clause may be modified by *io*.

- (144) Pī lā **io** taku mōina nā e tō ake ki lalo, e patu loa ō papo i kinā.
 if Int Dir my bottle there T fall Dir G down T hit Int P cheek L there

Pī lā taku mōina nā e tō **io** ki lalo, e patu loa ō papo i kinā.
 if Int my bottle there T fall Dir G down T hit Int your cheek L there
If [you were to let] that bottle fall and break, [I] would give you a hiding.

- (145) Kake **io** loa te mālava i te ayo nei, wea atu ai koe e totoko nā?
 climb Dir Int A fish.sp L A day here what Dir Pro you T stubborn there
And if the rabbitfish do indeed come up [on the reef] today [contrary to your expectation] what would you do then being so stubborn? - [implied: you'd miss out, wouldn't you!].

2. *Io* may also occur with the tense-aspect-mood marker *koi*, although this is quite old-fashioned in usage, since *koi* is used only in requests in modern speech, not in prohibitions (see 3.1.11).

- (146) Onoono wakalelei, **koi** vayia **io** koe e tō māmā.
 look carefully T hit-Cia Dir you Ag your mother
Be careful, lest your mother hit you.

5.1.2.5 Directional Particles in Narrative

Directional particles play a special role in narrative discourse (c.f. Hohepa 1981 for Māori). They relate to the participant in focus at that particular point in the narrative. The narrator may put himself/herself in the position of a particular participant in the story as a reference point for spatial orientation. If there is only one human subject, then (s)he is the reference point for spatial orientation. If there are more than one human or animate participants then one is chosen from among them for the point of reference. This reference point may change within a story. Alternatively, the narration may be told relative to a spatial point where the narrator is in the present. Thus, the directional particles orientate the discourse to the position or attitude of the narrator towards the participants.

The following passage changes the orientation a number of times, although the changes of viewpoint focus are not nearly as frequent or abrupt as one might think, since the passage is several times longer than the abridged quotations:

- (147) 1. Tele loa lātou... **Onoono atu** lātou i te wuakau ia, ko i lunga o te akau... Manatu loa ia Vigo,
sail Int they look Dir they Acc A fish.sp. Af T L on P A reef think Int A Vigo
2. **kakalo mai loa akayiku mata mai** ki tō lātou poti, nō te tamaiti oki kāe tō oki ki tai.
look Dir Int caus-tail eye Dir G P their boat P A child also lest fall also G sea
3. **Kakalo mai loa**, na motu te taula... Mea loa ia Vigo, “Welele kōlua ki Wale, **valo mai** i tāngata...
look Dir Int T break A anchor say Int A Vigo Pl-run you.2 G Wale call Dir A people
4. **ulu mai** ake e poti ke yau.”... Welele loa [lāua]... Lele loa, lele lā Yātō. **Lele atu** kāe ana poti loa
search Dir Dir A boat C come Pl-run Int they.2 run Int run via Yātō run Dir Neg.exist his.Pl boat Int
5. [na kite]...**Lele mai** loa ia Pilipa lā lunga o te Ālai o Palaoa...Lele loa ko Āpela, ulu ai, **kitea mai**
T see run Dir Int A Pilipa via on P A Ālai P Palaoa run Int Top Āpela search Pro see-Cia Dir
6. i te wale o te taote i Tuá... **Lele mai** ia Pilipa ma Āpela, wiwiti ki lunga o te poti. **Lele mai oki**
Acc A house P A doctor L Tua-Da run Dir A Pilipa and Āpela R-board G on P A boat. run Dir also
7. welāvei lāua ma ?...Ko Vigo, yau loa iāna mai te konga na wō ai lātou...**oko mai**
meet they.2 and Top Vigo come Int he from A place T go.Pl Pro they reach Dir
8. ki te Ava o te Malike... onoono ai iāna, **ngalo wua atu** te poti o Kati ia i ona mata.
G A channel P A American look Pro he disappear just Dir A boat P Kati Af L his.Pl eye

They sailed...[off to another island. On their way,] they saw a school of parrotfish on the reef... [and stopped to catch them. While they were on the reef] Vigo thought [of the child in the boat] and glanced out of the corner of his eyes [at the boat] because of the child, in case he were to fall into the sea. When he looked, the anchor rope had broken... [and the boat was drifting]. Vigo said, “You two run to Wale [along the reef] and call some people... [to help], look for a boat to come.” ... They ran off. ...[One of them] ran via Yātō but he didn’t see any boats. ...Pilipa ran along a reef called the Ālai of Palaoa. ... He ran to look for Āpela and found him in the doctor’s house at Tuá. ...Pilipa and Apela ran [to their boat] and climbed on board and as they were running they met ? ...[who went with them in the boat searching]. Vigo [meanwhile] had come [along the reef] from the place where they had gone ...[fishing] and had reached the American channel,... [following the disappearing boat] and as he watched, the boat with Kati in it disappeared from his sight. (MM:N1-2)

The perspective at the beginning of the story is the main participants; the people in the boat who looked out and saw the school of fish. The boat remains the deictic centre in lines 2-3 despite the fact that the people are no longer in it. In line 3, the deictic centre changes to the people on the reef and the help that would benefit them is marked by *mai*. In line 4, the viewpoint remains the people on the reef as one runs off [*atu* ‘away’] to find help. But by line 5, the deictic centre has shifted to the main island where the narrator is (and where the first person ran to), so the second person runs in the narrator’s direction marked by *mai*. However by the end of line 5, the centre is the second person running who finds Apela, who also becomes incorporated into the centre (line 6). In line 7 the viewpoint is from the main island, the narrator’s position, now that the other two have gone to sea searching. In line 8, the viewpoint again changes to the new participant in the discourse, Vigo, who looks out to sea as the boat disappears away from him [*atu*].

5.1.2.6 Directional Particles in Noun Phrases

The directional particles occur in a very limited way in noun phrases and mainly in phrases whose heads are locational or temporal nouns.

Mai and *atu* can be used attributively with locational nouns to denote spatial location:

- (148) Ko yē lava te tautulu mai vao **mai**.
 T Neg enough A help from outside Dir
The help from outside isn't enough. (PS:1:3)
- (149) Wuli ki kātea **atu**.
 turn G side Dir
Turn further to the side [opposite the outrigger].
- (150) Mea mai ki te toe uki mai i lalo **mai**...
 say Dir G A other generation from L down Dir
[He] said to the next generation down...
- (151) Ēnei, ko te puapua nei? Ē kole, ēnā lā i mua **atu** nā.
 here Prd A tree.sp here Neg.Pro there Int L front Dir there
Here, is it this Guetardia tree? No, but there [it] is further ahead of you. (MY:1:2)

Mai and *ake* can be used with locational nouns to denote temporal location:

- (152) Ke lōmamai loa lā māua mai Lalotonga, e lua wua mō tāpati i muli **mai**, mate oki toku māmī.
 C come.Pl Int Int we.2 from Rarotonga Prd two just maybe sabbath L behind Dir die also my mother
When we came from Rarotonga, maybe just two weeks later my mother died. (KS5:61)
- (153) Wano koe tātā i nā talatala ia i mua **ake** ka ngalo ai.
 go you write Acc A RR-word Af L front Dir T lost Pro
Go and write those words down before you forget.
- (154) I mua **ake** ka pō ai te pō
 L front Dir T night Pro A night
Before night falls

A few common nouns denoting units of time or locations may also be modified by the directional particles:

- (155) Lua wawiné, koa yalu ē ki te muna mai te taeyao **mai**.
 two woman-Da T scoop Dur Ins A word from A morning Dir
Those women have been gossiping from morning until now.
- (156) Kai Mōnitē, mē kole ki te toe ayo **atu**.
 T Mōnitē-Da or not G A other day Dir
It might be Monday or else the next day.
- (157) i te tāpati wua **ake** na topá
 L A week just Dir T past-Da
just last week... (PP2:8:1)
- (158) Mai te tukutai **mai**?
 from A beach Dir
From [what happened at] the beach onwards? (L:S1:13)

The directionals seldom occur with any other common nouns, although *atu* does occur in coordinated noun phrases in association with *toe* ‘other’ as a premodifier of the head:

- (159) Aumai ake ni kai **ma nā toe** mea **atu**.
bring Dir A food and A other thing Dir
Bring the food and the other things.

Atu may also occur modifying a noun which is modified by a stative to denote an implicit comparison:

- (160) ...ma nā ika **likiliki** **atu**.
and A fish small.Pl Dir
...and the smaller fish.

- (161) Talai iāna e kumete **tongi atu**, tongi.
hew she A bowl big Dir big
She made a bigger [wooden] bowl, very big. (KS7:4)

Ake can also sometimes occur attributively modifying a noun. Its meaning is ‘even including N’:

- (162) te au tamaliki a Puia **ake**
A all children P Puia Dir
even all of Puia’s children [and perhaps others]

Ake may modify a noun which is the subject of a negative existential predicate in which case it means ‘(not) even one N ever’. However because *ake* may also denote ‘(not) yet’ in negative contexts, it also functions as a polite downtoner which softens a negative statement or a rebuke because it allows for a different outcome in the future:

- (163) Kāe au pēpa **ake** na tātā, kāe au mea **ake** na tuku mai ki Wale nei.
Neg.exist your paper Dir T write Neg.exist your thing Dir T give Dir G Home here
You haven’t written a single letter [yet], you haven’t [yet] sent a single thing to Pukapuka.

- (164) Kāe mātutua **ake** lā na alāvei i tona ōpeti.
Neg.exist parent.Pl Dir Int T visit L his office
Not one parent has ever visited him in his office. (U:9:2)

Ake may modify demonstrative nonverbal predicates as a marker of politeness with requests that something be given to the speaker from its position near to, or distant from, the addressee:

- (165) Ēnā **ake** te puká.
there Dir A book-Da
Please pass that book by you.
- (166) Ēlā **ake** te pōlóló, e Tī.
there Dir A ball-Da Voc Tī
There is the ball, Tī [please throw it here].
- (167) Koi tēnā mai **ake** e kalāti.
T there Dir Dir A glass
Please pass me a drink.

The directional particles regularly accompany nominalised verbs:

- (168) te oko mai-nga o te payī
A arrive-Dir-Nom P A ship
the arrival of the ship

5.1.3 *loa* ‘intensifier’

Loa is used with a range of functions, of which the main one is as an intensifier of the predicate. It is also used in narratives to mark narrative clauses denoting the action as opposed to backgrounded clauses. It principally modifies lexical verbs, but can also modify negative verbs, auxiliary verbs and nouns.

1. *Loa* is most commonly used as an intensifier of the predicate, meaning ‘very, too’:

- (169) Ko valea loa koe ka wano ki Wale.
T lucky Int you T go G Home
You’re very lucky to go to Pukapuka.

- (170) Ko yē mea loa ke makeke.
T Neg do Int C strong
He doesn’t do [the knots] at all securely.

(U:C3)

As an intensifier, *loa* may also mean ‘completely’:

- (171) Ko yē kitea loa, ko pupuni loa e te tamá.
T Neg see-Cia Int T block Int Ag A person-Da
I can’t see at all, [because my view] is completely blocked off by that person.

- (172) Taku niu nei, na kai loa e te kiole.
my coconut here T eat Int Ag A rat
My coconut here has been completely eaten by a rat.

- (173) Na ālai loa te toka loa tongi i te ava.
T block Int A rock Int big Acc A channel
A very large rock was completely blocking the channel.

It may occur in locative predicates:

- (174) Ko i mua loa tona tumunga.
T L front Int its beginning
Its beginning is a long way before [that].

(MM:T8)

It may be postposed to the negative verbs:

- (175) Kiai loa na kī.
Neg Int T full
[It’s] not quite full.

- (176) Auwē loa koe e wano yāleele i te pō, ia aku loa e ikuiku atu nei.
Neg.Imp Int you T go RR-walk L A night A I Int T RR-instruct Dir here
Don’t you dare go walking at night, I’m really giving you specific instructions about this.

2. Because it is an intensifier, *loa* may be used as an implicit comparative.

- (177) E malulū te wui tāne, vave **loa** ia Yikitia.
 T R-weak A all men strong Int A Yikitia
The men were weak, [but] Yikitia was stronger. (BB:554)
- (178) Kiai ke wolo **loa** pe te kumete nei.
 Neg C big Int like A bowl this
Not quite as big as this bowl.

3. *Loa* occurs in association with the relative present tense marker *e*. The collocation *e...loa* is used for threats to cause injury or punishment (3.1.3):

- (179) E patu **loa** ō talinga.
 T hit Int P ear
I'll hit your ears.
- (180) E ngongo **loa** tō ulu ki te watu nei, ngalepe.
 T hit Int your head Ins A stone here broken
I'll hit your head with this stone until it breaks.

4. *Loa* is also used for invitations, as distinct from requests or orders which are marked respectively by *ake* and no postmodification. Contrast the following examples:

- (181) Lōmamai **loa** kōtou ki te imukai i te tāyao.
 come.PI Int you.PI G A feast L A tomorrow
[Would] you come to the feast tomorrow.
[Do come...]
- (182) Lōmamai **ake** kōtou...
Please come... (request)
- (183) Lōmamai kōtou...
Come... (order)

5. *Loa* may have a temporal usage, meaning ‘immediately’, ‘as soon as’, ‘at the very point at which’. In a complex sentence *loa* may be postposed to the verb in either the first or the second clause which relates them in a cause-effect type of relationship, meaning ‘as soon as the first event occurred, the second happened’.

- (184) Na tō **loa** te mōina lā lunga o te taua, ngawā.
 T fall Int A bottle L top P A floor broke
Immediately the bottle fell on the floor, it broke.
- (185) Na patu **loa** au i te pōlo, ili i lunga o te niu.
 T hit Int I Acc A ball stuck L up P A coconut
When I hit the ball, it became lodged in the coconut tree.
- (186) I te taime lāi na kakā ai te wenua “Manava Pukapuka”, mimia **loa** te Lau a Uyo i te taime ia.
 L A time very T shout Pro A land stomach Pukapuka fled Int A men P Uyo L A time Af
At the very time when the people shouted ‘Manava Pukapuka’, Uyo’s men immediately fled. (U:7)

6. More usually, *loa* is used in narrative discourse as an action clause marker meaning ‘subsequently, then, so’. It introduces the first clause denoting an event at the beginning of a discourse, and commonly occurs marking successive actions. It is used only in the action clauses of the narrative, not in the background or evaluative sentences. Because it occurs in narrative clauses, it typically occurs in clauses which have no tense-aspect marking.

- (187) Kai **loa** lā te ika a Māui Pōtiki. Wuwuti **loa** ia Māui...
 eat Int Int A fish P Māui Pōtiki R-pull Int A Māui
Then Māui Pōtiki caught a fish. So he pulled (it) in...

The following example illustrates the use of *loa* in the first narrative clause of a discourse:

- (188) Taku tala nō Uyo. Eia. Lōmamai **loa** lātou ki Motu Kotawa.
 my story about Uyo so come.Pl Int they G Motu Kotawa
My story is about Uyo. Well. They came to Motu Kotawa. (U:4)

The clause marked by *loa* denoting an action may be related to a previous background clause depicting a situation, or it may be related to an imperative clause in which case it denotes a potential event which may result if the instructions are not followed.

- (189) Ko valenga au e te palupalu meleki, ngawā **loa** te kapú.
 T engrossed.in I C RR-wash plate break Int A cup-Da
While I was engrossed in washing dishes, that cup broke.
- (190) Tatao ake te pānga nā, ka iliwitia **loa** e te matangi.
 pin.down Dir A mat there T blow.away-Cia Int Ag A wind
Put something on that mat lest it be blown away by the wind.

The following excerpt from a narrative discourse illustrates the use of postverbal *loa* to mark all but two of the action clauses. The two clauses which are not marked by *loa* are marked by the directional particle *mai*.

- (191) I te Mānākaí, **yau loa** ia Yeutū kia māua ma Tētā. **Mea mai loa** kia māua ke wō mātou pai ika.
 L A Saturday-Da come Int A Yeutū G-A we.2 with Tētā say Dir Int G-A we.2 C go.Pl we net fish

Wano loa ia Tētā kia Tolu lewu ke kave i te matīni ki lunga o te poti, ke wō ai mātou ki tai.
 go Int A Tētā G-A Tolu small C take Acc A machine G on P A boat C go.Pl Pro we G sea

Wano loa ia Tolu lewu, amo mai i te matīni ki lunga o te poti.
 go Int A Tolu small carry Dir Acc A machine G on P A boat

Lele loa au ki loto o tō mātou imu, tāmaka mai i oku tāmaka.
 run Int I G inside P P we cookhouse sandal Dir Acc my.Pl sandal

Last Saturday, Yeutū came to Tētā and I. [He] said for us all to go net fishing. Tētā went to Tolu Junior [to ask him] to take the outboard onto the boat so we could all go fishing. Tolu Junior went and carried the outboard on board the boat. I ran inside our cookhouse and put my sandals on. (PP2:4:1)

7. Certain verbs and auxiliary verbs are found in common collocations with the particle *loa*. *Lāua* ‘seem, appear, be like’ almost always occurs in association with *loa* and the auxiliary verb *kamuloa* ‘really’ is derived from a compound with *loa* in which *kamu-* is a bound morpheme unrelated to *kamu* ‘throw’.

(192) Ia koe lāua loa te ngolu.
A you appear Int A idiot
You're just like an idiot.

(193) Ia aku kamuloa vivili i te mataku.
A I really R-shake By A fear
I'm really shaking with fear.

8. *Loa* may modify nonverbal predicates which comment on an attribute of the subject. These are indefinite nominal predicates of the equational type, with a stative verb modifying the subject noun phrase (see 7.1.2). The attribute of the subject is intensified, although *loa* is actually postposed to the nominal predicate.

These sentences are of the form:

[e N loa]_{NP Pred} ([NP]_{Subject}) stative
ni

The nucleus is typically just the head noun. The subject noun phrase occurs preceding or following the stative verb:

(194) E kai loa te tātā waingatā ke wai.
Prd food Int A taro.dish difficult C make
Tātā is a food that really takes a long time to prepare.

(195) E kete loa papala taku kete nei.
Prd basket Int rotten my basket here
My basket is a really rotten one.

9. *Loa* may occur in a noun phrase marked for case with the function of intensifying the predicate or a modifier of the noun:

(198) Auwē loa koe e wano yāelele i te pō, ia aku loa e ikuiku atu nei.
Neg.Imp Int you T go RR-walk L A night A I Int T RR-instruct Dir here
Don't you dare go walking at night, I'm giving you specific instructions about this.

(199) Ōmamai loa lāi ia Lata ma te liko o te pāyua loa tongi.
come.Pl Int Int A Lata with hold P A clam Int big
Lata came carrying the very huge clam.

(MM:L10)

Loa may also occur following the subject of a negative existential verb semantically intensifying the negative predicate:

(200) Kāe uwa loa na tō mai ki loto.
Neg.exist rain Int T fall Dir G inside
No rain at all fell inside.

(PT:L3)

(201) Kāe kino loa o te payī.
Neg.exist bad Int P A ship
Nothing bad at all happened to the ship.

(PT:L3)

5.1.4 POSITIONAL PARTICLES

The positional particles indicate location in space or time relative to the speaker or to the deictic centre of the discourse. There are five positional particles:

| | |
|------------|---|
| <i>nei</i> | near to speaker, here, now |
| <i>nā</i> | near to addressee |
| <i>lā</i> | away from both speaker and addressee |
| -V | definitive accent: away from both speaker and addressee |
| <i>ia</i> | being demonstrated, anaphoric |

Only *nei* occurs in both noun phrases and verb phrases. Both *nei* and *lā* occur in verb phrases, while for noun phrases *lā* is replaced by the definitive accent (see 4.7.2.1). The other two particles *nā* and *ia* (see 4.7.2.2) pertain only to the noun phrase. *Nei*, *nā* and *lā* are discussed here.

5.1.4.1 *nei* ‘near to speaker, here, now’

1. When modifying a noun in a noun phrase or a locative phrase, *nei* denotes that the entity encoded by the noun is within sight of or in the general locality of the speaker.

(202) Kai koe i te ika **nei**, tuku ake i te iká.
eat you Acc A fish here put Dir Acc A fish-Da
Eat this fish, but leave that fish [over there].

(203) Lōmamai ki vao **nei**.
come.Pl G out here
Come outside here [to me] (F2:S2:1)

(204) Te kau **nei**, kāe a lātou tule ko akatapu.
A people here Neg.exist P their rule T respect
There isn't a single rule that these people respect. (U:4)

(205) E wea te ingoa **nei**?
Prd what A name here
What is this word?

In narrative discourse, *nei* may refer to the position of the narrator (which is also usually the location of the audience) at the time of telling the story:

(206) Wetū ai māua i lunga o te akau, yanga wua ai māua e te kalokalo, ko yē kitea te wenua,
Pl-stand Pro we.2 L on P A reef try just Pro we.2 C RR-look T Neg see-Cia A land

ko yē kitea **ia** **Wale nei**.
T Neg see-Cia A **Wale** here
*We stood up on the reef and tried to look, but [we] couldn't see the land, [we] couldn't see **Wale** here [the main island, where we currently are].* (PS:5:8)

(207) Ko Uyo, na pau mai oki tana lau ki Motu Kotawa **nei**.
Top Uyo T finish Dir also his men G Motu Kotawa here
As for Uyo, his men had all completed coming to Motu Katawa here [where we are]. (U:4)

It may also refer to a constant topic of discourse:

- (208) Amuloa **te lau a Uyo nei**, pewu nā ivi. Totongi oki **te kau nei**.
 really A men P Uyo here strong A bone R-big also A people here
These men of Ūyo had really strong bones. These people were big too. (U:7)

2. *Nei* may denote temporal position relative to a time of reference. It usually denotes present time, ‘now’. In noun phrases, it can modify a general word for time meaning the ‘present [era]’, it can modify a noun which denotes a temporal unit meaning ‘this present unit of time’, or it can modify a locational noun such as *mua* ‘front’ or *muli* ‘behind’ to mean the ‘immediate future’ or ‘immediate past’ respectively.

- (209) ...i te vāia **nei**
 L A time here
 ...now (KM:C2)

- (210) ...mai te ayo **nei** oko ki te toe ayo.
 from A day here arrive G A other day
 ...from today onwards. (MP:E1)

- (211) Moe ai kōlua wakalelei i te awiawi **nei**.
 sleep Pro you.2 well L A evening here
Sleep well this evening. (V2)

- (212) Auwā mō ko te openga o te māina ki mua **nei**.
 probably maybe Prd A end P A month G front here
It might be the end of this coming month.

A noun modified by a relative clause to denote a past unit of time, can be modified by *nei* to mean ‘the unit of time immediately gone by’:

- (213) ...i te tāpati wua ake na topa **nei**.
 L A week just Dir T past here
 ...just last week.

3. In verbal phrases, *nei* has aspectual meaning and usually denotes a continuing activity or state in present time or narrative present:

- (214) Ko kali **nei** ia Viti, ko penapena, ko vēvēia **nei** te tangata...
 T wait here A Fiji T prepare T happy here A people...
The Fijians were waiting [at that time], they were preparing, they were happy because... (MM:L4)

- (215) Ko tū **nei** au i lunga o te akau. Kakalo wua ai au kia ana...
 T stand here I L on P A reef look just Pro I G-A he
[At that time], I was standing on the reef. I just looked at him... (PS:2:3)

- (216) Yau atu lā au ki Wale, ko wetangi **nei** te pilikoki, te kau o Yātō i Yātō, na manatu na ngalo au.
 come Dir Int I G Wale T Pl-cry here A lame.people A people P Yātō L Yātō-Da T think T lost I
But when I went back to Wale, the youth were crying, the people of Yātō at Yātō village, because [they] thought I had been lost. (LS2:35)

4. A positional particle often marks the end of a relative clause in which *nei* may indicate temporal relevance to present time (or the immediate future) or a continuing process at the present.

- (217) Ko nā lito ka koti mai nei, nō nā papāwū ma nā pale a tātou e mea nei.
 Top A pandanus.leaves T cut Dir here P A bra and A hat P we T make here
*The pandanus leaves which were are going to cut now are for the breast coverings and hats
 which we are in the process of making.* (TU:9:1)

Nei follows the directional particles:

- (218) Ālo mai nei nā vaka.
 paddle Dir here A canoe
The canoes are paddling in our direction now. (U:9)
- (219) Auwē loa koe e wano yāleelele i te pō, ia aku loa e ikuiku atu nei.
 Neg.Imp Int you T go RR-walk L A night A I Int T RR-instruct Dir here
Don't you dare go walking at night, I'm giving you specific instructions about this [now].

5.1.4.2 *nā* 'near to addressee'

Although *nā* occurs only in noun phrases, it is discussed here in order to highlight the three-way contrastive paradigm of the positionals. *Nā* denotes a position near to the addressee:

- (220) Aumai ake taku pāla nā.
 bring Dir my knife there
Please pass my knife [that you have].
- (221) E lelei ake te kete wōu i te kete papala nā.
 T good Dir A basket new comp A basket rotten there
A new basket would be better than your old one there.

It can also denote something belonging to the addressee or a characteristic behaviour pattern or inherent quality of the addressee:

- (222) Kokoto ake tā kōtou ĩmene nā ke langona.
 R-grunt Dir P you song there C hear
Please start your song so [we] can hear [it].
- (223) Aulaka e mātau i nā tū nā.
 Neg.Imp T used.to L A stance there
Don't get into the habit of doing that. [Lit. Don't get used to that way (of acting)]. (F4:S1:1)

In long-distance communication, for instance written letters or stories, or in telephone calls, *nā* indicates that the addressee is anticipated to be in a certain place at the time of reading a letter or narrative or answering the telephone. *Nā* modifies the noun which denotes the location of the addressee:

- (224) Auwā ko lelei wua kōtou i Wale nā.
 probably T good just you L Home there
I hope you are all well there in Pukapuka [where you are]. (TL:1:2)

- (225) Ko winangalo mātou ke wakalongolongo mai au muna mai Ōtelēlia nā.
 T want we C caus-RR-hear Dir your word from Australia there
We want to hear what you in Australia have to say. (P:S2:4)

Nā may also refer to a constant topic of discourse in the vicinity of the addressee:

- (226) Ko te maki ia e mea na mai loto o te tamatāne nā...mē ka maua ia koe e te lapakau i te tama nā...
 Top A sick Af Prd thing T from inside P A youth there if T able By-A you C treat Acc A person there
That sickness is a thing from inside that youth [who is with you]...if you were able to treat him... (TM:L1:5)

Like *nei*, *ia* and the definitive accent, *nā* commonly occurs as the final element in a relative clause² or topicalised noun phrase.

- (227) E talatala yako aku mea e avatu kia kōtou nā.
 Prd RR-talk straight my.Pl thing T give G-A you there
I am telling you the truth. [Lit. My things which I am giving you are straight talking.] (KM:LK2:24)
- (228) Ni wea a kōtou mea e wakataukati ai kōtou nā?
 Prd what P you thing T argue Pro you there
What are you arguing over? [Lit. Your things you are arguing about are what.] (KM:YK2:9)
- (229) Ko tau kapu nā, na malingi nā yua.
 Top your cup there T spill A water
Your cup [that you are holding], [some of its] water spilt.

The positional particles including *nei* and *nā* may co-occur with possessive pronouns or other pronominal reference to the speaker or addressee, which makes their occurrence semantically redundant. In certain positions, such as topicalised noun phrases, they appear to be required as markers completing the noun phrase, but at other times they are optional.

- (230) Te kiato o toku vaka nei na wati.
 A cross.pole P my canoe here T break
The cross pole [of the outrigger] of my canoe is broken.
- (231) Kokowi ake te ika nei, tuku loa koe ki loto o tau imu nā.
 R-wrap Dir A fish here put Int you G inside P your oven there
Please wrap this fish up and put it in your oven.
- (232) Mea loa koe ia ana ke yau kia aku nei.
 say Int you Acc-A he C come G-A I here
Tell him to come here to me.
- (233) Nā i wea kōtou nā?
 T L where you there
Where have you been? (F4:S1:1)

Nā may co-occur with the locational pronoun *kinā* ‘there’. Although this usage also appears to be semantically redundant, it seems to mark the end of a complex noun phrase.

- (234) Tuku atu ake kōlua i tō māua aloa ki [tō kōlua wuānga [i kinā]_{PP} nā]_{NP}.
 give Dir Dir you.2 Acc P we.2 love G P you.2 family L there there
Please give our love to your family over there.

Like *nei*, *nā* may also modify locative phrases:

- (235) “Ēnei, ko te puapua nei?” Mea atu oki ia Wiwitea, “Ē kole, ēnā lā i mua atu nā.”
 here Prd A tree.sp here say Dir also A Wiwitea no there there L front Dir there
 “Is it this one? Is it this Guettardia tree?” Wiwitea said, “No, It’s that one over there, further in front of you.”
- (236) Tuku wua ki nā kilikili lā vao nā.
 put just G A coral.gravel over outside there
 Just put it on the gravel outside there [where you are]. (MM:C3:25)

5.1.4.3 *lā* ‘away from both speaker and addressee; intensifier’

In contrast to *nā*, *lā* may only occur with a directional meaning in verb phrases, not in noun phrases. The function *lā* has as a positional particle with verb phrases is filled by the definitive accent for noun phrases.

- (237) * te kapu lā te kapú
 A cup there A cup-Da
 (that cup) that cup

1. *Lā* often modifies motion verbs and may have a directional meaning ‘there, yonder’. This meaning is particularly common in imperatives:

- (238) Wō lā ki te wuti yakayaka ke onoono ai te kōpū wuti.
 go.PI there G A banana short C look.at Pro A throat banana
 Go over there to that short banana tree, to find a bud of a banana flower.
- (239) Luku lā koe ki te watu.
 dive there you G A stone
 Dive down to the rock. (MM:L3)

2. *Lā* may have a temporal meaning of ‘then, at that time’. This is a metaphorical extension of the basic directional meaning:

- (240) Ke akamata oki te āpii, wō atu lā te tamaliki.
 C begin also A school go.PI Dir there A children
 When school starts, then the children go off there. (AT:S1)
- (241) Mea loa lā te matiku kia lātou...
 say Int there A heron G-A they
 Then the heron said to them... (MK1:6)
- (242) Aumai loa lāua i a lāua ika ia, tunutunu loa lā lāua i te pō ia.
 bring Int they.2 Acc P they.2 fish Af RR-grill Int there they.2 L A night Af
 Tunutunu loa lāua maoa, kaikai loa lā lāua.
 RR-grill Int they.2 cooked RR-eat Int then they.2
 They brought their fish and then grilled them that night. They grilled them until they were cooked
 and then they ate them. (KS:21)

3. Apart from its use as directional particle, *lā* has several other functions which are in the domain of intensifying and contrasting. It cannot occur twice in a clause as both a directional particle and an

intensifier, as it may in Cook Islands Māori. As an intensifier or a contrastive conjunction, *lā* occurs in noun phrases as well as in verb phrases.

Lā can have an intensifying function in the clause. It may modify a verb (243, 244), or a noun (245). Its function as an intensifier is similar to that of *loa*. In verbal clauses, *lā* can co-occur with *loa* when *loa* is functioning as a marker of narrative action clauses. In imperative clauses, *lā* makes the instruction more emphatic:

- (243) Winangalo loa *lā* ia Pōuli ma Pilipa ke ālu oki ke vave.
 want Int Int A Pōuli and Pilipa C follow also C quick
Pōuli and Pilipa really wanted to go too to [make it] quicker. (MN1:1)
- (244) Nō wua *lā* koe i kinei, ka wano au ulu ni lua lōpā nō oku.
 stay just Int you L here T go I search A two youth P I
You just stay here, while I go and look for a couple of guys [to help] me. (PS6:3)
- (245) E tama *lā* koe tangitangi.
 Prd child Int you RR-cry
You're always crying. [You're a continually crying child.]

When *lā* modifies a noun, it can occur before a postmodifying possessive phrase:

- (246) Nō te lāwie *lā* o te awiawi ia,
 P A clarity Int P A afternoon Af
Because it was such a lovely afternoon, (WK1:6)
- (247) I lunga *lā* o te wenua ia, ko i ai te akāonga.
 L on Int P A land Af T L Pro A couple
On that land [lived] a couple. (TM1:1)

4. *Lā* commonly modifies the head of a clause-initial noun phrase which may be introduced by the topic marker *ko*. It seems to have a contrastive function in marking a change of topic.

- (248) Na mate tana ika, tili. Ko mātou *lā*, kavekave loa ia Lima ē, *lā* loto o te inao.
 T dead his fish throw Top we Int troll Int A Lima Dur via in P A school
*His fish was dead and [he] threw [it into the boat]. As for us, Lima trolled along,
 right through the middle of the school of fish.* (PS3:7)
- (249) E tokatolu lātou. Ko Betty *lā*, nā nō i tō mātou konga.
 T cls-three they Top Betty Int T stay L P we place
There were three of them. Betty stayed at our place. (MK6:12)
- (250) Te matawiti nei *lā*, onoono wua kōlua, tali mai moni wua i te matawiti nei.
 A year this Int look just you.2 collect Dir money just L A year here
This year, be careful, save your money this year. (KK3:5)

5. *Lā* has a range of intensifying functions in questions. It is often used in questions to express surprise that the affirmative is true. It may be translated 'so, then, really' and is found in verb phrases as well as nominal predicates.

- (251) Ko a koe iloa *lā* te tala o Lata?
 T you know-Cia Int A story P Lata
Do you really know the story of Lata? [I didn't think you would] (ML1:1)

- (252) Na loa lā kōlua i Nassau?
T long.time Int you.2 L Nassau
Were you two a long time [living] on Nassau, then?
- (253) Ni lua Niu Tīleni lā kōlua?
A two New Zealand Int you.2
Are you both really New Zealanders? [I thought you were Americans.] (AT:C3)

Questions with negative polarity may express surprise that facts are counter to expectation:

- (254) E yē kave lā te tamaliki ki te paunu?
T Neg take Int A children G A weigh
Aren't you going to taking the children to be weighed, [like you should]?
- (255) Kiai lā na a kōlua kitea te akāonga ia?
Neg Int T you.2 see-Cia A couple Af
Haven't you two met that couple then? [I assumed you had]. (AT:C3)

It can be used in questions that make a suggestion that the speaker thinks is a good idea:

- (256) E yē wō lā tāua ke tai a tāua kaipea?
T Neg go.PI Int we.2 C exist P we.2 crab
Why don't we go and catch some crabs? (WK1:2)

In questions that are used as retorts, *lā* carries strong emotive overtones and implies that the answer is definitely negative.

- (257) Ko ai lā ko tētēa nā wāwā, ko yemuyemua nā ika, ko koe lā?!
Prd Pro Int T peel-Cia A taro T RR-cut-Cia A fish Prd you Int
Who is it then who peels the taro, and cuts the fish, is it you then?! [no, it's not, it's me!] (YW2:4)

6. *Lā* may link two contrasting clauses, meaning 'but'. It postmodifies the verb or the head noun of a nominal predicate in the second clause:

- (258) Ko veliveli au i te taka, ko mina lā au i te tikelēti.
T RR-dislike I Acc A tobacco T like but I Acc A cigarette
I dislike tobacco, but I like cigarettes.
- (259) Ko te tangata ia, ko aku iloa iāna, ko yē aku iloa lā tona tū.
Top A person Af T I know-Cia he T Neg I know-Cia but his stance
As for that person, I know him [who he is], but I don't know what he's like. (PS8:1)
- (260) Kāle ai te yanga nei te yanga māyangiyangi wua ma te puapingakole, e yanga lā wolo tona puapinga.
Neg Pro A work here Prd work RR-light just and unimportant Prd work but big its importance
This work is not light-weight and unimportant, [but] it is of great importance. (PS6:2)

The contrast may also be marked on an adjunct in the second clause:

- (261) E yē maua ia aku e te yanga wua ko oku tokotai. I tā kōtou tautulu lā e lelei ai te wī mea.
T Neg able By-A I C work just Prd I cls-one L P you.PI help but T good Pro A all thing
I can't do this work by myself. But with your help everything will be fine. (PS4:1)

A negative verb and an auxiliary verb can be modified by *lā* with a contrastive function:

- (262) Yele lāua i tō mātou tūtau, kiai lā na aku iloa ē na makeke.
 tie they.2 Acc P we anchor.rope Neg but T I know-Cia Dur T strong
They tied our anchor rope, but I didn't know whether it was secure. (LS2:26)
- (263) Kamuloa lā au ngaengaea.
 really but I tired
But I was really tired. (PS5:7)

Lā also occurs in two compounds meaning 'but': *lā oki* and *yaulā* (5.1.5.6; 10.1.1.2).

- (264) Ko Uyo lā oki, kiai iāna na yau lā te kongā na lōmamai ai te kau.
 Top Uyo but Neg he T come via A place T come.Pl Pro A people
But as for Uyo, he didn't come the same way as the [other] people did. (U:5)
- (265) Yaulā ia Lōpati ma Mea i lua Malike.
 but A Lōpati and Thing Prd two American
But Robert and So-and-so were two Americans [in contrast to you both]. (AT:C3)

It can also occur in compounds with the prepositions *ki* 'to' and *pe* 'like': *kilā* 'there', *pēlā* 'like that', as well as in compounds with the articles forming demonstrative pronouns: *tēlā*, *ēlā* which can function as the subject and the head of a nominal predicate respectively, both meaning 'that' (see 4.5.2.4). *Lā* can occur in association with the demonstrative forms (*t*)*ēlā* 'that', meaning 'however':

- (266) Ko au talatalanga tēia. Ēlā lā, kāe a mātou mea ake na kite.
 Prd your RR-talk-Nom that that Int Neg.exist P we thing Dir T see
That's what you said. However, we haven't seen anything at all. (PS2:2)

Lā can occur with other postposed particles. It follows the directional and positional particles and the particle *loa*:

- (267) Wano atu lā, kāni pōlo.
 go Dir Int Neg.exist ball
[But] when they went there, there were no balls.
- (268) i te taime nei lā
 L A time here Int
but now

5.1.5 OTHER MODIFYING PARTICLES

There are a range of other particles which can denote manner or have an intensifying or emphatic function or which can denote modality. Several of these occur in a fixed position in the clause, namely modifying the head of the first major constituent. These include *pē* 'definitely', *keke* 'confirmation seeker', *lā oki* 'but' and possibly the modifiers of uncertainty *pā* 'perhaps', *mō* 'maybe', and *mua* 'warning'.

5.1.5.1 *lāi* ‘certainly, still’

1. *Lāi* is an intensifier meaning ‘certainly, definitely, quite, still’. It occurs in verbal predicates as well as nominal predicates.

- (269) Na talatala mai lātou ke wano *lāi* koe.
T RR-tell Dir they C go definitely you
They said that you must definitely go.
- (270) Ke tātā *lāi* koe i tau pēpa...
T write definitely you Acc your paper
You really must fill in that form...
- (271) Kākole *lāi* ona pupuni.
Neg.exist definitely its lid
It definitely hasn't got a lid.
- (272) E matiku *lāi*.
Prd heron really
It definitely is a heron.
- (273) Nō tēlā oki ko yē ana iloa *lāi* te mataku, ko tō lewu.
P that also T Neg he know-Cia Int A fear T too small
Because he didn't really know what fear was, [he] was too small. (MN3:2)

2. *Lāi* may also mean ‘truly’. When it occurs in interrogative predicates it questions the truth of a previous statement, expressing some measure of disbelief or an expectation that the opposite was the case. This sense overlaps with a similar meaning of *lā*.

- (274) Ko i Loto *lāi* te tama ia?
T L Loto really A child Af
Is that person really in Loto village? [I didn't think he was.]
- (275) Ka tēniti *lāi* i te ayo nei?
T tennis definitely L A day here
Are they definitely playing tennis today? [I thought it had been called off.]

When it occurs in nominal predicates *lāi* may intensify the truth of the proposition:

- (276) Nā Lētai *lāi*.
P Lētai really
It truly/definitely belongs to Lētai. [I'm not having you on.]
- (277) “Ē kole, kiai ko māua na patua, ko Tōkaipole.” “Ē kole ko kōlua *lāi*.”
no Neg Prd we.2 T kill-Cia Prd Tōkaipole no Prd you.2 true
“No, it wasn't us who killed [him], it was Tōkaipole.” “No, it was definitely/truly you two.” (W2F2:6:6)

or it may comment on the exactness of the assertion, meaning ‘very, exactly’:

- (278) I te pō *lāi* ia, nīniko loa lātou...
L A night very Af R-return Int they
On that very night [in question] they returned... (KM:AM2:6)

(279) I nā mō taime lāi ia, kite oki iāna i te mea tongi ia.
 L A small time very Af see also he Acc A thing big Af
At that very time, he saw a huge thing. (AR:TM1:4)

(280) Te tama nā, e tama loa kaiā, ko tona tū lāi teia.
 A person there Prd person Int thief Prd his stance true this
That person is a thief indeed, that is his true attitude.

3. It commonly appears with topicalised noun phrases, especially in clauses of the ‘passive’ pattern, to give a reflexive interpretation, indicating that the agent and patient are coreferential (see 7.7.2.1):

(281) Ko ona lāi iāna na patua.
 Top he Int he T kill-Cia
He killed himself.

4. When modifying adverbial clauses, *lāi* is an intensifier indicating that the action was almost simultaneous with that of the main clause.

(282) I te ulunga lāi a nā memea ki loto o te kupenga, popō oki māua i te kupenga, tāki ki lungu.
 L A enter-Nom Int P A fish.sp G inside P A net close also we.2 Acc A net lift.up G up
As soon as the memea fish entered the net, we drew the net closed and lifted it up. (PP2:8:3)

(283) Te kite mainga lāi ia aku, akaoti oki tā lātou wetangi.
 A see Dir-Nom Int Acc-A I caus-finish also P they cry.PI
As soon as they saw me, they stopped crying. (LS:2:35)

5. *Lāi* may mean ‘only’. In this sense it is often accompanied by *wua* ‘just’:

(284) E lua lāi maunu ko yī ai nā ika nei, e yalo unga, e yalo pāyua ma te kauwiwi.
 T two only bait T fish Pro A fish here Prd scrotum crab Prd scrotum clam and A tongue
There are only two types of bait for catching these fish; [they are] the abdomen of a hermit crab and the body and tongue of a clam. (KM:YK2:3)

(285) E tai wua lāi o mātou ayo, e Palapalau.
 T one just Int P we day Prd Thursday.
There is only one day [available for us], that’s Thursday. (UU29:2)

(286) Nō Tua wua lāi te taoanga.
 P Tua just Int A title
The title only belongs to [the lineage at] Tua [not to Tai]. (TU1:4)

6. *Lāi* may mean ‘still’, meaning that the action or state denoted in the predicate is continuing or habitual at a reference time:

(287) Nō tēlā au na wāwū lāi ia pēpē.
 P that I T feed.milk still Acc-A Baby
Because I was still breastfeeding Baby.

(288) Ko ana iloa lāi e te imene ‘Auwē, auwē, toku manava’.
 T he know-Cia still C sing ‘Song title’
He still remembers how to sing ‘Auwē, auwē toku manava’.

(289) Kaikai ai mātou yāngingia, wō ai mātou ki te keonga yāleele. Ko kaikai lāi te toe kau.
 RR-eat Pro we R-satisfied go.PI Pro we.PI G A point RR-walk T RR-eat still A other people
We ate until we were full, then we went for a walk to the point while other people were still eating.

It can also mean that a previous proposition still holds for the future.

- (290) Yaulā na akatika au ke wō lāi te tiniu ma te wī tāne.
 but T agree I C go.Pl still A women and A all men
But I agree that the women and the men should still go [like we previously said.] (UU45:1)

Lāi often occurs in association with other postposed particles, and with common collocations of postposed particles, such as *wua atu* which denotes continuous aspect.

- (291) Auwā mō ko tauyala wua, ke peia wua atu lāi te tauyala.
 probably maybe T good just T like-so just Dir still A good
*[You] are no doubt very well, and may [you] continue to remain well.
 [Lit. ...may the goodness still keep on being like that.]*

5.1.5.2 *oki* ‘also’

Oki means ‘as well as, also, in addition’. It may occur in verbal predicates:

- (292) Ēlā mō te papā na yau oki i te toe payī?
 there maybe A European T come also L A other ship
Is that perhaps the European who also came on the last boat?
- (293) Ke tuku oki lātou i te mea ia, e yē oko lātou ki ngāuta.
 C leave also they Acc A thing Af T Neg arrive they G shore
In addition, if they had left the thing alone, they wouldn’t have reached the shore.
- (294) Ka pōina e te ngalu, ka mawuli oki.
 T sweep.away-Cia Ag A wave T tip.over also
They will be swept away by the waves, and they’ll tip over too. (U:C1)

It may modify the head noun of a noun phrase or nominal predicate:

- (295) Ia aku oki, e mea wua au nā talatala wua.
 A I also T say just I T talk just
As for me as well, I’ve just been saying anything at all. (AT:C3)
- (296) E wea oki!
 Prd what also
What else!

It may occur in additive coordinated clauses (10.1.1.1).

- (297) E yē kai nō tēlā, na pekapeka oki tona ngākau, na matakū oki iāna.
 T Neg eat because T RR-worry also his heart T fear also he
He wouldn’t eat because he was worried, and he was afraid too. (U:8)

Oki also plays a role in discourse by referring to a previously mentioned noun phrase or predicate. Sometimes, however, the referent is not readily identifiable and the role of *oki* appears to provide cohesion between otherwise unmarked coordinated clauses. These points are illustrated in the passage below:

- (298) 1. Koa pili mai taku ika ki tawa o te matāni, yao, **mawiti oki. Mawiti oki** ia Limapēni i muli wua.
 T close Dir my fish G side P A machine escape get.off.hook also get.off also A Limapēni L behind just
2. **Peia oki**, tuku mai ai ia Tāvita i te kati kia Limapēni, **wuti mai oki** ia Limapēni
 like-so also put Dir Pro A Tāvita Acc A line G-A Limapēni pull Dir also A Limapēni
3. i te ika a Tāvita, yao **oki**, onge ika atu mātou i te kainga ia.
 Acc A fish P Tāvita escape also none fish Dir we L A eat-Nom Af

As my fish was getting close to the outboard motor, it escaped, it got off [the hook]. Limapēni's [fish] also got off just afterwards. Similarly, Tāvita gave his line to Limapēni and Limapēni pulled in Tāvita's fish, [but] that escaped too, so we got no fish on that strike. (PS:2:3)

Oki may refer to a previously mentioned word: in line (1) the word *yao* 'escape' is explained by the following word *mawiti* 'get off the hook'. The second mention of *oki* in line (1) refers to the previous predicate which denotes a similar event: a fish getting off the hook. In line (2), *peia oki* is a lexicalised expression meaning 'similarly', and the following two coordinate clauses maintain their cohesion by the presence of *oki* in the second clause. The final mention of *oki* in line (3) refers to the two prior events of fish escaping, and is related to previous predicates in the discourse.

5.1.5.3 *ē* 'durative'

Ē also occurs commonly in narrative discourse. It can function like a marker of coordination meaning 'until'. It denotes durative aspect and links the clause in which it occurs to a following clause which may denote a subsequent action or result (see 10.1.1.1):

- (299) Wawao mai loa iāna ē, ngalo mai ki Motu Kotawa.
 R-jump Dir Int he Dur disappear Dir G Motu Kotawa.
He jumped and jumped until he disappeared in the direction of Motu Kotawa. (U:5)
- (300) Kape loa te lua o Tepou, kape loa, ē, maolalo.
 dig Int A hole P Tepou dig Int Dur deep
Tepou dug his grave, dug and dug until it was deep [enough]. (U:11)

As a phrase modifier occurring clause finally or (less often) clause initially, *ē* is an adverbial particle meaning that the action occurred over a long time. In such environments, *ē* cannot be analysed as a conjunction since the two sentences are often unrelated semantically, as is shown by these examples:

- (301) Luku loa ki lalo ē. Koa yolo oki iāna...
 dive Int G down Dur T swift also he
He dived down for ages. He will be swift... (MO:W1)
- (302) Wuwuti loa ia Māui Pōtiki. Wuwuti loa iāna ē. Ke onono atu lā lātou...
 R-pull Int A Māui Pōtiki R-pull Int he Dur C look Dir Int they...
Māui Pōtiki pulled and pulled [on his line]. But when they looked down.... (PK:M1)
- (303) *Ē*, pau e wea malama.
 Dur finish T how.many month
A long time passed. [Lit. finished how many months.] (U:6)

Ē also occurs as a postverbal particle in a set of restricted environments meaning the action occurred over a long period of time (see 3.11.2). Part of its understood meaning is that the length of time was longer than the speaker anticipated or desired. It commonly occurs with verbs of waiting or going.

- (304) Na kali ē au ke oko mai koe.
 T wait Dur I C arrive Dir you.
I've been waiting for a long time for you to come.
- (305) E wea koe na wano ē ai tau yaunga.
 Prd what you T go Dur Pro your come-Nom
Why were you so long in coming?

A specialised form occurs in the collocation *wano ē*. In this construction *wano* 'go' takes on a more general meaning than it usually has. *Wano ē* may be best translated as 'happen over a long time, take a long time'. Other verbs do not permit postposed *ē*. Instead, the clause is nominalised and is made the subject of *wano ē*:

- (306) Tau tununga i nā ika ia na wano ē.
 Your cook-Nom Acc A fish Af T go Dur
You took a long time to cook those fish.
- (307) Te yolonga a te wī lōpā ki te ula papā, na wano ē.
 A movement.in.a.group P A all youth G A dance European T go Dur
The group of young men took a long time to come to the dance.

Further evidence suggests that *wano ē* should be analysed as a unit. It can occur in a wider range of constructions than *wano* normally permits. For instance it may function in an attributive predicate as in the following example:

- (308) Tau wanonga nā i te wano ē.
 * Tau wanonga nā i te wano.
 your go-Nom there Prd go Dur
Your going took a long time.

5.1.5.4 Modifiers of Uncertainty : *pā* 'perhaps', *mō* 'maybe'

These postposed particles are modal markers which denote uncertainty. They occur in either verb or noun phrases, but prefer a fixed position in the clause. They tend to modify the head of the first constituent in the clause. They rarely occur with most of the other postposed particles, but they follow *loa* and *lā*.

1. *Pā*:

Pā 'perhaps, probably', occurs mainly in statements of intent, and in answers to questions regarding intent, especially those questions featuring *mō*. A typical question and answer pair follows.

- (309) Ka wō mō kōtou ki Kō? Ēke, ka wō pā mātou.
 T go.Pl maybe you.Pl G Kō yes T go.Pl probably we.Pl
Are you maybe going to Kō? Yes, we'll probably go.

In statements of intent, *pā* may indicate a casual approach to the timing of the intended action, rather than indicating uncertainty of the action itself.

- (310) Ka wano *pā* au aumai tau kete.
 T go probably I bring your basket
I'll go off and get your basket sometime.

Pā makes statements set in past time less assertive:

- (311) Kiai *pā* na oti.³
 Neg probably T finish
[She's] probably not finished yet.
- (312) Na kite *pā* au ia ana, ko yē manatu lāi ai.
 T see probably I Acc-A he T Neg remember still Pro
I've probably seen him, but I can't remember it.

When it modifies predicates containing quantifiers or units of measurement, it is translatable as 'approximately':

- (313) E tokawā *pā* lātou na wō.
 T cls-four probably they T go.Pl
About four of them went.
- (314) Kiai na taimeina, e miniti *pā*, e lua miniti...
 Neg T time-Cia A minute probably T two minute
It wasn't very long, maybe a minute, two minutes...

Pā also occurs in clause-initial noun phrases. The meaning of the clause is almost identical whether the particle modifies the noun or the verb. Even when *pā* modifies the noun, it still relates semantically to the predicate.

- (315) Ia aku *pā* kai wānau i te pō nei.
 A I probably T give.birth L A night here
I possibly might give birth tonight.
- (316) Ko toku manako *pā* i te taime nei, ko i Form 3.
 Top my thought probably L A time here T L Form 3
I think [he's] probably in Form 3.

When the sentence has an initial temporal adverbial phrase or clause, *pā* is optionally placed in a position either modifying the head of the adverbial phrase or clause, or modifying the verb of the main clause:

- (317) I aku manatunga *pā*, na palia peia.
 L my.Pl think-Nom probably T drift like-so
I think he probably drifted in that direction [indicating]. (MN:3:7)
- (318) I a mātou manatunga, ka lelei *pā* ke kitea e te wenua tākatoa...
 L P we think-Nom T good probably C see-Cia Ag A land entirely
In our opinion, it would probably be good for the whole island to see [it]... (WT:2:5)

For verbs which take preverbal pronouns, *pā* follows the verb and cannot intervene following the preverbal pronoun. This is further evidence that preverbal pronouns are within the verb phrase.

- (319) Ka a tātou iloloa pā i nā ayo lā mua nei.
 T we R-know-Cia probably L A day L front here
We will probably know in the future.

Pā usually follows other postposed particles, although its position with *oki* appears variable, probably because *pēnei pā* is a collocation which usually functions as a unit.

- (320) Ke ngalo loa pā tana angaanga tautai nei, koa nui ai au wakawōu.
 C lost Int probably his RR-work fishing here T pregnant Pro I again
Probably when he gives up fishing I'll get pregnant again. (MKS5:100)
- (321) Ko i ai atu pā nā toe yanga.
 T L Pro Dir probably A other work
There are probably other things to do. (WT:F1:10)
- (322) Teia lāi pā toku konga tautulu.
 this Int probably my place help
This very thing is probably what I could help with. (WT:F2:3)
- (323) Pēnei pā oki ma te kau pūāpii nei, Pēnei oki pā ia Tāvita,
 like-this probably also with A people teacher here like-this also probably A Tāvita
Maybe the teachers are also likewise [happy] (SF:T3:3) Tāvita is also probably like this(LL1:4)

2. *Mō*:

Mō commonly occurs in questions which have the function of making a statement in a non-assertive way. Thus, most of the questions marked by *mō* expect the answer 'yes'.

- (324) E tokawolo mō te kau na yī pātuki?
 T cls-many maybe A people T fish fish.sp
Were there a lot of people who went fishing for handfish? (KM:YK4:4)
- (325) Ko i kinā mō ia Kalāka ma Pilipa?
 T L there maybe A Kalāka and Pilipa
Are Kalāka and Pilipa with you? [I heard they were] (TM2:2)

Or rather, questions marked by *mō* expect the equivalent statement to be confirmed. Questions with negative polarity expect a negative answer. To confirm a statement in an uncertain manner, *pā* is appropriate.

- (326) Kiai mō na oti te angaanga a Mea?
 Neg maybe T finish A work P Mea
Mea probably hasn't finished working yet, has he?
- (327) E kole, kiai pā na oti.
 no Neg probably T finish
No, he's probably not finished.

Certain negative questions hope for an affirmative answer, but are framed in a negative manner, or with negative polarity, as a way of conveying politeness, or for other pragmatic reasons. All the following are underlying polite requests using *mō*:

- (328) Na pau **mō** au walaoa?
 T finish maybe your flour
[I suppose] all your flour is used up, isn't it? [I would like to borrow some.]
- (329) E yē pā **mō** koe ke yī aku walaoa?
 T Neg agree maybe you C exist my.PI flour
I suppose you wouldn't agree to letting me have some flour, would you?
- (330) E yē lava **mō** mā tāua?
 T Neg enough maybe for we.2
There isn't really enough for us both, is there?

Despite its common occurrence in questions, *mō* cannot be analysed as purely a question marker because it may also occur in statements and qualifying the proforms *ēke*, 'yes' or *e kole* 'no'.

- (331) *Ēke mō.* *E kole mō.*
Yes, probably so. *No, probably not.*
- (332) Ka wano **mō** au ki te toa.
 T go maybe I G A shop
I think I'll go to the shops.

In such statements, there is little discernible difference between *mō* and *pā*. Sometimes *mō* asks the opinion of the addressee, whereas *pā* does not:

- (333) Ka wano **mō** au aumai i tau kete?
 T go maybe I bring Acc your basket
Shall I go and get your basket? [Would you like me to go and get your basket?]

Like *pā*, *mō* may modify nouns or pronouns:

- (334) Kāe tangata **mō** e tai ona ao i kinā?
 Neg.exist person maybe T exist his.PI breath L there
Is there no one [among you] who has any bravery [lit. breath]? (W2F2:7:4)
- (335) Ia aku **mō** ka wano ki te toa?
 A I maybe T go G A shop
Shall I go to the shops [for you]?
- (336) Ia koe **mō** kākole ō lolo?
 A you maybe Neg.exist your brain
Haven't you got any brains?

Mō may modify auxiliary verbs and the negative verb *kiai* as well as the conjunction *yaulā* 'but' and the resultative subordinator *nō kiai*:

- (337) **Auwā mō** ko te wakayawe tēnei ā tātou muna lā loto o te lātio o te māina nei.
 probably maybe Prd A finish here P-P we word through inside P A radio P A month here
This is probably the conclusion to our radio program for this month. (AR:3:1)

- (338) **Kiai mō** na au kitea tā māua tamāwine ia Yina?
 Neg maybe T you see-Cia P we.2 girl A Yina
You haven't seen our daughter, have you? (MK:1:5)
- (339) **Nō kiai mō** lua aku tama nei e yē mina ai i te ālu ia māua...
 P that maybe two my.Pl child here T Neg like Pro C follow Acc-A we.2
That's probably why my two children don't like going with us... (KM:ET4:2)

In all of the preceding examples *mō* modifies the head of the first major constituent of the clause. However, there are two types of exceptions to this tendency. The first is that *mō* occurs in the lexicalised expression *wea lāmō* 'wonder what?', which may occur sentence finally as in (341), and the second is that *mō* may also occur as a sentence final tag. Both are discussed below.

Lāmō has a special function following *wea* 'what?', 'why?', 'how many?', 'where?' or *ai* 'who?'. It means 'I wonder what?/why?/how many?/where?/who?':

- (340) E wea lā mō te mea ka talatala ai te wī tūpele?
 Prd what Int maybe A thing T talk Pro A all old men
I wonder why the old men are having a meeting?
- (341) Ia Mele, ko yē ngangana kia aku nō te wea lā mō.
 A Mele T Neg on.speaking.terms G-A I because A what Int maybe
I wonder why Mele isn't speaking to me?
- (342) E wea lā mō ka ngāvavayi?
 Prd what Int maybe T nga-R-hit
I wonder how many [eggs] will hatch?
- (343) Ko i wea lā mō toku māmā?
 T L where Int maybe my mother
I wonder where my mother is?
- (344) Ko ai lā mō taku manini nei na patua?
 Prd Pro Int maybe my fish.sp here T kill-Cia
I wonder who killed my manini fish? (KS:7:7)

Mō may occur as a proform for the sentence or as a tag at the end of a sentence, while *pā* may not do so.

- (345) **Mō**, e Akaola?
 tag Voc Akaola
Isn't that right, Akaola?
- (346) Na oti, **mō**?
 T finish tag
[We've] finished that, haven't we? (KM:PP2:1)
- (347) Ko ai te kovi e yaelé? Ko Tēpa, mō?
 Prd Pro A person T walk-Da Prd Tēpa isn't it
Who is that person walking over there? It's Tēpa, isn't it?

Most other postposed particles precede *mō*:

- (348) Ko tangi nei, koa ngalo loa, koa oko **mai mō** ki kinei, ki te taukupu, te wolonga a te moko ia.
T cry here T disappear Int T reach Dir maybe G here G A waist A swallow-Nom P A lizard Af
[She] was crying, as she was disappearing. The lizard had swallowed her up maybe as far as here, to her waist
[lit. reaching maybe as far as here, to her waist the swallowing of the lizard]. (KS:3:6)
- (349) Akalongo **loa mō** ia Kati i te alulu o te matīni.
listen Int maybe A Kati Acc A noise P A machine
Kati maybe heard the noise of the outboard motor. (MN:3:1)
- (350) Pī **pē mō** na tieni tona ala, e yē mate loa iāna.
if definitely maybe T change his path T Neg die Int he
If only he had changed his ways, he wouldn't have died. (KM:WK3:5)

The politeness particle *ake* 'please' may follow it:

- (351) Pī **mō ake** e wenua wawine wua, kāyi tāne i lunga.
if maybe Dir A land woman just Neg.exist man P on
I wish there was a land of women only, with no men on [it]. (LW:1:2)

5.1.5.5 *mua* 'warning'

Mua 'warning' is postmodifier of verbs and nouns. It also prefers a fixed position in the clause, namely postmodifying the head of the first major constituent. It has not been found to co-occur with the other postverbal particles, and occurs with a restricted range of verbs; those in the semantic domain of causing misfortune or injury to oneself or others: *tō* 'fall', *tue* 'kick', *tuki* 'bump', *patu* 'hit, kill', *leiti* 'be late', among others.

It is found in a lexicalised expression *wua mua* 'be careful' which seems to be like an auxiliary verb, since it allows the subject to immediately follow it:

- (352) **Wua mua** koe kai tō ki lalo.
be.careful you T fall G down
Be careful lest you fall.

When *wua* is absent, *mua* is postposed to the main verb:

- (353) Kai tō **mua** koe ki lalo.
T fall part you G down
You might fall down [if you're not careful].

The former example is considered to be more formal than the latter which may be used in rapid colloquial speech and to children. These two alternate structures are appropriate for a number of verbs in the semantic domain mentioned earlier. Only sentences illustrating postverbal *mua* are cited here.

- (354) Kai tue **mua** koe i te ulu o te tama nā.
T kick warning you Acc A head P A child there
Be careful or you might kick that boy's head [in your rough play].

(355) Kai leiti **mua** kōlua, e yē wō i te taimē nei.
 T late warning you.2 T Neg go.Pl L A time here
You might be late so you'd better go now.

(356) Koa tō **mua** te uwa.
 T fall warning A rain
It's starting to rain!

The co-occurrence of tense-aspect-mood markers with *mua* is rather restricted. *Koa* and *kai* are the most common, but this is probably for semantic reasons. Warnings are not commonly set in past time for instance.

Mua may also modify the head of a clause-initial noun phrase:

(357) E yē wō kōlua ki Motu Kotawa? Ia kōlua **mua** ka wō ki Kō.
 T Neg go.Pl you.2 G Motu Kotawa A you.2 warning T go.Pl G Kō
Aren't you two going to Motu Kotawa? You're in fact going to Kō!
[i.e. warning: you're on the wrong boat].

5.1.5.6 *lā oki* 'but'

Lā oki is a compound which modifies the head of the first major constituent in the clause, meaning variously 'however', 'but', 'on the other hand' (see 5.1.4.3, 10.1.1.2).

Lā oki may modify the head of a clause-initial noun phrase:

(358) Ko kaikai lātou i kinei. Ko Tepou **lā oki**, mea loa pēnei ia Tepou.
 T RR-eat they L here Top Tepou but do Int like-this A Tepou.
They were eating here. But as for Tepou, he acted like this: (U:7)

It may separate a postposed possessive phrase from the head noun:

(359) Te tamaliki **lā oki** o Wale nei, ko veliveli ke loa te āpii.
 A children however P Home here T dislike C long A school
However the children of Pukapuka don't like school to be long. (AT:S1)

Lā oki may modify the head of a clause-initial verb phrase or the negative verb *kiai*:

(360) Ko yē mau **lā oki** ia aku.
 T Neg know but By-A I
But I don't know [it]. (KS:S6:1)

(361) E **kiai lā oki** na tamaki, ka vayia e te pūāpii.
 T Neg but T fight T hit-Cia Ag A teacher
But [they] didn't really fight, or they would have been hit by the teacher. (AT:S1)

Lā oki may also directly follow the auxiliary verb (*k*)*amuloa* 'really' and *nō tēlā* 'because':

(362) Amuloa **lā oki** ia Eleta lili.
 really but A Eleta angry
But Eleta was really angry. (F4:S4:1)

- (363) Nō tēlā lā oki ia Yī, e kiai iāna na wano...
 that's why but A Yī T Neg he T go
But that's why Yī didn't go... (MM:TN3:1)

5.1.5.7 pē 'definitely'

Pē also occurs modifying the head of the first major constituent of the clause. It is a modal marker denoting epistemic force. It usually occurs in an initial nominal predicate (364), but it may also modify a topicalised noun (365), conjunction (366), negative verb (367) or an auxiliary verb (372):

- (364) Ēnei pē kōtou i kinei, e kopikopia e lua lulu nei.
 here definitely you.PI L here T RR-wrap-Cia Ag two village here
Here you lot are, well and truly wrapped up by these other two villages. (KM:C3)
- (365) Ia koe pē ka wānau i te pō nei.
 A you definitely T give.birth L A night here
You must be going to deliver tonight.
- (366) Na manatu au ko i wale, yaulā pē ko ngangalo.
 T think I T L house but definitely T R-lost
I thought [they] were at home, but [they] definitely appear to be lost.
- (367) Kāle ai pē te kau pūāpii i te kau kikino. E kau pē lelei...
 Neg Pro definitely A group teacher Prd people R-bad Prd group definitely good
The teachers are not bad people, [they] are a good group... (SF:T3:7)

It does not often modify lexical verbs, but can modify an existential verb or a numeral:

- (368) Kamuloa vili tona ate i te kitenga e tai pē toe wenua ko i ai te manu ia.
 really shake his liver L A see-Nom T exist definitely other land T L Pro A bird Af
[He] was really surprised to find out that there was definitely another land where this bird is [found].
 (LL21:1:5)
- (369) E taki-laungaulu pē te yakali a te tāne ke aumai ki te wale.
 T each-ten definitely A dry.coconut P A man C bring G A house
Each man will definitely get ten nuts to bring home.

Pē is often used in exclamations when something is found after much searching, or upon seeing someone after an absence of a period of time.

- (370) Ēlā pē te kaú.
 there definitely A people-Da
There they are [at last].
- (371) Ko Takatakai pē tēnei.
 Prd Takatakai definitely this
This is certainly Takatakai. (BB:554)

Pē seldom occurs with other postposed particles, but it does co-occur with another modal marker *mō* 'maybe' in a lexicalised expression with the auxiliary verb *pī* 'if only'; *pī(pē) (mō)* 'if only' (see 10.2.2). Moreover the two particles appear to be semantic opposites and yet they co-occur.

- (372) Pī pē mō nā yanga mai mai te vāiá, auwā na lelei kino atu.
 if definitely maybe T work Dir from A time-Da probably T good bad Dir
If only [we] had worked [on this] from the past, [it] probably would be much better. (PS:6:2)

Pē also occurs occasionally with *keke* ‘confirmation seeker’ (5.1.5.8):

- (373) Pī pē keke ko nā meá, mawuli loa...
 if definitely Q Prd A thing-Da capsized Int
*It may well have turned out otherwise, [don't you think], the boat could have capsized...
 [lit. If only it was those [other] things]. (MN:3:7)*

5.1.5.8 *keke* ‘assertive Q marker, confirmation seeker’

Keke is a particle which also occurs in a fixed position in the clause, modifying the head of the first major constituent in the clause. It differs from *pē* ‘definitely’ in that it usually modifies a verb, although it may also modify a topicalised noun or the head of a nominal predicate. Most commonly it occurs in yes/no questions which expect a definite response from the addressee who perhaps has previously avoided answering specifically, or who has not previously given sufficient explanation. In statements, it may also denote definiteness where there has previously been uncertainty in the discourse, or it may imply that a comment or opinion of the addressee is appropriate. It sometimes seeks confirmation or verification, and in this respect it is similar pragmatically to a tag question.

1. *Keke* may be used in requests to indicate that an answer is required despite previous hedging.

- (374)A: Ka kave mō au i tō koyo?
 T take maybe I Acc your husking.stick
Can I borrow your husking stick?

B: Kei, ko ia koe. Kali lā ke yau ia Mea me ka winangalo iāna...
 don't know T L-A you wait Int C come A Mea if T want he
I'm not sure. It's up to you. But just wait and see when Mea comes if he wants it...

A: Ka kave keke au i te koyo?
 T take Q.def I Acc A husking.stick
But will you let me take it then? [B must answer yes or no]

Thus, requests in which *keke* occurs (375) contrast pragmatically with both a direct question (376a), which is pragmatically a little blunt as a request, and a polite request (376b), which is expressed with *mō*:

- (375) E nī lā keke au tuka i kiai?
 T exist but Q.def your sugar L there
But have you got any sugar [that I could have]? [you haven't answered the question yet].

- (376) a. E nī au tuka i kiai? b. E nī mō au tuka i kiai?
 T exist your sugar L there T exist maybe your sugar L there
[Lit. Have you any sugar there?] *[Lit. Have you maybe some sugar there?]*
Could I borrow some of your sugar? *Could I possibly borrow some sugar [if you have it]?*

2. In a context of making an offer for the benefit of the addressee, *keke* indicates that the offer is genuine, not just given for the sake of politeness, and a response must be made to the offer.

(377)A: Ka wano **mō** au ke tai au kapu kaope?
 T go maybe I C exist your cup coffee
Shall I go and make you a cup of coffee?
[asks for addressee's wish, but requires affirmative answer in order for the offer to be fulfilled.]

B: *[doesn't answer, or makes a non-committal answer; conversation continues for some time]*

A: Ka wano **keke** au ke tai au kapu kaope, mō?
 T go Q.def I C exist your cup coffee tag
I will go and get you a cup of coffee, is that OK?
[repeats an offer in a more definite manner which requires an answer, since the offer will be fulfilled unless the answer is no.]

3. In asking for information, *keke* indicates that the information already given has not been specific enough.

(378) Ko i wea **keke** tona wale?
 T L where Q.def his house
Where exactly is his house? [the general location has been explained, but more specific details are required.]

4. *Keke* may also express definiteness of intention where there was previous uncertainty:

(379)A: Ka wano koe ki Kō? Yoka loa koe i taku pūtē utó.
 T go you G Kō husk Int you Acc my sack sprouting.coconut-Da
Are you going to Kō? Would you husk my sack of sprouting coconuts for me [since I can't go].

B: *[expresses uncertainty about whether he is going or can do it; conversation continues on a different subject for some time.]*

B: E yē yoka lā tau pūtē utó, ka wano **keke** au ki Kō.
 T Neg husk Int your sack sprouting.coconut-Da T go definitely I G Kō
Are you still wanting me to husk your sack of sprouting coconuts for you, because I'm definitely going to Kō now.

5. *Keke* may occur in a statement to soften an assertion or to indicate that a comment or opinion of the hearer is appropriate. In this respect, its pragmatic function is similar to a tag question. It may occur in a verbal predicate (380), a locative predicate (381), a topicalised noun phrase (382), or it may modify an auxiliary verb (383):

(380) Ka wolea lā **keke** e koe?
 T lose-Cia Int Q.def Ag you
Do you really think you could beat [him]? (KM:C2)

(381) Ko i kinei **keke** te wainga lōpā.
 T L here Q.def A many youth
Over here there's a lot of young people, don't you think? (KM:C3)

(382) Ia Tua **keke** e yanga i ana mea ke pau i kinei, nē?
 A Tua Q.def T work Acc his.Pl thing C finish L here, tag
So Tua is trying to finish his work here, is he? (AT:C3)

(383) Pī pē **keke** ko nā meá, mawuli loa, yau e yē kitea **keke** te ulu atunga āna.
 if definitely definitely Top A thing-Da capsized Int come T Neg see-Cia definitely A find Dir-Nom P-him
If anything had happened, and [the boat] had capsized, [we] might not have seen him again.
[Lit. If it was perhaps other things... [we] maybe wouldn't have seen his finding.] (MN:3:14)

Keke may modify the proforms *ēke* ‘yes’ and *e kole* ‘no’ as polite, but assertive, answers to questions: *ēke keke* ‘yes, I do think so’, *e kole keke* ‘no, I don’t think so’. It can also modify demonstrative nouns.

(384) A: Ko yē au iloa lā na maki iāna?
 T Neg you know-Cia Int T sick he
Don't you know he is sick?

B: Eia keke, ko uwi wua au ke pono.
 That definitely T ask just I C sure
Yes of course, I was just asking to make sure.

5.1.5.9 *koia* ‘exactly, indeed’

Koia ‘exactly, indeed’ may be postposed to the head of a verb phrase or a nominal predicate which is in clause-initial position. It does not appear to co-occur with other postposed particles. It commonly occurs in interrogative clauses, emphasising or intensifying the predicate.

(385) Na papa **koia** a kōlua aitamu nō te ayo nei?
 T ready exactly P you.2 item for A day here
Is your item completely ready for today? (SL:1:15)

(386) E tai **koia** tangata o kōtou ko maua i te akaloa i tona olānga?
 T exist indeed person P you.Pl T able C caus-long Acc his life
Is there even one person among you who can lengthen his life [by trying]? (KM:PY:1:4)

It is often used in accusations, or exclamations expressing anger:

(387) E wea **koia** koe na vayi ai i aku tamaliki?
 Prd what exactly you T hit Pro Acc my.Pl children
Why exactly did you hit my children! [no answer required]

(388) Ko koe **koia** tēnā na langaina toku kongá?
 Prd you indeed there T uproot-Cia my place-Da
That was indeed you who pulled out my taro!

5.1.5.10 *angaoti* ‘exactly, definitely, immediately’

Angaoti ‘exactly’ has a similar lexical meaning to *koia*, but a neutral pragmatic force. It occurs mainly in verbal predicates.

(389) I aku manatunga pā na palia peia ki Uta. Wō **angaoti** lātou, ko tautonu lāi.
 L my.Pl think-Nom probably T drift-Cia like-so G Uta go.Pl exactly they T correct Int
In my opinion, [he] has drifted in this direction to Uta. They went exactly [as he had indicated], and it was absolutely right. (MN:3:7)

It is also functionally similar to *keke* in that it can make a request for further information more specific:

(390) Ko i wea **angaoti** tona wale.
 T L where exactly his house
Where exactly is his house? [You have been giving the general location, I need specific details.]

It can make an offer more definite so that it requires an answer. In this respect *angaoti* is pragmatically stronger than *keke*.

- (391) Ka wano **angaoti** au ke tai au kapu kaope.
 T go definitely I C exist your cup coffee
I am definitely going to get you a cup of coffee right now [unless you say no].

In the context of a request made previously in the discourse, *angaoti* may refer to the immediacy of fulfilling the request.

- (392)A: Ka wano **angaoti** au ke tai au niu?
 T go immediately I C exist your coconut
Do you want me to go straight away and get that coconut you wanted [or can it wait till later]?

- (393)B: E kole, kali ke yī mō toe.
 no wait C exist small other
No, wait for a bit longer.

Angaoti may modify the auxiliary verbs (10.2) *auwā* ‘probably’ and *pī(mō)* ‘if only’, but it rarely occurs with other postposed particles.

- (394) Auwā **angaoti** na ana langona e tai mea akalongolongo o Tao na maua.
 probably exactly T he hear-Cia T exist thing RR-listen P Tao T get
He has probably heard all about how Tao got a hearing aid.
- (395) Pī mō **angaoti** lāi ia John Wayne na ĩmene tika i kinei...
 if.only probably exactly Int A John Wayne T sing truly L here
If only John Wayne himself was singing here for real... (UM12:2)

5.1.5.11 *kou wea* ‘politeness adverbial’

Kou wea functions as a politeness adverbial clause initially. It is related historically to a tensed locative predicate (see 9.1.5.1.2) and is likely to have arisen from *ko* ‘present tense’ followed by *wea* ‘what?, where?’ (see 3.1.12). *Kou wea* softens responses to questions with obvious answers making them unoffensive and means ‘don’t you realise that?... - it’s something very obvious’. This use is quite idiomatic in colloquial Pukapukan and is not considered to be old-fashioned, whereas in contrast *kou wea* used as a locative predicate and as an exclamation of surprise (5.3) is primarily used by elderly speakers.

- (396) E wea te mea? **Kou wea**, ko aku kapu nei na makulu ki lalo.
 Prd what A thing T what Top my.PI cup here T fell G down
What happened? Can’t you see that my cups have just fallen down. (KM:PP2:1)

The transition from tensed predicate to adverbial is not quite complete, since *kou wea* may still take a subject (397) and the origin of *kou* as a tense-aspect marker can still be traced in the way that its complement is marked by *e*, not *ko* for present tense, as if it were a subordinate clause (398) (see 3.1.3).

- (397) Ko wea koe? **Kou wea** au, ko akamata au e te kauwi i aku tala nei.
 T what you T what I T start I C read Acc my.PI store here
What are you doing? What am I doing? [Can’t you see] I’m starting to read my stories. (KM:PP3:1)

- (398) E wea te mea nei? Kou wea e au iloa wua nā, kāle lā e mōina.
 Prd what A thing here T what T you know-Cia just there Neg Int Prd bottle
What's this? You know very well what it is, as you know it's a bottle. (KM:PP2:1)

5.2 DISCOURSE MARKERS

This section discusses a number of forms which are used to mark discourse units. Some of these forms also have a function at the clause level, but others have only a discourse function. Some are lexicalised expressions which appear to be adverbial in nature. In a final section, vocative speech acts which are marked by the vocative marker *e*, are discussed.

5.2.1 DISCOURSE CONJUNCTIONS

Several conjunctions have a function on the discourse level. These include two adversative conjunctions: *yaulā* and *lāoki* meaning 'but'.

1. *Yaulā*:

Yaulā 'but, on the other hand' may be used as a conjunction coordinating sentences with an adversative relationship (see 10.1.1.2). Sometimes the referents of the contrast are not made explicit and *yaulā* seems to refer to the general topic of a preceding paragraph or to some time reference in the discourse.

- (399) *Yaulā pē* te maui o Milimili na oko ki loto o te wale o Leva.
 but indeed A spirit P Milimili T arrive G inside P A house P Leva
Now, the spirit of Milimili had arrived inside the house of Leva. (BB:1015)

2. *Lāoki*:

The conjunction *lāoki*, meaning 'however', 'but', 'on the other hand', occurs in a fixed position modifying the head of the first major constituent of the clause. It is similar semantically to *yaulā* mentioned above in that the contrast it makes may not necessarily be to a specifically mentioned referent, but to the general topic of the discourse.

- (400) Te tamaliki *lāoki* o Wale nei, ko veliveli ke loa te āpii.
 A children however P Home here T dislike C long A school
However, the children of Wale don't like school to be long. (AT:S1)
- (401) E kiai *lāoki* na tamaki, ka vayia e te pūāpii.
 T Neg but T fight T hit-Cia Ag A teacher
But [they] didn't really fight, or they would have been hit by the teacher. (AT:S1)

5.2.2 DISCOURSE BOUNDARY MARKERS

Eia ‘herewith’, which is part of the demonstrative paradigm (see 4.7.2.1), is used as a discourse boundary marker to introduce a narrative episode. Two discourse boundary markers which are related to the verbs of completion *oti* and *pau*, are used to mark the end of an episode in a discourse or the close of a narrative. The demonstratives can also be used to separate narrative time from real time.

1. *Eia* ‘herewith’ typically sets off backgrounding clauses from sequenced narrative action clauses. It usually reintroduces narrative sequences where the narrative has been interrupted by backgrounding comments. It may thus be glossed ‘well, let’s continue’. It often introduces the first narrative clause in a story following the introduction:

- (402) Taku tala no Uyo. **Eia.** Lōmamai loa lātou ki Kotawa.
 my story about Uyo. so. come.Pl Int they G Kotawa
My story is about Uyo. Well. They came to Motu Kotawa. (U:4)

Eia may reintroduce sequenced narrative clauses after passages of direct speech:

- (403) Wakalongo atu au ko tangi nei: ‘Tēti e, Tēti e’. **Eia.** Niko au ki lalo wakawōu, tāmā i aku kākau.
 listen Dir I T cry here Daddy Voc Daddy Voc well return I G down again clean Acc my.Pl clothes
I heard (him) crying: “Daddy, Daddy”. Well, I went back downstairs and washed my clothes. (PP:N2)

It may also signal a break from narrative clauses to introduce direct speech. Following other types of backgrounding clauses such as explanatory information, *eia* again signals the return to narrative clauses. In the passage below, the narrative clauses are underlined.

- (404) Wō atu loa mātou ngalo ki Olākau. **Eia,** mea ai ia Limapēni, "Tili te tau, tili te tau."
 go.Pl Dir Int we as.far.as G Olākau-Da well say Pro A Limapēni throw A anchor throw A anchor

Ko lelei i te taimē ia, kiai ake na yau-, kiai ake na mea te matangi o te laloao.
 T good L A time Af Neg Dir T come- Neg Dir T do A wind P A storm

Eia, tili ai au i te tau. akatele mai ai ia Limapēni ki tawa o te akau, o te yolo.
 well throw Pro I L A anchor caus-sail Dir Pro A Limapēni G side P A reef P A bank.of.reef

We went off as far as Olākau. Well. Limapēni said, "Drop the anchor, drop the anchor." [The weather] was fine then, the [storm] hadn't come-, the wind of the storm hadn't yet [sprung up]. Well. I threw the anchor. Limapēni drove [the boat] towards the edge of the reef, of the yolo [the place where the reef slopes at a steep gradient, where the anchor is secured.] (PS1:1)

Eia often signals the concluding sentence of a narrative:

- (405) **Eia,** pau atu ai ma te tala ia.
 so finish Dir Pro with A story Af
So that was the end [of him] as well as this story. (U:11)

2. (*I*) *nā* (*lā*) ‘now’, which appears to be related to the demonstrative *nā*, is also used as a discourse boundary marker to return to the main topic of discourse following a digression, or to introduce a new topic of discussion. It is used primarily in speech making and sermons, and is considered by native

speakers to be a borrowing from Cook Islands Māori. It is only found once in the corpus in Pukapukan-only discourse, as opposed to Cook Islands Māori discourse.

3. *Oti* ‘finish’ is a discourse particle signifying the end to an episode in the narrative or the completion of an action which has taken a period of time.

(406) Kai loa, kai loa, pupute nā manava, yē maua e te wō. **Oti.** Tele tō lātou vaka, tele loa, tele loa ē.
eat Int eat Int swollen A stomach Neg able C go.Pl finish sail P they canoe sail Int sail Int Dur
[The fish] ate and ate until their stomachs were swollen and they couldn't move. Finished [The episode of the fish]. They sailed their canoe, they sailed on and on. (MM:L2)

(407) Ko nā niu na wetō mai ki tona ulu na ngālelepe. **Oti.** Opo mai nā niu,
Top A coconut T Pl-fall Dir G his head T break finish gather Dir A nut
yoka ki ona mangamangālima. **Oti.** Kave ki tana lau, kaikai ai lātou.
husk Ins his.Pl finger finish take G his men RR-eat Pro they
Those nuts which fell on his head were broken to pieces. Finished [shaking the trees]. [He] gathered the nuts and husked them with his fingers. Finished [that]. [He] took them to his men and they ate them. (U:6)

Sometimes *oti* signals the completion of a narrative section, and introduces a backgrounding comment.

(408) Na kai wua i te motu ia. **Oti.** Amuloa te lau a Uyo nei, pewu nā ivi, vavave.
T eat just Acc A reserve Af finish really A men P Uyo here strong A bone R-strong
They just ate from the reserve. Done. These men of Uyo had really strong bones, they were strong. (U:7)

A story, speech or telephone conversation typically ends with the formulaic: *oti ai* ‘that’s all’.

(409) Te līpōti teia o te uto, akalongo kōtou. **Oti ai.**
A report this P A sprouting.coconut listen you finish Pro
That is the report about the sprouting coconuts [on Motu Kō], listen carefully. That’s all. (UU:40:1)

4. *Pau* may also interchange with *oti* as a paragraph-final discourse marker, but it usually occurs only at the conclusion of a narrative.

(410) **Pau ai** taku tala i te yaunga o te tele o Niu Tileni ia.
finish Pro my story Acc A come-Nom P A tour.party P New Zealand Af
That ends my story about the coming of the tour party from New Zealand.

(411) Eia, **pau atu ai** ma te tala ia.
well finish Dir Pro and A story Af
Well that was the end [of him] and of this story. (U:11)

(412) Wano ai ia Wutu ki Wale. **Pau ai.**
go Pro A Wutu G Wale finish Pro
Then Wutu went to Wale. That’s all. (F2:3:6)

5. The demonstratives may be used to demonstrate some aspect of the story in real time to the listeners, so that they separate out asides from the narrative itself :

(413) Yaulā nā mamao te inao, ēnei pā mātou, ēlā te inao i te wale o-, o Tengele mā.
but T distant A school here probably we there A school L A house P P Tengele etc
But the school [of fish] was quite far [from us], probably we were here and the school of fish [was as far as] there at Tengele’s house [demonstrating the equivalent distance]. (PS3:1)

- (414) Ko te ika lā a Tāvita, na wiwi loa tona piliālo uli ... i te kati, ēnei te tupu o Tavitā...
 Top A fish but P Tāvita T tangle Int his shirt black L A line here A face P Tāvita-Da
But as for the fish that Tāvita caught, his black shirt got tangled in the fishing line.
This is what his face looked like [demonstrating facial expression.] (PS3:1)

5.2.3 VOCATIVE PARTICLE : e

Speech acts of calling people are identified by a vocative particle *e*, which may both precede and/or follow the vocative noun phrase. *E* follows a morphophonemic rule of lengthening. Its most frequent realisation is the long form [e:], but it is short preceding grammatical particles (see 2.6.1).

| | | | |
|--|---|--|---|
| [e:] Lina [e:] Voc Lina Voc <i>hey, Lina</i> | Milina [e:] Milina Voc <i>hey, Milina</i> | [e] oku mōuli Voc my.PI favourite <i>you, my friends</i> | [e] Te Āni [e:] Voc Te Āni Voc <i>hey, Te Āni</i> <i>[women's team called 'Honey']</i> |
|--|---|--|---|

The vocative particle can occur with personal nouns and a small group of common nouns which may substitute for names or nicknames.

- (415) E Lū e, tokotoko ake ki lunga ni mō toe.
 Voc Lū Voc RR-push Dir G up A small more
Oh Lū push [the sky] up a little more.
- (416) Māmā e e te Atua e e tama e Mea
 Mother Voc Voc A God Voc Voc child Voc Thing
Mother! God hey, child. hey, thinga-me-jig.

These nouns do not necessarily represent humans. A few denote inanimate entities. In sports celebrations, for instance, *te wenua* 'the land' is often addressed by each team:

- (417) e te wenua e
 Voc A land Voc
oh land

People's names are often shortened to bimoraic nicknames which allow a preceding vocative marker. For longer forms, the vocative particle only follows the person's name.

- (418) Kalitua e e Tua e e Pī
 Kalitua Voc Voc Tua Voc Voc Pī
hey Kalitua hey Tua [short for Kalitua] hey Pī [short for Pīkura]

When the vocative phrase is comprised of several words, it is marked on both sides by *e*.

- (419) e Tua ma Tao e e Ngake tāne e
 Voc Tua and Tao Voc Voc Ngake men Voc
hey, Tua and Tao. men of Ngake village,
- (420) e wū kaina e, e ule kaina e,
 Voc vagina eat-Cia Voc Voc penis eat-Cia Voc
my favourite female. my favourite male.
[Terms of endearment used mainly by elderly people, to person of opposite sex who is often much younger than speaker; do not connote a sexual relationship.]

Vocative phrases may occur sentence initially or sentence medially at phrase boundaries:

- (421) E Lito, tala e tala mā au.
 Voc Lito tell A story for you
Hey, Lito, tell [us] a story. (U:C1)
- (422) E wea au malama, e Tā, i ai?
 T how.many your month Voc Tā L Pro
How many months were you there, Tā? (MU:C3)

The appropriate response to a vocative is *āu* ‘yes, [what do you want?]’ (see 5.3).

5.3 INTERJECTIONS AND IMPRECATIVES

5.3.1 INTERJECTIONS

The following interjections have been noted:

- ā* ‘I understand’, ‘mm’. Expression of enlightenment about something not previously understood.
- ae* ‘yes, consent, agree’
- āe* ‘hey’. Interjection calling for attention. Often precedes a vocative phrase.
- (423) *Āe, ko kaikai kōtou, ēnei tō tātou mate, e meaina mai mai Wale nei.*
 hey T RR-eat you.PI here P we death T do-Cia Dir from Wale here
Hey, you lot are all eating, while here is our death being planned from Wale.
- auwē* (a) ‘ouch’. Cry when in pain.
 (b) ‘alas’. Often used to express disapproval or frustration at one’s own mistake. Also used commonly to express disapproval or frustration towards a child who disobeys.
- (i)nē ‘affirmation-seeker’. Sentence-final interrogative particle.
- kāle lā* ‘don’t you realise what it is, it’s very obvious’
- kaleka lā* ‘guess what happened?’ Expression of surprise.
- kei* ‘I don’t know’
- koiāi* ‘You don’t say! Is that right!’ Expression of surprise or disbelief. High pitch onset, falling.

| | | |
|--------------------|--|---|
| mai, mai | Calling animals to be fed, e.g. pigs | |
| ōu | 'Yes, I'm here'. Response or acknowledgement of a vocative. Falling intonation from raised onset. | |
| (424) | Tōyiku e. <i>Hey Tōyiku.</i> | Reply: Ōu. <i>Yes.</i> |
| tēlā | 'so!' | |
| (ti)āi ~ kāi | 'exclamatory particle'. Often used in conjunction with following particle <i>ai</i> . (see 3.1.3, note 2). | |
| (425) | Tiāi koe ka viti ai! exc you T pretty Pro <i>Gosh you're pretty!</i> | |
| (426) | Āi koe ka totoko ai! exc you T stubborn Pro <i>Why, you're so stubborn!</i> | |
| waiā | 'Why do you ask?, any special reason?, what do you have in mind?' | |
| (427) | Ka wea koe i te ayo nei? T what you L A day here <i>What are you doing today?</i> | Waiā? E tai lā ō manako? why T exist Int P thought <i>Why are you asking? What do you have in mind?</i> |
| e wea | 'What?' Answer to a vocative. | |
| wea atu ai | 'And then what?' Often implied: 'Nothing. There will be no good outcome'. | |
| e wea oki | 'Of course!, silly thing to ask/say! what else do you think it is?' | |
| koi wea | 'goodness, good grief'. Exclamatory particle derived from tensed predicate meaning 'where is?' | |
| kou wea | Expresses surprise or politeness (see discussion below). | |
| wō | Expression of surprise, disapproval or criticism. Surprise or mild disapproval is indicated by rising intonation. Stronger disapproval is marked by lower, but level pitch and affrication. Phonetically a backed unrounded long vowel, initiated by a bilabial fricative [βʋ:]. Strong disapproval has partial closure with a final velar fricative [βʋ:ɣ]. | |
| lateral clicks | Express pain, discomfort, disapproval, frustration. Vary with alveolar clicks. | |
| [ʔæ ^h] | 'Can't be bothered, forget it, never mind'. Often an expression of frustration. | |
| [həʔ] | Interjection for shooing chickens away | |

Kou wea ~ *koi wea* has two functions as an interjectional adverbial; an exclamation of surprise and a politeness adverbial (5.1.5.11). These are derived from their use as a tensed verbal predicate (3.1.12; 9.1.5.1.2 (5)). Exclamations of surprise or warning relating to sudden unexpected negative events may be marked clause initially by either *kou wea* or *koi wea*. These are often responses to questions regarding what has happened. *Kou wea* is considered to be more old-fashioned than *koi wea*, but both are being replaced by CIM *kāle* (*lā*).

- (428) **Kou wea**, ko taku longo nei ko Mea na mate!
 T what Prd my news here Top Mea T die
Brace yourself, my news is that Mea has died.
- (429) **Kou wea** te imu koa mate nei!
 T what A oven T dead here
Goodness, [do something] the oven fire is almost dead now.
- (430) Yau ake, **koi wea**, na wolo pē e Mokoyikungavali.
 come Dir T what T swallow def Ag Mokoyikungavali
Come quickly, good grief, she's been swallowed by Mokoyikungavali.

5.3.2 IMPRECATIVES

In this section a number of words with the function of imprecatives are listed. They are exclamations in that they are emotional in tone and they often resemble imperatives in that they pronounce a curse (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:163). Some of the words which denote derogatory or abusive terms can also be used as lexical verbs or nouns.

1. There are a number of exclamatory interjections, curses and swear words which are compound words which may either be derived from the verb *kai* 'eat' or from an earlier form **kai-* which has been reconstructed for PPn as meaning '[type of] person'. The second element in many of the compounds are bound morphemes which no longer occur freely. These are left unglossed.

| | |
|----------------|---|
| kaipaka ē | mild exclamatory particle expressing surprise |
| kaiwatu ē | mild exclamatory particle expressing surprise [lit. 'eat stone'] |
| kaikaku ē | colloquial variant of above |
| kai te olo | 'serves him right, hit the dirt'. Expression used for example when someone is caught out in cricket. [lit. 'eat taro pudding' perhaps derived from traditional sporting contests where losers make food or go fishing for the winners.] |
| kaitoa | 'it served him right'. Expression of satisfaction at others' misfortune. |
| kailanu | offensive swear word, curse. [lit. 'eat embryonic fluid'] |
| kaimono | offensive swear word, curse. [lit. 'eat faeces'] |
| kaipalanga | offensive swear word, curse. [lit. 'eat faeces'] |
| kaipulutautape | offensive swear word of abuse |

Some compounds formed with *kai-* are not necessarily swear words, but are intransitive verbs with negative connotations, which may also be used attributively to describe selfish action:

| | |
|---------|---|
| kailao | greedy, selfish, someone who eats alone |
| kaimotu | greedy, takes more than fair share from the <i>motu</i> food reserve. |

| | |
|------------|---|
| kaitaotao | selfish |
| kaipala | someone who is always begging. [lit. 'eat dirt'] |
| kaitangata | bully [lit. 'eat person, cannibal'] |
| kaitangi | complaining about one's share [lit. 'eat crying'] |

2. Other common abusive exclamatory expressions are derogatory comments about parts of the body, most typically the eyes and genitals.

| | |
|--------------|--|
| mata poti | swear word to someone staring [lit. 'cat's eyes']. Varies with the calque [<i>ais kæi</i>] from English 'eyes cat'. |
| mata pupula | to someone staring at you [lit. 'bulging eyes'] |
| mata tinitō | swear word to someone of part Asian descent [lit. 'Chinese eyes'] |
| ulu vavana | swear word to someone who has hair like a Melanesian [lit. 'frizzy hair'] |
| te ule | swear word, mild taunt for instance, between children, with similar pragmatic force to English 'you pig' [lit. 'the penis']. |
| ule niwi | swear word [lit. 'crooked penis'] |
| wū pala | swear word [lit. 'filthy vagina'], very abusive. |
| yongi tō mea | swear word [lit. 'kiss your thing'], very abusive. |

3. Likening someone to an animal or a fish is a common way of making a derogatory comment. These are commonly found in attributive expressions.

| | |
|----------|---|
| puaka | 'pig'; very abusive and insulting |
| tiwitiwi | 'butterfly fish'; a fish which always comes first to the bait. Implies someone who sucks up to strangers. |

NOTES:

1. Placement of the particles seems to be somewhat inconsistent although the ordering listed is by far the most common. One example of a suffixed nominalisation in the text places *wua* after the directionals: *ko te yaele mainga wua* 'just when [they] were walking here', although a possible explanation is that the whole noun phrase is modified by *wua* while *mai* modifies only the verb.

2. Historically, *nā* may have occurred marking verb phrases since it occurs in the following lexicalised phrase which appears to be verbal:

- (i) Kou wea e au iloa wua nā,
T what T you know-Cia just there
You know very well that... (KM:PP2:1)

Occasionally *nā* appears in what superficially seems to be the postposed periphery of a verb phrase, but this can always be alternatively analysed as the closing demonstrative pronoun of a relative clause. Evidence for this analysis is that a subject pronoun may be permitted between the verb phrase and the closing positional demonstrative pronoun of the relative clause:

- (ii) [Tau manini [[e ulu ai]_{VP} (koe)]_S nā]_{NP}.
your fish.sp T search Pro (you) there
Your manini fish which you are looking for.
- (iii) Mē ka au malaia [te mamao o te kongā [a te Kālewa [na wano atu]_{VP} nā]_{NP},
if T you care.about-Cia A distance P A place P A cuckoo T go Dir there
If you care about the distance which the Kālewa [name of newspaper in your hands] has gone [to reach you], (MT:NP1:5)

CHAPTER SIX : THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Like other Polynesian languages, Pukapukan has a number of forms which function as case markers of the core arguments of the noun phrase or as prepositions introducing oblique phrases. In traditional Polynesian grammars, for instance Biggs (1969:54) for Māori, these case markers and prepositions have often been considered as defining characteristics of the noun phrase. They constitute a closed class which is listed in Table 17 below.

Each form has a range of functions which are not necessarily discrete. The degree to which case markers form a class distinct from prepositions is not very clear-cut because in some cases the same form is used to mark both core arguments and oblique noun phrases.

The head of a prepositional phrase is a case marker or a preposition. A prepositional phrase always contains a noun phrase, and a noun phrase may be modified by a prepositional phrase (4.8). This recursivity means that complex prepositional phrases exist (6.2.15).

TABLE 17: Case markers and Prepositions

CASE MARKERS:

| | |
|----------|--------------|
| <i>e</i> | 'agentive' |
| <i>i</i> | 'accusative' |

PREPOSITIONS:

| | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| <i>i</i> | 'locative' |
| | 'causal' |
| <i>ki</i> | 'goal' |
| | 'comparative' |
| | 'instrument' |
| <i>ko</i> | 'locative' |
| | 'appositive' |
| <i>mai</i> | 'source' |
| <i>lā</i> | 'along' |
| <i>o</i> | 'genitive' |
| <i>nā'nō</i> | 'benefactive' |
| <i>mālmō</i> | 'irrealis benefactive' |
| <i>ma</i> | 'comitative' |
| | 'confective' |
| | 'instrument' |
| <i>pe</i> | 'similative' |

6.1 CASE MARKERS

The core arguments of the clause are indicated by case markers, although it must be acknowledged that the identification of core arguments is open to debate (see 7.8). The nominative/absolute case has no overt marking and is discussed in 7.4. There are two other case markers: *e* ‘agentive’, which marks the agent of transitive clauses of the ‘ergative-absolutive’ pattern, and *i* ‘accusative’, which marks the patient of transitive clauses of the ‘nominative-accusative’ pattern. In addition, *ki* can also mark the complement of a semitransitive or ‘middle’ verb. Because complements of these verbs behave like ‘goals’ of intransitive verbs, this function is discussed in 6.2.4. The topic marker ‘*ko*’ replaces a case marker or preposition when a noun phrase is in clause initial position. Topicalisation can affect core noun phrases as well as oblique noun phrases and is discussed in 7.7.4.

6.1.1 *e* : Agentive Case

Agents of transitive clauses of the ergative-absolutive patterns labelled ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ (7.4) are marked by *e* (glossed ‘Ag’) when the noun phrase is in postverbal position. The grammatical relations of the noun phrase in the agentive case are discussed in 7.8. The case marker is subject to a morphophonemic rule of lengthening when it precedes words of two morae in length (2.6.1). The case marker cannot be followed by the nonspecific articles *e* ‘a’, *ni/i* ‘some’ (4.1.2) so that an agentive phrase must be specific, but not necessarily definite. Agents in the agentive case which are denoted by personal nouns, place names or pronouns are not marked with the personal article (4.1.1). In preverbal position the agent is left unmarked for case or may be marked with the topic marker *ko* (7.7.4). There are semantic differences between the agents of the ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ patterns. The actions of agents in the ‘ergative’ pattern are always volitional and deliberate, and the agents are usually human (although they can be personified entities), whereas this is not the case for agents of the ‘passive’ pattern which can be inanimate and non-volitional (see 7.5.2).

‘Ergative’:

- (1) Na oti nā popoa e te tunu e Mele.
T finish A food C cook Ag Mele
Mele has finished cooking the food.
- (2) Yoka oki ēku nā pūvakavaka o Tuiva, payako.
pierce also Ag-I A shoulder P Tuiva die
And I stabbed the shoulder blades of Tuiva [until he] died. (W2:F2:6:7)
- (3) Mē takayala, ka topa ki lalo te pointi e te akavā.
if mistake T bring-down G down A points Ag A judge
If [you] make a mistake, the judge will lower the score.

‘Passive’:

- (4) Onono wakalelei, ka tukia koe e te pōlo.
look properly T hit-Cia you Ag A ball
Look out or you’ll get hit by the ball.

- (5) Ia Miliāma, kai mangioina e te wāwā.
A Miliāma T itchy-Cia Ag A taro
Miliāma might get itchy from the taro.
- (6) Auwē wō tātou, ka pukea tātou e te wua a Witi.
Neg.Imp-T go.Pl we T catch-Cia we Ag A fleet P Fiji
Let's not go, lest we are caught by the Fijian fleet. (MM:L4)

6.1.2 *i* : Accusative Case

The accusative case marker *i* is homophonous with the preposition *i* which marks locative phrases and other adjuncts. Preceding personal nouns and pronouns, *i* is fused with the personal article as *ia* and is subject to a morphophonemic rule of lengthening [ia] ~ [ia:] (2.6.1; 4.1.1).

I marks the direct object of a transitive clause of the nominative-accusative pattern (glossed 'Acc'). This is commonly the theme of the action or a patient undergoing the action.

- (7) Liko oki au i te kākā, ngungu loa au i te ulú, mate.
hold also I Acc A tern bite Int I Acc A head-Da dead
I picked up the white tern and bit [its] head until it was dead. (F3:5:5)
- (8) Tui oki te kau tamāwine i nā yei o te kau lōpā.
sew also A group girl Acc A garland P A group youth
The girls also sewed garlands for the youths. (F3:2:1)
- (9) Ko tali mai au i nā vaie, ko tau toku māmī i te awi.
T collect Dir I Acc A firewood T light my mother Acc A fire
I was collecting the firewood while my mother was lighting the fire. (F3:3:5)

It may also mark the complement of a semitransitive verb which may be alternatively marked by *ki* (7.5.4):

- (10) Wano loa ia Lata, ulu i te wāoa o tona vaka ia.
go Int A Lata search Acc A crew P his canoe Af
Lata then went and looked for the crew for his canoe. (MM:L1)
- (11) Onoono atu au i te pāyua ia, ko wakamangamanga mai i lalo.
look Dir I Acc A clam Af T caus-RR-open Dir L down
I saw a clam opening down [there]. (F3:8:4)
- (12) Ka kai i tō lātou vaka.
T eat Acc P their canoe
[It] would eat their canoe. (MM:L2)
- (13) Na kite mātou i te akaweweu mainga o te tumurangi ko yau.
T see we Acc A caus-black Dir-Nom P A storm-cloud T come
We saw the storm clouds darkening and gathering, coming in our direction. (LS2:53)

For verbs of communication, the phrase marked by *i* indicates the content of the message while the addressee is marked by *ki*.

- (14) Tala loa au i taku tala ki te kau ia.
tell Int I Acc my story G A people Af
I told my story to the people.

- (15) Tū loa ia Manila ki lungā akakite i tona manako ki te pule lua ka kikī taula lātou.
stand Int A Manila G up caus-see Acc his thought G A group two T pull rope they
Manila stood up and announced his plan to Team Two that they would [play] tug-of-war. (F3:S10:1)

The marking of nominalisations shows that the noun phrase marked by accusative *i* is a core argument of the verb since it can be marked by *o*-possessive marking (16). Alternatively it may remain marked by *i* (17) (see 10.8.4). By contrast, a locative noun phrase cannot occur with *o*-possessive marking in a nominalisation. However, in other respects it sometimes patterns as an oblique (see 7.8 for further discussion of the status of the accusative noun phrase).

- (16) te koto-nga o nā tiale
A pick-Nom P A flower
the picking of the flowers
- (17) tā mātou koto-nga i te tiale
P we pick-Nom Acc A flower
our picking flowers

6.2 PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions introduce adjuncts and complements of the clause. These include prepositions that mark cause, location, goal, source, instrument, possession, benefactive and other roles of a noun phrase. Three prepositions with a locative function (*i*, *ki* and *mai*) merge with the personal article (4.1.1) and in this respect they form a subclass of their own. However, this characteristic is also shared with the accusative case marker *i* and is therefore not a defining feature of prepositions alone.

6.2.1 *i* : Causal

I marks the cause of an intransitive or neuter verb (glossed ‘By’). These verbs are patient-subject verbs.¹ The prepositional phrase marked by *i* is an adjunct which denotes the cause of a state of affairs, a natural phenomenon, nonvolitional agent or accidental cause. Volitional agents are seldom marked by *i*.

- (18) Na ngaengaea mō i a lāua meanga ma Vave.
T RR-tired probably By P their.2 work-Nom and Vave
He is probably tired on account of working with Vave. (U:C2)
- (19) Ko koe mō, na pau i te namu.
Top you Q T finish By A mosquito
You’re more than likely consumed by mosquitoes, aren’t you?
- (20) Te pālā, na tō ki lalo ia koe.
A knife-Da T fall G down By-A you
The knife fell down [accidentally] on account of you.

Certain intransitive verbs which take patient subjects require marking by *i* on the second participant in the clause although they are not causes.

- (21) Kikī a lātou kete i te ika.
R-full P their basket By A fish
Their baskets were full of fish. (U:6)

- (22) Ko yē mālama loa te mea nei ia aku.
 T Neg clear Int A thing here By-A I
This thing is not very clear to me.

6.2.2 i : Locative

I marks static position in either space or time (glossed ‘L’ for ‘locative’). The meaning may be extended metaphorically to include abstract phrases introduced by a locative preposition such as ‘in’, ‘at’, or ‘on’ in English. A clause may have more than one locative phrase if one denotes spatial location and the other denotes temporal location. A locative phrase marked by *i* may occur as the nucleus of a tensed non-verbal predicate (7.2.1).

1. Location in space is marked by *i*:

- (23) Na nōnō lātou i Āwanga nei.
 T R-stay they L Āwanga here
They stayed here in Āwanga. (U:5)
- (24) Nā i wea koe?
 T L where you
Where have you been?
- (25) Ko nō iāna i lungā o te taua.
 T sit he L on P A floor
He is sitting on the floor.
- (26) Ko meaina e wetau i tō mātou leo.
 T say-Cia A tree.sp L P we language
[That tree] is called a wetau in our language.

A locative phrase may indicate a means of transport (see also *lā* section 6.2.7).

- (27) Ka nīniko kōlua i te payī nei.
 T R-return you.2 L A ship here
You are going to return on this ship. (NF:1:4)

2. Temporal location is marked by *i*:

- (28) E yē wai te imukai i te taeyao nō te ngalungalu.
 T Neg make A feast L A tomorrow because A RR-wave
[We] won't be holding the feast tomorrow because of the rough weather. (U:C2)
- (29) I te tuaelo o te Palapalau, mate loa ia Tāmu.
 L A twelve P A Thursday die Int A Tāmu
At twelve o'clock on Thursday Tāmu died. (F2:3:1)
- (30) Ka wea koe i te maonga o te uwa?
 T what you L A cease-Nom P A rain
What will you do when the rain stops? (U:C3)
- (31) Kāe āpii i te ayo nei.
 Neg.exist school L A day here
There is no school today.

I may indicate the beginning point of a period of time:

- (32) Na loa te vāia **i te wanonga a koe**, e Toa, mai Wale.
 T long A time L A go-Nom P you Voc Toa from Home
It has been a long time since you left Pukapuka, Toa. (PS:2:2)

The *i* marking a temporal noun phrase, particularly one with a simple nucleus naming a basic unit of time, is often deleted in conversation.

- (33) Atawai nō te tūtaki mainga **te toe wīki**.
 thanks for A pay Dir-Nom A other week
Thanks for paying [me] last week.

3. Metaphorical extensions of locative *i*:

- (a) A phrase marked by *i* may be a manner adverbial (see also *ma* section 6.2.11).

- (34) Ko waowao nei au **i te lekaleka**.
 T RR-jump here I L A happy
I was jumping up and down in excitement. (F2:7:3)

- (b) The phrase marked by *i* may refer to the aspect or viewpoint in which the predicate holds true:

- (35) Ka vela te ayo nei **i tā māua onoononga**.
 T hot A day here L P we.2 look-Nom
Today will be hot in our estimation. (V:2)

- (c) A phrase marked by *i* may contain a nominalisation of the main verb in the clause. It appears to be redundant semantically, but seems to fulfil a cohesive role in the discourse.

- (36) Welele **i tā lātou welelenga**, oko ki Yātō
 Pl-run L P they Pl-run-Nom arrive G Yātō
They ran in their running, and reached Yātō (BB:1129)

A ‘passive’ or ‘ergative’ clause sometimes has a locative goal, instead of an absolutive noun phrase in the role of patient. The locative goal often specifies the exact part of the patient which is affected (37, 38) or a denotes a partially affected patient (39) (see 7.4.2.2).

- (37) Patu oki e Tokolua **i te ulu o te takupú**, mate.
 hit also Ag Tokolua L A head P A bird.sp-Da dead
Tokolua hit at the head of the red-footed booby until it died. (F3:5:4)

- (38) Eia lā ia Takitini koa ulu ki loto, yoka loa e Kūluea **i te kaokao**, mate.
 almost A Takitini T enter G inside stab Int Ag Kūluea L A side dead
Just when Takitini was about to enter, Kūluea stabbed [him] in the side and [he] died. (W2:F2:6:7)

- (39) Kikī oki e te pule tai **i te taula**.
 pull also Ag A group one L A rope
Team one also pulled on the rope. (F3:S10:5)

‘Passive’ and ‘ergative’ clauses may also take locative goals in addition to their main arguments.

- (40) Ke maka au ia ana, tū wua loa i te tukutai tangi ai, ke kāvea ēku i taku wanonga yī ika ia.
 if leave I Acc-A he stand just Int L A beach cry Pro C take-Cia Ag-I L my go-Nom catch fish Af
If I leave him behind, he just stands at the beach crying for me to take [him] on my fishing [trip]. (L:L1:6)

6.2.3 *i* : Other functions

There are several other functions of *i* not outlined above which seem to be related to the locative function, including the expression of comparison. In other languages, locative markers are often used to indicate comparison (Stassen 1985:147), so that this is not surprising.

1. *I* is used in association with postverbal directional particles to express comparison of inequality. The object of comparison can be denoted by a noun phrase or a nominalised clause.

- (41) Ko vaeolo atu koe ia aku.
 T fast Dir you Comp-A I
You're faster than me.
- (42) Ko wolo atu ia Ionātana ia Tāmāti.
 T big Dir A Ionātana Comp-A Tāmāti
Ionātana is bigger than Tāmāti.
- (43) E ngali ake e te moe ki loto o te ana i te moe ki te tulanga.
 T better Dir C sleep G inside P A mosquito.net Comp A sleep G A open.air
It is better to sleep in a mosquito net than to sleep in the open air.

2. It is used in distributive expressions:

- (44) E tino-angaulu i te olo.
 T cls- ten Distr A taro.pudding
Ten people for each olo.
- (45) Tāpātana loa tātou, takitau-tokalua i te titi.
 Pre-partner Int we each-pre-cls-two distr A skirt
We will [work] in pairs, two people per skirt. (TU:4:3)

3. Some lexicalised adverbial expressions are introduced by *i*. The function of *i* in (47) appears to be related to the temporal function of *i*.

- (46) Tala koe i te eva.
 tell you L A ?quickly
Tell it quickly. (U:4)
- (47) Ka yau i leila, ki Lalotonga, mō?
 T come L then G Rarotonga, tag
And then [it] will come on to Rarotonga, won't it? (U:C2)

4. Following a locational noun in a complex locational phrase, *i* may be used in place of *o* (4.8.1).

- (48) Te uwipānga nō lunga i te payī.
A meeting about on P A ship
The meeting was concerning the ship. (U:C1)

5. It is also found introducing *i te* attributive predicates which comment on a characteristic of the subject noun (7.1.5).

- (49) Ia koe i te akatīngā mīmiti.
A you Prd caus-pain forehead
You are a pain in the neck [lit.forehead]. (PP2:6:4)

- (50) Tau kamunga i te pōlo i te ongo.
your throw-Nom Acc A ball Prd hard
You threw the ball hard.

6.2.4 *ki* : Goal, Comparison, Instrument

Phrases marked by *ki* have several possible functions. They may express the goal of an intransitive or semitransitive verb or the indirect object of a transitive verb. They commonly refer to a locative or temporal goal or the addressee of a verb of communication. As an extension of the function of locative direction, they may indicate progression within a state. They may also denote a reference point for comparison or an instrumental phrase.²

6.2.4.1 *ki* : Goal

Ki marks the goal (G) of an intransitive verb. For motion verbs it indicates the end point of the motion or direction towards the referent of the noun phrase it introduces.

- (51) Ko te payī, ka wano ki Māngalongalo.
Top A ship-Da T go.Sg G Māngalongalo
As for the ship, it will go to Māngalongalo [Penrhyn]. (U:C2)
- (52) Wao mai ia Uyo ki te toe toka.
jump Dir A Uyo G A other rock
Uyo jumped to the next rock. (U:5)
- (53) Na yinga te lākau ki lunga o nā kelekele.
T fall A tree G on P A coral.gravel
The tree fell to the ground.
- (54) Wano ai lā te tukutai ki nā pōlongā. Oko loa ki te inuununga a Waiva mā.
go Pro via A beach G A cricket-Nom-Da arrive Int G A RR-drink-Nom P Waiva etc
*[He] went along the beach in the direction of the cricket game and came upon Waiva
and the others drinking [before he got to the cricket].* (PP2:2:4)
- (55) Tukutuku ai au, ngalo ki tō taitai ke oko ki te kongā e yī kōpelu ai.
RR-put Pro I as.far.as G little RR-sea C reach G A place T catch fish.sp. Pro-Da
*I put out [the boat] a little out to sea until [we] reached the place where [people] fish
for mackerel scad.* (PS1:1)

Ki may mark a temporal goal or a temporal direction.

- (56) Ka kali **ki te Palapalau ma te Walaile**.
 T wait G A Thursday and A Friday
[We'll] wait until Thursday or Friday. (U:C2)
- (57) Onoono mai **ki nā ayo lā mua nei**.
 look Dir G A day L front here
Look to the future. (KT89:1:6)

Motion 'towards' may imply intended possession or use of the goal:

- (58) Kimikimi loa toku manako, ka wano au **ki te koyo o Kupá**.
 RR-think Int my thought T go I G A husking.stick P Kupa-Da
I thought of what I could do, I'll go to [and borrow] Kupa's husking stick. (KU:4:7)

Accompanying motion verbs, a phrase marked with *ki* may indicate progression within a state (see *koa* 3.1.4):

- (59) Ko wano nei tana manini ia **ki te tongi**.
 T go here her fish.sp Af G A big
Her manini fish was getting bigger. (KS:7:4)
- (60) Ko onoono māua, ko yau nei **ki te ongo**, te matangi, te uwa, te ngalu.
 T look we.2 T come here G A hard A wind A rain A wave
We observed that [the storm] was getting worse, the wind, the rain and the waves. (P:S4:13)

A phrase marked by *ki* may indicate a goal of verbs of mental attitudes or perception:

- (61) Auwē noinoi **ki nā mea e kiai na penapenaina mā kōtou**.
 Neg.Imp-T greedy G A thing T Neg T RR-prepare-Cia for you
Don't be greedy for what isn't yours. (KM:L1:12)
- (62) ...ke makeke tātou **ki te Atua**, peia oki **ki a tātou yanga**.
 C strong we G A God like-so also G P we work
...so we are faithful to God and also [steadfast in] our work. (A:S1:8)

For certain intransitive verbs, for instance *pili* 'near', it indicates a reference point as goal. It does not necessarily imply movement.

- (63) Ko pili wua te wale ia **ki te ala wolo**.
 T close just A house Af G A road big
The house is close to the main road.
- (64) Vātata au **ki te tukungāgalu**.
 near I G A break-Nom-P-wave
I was near to the breakers. (LS:2:3)

On the other hand, for other intransitive verbs, a phrase marked by *ki* may indicate a different, new or distant location in which the action or state of the predicate takes place. Movement to the location is implicit as a precondition.

- (65) Ka akalulu tātou ki wea?
T caus-meet we G where
Where shall we [go to] hold the meeting?
- (66) Nā nō au i toku matua wāngai, ia Lūtonga. Na mate lā toku matua wāngai tikāi,
T stay I L my mother feed A Lūtonga T die but my mother feed real

ko Moekali oki te ingoa. Na mate. Nō loa au ki te teina ōna.
Prd Moekali also A name T die Stay Int I G A sister P-her
I was staying with my foster mother, Lūtonga. My real foster mother had died, her name was Moekali. She died, so I [went] to stay with her sister. (MM:LK4:2)

For semitransitive verbs, a phrase marked by *ki* represents the goal of the experience or emotion or the addressee of a verb of communication (cf. 6.1.2 and 7.5.4).

- (67) Ko wakalongo te tāne ia ki te manu e tangi.
T listen A man Af G A bird T sing
The man is listening to the bird singing.
- (68) Onoono atu lā te kiole ki te weke ia. Mea loa te kiole ki te weke...
Look Dir Int A rat G A octopus Af say Int A rat G A octopus
The rat looked at the octopus. The rat said to the octopus... (MK:S2:14)
- (69) Talatala mai ake kia ana ke yau ki kinei.
RR-tell Dir please G-A he C come G here
Please tell him to come here.

Transitive clauses of the ‘accusative’ (70), ‘ergative’ (71, 72) and ‘passive’ (73) patterns all allow a locative goal marked by *ki* as well as a patient.

- (70) Tili loa koe i te kiole ki te weke ia.
throw Int you Acc A rat G A octopus Af
Throw the rat to the octopus. (MK:S2:27)
- (71) Kave ake nā popoa nei kia Māmā.
take Dir A food here G-A Māmā
Please take this food to Grandma.
- (72) Akatele ai e Tolu Lewu te poti ki Te Ava o te Malike.
caus-sail Pro Ag Tolu small A boat G A channel P A America
Tolu Junior drove the boat to the American channel. (PP2:4:3)
- (73) Kiai au na kite ia Tāvita, na aungia pā ki tō mulimuli, na patua ki tō mulimuli, ki tō taitai likiliki.
Neg I T see Acc-A Tāvita T blow-Cia prob G bit RR-behind T hit-Cia G bit RR-behind G bit RR-sea small
I didn’t see Tāvita, he had probably been blown a little behind [me], [he] had been hit [by the waves] a little behind, a little further out to sea. (PS4:13)

Nominal predicates allow a locative goal:

- (74) Nā aku te mea aloa nei kia Lina.
P I A thing love here G-A Lina
This is my present for Lina.
- (75) E Atua lelei oki te Atua ki te wī tāngata tākatoa.
Prd God good also A God G A all people entirely
God is a good God to everyone. (KM:MW2:4)

With certain transitive verbs, for instance verbs meaning ‘try’, marking by *ki* may indicate an unsuccessful attempt towards reaching the goal. The verbs in the complements of both of the following sentences could otherwise mark the same noun phrase as a direct object with the accusative marker *i*. Marking by *ki* indicates a low degree of affectedness of the patient.

- (76) Ko yangā au e te liko **ki te mea ia**, nō te mamao lā e yē aku pāea.
 T work I C hold G A thing Af P A far but T Neg I reach-Cia
I'm trying to grasp that thing, but because it's too far away I can't quite reach it.
- (77) Na tāmata au e te patu **ki te pōlo na uwi mai lā vao ia**, e kiai lā na ū.
 T try I C hit G A ball T bowl Dir over out Af T Neg but T hit
I tried to hit the ball which was bowled wide, but I didn't hit it.

A goal of a transitive verb may also be marked with *ki* where there is an indefinite object which has not been fully specified (compare 78 (a) and (b)) or where a change to a new object is implied (79).

- (78) a. Patu koe **ki te pōlo** ke tō māmā.
 hit you G A ball C bit light
Bat [using] a lighter ball.
- b. Patu **i te pōlo ia** ke ngalo ki te vaonga.
 hit Acc A ball Af C lost G A out-Nom
Hit the ball [that you have] far into the bush.
- (79) Auwē vayi koe i te tama lewu ia, vayi koe **ki te tamá**, ko ona te tama kanga.
 Neg.Imp-T hit you Acc A child small Af hit you G A child-Da Prd he A child playful
Don't hit that small child, hit that one over there, he's the one who's naughty.

6.2.4.2 *ki* : Comparison

Ki is used in comparisons of equality to indicate the standard of comparison:

- (80) Ko weolo te taenawa o te mea ia **ki te mea nei**.
 T same A heavy P A thing Af G A thing here
The weight of the thing already mentioned is the same as this one.

6.2.4.3 *ki* : Instrument

Ki marks instrument ('Ins').

- (81) Yoka atu ai te akulā i te wai **ki tona tao**.
 stab Dir Pro A swordfish Acc A stingray Ins his spear
The swordfish pierced the stingray with his bill. (W1:P5:3:4)
- (82) Ko ālai te kongā ia **ki te watu**.
 T block A place Af Ins A stone
That place is barricaded with stones. (U:4)
- (83) E yē lalia te ulu o tona vaka **ki te wawine**.
 T Neg soil-Cia A head P his canoe Ins A woman
[He] wouldn't contaminate his canoe with a woman. (MM:T6)
- (84) Lōmamai ai te tele ki ngāuta, akayei ai e te kau wāwine o nā ōile **ki te yei**.
 come.Pl Pro A party G shore add-garland Pro Ag A group women P A village Ins A garland
The tour group came ashore and the women of the [three] villages adorned [them] with garlands. (F4:S4:3)

6.2.5 *ko* : Locative

Apart from its use as topic and predicate marker (7.7.4; 7.1.1), *ko* is used to mark adjuncts of motion verbs and seems to be a type of locative marker meaning ‘as far as’. It seems to differ from the directional goal marker *ki* ‘towards’ (6.2.4.1) in implying that the intended goal is definitely reached.

- (85) Woe loa lātou **ko te Ālai o Palaoa**. ... Woe wakawōu **ko te Koko Āyeu**.
 paddle Int they G A Ālai P Palaoa paddle again G A Koko Āyeu
They paddled as far as the Ālai of Palaoa. ...Paddled again as far as the Koko Āyeu. (TV:T1)
- (86) Lele loa i tana lelenga ia **ko te wale o te aliki o Alatakupu oki**, nō i ai.
 run Int L his run-Nom Af G A house P A king of Alatakupu also stay L Pro
He ran in his flight as far as the house of the high chief of Alatakupu where he stayed. (TV:T3)
- (87) Ko Kālevāmotu, niniwi loa tona kiko ola ia, lā loto o te alo
 Top Kālevāmotu stagger Int his flesh life Af via inside P A lagoon
ko te tawa o te wale o lua ona mātutua.
 G A side P A house P two his.Pl Pl-parent
Kālevāmotu staggered in his mortal wounds inside the lagoon to the side of his parents’ house. (TV:T5)

There are some contexts in which there appears to be little difference in meaning between the two locative goal markers *ko* and *ki*:

- (88) Wao loa **ko/ki loto o te lua**.
 Jump Int G inside P A grave
[He] jumped inside the grave. (TV:T7)

Ko occasionally marks a subject phrase where it is an alternative to the nominative/absolute case marker. It may also substitute for an accusatively marked object, but it is unclear what its role is.³

- (89) Velo loa iāna i tana tao, pū **ko te tua o Kālevāmotu**.
 throw Int he Acc his spear hole G A back P Kālevāmotu
He threw his spear, the back of Kālevāmotu was pierced. (TV:T5)
- (90) Nape loa ia Uila **ko te mata o Palākula**.
 gouge Int A Uila G A eye P Palākula
Uila gouged out the eye of Palākula. (BB:1139)
- (91) Mate loa **ko Tēnana** i loto o tona vaka.
 die Int Top Tēnana L inside P his canoe
Tēnana died inside his canoe. (MM:T7)

6.2.6 *mai* : Source

Mai marks locative source or origin of an action or an entity.⁴

- (92) Na wakamata iāna **mai Wale, mai Utupoa**.
 T start he from Wale from Utupoa
He started from the main island Wale, from Utupoa. (U:5)

- (93) Ka yaele au **mai kinei**.
T walk I from here
I'll walk from here.
- (94) Wano ai au ki vao **mai lalo o te niu**.
go Pro I G out from under P A coconut
I went out from under the coconut tree. (K:U4:6)
- (95) Ko mamao au **mai ia Ota**.
T distant I from A Ota
I [live at some] distance from Ota.

It may denote returning following the completion of an activity:

- (96) Oko mai oki ia Rainie **mai te aumai uwilapa**.
arrive Dir also A Rainie from A bring wheelbarrow
Rainie returned from getting the wheelbarrow. (PP2:10:1)

It may denote a reference point:

- (97) Wakamata mai oki **mai te akamutunga o te Mōnitē**, oko ki te kawa laungaulu ma ono.
start Dir also from A finish-Nom P A Monday reach G A garden-strip ten and six
[They] started from where [they] finished on Monday and got as far as the sixteenth strip. (K:U3:2)

It may denote a span of time since a specified reference point in time or the time of an activity:

- (98) E kiai loa te uwa na tō **mai te Luilua na topá**.
T Neg Int A rain T fall from A Tuesday T past-Da
It hasn't rained at all since last Tuesday.
- (99) ...**mai tō mātou lōmamainga**
from P we come.PI-Nom
...since our arrival

In conjunction with a phrase marked by *ki* it indicates an extent of space or span of time:

- (100) ...**mai te tayi o te kawa oko ki te laungaulu ma iva o te kawa**
from A one P A garden-strip arrive G A ten and nine P A strip
...from the first garden plot [divided by the village] to the nineteenth. (KU:3:2)
- (101) ...**ke nunumi wua kia ana mai mua ki te mutunga**
C trust just G-A he from front G A finish-Nom
...to trust him from the beginning to the end (KM:PY2:2)
- (102) **Mai te lima ki te valu matawiti...mai te iva ki te laungaulu matawiti**,
from A five G A eight year... from A nine G A ten year
From five to eight years old... from nine to ten years old, (V80:4:7)

This case marker may co-occur with the postposed directional particle *mai* (see 5.1.2.1).

- (103) Ēnei tō tātou mate e meaina **mai mai** Wale nei.
here P we death T say-Cia Dir from Home here
Here our death which is being rumoured from Pukapuka is upon us. (U:8)

- (104) Mea ka wō lātou taumaya i a lātou popoa na takitaki **mai mai** te motu.
 say T go.Pl they eat Acc P they food T RR-bring Dir from A reserve
They intended to go and eat their food which they had brought here from the reserve. (K:U6:9)

Mai can combine with the locative case marker *i* in a compound *mai i*, as in some other Polynesian languages. *Mai i* has the same meaning as *mai* alone, but is more formal. There are very few examples in the corpus which are unequivocally case markers (105, 106), whereas *mai* as a postverbal particle commonly appears adjacent to the case marker *i* (107). *Mai* followed by *i* is often structurally ambiguous between these two categories (108).

- (105) Kave atu i tō mātou āloa **mai i** o tātou mātutua i kinei.
 take Dir Acc P we love from L P we Pl.parent L here
Take our love [with you] from our elders here. (PS1:5)
- (106) **Mai i** kinei pā...
 from L here probably
From about here maybe...
- (107) Atawai wolo nō o kōtou lelei i te tautulu **mai ia** aku i te talanga **mai i** te wī ingoa o nā manu i Wale nā.
 thank big P P you good C help Dir Acc-A I C tell-Nom Dir Acc A all name P A bird L Home there
Thank you so much for your kindness in helping to tell me the names of the birds in Pukapuka. (LL2:5)
- (108) Mea mai ki te toe uki **mai i** lalo mai...
 say Dir G A other generation ?from/?Dir L down Dir
[They] said to the next generation down... (KS:3:7)

6.2.7 *lā* : ‘By way of’

Lā denotes ‘along, through’ or ‘by way of’. (*Lā* is also a postposed particle, see 5.1.4).

- (109) Mea ai au kia Tokolua ke wano **lā te ala lā lotó**, ka wano au **lā te ala lā vaó**.
 say Pro I G-A Tokolua C go via A path through middle-Da T go I via A path through out-Da
I told Tokolua to go along the path through the middle while I would go along the path around the outside. (F3:S5:3)
- (110) Yaulā pē ia Tepou na lele **lā ngāuta**.
 but definitely A Tepou T run along shore
But Tepou had already fled via the shore. (U:11)
- (111) Kavekave loa ia Lima ē, **lā loto o te inao**.
 RR-troll Int A Lima Dur through inside P A school-of-fish
Lima trolled right through the middle of the school [of tuna]. (PS:3:7)
- (112) Ko ngalu oki te Ālai, e yē ōko tātou **lā te toe kaokao**.
 T wave also A Ālai T Neg reach we through A other side
The Ālai [stretch of reef] is [too] rough, we wouldn’t get over to the other side. (P:S2:6)

Lā has a number of metaphorical meanings such as ‘by means of’, ‘in the organisation of’:

- (113) ...ke tautulu mai ake ia mātou **lā loto o te tautulu moni**.
 C help Dir please Acc-A we through inside P A help money
...to help us by way of monetary assistance. (PSP:1:13)

- (114) Ko tuepōlo te wī lōpā lā loto o te Roskill District Rugby Club.
T kick-ball A all youth through inside P A Roskill District Rugby Club
The youths play rugby in the Roskill District Rugby Club. (P:AS:1:3)
- (115) Na pili au ki te manako na yau lā mua nei.
T close I G A thought T come through front here
I agree with the idea which has come before [us]. (T:U8:1)

It may indicate a means of transport:

- (116) Na wō mātou lā lunga o te poti ki Motu Kotawa.
T go.Pl we via on P A boat G Motu Kotawa
We went by boat to Motu Kotawa.
- (117) Ko yau iāna lā te pati ki te University i nā toe ayo.
T come he via A bus G A university L A other day
Some days he comes by bus to the University. (P:W2:11)

Lā may be used to denote temporal reference; *lā muli* ‘in the past’, *lā mua* ‘in the future’:

- (118) Ni mō muna nō te matawiti na pange lā muli.
Prd few word P A year T past through behind
[These are] just a few words about the year that has just ended. (V:80:1:2)
- (119) Ka maka te payī kia kōtou i lua ayo lā mua nei.
T leave A ship G-A you L two day through front here
The ship will leave for you in two days time. (L:L24:1:8)

6.2.8 a/o : Genitive

This section contains the main discussion of the semantics of possession in Pukapukan, and contains some reference to elements which are not prepositional, such as preposed possessive pronouns, as they are pertinent to the discussion.

Genitive possession (glossed ‘P’) is encoded in two ways: by *a* or *o*, which mark the relations between the possessor and the possessum. The possessive modifier of a noun is postposed to the noun it modifies (120), or optionally a possessive pronoun may be preposed to the noun (121). Unlike *nā/nō* (6.2.9), the markers *a/o* cannot be used predicatively as their cognates can in some Polynesian languages (Clark 2000:259), nor can a possessive phrase marked by *a/o* function as an adjunct to the verb. The possessive phrase can only function attributively, and the entire noun phrase (including the possessive phrase) is marked for case according to its role in the clause (122, 123). Predicative possession is marked by *nā/nō* (6.2.9). Irrealis or intended possession is marked by *mā/mō* (6.2.10).

- (120) Wakiwaki loa i nā lau o te puapua o te akamalu o Mokoyikungavali.
RR-pluck Int Acc A leaf P A tree.sp P A shade P Mokoyikungavali
[She] plucked off some leaves of the tree of the shady place of [the monster] Mokoyikungavali. (KS3:5)
- (121) Ka wano au kauwi i taku pānga.
T go I start Acc my mat
I am going to commence making my mat.

espoused in recent literature for many Polynesian languages (Cook 2000, Besnier 2000, Fischer 2000, Harlow 2000, Hooper 2000a, Naess 2000).

Within the domain of physical possessions, entities that are *a*-possessed are typically material belongings that can be acquired or used by the possessor. In the domain of actions or states, the possessor marked by *a* is typically the actor or agent of the verb:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|--------|
| (129) | taku pāla | a lātou māmoē | nā muna a te kaú | te kainga a Waiva i | te ika |
| | my knife | P they sheep | A word P A people-Da | A eat-Nom P Waiva Acc A fish | |
| | <i>my knife</i> | <i>their sheep</i> | <i>the people's words</i> | <i>Waiva's eating the fish</i> | |

The preposition *o* signifies that the object belongs naturally or inherently to the possessor. It is typically used for part-whole relationships, body parts, inherent characteristics or spatial orientation. The relationship is not controlled by the possessor; thus patients of nominalised verbs are marked in this way:

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (130) | toku lima | o lātou vave | tawa o te akau | te amonga o te vaka |
| | my hand | P they strength | side P A reef | A carry-Nom P A canoe |
| | <i>my hand</i> | <i>their strength</i> | <i>side of the reef</i> | <i>the carrying of the canoe</i> |

The distinction in the semantic relationships expressed by the two types of marking is most evident for possessives which allow marking by both *a* and *o*:

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (131) | nā tala a te kauliki | nā tala o Wale |
| | A story P A children | A story P Home |
| | <i>the children's stories [that they wrote]</i> | <i>the [traditional] stories of Pukapuka</i> |
| (132) | a lātou puaka | nā puaka o te kongā nei |
| | P they pig | A pig P A place here |
| | <i>their pigs [that they look after]</i> | <i>the pigs belonging to this place</i> |
| (133) | te pāla a Lima | tā mātou pāla o te vāiá |
| | A knife P Lima | P we knife P A time-Da |
| | <i>Lima's knife [that he uses]</i> | <i>our knife of the past</i> |
| (134) | a mātou pupu tangata nā iki | tō mātou pupu |
| | P we group people T elect | P we group |
| | <i>the teams that we elected</i> | <i>our group [that we belong to]</i> |

However many Polynesian languages exhibit peculiarities or lexical exceptions to the principle (Clark 2000:266), a point acknowledged by a growing body of literature (cf. various contributions in Fischer 2000). Certain nouns are restricted to a single type of possessive marking and it is not easy to find a convincing semantic basis for these restrictions. A generalisation can be made that nouns which allow *a*-possessive marking also allow *o* marking but the reverse is not true. Certain *o*-class nouns do not allow the choice of *a* marking. Thus *o* is the unmarked or default category (Clark 1976:44, 2000:265).

Kinship terms illustrate these points. Terms for kinship which take *a*-possessive marking when describing a family relationship allow *o*-possessive marking to describe a social relationship within the larger community.

- (135) te wī tamaliki a Puia te wī tamaliki o Te Ulu o te Watu
 A all children P Puia A all children P A Head P A Stone
Puia's children *all the children of Pukapuka*
- (136) taku tāne te wī tāne o Ngake
 my man A all man P Ngake
my husband *all the men of Ngake village*

A few kinship terms allow both possessive markings to signify different family relationships; they are *a*-possessed if they denote children of the possessor and *o*-possessed for siblings of the possessor:

- (137) taku uluaki toku uluaki
 my firstborn my firstborn
my oldest son *my older brother*
- (138) tā māua pōtiki tō mātou pōtiki
 P we.2 lastborn P we lastborn
our lastborn son *our youngest brother/ sister*
- (139) tana wānau tona wānau
 his family his family
his offspring *his family [that he belongs to], his siblings*
- (140) tana wuānga tona wuānga
 his family his family
his offspring *his family [that he belongs to], his siblings*

However, kinship terms for kin in the same and ascendent generations only allow *o* possessive marking:

- (141) oku mātutua tona taina te tungāne o Lina
 my.Pl Pl.parent his same.sex sibling A opposite.sex sibling P Lina
my parents *his brother* *Lina's brother*

Likewise, terms for spatial orientation, body parts and other terms do not generally allow possessive marking other than *o*:

- (142) i lunga o te lākau te tino o te tangata
 * i lunga a te lākau A body P A person
 L on P A tree *a person's body*
on top of the tree

The possessive marking of some kinship terms appears to be determined by noun class rather than by purely semantic criteria. While a basic semantic distinction is made between birth relatives of the same and ascendent generations, which are *o*-possessed, and offspring/affines which are *a*-possessed, it is not easy to see the reason why a number of terms for 'spouse' are marked by *o*-possession. Attempts to explain some of these terms can be made with reference to their literal meanings. Some are metaphors for items which denote precious possessions of adornment or parts of a whole, terms which take *o*-possession: *tōyana* 'your spouse [lit. pearlshell pendant]', *tō tokolua*, 'your better half [lit. your pair]'. Some terms can be explained in terms of wider social relationships which are normally marked by *o*-possession: *tōyoa* 'your friend', *tō māuli* 'your favourite'. On the other hand, terms for 'spouse' which are marked by *a*-possession denote relationships in which the possessor is active or initiates some form of control over the possessum: *tau lupe* 'your pigeon', *tau ipo* 'your lover', *tau vale* 'your spouse'. But two very similar terms

for ‘spouse’, derived from words for ‘person’, one marked with *a*- and the other with *o*-possession defy any explanation: *tau tāne* ‘your husband [lit. ‘your man’]’, *tō tangata* ‘your spouse [lit. ‘your man, person’]’. Likewise, *tō kōrou kāu* ‘your spouse [lit. your Pl person]’⁷ takes *o*-possession. Another enigma in the domain of affinal relatives is *taokete* ‘brother-in-law, sister-in-law’ which takes *o*-possession, like the terms for siblings but unlike those for affines.

The converse use of *a/o* that is found with parent-child relationships is also found with many other hierarchical relationships: *nā maki a te taote* ‘the doctor’s patients’, *tō lārou taote* ‘their doctor’; *te pupu a te pūāpii* ‘the teacher’s class’, *tō lārou pūāpii* ‘their teacher’; *te lau a Uyo* ‘Uyo’s men’, *tō lārou wakayaele* ‘their leader’; *te ākonoanga a te wolomatua* ‘the parish of the minister’, *tō lārou wolomatua* ‘their minister’; *nā pipi a Ietu*, ‘the disciples of Jesus’, *tō lārou pūāpii* ‘their teacher’. But this is not true of the relationship between *wāoa* ‘crew’ and *langatila* ‘captain’, which is a reciprocal relation marked by *o*-possession: *te wāoa o Lata* ‘Lata’s crew’, *tō lārou langatila* ‘their captain’. A term for a minister of the church, *te tāvini o te Atua* ‘the servant of God’, takes *o*-possession even though the minister is subservient to God.⁸ Where metaphors using kinship terms are in conflict with the notion of control or hierarchy, the possessive marking follows that of the kinship term: *te Tama a te Atua* ‘the Son of God’, *tona Matua i te langi* ‘his Heavenly Father’ (the parent-child metaphor represents a non-hierarchical relationship between God and his Son in Christian belief); *te matua wawine o toku Atua* ‘the mother of my Lord’ (the status of *matua wawine* ‘mother’ is lower than that of *Atua* ‘God’).

Social relationships between people and those denoting group or village membership are typically reciprocal relations which are *o*-possessed: *te wī tangata o te lulu* ‘all the people of the village’, *tō lārou lulu* ‘their village’; *te kau lōpā o te pupu nonipō* ‘the youths of the rugby team’, *tō lārou pupu* ‘their team’; *te kau wowolo o Wale* the leaders of Pukapuka’, *tō lārou wenua* ‘their island’; *te kauliki o te āpii* ‘the school children’, *tō lārou āpii* ‘their school’. Social relationships are *o*-possessed even when they denote relationships of active participation in which there conceivably could be an element of control: *tō mārou mata* ‘our representative’, *tō mārou paletua* ‘our helper’. But the reciprocal relation between the traditional sacred maid (cf. Hecht 1977) and her lineage is exceptionally *a*-possessed: *tā mārou māyakitanga* ‘our sacred maid’, *te māyakitanga a Muliwutu* ‘the sacred maid of Muliwutu’.

Offspring of humans and animals are marked by *a*-possession, including ‘hen’s eggs’ *wua* which are considered as offspring, while the same term *wua* for ‘seeds of a tree’ is considered as part-whole and is marked by *o*-possession, as are ‘eggs’ of a turtle.

Body parts are *o*-possessed (*tino* ‘body’, ‘ulu ‘head’, *iyu* ‘nose’), including hair (*lauulu* ‘hair on head’ *kumikumi*⁹ ‘beard’, *kava* ‘pubic hair’), bodily secretions (*yuāwū* ‘breast milk’, *yūpē* ‘nasal mucus’, *tūtāe* ‘excrement’) and marks on the body (*along āmanava* ‘stretch marks’, *mānuka* ‘scar’) or marks left by the body (*yolingāvae* ‘footprint’) and the word for ‘thing’ *mea* used to denote ‘sexual organ’. *Ao* ‘breath’ and *leo* ‘voice, language’ are *o*-possessed, but *kata* ‘smile’ is *a*-possessed. A likely explanation for the difference in possessive marking is the degree of volition. To smile or laugh is more volitional than the characteristics of one’s voice. A native language is considered as part of the *o* possessor, but a second language requires the learner to be active and is possessed by *a*:

- (143) Ēnei **taku leo** na mea ai au ke āpii.
 this my language T do Pro I C learn
This is the language that I wanted to learn. (S:LN1:13)

One can learn one's native language yet the relationship may still be thought of as inherent, as illustrated in this excerpt about second generation immigrant children learning Pukapukan:

- (144) Ka āpii oki lātou i tō lātou leo.
 T learn also they Acc P they language
They will learn their [native] language. (S:LN1:13)

Other part-whole relationships, inherent characteristics, feelings and emotions are *o*-possessed. These include body parts of animals (*te yiku o te ika* 'the tail of a fish', *nāuna o te wonu* 'the scales of a turtle') and parts of plants (*nā lau o te lākau* 'the leaves on a tree', *te pulu o te yakali* 'the husk of a dry coconut', *nāwua o te lākau* 'seeds of a tree') as well as parts of an object (*te pupuni o te moina* 'the top of a bottle', *te uwila o te motokā* 'the wheel of a car', *nā vae o te ola* 'the hands [lit. legs] of a clock', *te veu o te poti* 'the prow of a canoe', *te mata o te kupenga* 'the mesh of a net'), intrinsic characteristics or qualities of a person or a thing (*tona ingoa* 'his/its name', *te manamana o te atua* 'the power of the god', *te lapalapa o tona ulu* 'the breadth of his head', *te kala o te pona* 'the colour of the dress', *te vela o te awi* 'the heat of a fire', *te lapa o te uwila* 'the flash of lightning', *te āngi o te matangi* 'the blowing of the wind', *te leva o Wale* 'the climate of Pukapuka') and emotions of a person (*te lili o te wīlōpā* 'the anger of the youths', *toku aloa* 'my love', *te tīngā o toku tua* 'the pain in my back'). Words in this category seldom occur marked by *a*-possession. A body part may occur with *a*-possessive marking, in which case it does not denote a body part relationship with its possessor, but indicates that the possessor is an actor or agent of a verb in a subordinate clause (10.6.1):

- (145) Totolo mai loa te kalou ia, kai i aku ngākau manini nā maka ki lalo o te poti.
 crawl Dir Int A eel Af eat Acc my.PI intestine fish.sp. T throw G under P A boat
An eel crawled out and ate the intestines of the manini which I had thrown under the boat. (PP2:9:2)
- (146) **taku vae kaveu** na kai
 my leg coconut.crab T eat
the coconut crab leg which I ate

Similarly, non-agentive weather phenomena and emotions may be encoded with *a*-possessive marking in suffixed nominalisations which depict specific events in which the possessor is an actor or natural force:

- (147) Na mamae te niu ia i te lapanga a te uwila ia.
 T wither A coconut Af L A flash-Nom P A lightning Af
The coconut tree was singed when the lightning flashed.
- (148) I **taku lilinga** kia ana ia, yē yau ai iāna wakawōu.
 L my angry-Nom G-A he Af Neg come Pro he again
On account of my getting angry at him, he never came back again.

Items of clothing are *o*-possessed: items of traditional and modern clothing (*malo* 'loincloth, wrestling belt', *titi* 'skirt', *kākau* 'clothing', *pilipou* 'pants', *pona* 'dress', *tāmaka* 'sandals'), including jewellery (*poē* 'earrings', *monolima* 'ring', *wāti* 'watch'), garlands of flowers (*yēi* 'garland', *pale tiale* 'coronet of flowers') and portable accessories (*ili* 'fan', *tāmalu* 'umbrella', *pelu* 'comb', *pale* 'hat', *tīia* 'glasses, oloi

‘handkerchief’). Clothing seems to be conceptualised as extensions of the body which overrides the idea that they are also items of personal portable property. The only item that is consistently *a*-possessed is *pūē* ‘bag, purse’. However, some young people alternate *o*-possession with *a*-possession for certain non-traditional portable or removable items.

Some of the most seemingly arbitrary assignments of possessive category are in the domain of traditional tools and possessions; a class of exceptions recognised by Wilson (1982:22) as having historical significance. Most traditional items are *a*-possessed: *kete* ‘basket’, *tuā* ‘instrument for grating coconut’, *tauanga* ‘instrument for squeezing coconut cream’, *kawa* ‘sennit’, *kumete* ‘wooden bowl’, *velele* ‘broom’, *akavae* ‘fishing hook’, *pāla* ‘knife’ and *wata* ‘copra drying rack’, as are all portable modern possessions, instruments and tools: *keke* ‘saw’, *tīpunu* ‘teaspoon’, *pupui* ‘gun’, *komipiuta* ‘computer’, and even tools whose names are homonymous with the names of inherent qualities or body parts: *mana* ‘gun [lit. power]’, *tao* ‘speargun’ [cf. *te tao o te akulā* ‘spear of swordfish’]. However, certain traditional tools which are used in canoe building, house-building and food gathering are *o*-possessed: *toki* ‘adze’, *kūkī* ‘axe’, *ipu* ‘scoop [tool for making canoes]’, *oma* ‘tool [for making canoes]’, *koyo* ‘husking stick’, *kāanga* ‘climbing rope’, *tokotoko* ‘walking stick’, *tao* ‘traditional spear’, *tau* ‘anchor’ and *kupenga* ‘fishing net’, although some younger speakers do not consistently use *o*-possession for all these terms. Pukapukan follows the pattern of possessive marking for traditional possessions in non-Eastern Polynesian languages (cf. Wilson 1982:24). However, like many Eastern languages which use *o*-marking for spatial relationships, Pukapukan has extended the class of *o*-possessed nouns to cover traditional as well as modern vehicles¹⁰: *vaka* ‘large canoe’, *poti* ‘small fishing canoe, boat, dinghy’, *payī* ‘ship’, *payīlele* ‘plane’, *pātikala* ‘bicycle’ as well as ‘wheelbarrow’: *te uwilapa o Kupa* ‘Kupa’s wheelbarrow’.

Spatial relationships denoting place of origin (*wenua* ‘homeland’), place of habitat (*wale* ‘house’, *konga* ‘place’, *kāanga* ‘nest’), burial site (*pō* ‘cemetery’) or ownership of land or dwelling (*uwi wāwā* ‘taro patch’, *vai* ‘well’, *imu*¹¹ ‘cookhouse, oven’) are all *o*-possessed. Ownership of trees is generally marked by *o*-possession (*wuti* ‘banana’, *wetau* ‘Alexandrian laurel’, *pukāma* ‘lantern tree’, *te lākau o Yinata* ‘Yinata’s tree’) while small plants are marked by *a*-possession (*tingapula* ‘taro shoots’, *wāwā* ‘taro plants’, *pulaka* ‘puraka’), with the exception of *niu* ‘coconut’ which is *a*-possessed whether the term denotes a tree or the produce from the tree. It is possible that coconut trees are *a*-possessed by analogy with the food they produce. By contrast with other trees, *niu* ‘coconut (palm trees)’ require action on the part of the possessor in order to utilise their resources, so the relationship may be considered an active one. Other types of spatial relationships are *o*-possessed (*nākaveu o te motu* ‘the coconut crabs of the reserve’, *te wīika o te moana* ‘the fish in the ocean’, *te pia o te lātio* ‘the radio’s room’, *te vā o Pukapuka ma Nassau* ‘the space between Pukapuka and Nassau’). Places named after people are generally marked with *o*: *te ālai o Palaoa* ‘the reef of Palaoa’, *te ala o Tūiva* ‘the path belonging to Tūiva’, but some are marked with *a*: *te toka a Tima* ‘Tima’s reef’. One type of spatial relationship, that encoding complex locative phrases, is grammaticised with *o*-possession (*i lunga o te lā* ‘on the branch’) (cf. 4.8.1), while a few compound nouns denoting spatial relationships have a bound morpheme *a* which is likely to be a possessive marker historically (*tuāwenua* ‘the back of the island’, *muāvaka* ‘prow of canoe’, *tilālalo* ‘lower stay of a sail [lit. mast-a-down]’) (cf. 4.5.4). Items of furniture are *o*-possessed as extensions of one’s personal space (*loki* ‘chair, bed’, *pānga* ‘mat’, *epaepa* ‘fine mat’, *nāanga* ‘chair’). Temporal relationships are always *o*-

possessed (*te yanga o te ayo nei* ‘today’s work’, *te vāia o te tipōi* ‘the time of the sports’, *te kaikainga o te awiawi* ‘the evening meal’, *te ayo mua o Māi* ‘the first day of March’).

Food and drink items are typically *a*-possessed with one or two exceptions, which are a remnant in Pukapukan of the edible and drinkable classes of Oceanic languages which merged with the *a* class and *o* classes respectively of Proto-Polynesian (Wilson 1982:26-30). Water and water producers (wells *vai* and modern water tanks *tāngika*) are marked with *o*-possession, although almost all other drinkables are marked with *a* possession (*niu* ‘drinking nuts’, *mōina kava* ‘bottle of beer’, *vai lākau* ‘medicine’). *Yua* ‘water’ is generally *o*-possessed (149) but can be *a*-possessed if the possessor is the actor or experiencer in a relative clause (150):

(149) Totoli tāua ki lunga o te niu, ke yī o māua yua.
R-climb we.2 G up P A coconut C some P we.2 water
Let’s climb up the coconut tree to get some water.

(150) E lua aku kapu yua na inu.
T two my cup water T drink
I drank two cups of water.

Likewise, almost all food is *a*-possessed. This includes food items for consumption or awaiting food division as well as those prepared by the possessor (*popoa* ‘food’, *kai* ‘food’, *imukai* ‘feast’, *olo* ‘taro pudding’, *ika* ‘fish’, *puyipuyi* ‘cigarettes’), but two words for food are marked with *o*-possession, including *tuanga* ‘food share’ and *nānaki/kānaki* which denote ‘accompanying dish’ (*te nānaki o te ika nei* ‘the food to go with this fish’) as well as some food producers, tall trees and tall plants (*uwi* ‘garden’, *pukāma* ‘lantern tree’, *wuti* ‘banana plant’) mentioned earlier. Thus there is a contrast between *wuti* ‘bananas’ used for food and the tree that produces the food (151), but the same contrast is not made with *niu* ‘coconuts’ (152):

| | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (151) | ana wuti his.Pl banana <i>his bananas [to eat]</i> | nā wuti o Pāni A banana P Pāni <i>the banana [trees] belonging to Pāni</i> |
|-------|--|--|

| | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (152) | ana niu his coconut <i>his coconuts [to drink]</i> | nā niu a toku Pāpā i muli o te wale A coconut P my father L behind P A house <i>my father’s coconut trees behind the house</i> |
|-------|--|--|

Certain spatial relationships with food items are also predictably *o*-possessed: *nāpopoa o te imukai nei* ‘the food of this feast’, *nākaveu o te motu nei* ‘the coconut crabs of this reserve island’.

Tales and songs and pictures made by the possessor are *a*-possessed (*te tala lelei a Luka* ‘Luke’s gospel [that he wrote]’, *nā imene a Karitua* ‘Karitua’s songs [that he composed]’, *tana tūtū* ‘her photo [that she took]’), while tales, songs and pictures about (not by) the possessor are *o*-possessed (*te tala o Lata* ‘the story about Lata’, *tō lātou tala* ‘the story of what happened to them’, *te mako o Kililua* ‘the chant composed for Kililua’, *tona tūtū* ‘the photo of her’) as are chants or songs owned by a village or moiety (*te wīmako o Tiapani* ‘the chants belonging to Japan [Yātō village]’).

Nominalisations in which the possessor is the actor or experiencer are *a*-possessed: *tana waowao* ‘his jumping’, *a lātou yokanga* ‘their act of husking’. Nominalisations are *o*-possessed when the possessor is a patient or the stimulus of an experience:

- (153) Ke tayi te tātānga o te wī talatala tākatoa.
 C one A write-Nom P A all RR-talk every
To unify the orthography of the whole language. (TA:E1)
- (154) Tala loa ia Tina i te kainga o a lātou moa.
 tell Int A Tina Acc A eat P P they hen
Tina told [them] of their hens being eaten.

Some intransitive subjects, including those of patient-subject verbs, are marked by *o* (see 10.8.4):

- (155) te oko mainga o te payī i toku yinganga
 A arrive Dir-Nom P A ship L my fall-Nom
the arrival of the ship when I fell over

Certain nominalised verbs allow a choice of possessive marking for their actors, according to whichever perspective the speaker wishes to highlight (see 10.8.4 for further discussion).

It needs to be emphasised that for many objects which are *o*-possessed, it is possible to view the same item in a different relationship with its possessor in which the possessor is considered active. Thus, items of clothing, articles of furniture and traditional tools which are made, bought, sold or washed by its possessor may be marked with *a*-possession: (*aku kākau na palu* ‘the clothes that I washed’, *ana ili ka oko atu* ‘her fans that she is selling’, *taku pānga nāwai* ‘my mat that I made’, *tana loki na māni* ‘his bed that he made’). A relative clause is not the only way to express this type of relationship. Although the *a*-possessor normally corresponds to the agent in the clause in order for the relationship to be viewed as active, this is not necessarily the case. Compare the following pairs of sentences in which the possessors of tools are marked by *o* to denote possession alone, but by *a* to denote a relationship in which the tool is being used:

- (156) a. Ka kave mō au i tō toe kupenga?
 T take Q I Acc your other net
May I borrow one of your nets [that you own]?
- b. Tuku atu i a kōtou kupenga ke yī a kōtou ika.
 put Dir Acc P you net C exist P you fish
Let down your nets [which you are using] to catch some fish. (KM:LK:3:4)
- (157) a. Wano koe aumaina te uwilapa o Lewutope mā.
 go you bring-Cia A wheelbarrow P Lewutope etc
Go and bring the wheelbarrow which belongs to Lewutope and the others. (KKU:4:2)
- b. Akakī ai au i tā mātou uwilapa kī yeyele.
 caus-fill Pro I Acc P we wheelbarrow full brimful
I filled our wheelbarrow [which we were using] until it was full to the top. (PP2:10:4)
- (158) a. Ka wano au ki te koyo o Kupá.
 T go I G A husking.stick P Kupa-Da
I will go [and borrow] Kupa’s husking stick. (KKU:4:7)

- (159) Yau oki iāna ma **tana koyo** **lākau** ki te konga e kangakanga ai lua tamaliki.
 come also he with his husking.stick wood G A place T RR-play Pro two children
*He came with his wooden husking stick [that he was carrying and about to use]
 to the place where the two children were playing. (KKU:6:7)*

The following sentences indicate that these items which are normally *o*-possessed can be *a*-possessed if they are viewed as recent acquisitions which have not yet fully reached the state of possession. The marking by *a* in these sentences is not related to activity of the possessor, nor to the concept of control.

- (160) Ēnā **tau pānga ma tau pulūmu** na avatua e te wenua.
 here your mat and your broom T give-Cia Ag A land
Here is your mat and your broom which the island has given to you.
- (161) Kave koe i **tona pānga ia** ki ai.
 take you Acc his mat Af G Pro
Take his mat [that he already owns] to him.
- (162) Kave koe i **tana pānga ia** ki ai.
 take you Acc his mat Af G Pro
Take his mat to him [that is to be given to him].

However it is not the length of time since acquisition *per se* that governs the case marking, but the perception of the speaker at the time. A mat may be viewed as an intrinsic possession marked by *o*, or it may be viewed as somehow distinct from the owner and the duration of ownership and is marked by *a*.

- (163) Ko ai na langaina **tō pānga nā**?
 Prd Pro T weave-Cia your mat there
Who wove your mat [for you and gave it to you to own]?
- (164) Ko ai na langaina **tau pānga nā**?
 Prd Pro A weave-Cia your mat there
Who wove your mat [that you have beside you]?
 [The sentence allows for the possibility that the owner may have woven it herself or may be about to give it away, but does not preclude that someone else may have woven it for her.]

Although most possessions are normally marked with *a* to denote their relationship with an owner, it is important to reiterate that this is not the only relationship possible for these items. Possessive marking with *o* may describe a spatial relationship or a part-whole relationship in which the same item exists. To take just one illustration, fish which is caught or eaten by its possessor is marked by *a*, whereas in a spatial relationship with its habitat, or part-whole relationship with a food division or type of fishing technique, its possessive marking is *o*. The distinction between the two types of marking is even possible in clauses containing the same verb:

- (165) Yī ai iāna i ana ika, maua ana ika. **Ko ana ika** na maua mai ni pātuki.
 fish Pro he Acc his.Pl fish catch his.Pl fish Top his.Pl fish T catch Dir Prd fish.sp
He fished for his fish, caught his fish. The fish he caught were hawkfish. (KS:3:5)
- (166) E wāngota te mea nei ko i te moana. **Ko ona ika** ko maua mai: e wāpuku, e katakata...
 Prd fishing.technique A thing here T L A ocean Top its fish T catch Dir Prd fish.sp Prd fish.sp
This is a type of deep-sea fishing. Its [the type of] fish [it] catches are: wāpuku, katakata... (KM:YK3:1)

It must also be emphasised that the relationships are not between lexical items, but are perceived relationships between real world objects and these relationships are encoded in lexical terms. Thus a word may have several different senses, each of which is able to encode different relationships in the real world. The relationship between *kai* ‘food’ and *wenua* its ‘island’ is *o* possessed if a spatial relationship is encoded, but may be *a* possessed in the sense that the people of the island have prepared the food.

(167) Wolo te kai o te wenua nei.
 many A food P A land here
The food of this country is plentiful.

(168) Tali mai loa nā kai a te wenua ki Vaimata Hall.
 carry Dir Int A food P A island G Vaimata Hall
The [people of the] island brought the food [they had prepared] to Vaimata Hall. (F3:S2:1)

In almost every domain there are one or two exceptions to the principles of possessive marking. Taumoefolau (1993) has argued that what other linguists have called ‘exceptions’ can be readily explained in terms of metaphorical extensions of meanings. For instance, in Tongan the tools which are marked by subordinate possession and a word for ‘son’ are derived from terms for body parts, while a kinship term for ‘parent’ marked by dominant possession is derived from a verbal use in which the possessor may be considered as actor. However, it must be pointed out that this type of lexical or semantic detail is often obscure or difficult information for the non-native linguist to access reliably. Moreover, the source of a metaphor may no longer be accessible even to the native speaker.

Although there is definitely some overall principle to the distinctions made between relationships distinguished by *a/o* in Polynesia, there are often language specific idiosyncratic lexical exceptions which are difficult to explain. It seems that we must accept a both/and analysis: a relational theory coupled with the acceptance of noun classes for certain unexplained exceptions in each language (see Pawley 1990 on this point for Wayan).

6.2.9 *nā/nō* : Benefactive

Both *nā* and *nō* can be used predicatively or as adjuncts to the verb to denote ownership, benefactee and source. The difference between them reflects the same semantic distinctions as those outlined in 6.2.8 for *a* and *o*-possession. Thus, inherent characteristics and part-whole relationships between the possessor and the possessum are expressed by *nō*, while relationships in which the possessive relationship is initiated through agency or control of the possessor are expressed by *nā*. Several functions of *nō* are not shared by *nā* and one function of *nā* is not shared by *nō*.

Nā and *nō* both combine phonologically with the singular pronouns beginning with a vowel (see 2.6.2). Table 18 displays the full paradigm of pronoun forms.

TABLE 18: Pronouns marked by *nā/nō*

| | Singular | | Dual | | Plural | |
|----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | a | o | a | o | a | o |
| First Incl: | | | nā tāua | nō tāua | nā tātou | nō tātou |
| Exclusive: | nā aku [na:ku] | nō oku [no:ku] | nā māua | nō māua | nā mātou | nō mātou |
| Second Person: | nā koe [na:koe] nā au [na:u] | nō koe [no:koe] nō ou [no:u] | nā kōlua | nō kōlua | nā kōtou | nō kōtou |
| Third Person: | nā ana [na:na] | nō ona [no:na] | nā lāua | nō lāua | nā lātou | nō lātou |

Nā and *nō* differ from the genitive markers *a* and *o* in that they may have a predicative function (7.1.3). They are the only forms which can be used predicatively.

(169) Nā ai te tama nei?
P Pro A child here
Whose is this child?

(170) Nō Māmā Wualelei te wuti nei.
P Māmā Wualelei A banana here
This banana palm belongs to Māmā Wualelei.

(171) Taku tala nō Uyo.
my story P Uyo
My story is about Uyo.

(U:4)

A supporting argument for this analysis is that postposed modifiers of the phrase may come between a noun phrase and a phrase marked by *nā/nō*, but not one possessively modified by *a/o*.¹² Moreover, the second structure requires a predicate to complete the clause.

(172) Te lākau nei nō Yinata.
A tree here P Yinata
This tree belongs to Yinata.

(173) * te lakau nei o Yinata Te lakau o Yinata e wetau.
te lākau o Yinata nei A tree P Yinata Prd tree.sp
A tree (here) P Yinata (here) *Yinata's tree was a wetau.*
Yinata's tree

For oblique phrases the same constraint applies, indicating that a phrase marked by *o* modifies the previous noun phrase, while a noun phrase marked by *nō* is an independent adjunct of the clause.

(174) ke tuku mai [te pātete [o toku pāpā.]_{NP}]_{NP}
* ke tuku mai te pātete ia o toku pāpā.
C put Dir A passage (Af) P my father
to give me my father's fare

(175) Ke tuku mai [te pātete (ia)]_{NP} [nō toku pāpā.]_{NP}
C put Dir A passage (Af) P my father
To give me the fare for my father.

- (176) Na iloa oki e Kālevāmotu e matapili te mea nei nā TeVana iāna.
 T know-Cia also Ag Kālevāmotu Prd trap A thing here P TeVana L-A-he
Kālevāmotu also knew that this was a trap of TeVana for him. (TV:T5)
- (177) E tila te mea ia, nō te vaka (*nei) o Tēnana.
 Prd tila A thing Af concerning A canoe (*here) P Tēnana
That's a tila [chant] about Tēnana's canoe. (MM:T8)

Phrases modified by *a/o* are noun phrases which require additional case marking in order for the phrase to occur as an argument or adjunct of the verb. However, *nā* and *nō* may occur as case markers marking oblique noun phrases.

The various meanings of *nā* and *nō* are now outlined.

1. Ownership: 'belonging to'

This meaning is expressed predicatively. The distinction between *a/o* relationships of possession are maintained in the marking of *nā/nō* (see 6.2.8).

(a) *Nā*:

Relationships in which the possessor is in an active relationship with the possessum are marked by *nā* as are kinship relationships with offspring and affines.

- (178) Nā ai te tamaiti nei? Nā Puia.
 P Pro A child here P Puia
Whose is this child? [It] belongs to Puia.
- (179) Nā toku māmā te pāla ia.
 P my mother A knife Af
That knife belongs to my mother.
- (180) E wonu nā te wī lōpā na maua i te moana.
 Prd turtle P A all youth T caught L A ocean
It was a turtle belonging to all the youth that they had caught in the ocean. (U:4)
- (181) Oko loa ki te toe vāia, e wāinganga tae mālolo nā te wenua.
 arrive Int G A other time Prd competition catch flying.fish P A land
Another time came, it was a flying fish netting competition for the [whole] island.
- (182) E akailo tamaki oki teia nā Pukapuka nei.
 Prd sign fight also this P Pukapuka here
This was a sign of war for Pukapuka. (MM:T5)

(b) *Nō*:

Relationships in which a body part (183), item of clothing (184) or inherent characteristic (185) is possessed are marked by *nō*, as are kinship relationships with blood relatives of the same or ascendent generations (186) and spatial relationships (187) (see 6.2.8).

- (183) Nō ou te ngutu, na wōmamai ai tātou ki kinei.
P you A mouth T go.Pl Pro we G here
[Lit. Yours was the mouth that made us come here.] It was your fault that we came here.
- (184) Nō toku pāpā te pale nei.
P my father A hat here
This hat belongs to my father.
- (185) Nō lāua oki nā māloyi ma nā māwutu.
P they.2 also A strength and A wisdom
Theirs was the strength and the expertise. (TA:E2)
- (186) E matua iāna nō oku.
Prd parent he P I
He is a parent [or uncle, grandfather] of mine.
- (187) Ko Yinata te tangata nō ona te lākau ia.
Top Yinata A person P he A tree Af
Yinata was the person who owned that tree. (MM:L1)

2. Benefactive: 'for'

Where this function overlaps with (1) it is predicative, but an oblique noun phrase marked by *nō* may also be benefactive.

(a) Benefactive relationships marked by *nā* are those in which the beneficiary is in an active relationship with the possessed object.

- (188) Ko te puka nei na tātāina nā te tamaliki e wō ki te āpii.
Top A book here T write-Cia P A children T go.Pl G A school
This book has been written for the children who go to school. (AT:E1)
- (189) Ka wō tātou aumai ni malie nā tātou, ka kai ai tātou.
T go.Pl we bring A sweet P we T eat Pro we
Let's go and bring something sweet for us to then eat. (MM:L2)

(b) Benefactive relationships marked by *nō* are less restricted and include spatial relationships, items of clothing or traditional tools to be given to or owned by the benefactee, temporal relationships and abstract nominalisations.

- (190) Nō koe te pānga nei.
P you A mat here
This mat belongs to you/is for you.
- (191) E ili nō oku ko lalanga.
Prd fan P I T R-weave
It's a fan that I'm weaving for myself [to own].
- (192) Nō kōtōu te taime nei, ke maua te manako o te lulu.
P you A time here C get A thought P A village
This time is yours [to hear] what the village thinks. (UU:6:1)
- (193) Ka lilo te mea nei wai tūmatetenga nō tātou nō nā ayo lā mua nei.
T become A thing here like trouble for we for A day through front here
This thing will become a burden for us in the future. (UU:49:3)

3. Source: 'from'

This meaning is normally expressed predicatively.

(a) Active relationships with the possessor denoting source are marked by *nā*:

- (194) **Nā aku** te mea aloa nei kia Lina.
 P I A thing love here G-A Lina
This is my present to Lina. [This present is from me to Lina.]
- (195) Ko manatu ni meanga wua **nā Tepou**.
 T think A say-Nom just P Tepou
They thought it was just something originating from Tepou [that he had made up]. (U:8)
- (196) **Nā te pāwenua** te pikikā.
 P A foreign.land A liar
The [word] pikikā is from the other Cook Islands [not Pukapuka].

(b) Source referring to a spatial location or part of a whole is marked by *nō*:

- (197) **Nō te walá** nā lito nei.
 P A pandanus-Da A leaves.sp here
These lito leaves are from that pandanus tree.
- (198) E atua **nō te Aolako**.
 Prd god P A Aolako
[He] was a god from Te Aolako [a distant land]. (BB:977)
- (199) Ko yē mālama loa ia aku mē **nō Yāmoa**, mē **nō Witi**.
 T Neg sure Int By-A I Q P Samoa Q P Fiji
I'm not sure whether it's from Samoa or from Fiji. (MM:L3)

Temporal source or onset may be denoted predicatively by *nō*:

- (200) **Nō te awiawi** na wō ai lātou yī ika.
 since A afternoon T go.Pl Pro they catch fish
They have been fishing since this afternoon. (KM:C3)

There are several other meanings which are specific to either *nā* or *nō* but not both.

4. Reason and purpose: 'because of', 'for the purpose of'

Nō commonly introduces a nominalised reason clause in the form of an oblique noun phrase.

- (201) E yē wai te imukai i te taeyao **nō te ngalungalu**.
 T Neg make A feast L A tomorrow because A RR-wave
[We] won't be holding the feast tomorrow because of the rough waves. (U:C2)
- (202) Ko lewu wua lā tō yuāwū **nō au kaikai**.
 T small just Int your water-P-milk because your.Pl RR-eat
Your milk supply is low because of your eating habits.

- (203) Taku niu nā kaí, e kiai na pau nō te lāpapalu.
 my coconut T eat-Da T Neg T finish P A R-big
The coconut that I was eating, I did not finish because it was so big.

Nō may also introduce a phrase denoting that an object or person is the cause or reason:

- (204) Lali loa ona vae nō te kongá.
 soil Int his.Pl leg because A place-Da
Her feet are dirty from/because of that place.
- (205) E kiai iāna na wāngai tika ke yau te kōpelu, nō te kau ia kāe yā.
 T Neg he T feed right C come A fish.sp P A people Af lest fish-Cia
He didn't feed them properly so that the mackerel scad came [to the surface] because of the [other] people [fishing], lest they were caught [by them]. (PS:1:3)

Phrases denoting purpose are marked by *nō*:

- (206) Ka wō tātou ki te koló, wakaputupu ai nō te uwipānga.
 T go.Pl we G A wall-Da caus-RR-gather Pro for A meeting
Let's go to the embankment and gather there for the meeting.
- (207) Ka tuku atu au i lua mea mā au nō tau yaelenga ki tō wale.
 T leave Dir I Acc two thing for you for your walk-Nom G P house
I would leave two [dollars] for you for your journey home. (AP:C1)
- (208) Ke yī moni ke tautulu ai nō te neneinga o nā puka nei.
 C exist money C help Pro for A print-Nom P A book here
So there will be some monetary assistance for producing these books. (P:S1:13)

Nō tēā, *nō te mea* and *nō leila* 'that's why' also introduce reason clauses (see 10.7.5).

- (209) Nō tēā loa tana tanginga.
 P that long her cry-Nom
That's why she cried for a long time. (AT:C1)
- (210) Nō te mea, na akaao ma Tua.
 because A thing T marry with Tua
Because [I] married Tua. (AP:C1)
- (211) Nō leila au na maka ai toku māmā, na alu au ki te wale o toku tāne.
 for that I T leave Pro my mother T follow I G A house P my husband
That's why I left my mother and joined my husband's house. (AP:C1)

5. 'About, concerning'

This meaning may also be predicative. *Nō*, but not *nā*, may refer to the contents or topic of a discussion, concept or communicative event.

- (212) Taku tala nō Uyo.
 my story P Uyo
My story is about Uyo.
- (213) Te vānanga o te ayo nei nō te imukai.
 A announcement P A day here concerning A feast
The announcement today was about the feast. (U:C1)

- (214) Te lua, nō te kātoatoa, ke lōmamai ki te pule.
 A second concerning A all C come.PI G A church
The second thing was concerning everyone, that they should come to the church. (U:C1)
- (215) E tila te mea ia, nō te vaka o Tēnana.
 Prd tila A thing Af concerning A canoe P Tēnana
That's a chant about Tēnana's canoe. (MM:L8)

6. *Nā*, but not *nō*, occurs occasionally in Actor-Emphatic constructions (Clark 1976:119-122) that are borrowed from Cook Islands Māori. In Pukapukan discourse, they are usually lexicalised phrases that are often of a religious nature (see 7.1.3).

- (216) Nā te Atua tātou e wakaalāvei wakawōu.
 P A God we T caus-meet again
It's up to God to enable us to meet again.
- (217) Nā te Atua kōtou e taute.
 P A God you T care
God bless you/look after you.

6.2.10 *mā/mō* : Irrealis possession

Mā and *mō* denote irrealis or anticipated possession. They occur in clauses with future time reference, hypothetical sentences, imperatives and purpose complements marked by *ke*. However it must be noted that there are many instances in the corpus in which *nā/nō* are also used to denote irrealis possession, so that this distinction is not made consistently. *Mā/mō* sometimes occur in narrative clauses or in clauses in the past tense where they denote benefactive phrases or that ownership is being established at that point in the narrative.

Mā and *mō* are not used predicatively at all. They can only introduce oblique benefactive noun phrases or post-nominal attributes (4.8.3). The distinction between *mā* and *mō* parallels that of *a* and *o* (see 6.2.8).

In Table 19 below, the pronoun series is displayed. The case marker combines phonologically with the singular pronoun forms beginning with a vowel (see 2.6.2).

TABLE 19: Pronouns marked by *mā/mō*

| | Singular | | Dual | | Plural | |
|----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | a | o | a | o | a | o |
| First Incl: | | | mā tāua | mō tāua | mā tātou | mō tātou |
| Exclusive: | mā aku [ma:ku] | mō oku [mo:ku] | mā māua | mō māua | mā mātou | mō mātou |
| Second Person: | mā koe [ma:koe] mā au [ma:u] | mō koe [mo:koe] mō ou [mo:u] | mā kōlua | mō kōlua | mā kōtou | mō kōtou |
| Third Person: | mā ana [ma:na] | mō ona [mo:na] | mā lāua | mō lāua | mā lātou | mō lātou |

Mā:

- (218) Aumai lā e kawa mā aku ke wakamātautau ake ai au e te yī ika.
bring Int A line for I C practise Dir Pro I C catch fish
Bring a line for me so that I can practise at fishing. (BB:8)
- (219) Ka lava lā mā tātou?
T enough Int for we
Will there really be enough for us all? (KM:C1)
- (220) Amuloa au kavangia e te kai uto, kai mā au.
really I sick.of C eat sprouting.coconut eat for you
I'm sick of eating sprouting coconuts, eat it yourself.
- (221) Wano loa ia Kula ulu kai mā tana pēpē.
go Int A Kula search food for her baby
Kula went and looked for food for her baby. (WP5:4:3)
- (222) Ka wō tāua ki nā pulapula i te tuāwenua, lalanga ai e kete mā tāua.
T go we.2 G A young.coconut L A back.of.island R-weave Pro A basket for we.2
Let's go to the young coconut trees at the back of the island and weave ourselves a basket. (KM:WK1:5)

Mō:

- (223) Ulu ake e wale mō oku.
search Dir A house for I
Please find a house for me. (WF:1:11)
- (224) Nenei ake i tūtū mō tātou.
photo Dir A picture for we
Please take some photos of us. (MC:3:6)
- (225) Yau atu ia Yinata, na kotia nā ualoto, na taia wai vaka mō Lata.
come Dir A Yinata T cut-Cia A centre T hew-Cia make canoe for Lata
Yinata came and the middle of [his tree] had been cut out and it had been hollowed out to make a canoe for Lata. (MM:L2)
- (226) Wano koe oko e pona mō ou, ula ai i te Lānauanga.
go you buy A dress for you dance Pro L A Day-birth-Nom
Go and buy a dress for yourself in which to dance on Christmas Day.
- (227) Lilo loa ia Tele wai wakayaele mō te kalapu pōlo a Yātō.
become Int A Tele like leader for A club ball P Yātō
Tele would become a leader for Yātō's rugby club in the future.
- (228) Ko lua tawa ka maua mai, ka kave mō tō tātou ōlo ka akatū i Lalotonga.
Top two money T get Dir T take for P we hall T build L Rarotonga
The money obtained will go towards our hall which is being built in Rarotonga. (KL2:1:4)

6.2.11 ma : Comitative, confective, instrumental

The preposition *ma* can be used with a range of functions, including comitative, confective and instrumental. It can also introduce prepositional phrases which denote manner or circumstance. This preposition is related to the coordinator *ma* (10.1.2) and both are respectively related to the combined form *ma te* which introduces adverbial clauses of manner (10.7.2) and conjoins subordinate clauses (10.1.1.1).

The distinctions between the comitative case, coordination and inclusory pronominals are discussed in 10.1.3. The vowel of *ma* is lengthened before stressed words of two morae (see 2.6.1).

A prepositional phrase introduced by *ma* can denote the comitative case, or accompaniment by human participants:

(229) Totolo loa ia Lū ki lolotonu o te langi, totolo **ma lua ona yoa** i tawa o Lū.
R-crawl Int A Lū G middle P A sky R-crawl with two his.Pl friend L side P Lū
Lū crawled to the centre of the sky with his two friends at his side. (BB:978)

(230) Na pupuni makeke te pū, ko i lunga au o te loki **ma aku tama**.
A R-shut hard A door T L on I P A bed with my.Pl child
The door is shut tightly and I am in bed with my children. (LK11:7)

The head of the noun phrase within the prepositional phrase can denote a confective; an inanimate entity which is carried or brought by a human participant to be used by him/her in some way, for instance as an instrument:

(231) Wō ai māua **ma tā māua takitai pāla ia** onoono i nā puka manú.
go.Pl Pro we.2 with P we.2 each-one knife Af look Acc A tree.sp bird-Da
We both went with a knife each to look at the huge roosting trees [and catch birds]. (F3S5:2)

(232) Yau loa ia Eleta **ma tana matila**.
come Int A Eleta with her fishing.rod
Eleta came with her fishing rod. (PP2:11:2)

The inanimate entity can be used in ways other than as an instrument or it may merely be brought by the human participants:

(233) Lōmamai te toe kau mai Ngaké **ma te takitai moa**, wō tunu i wale.
come.Pl A other people from Ngake-Da with A each-one hen go.Pl cook L house
Some people came from Ngake with a hen each, went home and cooked [them]. (U4:1)

(234) Tō lātou mawulianga ia, kakau mai loa lātou mai te moana ki ngāuta **ma te vaka**.
P they capsizel-Nom Af swim Dir Int they from A ocean G shore with A canoe
Having overturned, they swam from the ocean towards shore with their canoe.

The phrase introduced by *ma* can denote an inanimate entity which is brought by another inanimate entity:

(235) Pēnei ka oko mai te payī **ma nā yinu**, ka wō ai tātou.
maybe T arrive Dir A ship with A petrol T go.Pl Pro we
Maybe when the ship arrives with the petrol, then we will [be able to] go [to the reserve islets]. (UU49:4)

It can denote an instrument:

(236) Tū lekileki loa ia Lū, totoko loa **ma lua ona lima**.
stand tiptoe Int A Lū R-push Int with two his.Pl hand
Lū then stood on tiptoes, pushed up with his two arms. (BB:979)

(237) Pilipou oki te pilipou vae loloa, pona **ma te pona lima loloa**, pale **ma tona kēpu**.
pants also A pants leg R-long dress with A shirt arm R-long hat with his cap
[He] put on his long trousers, dressed with a long-sleeved shirt and put on his cap. (PP2:2:3)

Ma may sometimes be interpreted as marking goal.

- (238) Ko yayaka wua te langi ki lalo, ko pipiki **ma te papa**.
 T R-short just A sky G down T join with A ground
The sky was quite low down, stuck to the earth.

Adverbial phrases meaning ‘in a state designated by the NP’ are marked by *ma*. (See also 10.7.2 which describes adverbial clauses of manner marked with *ma te*.)

- (239) Wano loa iāna **ma te ngākau vēvēia**.
 go Int he with A heart happy
He went home with a happy heart.

Some verbs denoting reciprocal action (e.g. *welāvei* ‘meet with’, *tamaki* ‘fight with’) mark their targets by *ma*:

- (240) Na oko mai ia Paleula mā ki te ayo ia, welāvei **ma te wī tāngata**.
 T arrive Dir A Paleula etc G A day Af meet with A all people
Paleula and the others came to that occasion and met with everyone. (PW1:2)
- (241) Na ala nā toe tūpele, tamaki ai **ma te wī lōpā**.
 T wake A other men fight Pro with A all youth
Some of the old men arose and fought together with the youths.

Distributive expressions can be expressed using *ma* to identify the noun phrase denoting the items which are apportioned to each individual or group of people.

- (242) Oko ki te ayo ia, penapena mātou ni wea a mātou mea ka wai, te tangata ia **ma tana meleki kai**,
 arrive G A day Af RR-ready we Prd what P we thing T make A person Af with his plate food
 te tangata ia **ma tana meleki kai**.
 A person Af with his plate food
When it came to the day, we all prepared whatever sort of food we were going to make, each person made a different plate of food [lit. one person with his/her plate of food, another person with his/her plate of food.]
- (243) Peia oki te wī tāne, tāpātana loa tātou takitau tokalua i te titi, tāne wawine **ma tā lāua titi**,
 like-so also A all man make-partner Int we each-together cls-two per skirt man woman with P they.2 skirt
 lōpā tamāwine **ma tā lāua titi**, matua ki te tamaiti **ma tā lāua titi**, e lelei ai.
 youth girl with P they.2 skirt mother G A child with P they.2 skirt T good Pro
And also for the menfolk, we should divide into pairs, two people [to make] each skirt, a man and a woman with their skirt, a boy and girl with their skirt, and a mother to a child with their skirt, so that it is good. (TU4:3)

There remain some instances of phrases marked by *ma* which are difficult to explain. For instance in (244), an instrument or confective does not seem an appropriate categorisation of *amu* ‘song’:

- (244) Ko amu nei **ma tā lātou amu**.
 T sing here with P they.2 amu
They sang their song. (PK:M1)

Weather verbs sometimes mark a noun phrase in this way that is otherwise marked as a subject. Alternatively these illustrations must be analysed as a loose type of coordination with a previous clause in the discourse (see 10.1.2.).

- (245) Akatele mai ai ia Lima ia mātou, koa akawewewu mai (**ma**) **te tawá**.
 caus-sail Dir Pro A Lima Acc-A we T caus-black Dir with A side-Da
Lima drove us [in the boat], as the edge of the sky was starting to darken. (PS:3:9)
- (246) E ngali ake tātou e te nīniko ki te kāinga, koa pōuli (**ma**) **te pō**.
 T better Dir we C R-return G A home T dark with A night
We had better go home [because] it is getting dark with the night [falling].

In imperative clauses, a noun phrase which is otherwise a core argument of a transitive construction is sometimes marked with *ma*. Imperatives containing a direct object may imply an immediate request or command for a specific definite object (247), while a confective construction may imply a less urgent request, that there is another purpose to the visit apart from the fulfilment of the request or that the requested object is in addition to a previously mentioned or implicit entity (248); or with negative imperatives *ma* indicates an indefinite object (249).

- (247) Aumai koe i **te pāla**.
 bring you Acc A knife
Bring the knife [now].
- (248) Ke yau koe, aumai koe **ma te pāla**.
 C come you bring you with A knife
When you come, bring the knife with you too.
- (249) Auyē aumai koe **ma te pāla**, ka namu kino toku kili mākitakita nei.
 Neg.Imp.T bring you with A knife T smell bad my skin RR-spotless here
Don't bring a knife with you [if/when you come], you will dirty my spotless exterior. (KM:YK2:10)

Negative comitative or confective relationships are marked by the modifier *onge* 'scarcity, none', but are restricted to phrases containing common nouns:

- (250) Wano ai ia Eleta yī talāo **ma te onge maunu**.
 go Pro A Eleta catch fish.sp with A none bait
So Eleta went fishing for rockcod with no bait. (PP2:11:2)

Negative comitative notions with proper nouns and personal pronouns must be expressed in other ways, for instance with a negative predicate:

- (251) * Na wano ia Ngā ki wale **ma te onge Mele**.
 T go A Ngā G home with A none Mele
(Ngā went home without Mele.)
- (252) Na wano ia Ngā tokotai, **kiai** na wō lāua ma Mele.
 T go A Ngā cls-one Neg T go.Pl they.2 incl Mele
Ngā went alone, she didn't go with Mele.

6.2.12 *pe* : Similitive case

Noun phrases marked with *pe* denote characteristic similarity in some respect to the action or state of the predicate. As a case marker, *pe* means ‘like’ or ‘as’.¹³ Like *nō* and *nā*, *pe* may function predicatively or as a case marker introducing an adjunct to the verb.

Predicative *pe*:

- (253) **Pe te weke loa** te mūweke e tō lewu oki.
like A octopus Int A squid T bit small also
The squid is really quite like the octopus [in shape], but it's a bit smaller.
- (254) **Ko te pakipaki pe te tāmalu.**
Top A jellyfish like A mushroom
The jellyfish is like the mushroom [in shape].

Oblique noun phrase:

- (255) **Te kovi e umiti ki te peka pe te wawine tō.**
A person-Da T crave G A crab like A woman pregnant
He's a person who craves crab meat like a pregnant woman. (PP:N5)
- (256) **Tō mai ni uwa pe nā watú.**
fall Dir A rain like A stone-Da
Rain fell like [the size of] stones. (MM:L2)
- (257) **Na pāngolengole tona ulu pe te ulu o Nēmia.**
T RR-smooth his head like A head P Nēmia
His head is smooth [bald] like Nēmia's.
- (258) **Tana yaelenga ia ko weolo pe te yaelenga a te mokolā.**
his walk-Nom Af T same like A walk-Nom P A duck
His walking is the same as the way a duck walks.

Pe also forms compounds with the demonstrative morphemes and *wea*: *pēnei* ‘like this’, *pēnā* ‘like that’, *pēā* ‘like that’, *peia* ‘like so’ and *pēwea* ‘like what?, how?’

- (259) **Mea lā pēnei** te lau a Uyo.
say Int like-this A men P Uyo
Uyo's men said something like this: (U:8)
- (260) **Peia** oki ia Ono, e ono oki ona toki.
like-so also A Ono T six also his.Pl adze
Similarly, Ono had six adzes. (BB:1054)
- (261) **Eia te mea na peia** ai lātou...
this A thing T like-so Pro they
This is why they were like that... (BB:1054)
- (262) **Pēwea** te akamatanga ia?
like-what A caus-begin-Nom Af
How does it begin?

6.2.13 DERIVED PREPOSITIONS

There are two verbs which sometimes appear to function as prepositions meaning ‘like’. These are *lāua* and *wai*. An indication that these verbs are in the process of change is that they often occur without a tense-aspect marker introducing an adjunct.

6.2.13.1 *lāua* : ‘like’

Lāua is normally a verb meaning ‘appear, seem’, or ‘be like’ (263). It often appears without a tense-aspect marker but can still retain an intensifier (264). It can also act as a preposition meaning ‘like’ and introduce an adjunct (265).

(263) Koa *lāua te kili o te tawolā*.
T like A skin P A whale
It was like the skin of the whale.

(264) Te tala o te moa wawine nā, kamuloa kula, *lāua loa ko iko*.
A comb P A hen woman there really red seems Int T lay
The comb of that hen is really red, it seems that she will lay eggs.

(265) Ia koe i te ngutumāyei, *lāua te wawine*.
A you Prd gossip like A woman
You're unable to keep a secret, just like a woman.

6.2.13.2 *wai* : ‘like’

Wai is usually a verb meaning ‘make, do’ which commonly takes incorporated objects. It sometimes appears to be more like a preposition meaning ‘like’. It usually appears immediately next to a noun which lacks an article, which suggests that its use as a preposition is derived from an incorporated object type of construction.

(266) Na taia e Lata *wai vaka* mō ona.
T hew-Cia Ag Lata make canoe for him
Lata hollowed it out as a canoe for himself. (MM:L1)

(267) Ko Lata e tangata *wai atua o tona wenua*.
Top Lata Prd person like god P his land
Lata was a person who was like a god in his land. (MM:L1)

6.2.14 COMPOUND PREPOSITIONS

The only two prepositions that can occur in sequence are *mai* and *i* (6.2.6). The compound does not seem to differ in meaning from *mai* ‘from’ used alone, except stylistically. Its use has been recorded from elderly speakers and in careful modes of speech such as in formal speeches.

There are two groups of compounds derived from the prepositions *pe* ‘like’ and *ki* ‘to’ which form part of the demonstrative paradigm (4.7.2.1). These are *pēnei* ‘like this’, *pēnā* ‘like that (by you)’, *pēā* ‘like that (yonder)’, *pēa* ‘like so’ and *pēwea* ‘how?’, which function as verbs (6.2.12) and *kinei* ‘here’, *kinā* ‘there (by you)’, *kilā* ‘there (yonder)’, *kiai* ‘there (being demonstrated)’, which function as locative pronouns (4.5.2.4).

6.2.15 COMPLEX PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Complex prepositional phrases are found with all case markers and prepositions although they are much more common for oblique noun phrases than for core arguments of the clause. Complex prepositional phrases are embedded constructions of the form [P NP [P NP]] in which a noun phrase that is part of a prepositional phrase can be modified by another prepositional phrase. Complex locational phrases (268) (4.8.1) are constructions of this type. Below are several examples (269-274) which show that the embedded prepositional phrase may have as its head the same or a different preposition from that of the first prepositional phrase and that there may be several levels of embedding.

- (268) Welele te au lau [ki lunga [o te au lā [o te lākau]]].
 Pl-run A all leaf G on P A all branch P A tree
All the leaves ran back onto all the branches of the tree.
- (269) Kamuloa mātou mātatau i te kau nā kai kava [i te ngutuala [i te wale [o Awia mā [i Tuá]]]].
 really we R-fear By A people T eat alcohol L A road L A house P Awia etc L Tua-Da
We were really scared of the people who were drinking on the road at Awia's house at Tuá. (F3:S9:1)
- (270) Wakamāloyi [i nā vāia [ki mua]].
 caus-strong L A time G front
Strengthen [yourself] in the future.
- (271) Wano loa au [ki te koló [i te konga [i te wale uwipānga]]].
 go Int I G A causeway-Da L A place L A house meeting
I went to the causeway at the place where the meeting house [is]. (F3:2)
- (272) Na yinga au [i te konga [i te poti papala [o Awia mā [i te konga [i na pulapula [i te wale [o Rangi woló]]]]]].
 T fall I L A place L A boat rotten P Awia etc L A place L A sapling.coconut L A house P Rangi big-Da
I fell down at the place where Awia and them's rotten boat [is], at the place where the young coconut saplings are [growing] at old Rangi's house. (F3:9:3)

A prepositional phrase may contain an embedded relative clause:

- (273) Lele loa ia Yina oko [ki te vao [ki te konga [e i ai nā puapua]_s]].
 run Int A Yina reach G A bush G A place T L Pro A tree.sp
Yina ran and reached the bush at the place where the Guettardia trees were. (MK:1:2)
- (274) Talotalo iāna [ki lunga [o te au lā [o te tamanu [na kōtia e Lata]_s]].
 RR-chant he G on P A all branch P A tree.sp T cut-Cia Ag Lata
He chanted over all the branches of the tamanu that had been cut by Lata.

The prepositional complex formations of the form: preposition + locational noun + preposition followed by a noun phrase have been discussed in 4.8.1 as complex locational phrases and illustrated above (268, 274). They have sometimes been analysed as complex prepositions in Polynesian languages (e.g. Besnier 2000:599-601), but there is no compelling reason to consider them as complex words in Pukapukan, rather than as cases of embedding where a prepositional phrase modifies a noun phrase. The locational noun retains noun-like features including the ability to take the personal article in non-oblique cases. It can also occur as the head of a noun phrase without the initial preposition in the subject position of a clause, and in locational phrases which lack the post-modifying prepositional phrase:

- (275) **Ia lunga o te lākaú**, ko tū tokotayi wua (iāna) lā lunga.
 A top P A tree-Da T stand cls-one just it L top
The top of that tree is standing by itself above [all the others].

The locational noun can be modified by postposed particles:

- (276) lā lunga **loa** o te lākau
 via top Int P A tree
right at the very top of the tree

There is a range of items which can substitute for each of the prepositions and for the locational noun. The first preposition can be any of a number of prepositions including *i*, *ki*, *mai*, *lā*, *ko*, *nō*. The second element can be one of several common locational nouns (4.5.1.1 (2b)), and the final preposition is typically *o*, but can be substituted by *i* (4.8.1). Moreover, the second prepositional phrase can be separated from the first by an intervening constituent (4.8.1; 7.2):

- (277) **Ko i lunga** te kapu o te kaingākai.
 T L on A cup P A table
The cup is on the table.

NOTES

1. A few verbs which appear to contain a historical suffix *-Cia*, but do not have free unsuffixed roots, also function as intransitive verbs with patient subjects:

- (i) Kai ai māua, **lemoyia** māua i te uma takupu.
 eat Pro we.2 satisfy-?Cia we.2 By A breast bird.sp
 We ate and were full on account of [eating] booby birds. (F3:7:5)

2. *Ki* is fused with the personal article *ia* > *kia* and is subject to a morphophonemic rule of lengthening [*kia*]~[*kia:*], when it precedes personal nouns and pronouns (see 2.6.1, 4.1.1). *Ki-* is also a bound morpheme in the locative demonstrative pronouns *kinei*, *kinā*, *kiai* (see 4.5.2.4).

3. Mosel and Hovdaugen (1992:582, 688, 772) note that the presentative case 'o in SAM can be used for non-fronted S and O arguments in certain restricted sentence types. They also find this difficult to explain.

4. Like the other case markers which end in *-i*, *mai* combines phonologically with the personal article *ia* > [*maia*] when it precedes personal nouns and pronouns, and the coalescence is accompanied by the morphophonemic rule of lengthening of the personal article [*maia*] ~ [*maia:*] (see 2.6.1, 4.1.1). The combined form is written inconsistently as either *maia* or *mai ia* in the orthography.

5. The lengthening rule applies before content words of two morae which are the head of the noun phrase, except pronouns. Thus, neither grammatical particles nor modifying numerals condition lengthening of *a/o*.

- | | | | | |
|------|--|---|---|--|
| (i) | ki tawa [o:] Ngake G side P Ngake <i>beside Ngake</i> | ki tawa [o] koe G side P you <i>beside you</i> | ki tawa [o] te akau G side P A reef <i>at the edge of the reef</i> | ki tawa [o] lua tama ia G side P two child Af <i>beside those two people</i> |
| (ii) | te kete [a:] Mele A basket P Mele <i>Mele's basket</i> | te kete [a] koe A basket P you <i>your basket</i> | te kete [a] nā tama ia A basket P A child Af <i>those people's basket</i> | te kete [a] lua wawine ia A basket P two women Af <i>the basket of those two women</i> |

6. Note that the numeral *lua* ‘two’ as a modifier does not co-occur with the common articles (see 4.1.2.5), except when it denotes an ordinal numeral:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (i) | te māmā o lua tama nei A mother P two child here <i>the mother of these two children</i> | te vae o te lua o te tama A leg P A two P A child <i>the leg of the second of the children</i> |
|-----|--|--|

7. Note idiomatic use of the plural second person possessive pronoun as singular.

8. This exception is perhaps influenced by another term for ‘minister’ which is a lexical nominalisation denoting the patient of a verb:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (i) | te valo yeunga o te Atua A call request-Nom P A God <i>a messenger of God [lit. one sent by God]</i> |
|-----|--|

However, an experimentally made-up term: **te wolomatua o te Atua* ‘the minister of God’ was rejected by my consultant as suggesting that the minister was of higher status than God and was corrected to *a*-possessive marking.

9. Note that the word for ‘beard’ is marked by *a*-possession in Samoan (Mosel and Hovdaugen 1992:287), whereas for Pukapukan it groups with other body parts.

10. These items have variously been analysed as extensions of personal space or as things which carry the possessor as a patient (Biggs 1969, Wilson 1982).

11. When *imu* is *a*-possessed it means ‘oven fire’ lit by the possessor, and when it is *o*-possessed it denotes a ‘cookhouse’:

- | | | |
|------|---|----------|
| (i) | Mea oki ke limalima mai ko te mate tā lātou imu. say also C hurry Dir lest die P they.2 fire <i>[She] said to hurry back in case their fire died.</i> | (MK:1:2) |
| (ii) | Amo ai i lua kete ika ia ki tō lātou imu. carry Pro Acc two basket fish Af G P they oven <i>[They] carried the two baskets of fish to their oven/cookhouse.</i> | |

12. There are two exceptions to this constraint. The subject of a tensed locative predicate may come between the locational noun and its possessive phrase, in which case a demonstrative may immediately precede the genitive marker.

- | | |
|------|---|
| (i) | Ko i lunga te mea nei o te kaingākai. T L on A thing here P A table <i>This thing is on the table.</i> |
| (ii) | Ko te talatala teia o te payī. Ko te talatala teia nō te payī. Prd A RR-talk this P A ship <i>This was what was said about the ship.</i> |

A possessive phrase may modify the head of a nominal predicate which may also result in a demonstrative immediately preceding a possessor phrase.

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----------|
| (iii) | Yaulā pē te puapua ia, ko te wakamalu ia o Mokoyikungavali. but definitely A tree.sp Af Prd A caus-shade Af P Mokoyikungavali <i>But that Guettardia tree was Mokoyikungavali’s shade.</i> | (MT:M1:2) |
|-------|--|-----------|

13. The length of the vowel in *pe* ‘like’ is also predictable by a morphophonemic rule (see 2.6.1). It is long when it precedes personal nouns: [pe:] Mele, [pe:] Mālia, but it is short preceding the articles: [pe] te, [pe] nā. In compounds preceding morphemes of two morae it remains long: *pēnei* ‘like this’, *pēnā* ‘like that’, *pēā* ‘like that’, *pēvea* ‘how’, but it is of variable length in *peia* ‘like so’ [peia] ~ [pe:ia].

CHAPTER SEVEN : THE CLAUSE

7.0 INTRODUCTION

In Pukapukan there are two types of clause: the verbal clause and the nonverbal clause. A verbal clause contains a verb phrase and one or more noun phrases that occur as arguments of the verb. A nonverbal clause (7.1) contains a predicate and a subject noun phrase; the predicate consists of a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase. Tensed nonverbal clauses (7.2) exist which contain a prepositional phrase that is marked for tense. Discussion of nonverbal clauses precedes that of the verbal clause. The sections discussing the ordering of constituents within the clause (7.3) and case marking of arguments (7.4, 7.5) and subsequent sections deal primarily with features pertaining to the verbal clause. Verb classes (7.6) are discussed in this chapter because they are defined primarily on the basis of case marking patterns. Clausal processes and the notion of 'subject' and 'direct object' are discussed in 7.7 and 7.8 respectively.

Clauses may be dependent or independent, simple or complex. This chapter outlines the structure of the simple independent clause which is defined as a single predicate and its associated arguments that is able to stand alone. Compound and complex sentences are discussed in Chapter 10. However, many of the tests discussed in 7.8 which are relevant to the identification of 'subject' and 'direct object' are pertinent to complex sentences.

7.1 NONVERBAL CLAUSES

Nonverbal clauses fall into five types; equational, possessive, similitive, attributive and demonstrative. They typically lack a verb phrase but contain two noun phrases, one of which is the predicate.

7.1.1 EQUATIONAL PREDICATES

The predicate of an equational clause consists of a definite or an indefinite noun phrase which agrees in plurality with the subject. Definite noun phrases are preceded by *ko*.

Indefinite nominal phrases used as predicates assert membership in a class. Those with singular subjects are marked by the indefinite article *e*¹.

[NP₁]_{Predicate} [NP₂]_{Subject}

- (1) E wea te mea nei?
Prd what A thing here
What is this?

- (2) **E ngutu talatala au.**
Prd mouth RR-talk I
I'm a spokesman.
- (3) **E pāni laiti te nīnaki o nā kalōma nei.**
Prd pan rice A accompaniment P A fish.sp here
The accompanying dish for these young goatfish is a pot of rice. (AP:C1)
- (4) **[E tamatāne nā Tia]_{NP1} [te tama a toku māmā e tetekī]_{NP2}.**
Prd child-boy P Tia A child P my mother T R-look.after-Da
The child that my mother is looking after is a son of Tia.
- (5) **Ke pōvī koe, [e tokotoko]_{NP1} [te mea lelei tautulu ai au yaelenga]_{NP2}.**
C old.person you Prd walking.stick A thing good help Pro your walk-Nom
When you get old, a walking stick is useful [lit. the best thing is a walking stick] to aid your walking.

Indefinite plural noun phrases constituting a predicate are marked by the indefinite plural articles *ni* or *i*². Their subjects are plural.

- (6) **Ni lua Niu Tīleni lā kōlua?**
Prd two New Zealand Int you.2
Are you both New Zealanders? (AT:C3)
- (7) **Ni wea nā tū wāwā?**
Prd what A type taro
What types of taro are there?
- (8) **I wea a kōtou popoa i te ayo nei?**
Prd what P you.Pl food L A day here
What is your food [to be] today?

Where the head of the predicative nominal phrase is qualified by a stative verb, assertion of class membership may be used as a technique for commenting on an attribute of the subject.

- (9) **E manu tipitipi te kākā.**
Prd bird RR-dart A tern
The white tern is a bird that characteristically darts in the air.
- (10) **E tangata teki vave ia Uyo.**
Prd person hop fast A Uyo
Uyo was a person who could hop fast.
- (11) **Ni ika liliki wua aku ika na maua.**
Prd fish R-small just my.Pl fish T get
The fish I caught were just small ones.

Possessive predication may be expressed by an equational predicate whose subject is marked with a possessive pronoun.

- (12) **E puapua tona mea ko yau ai akamalu.**
Prd tree.sp his thing T come Pro caus-shade
He had a Guettardia tree to which he used to come to rest in the shade.

The predicate may consist of a definite noun phrase marked by *ko*. This may identify an individual. The predicate may be singular or plural, agreeing with the plurality of the subject.³ The head noun of the predicate may be a personal noun (13), pronoun (14) or place name (15), in which case there is no article.

[Ko NP₁]_{Predicate} [NP₂]_{Subject}

- (13) **Ko Ota** toku yoa.
Prd Ota my friend
My friend is Ota. (AP:C1)
- (14) **Ko ona** te tangata mua na oko mai ki kinei.
Prd he A person first T arrive Dir G here
He was the first person to arrive here. (U:6)
- (15) **Ko Yayake** te ingoa i te leo Pukapuka.
Prd Yayake A name L A language Pukapuka
The name [of the place] in Pukapukan is Yayake. (MM:L4)
- (16) **Ko tā māua tama** mua tēnei.
Prd P we.2 child first this
This is our firstborn child.
- (17) **Ko nā mō manako wua** lā oki teia.
Prd A few thought just but also this
However, these are just a few thoughts [on the subject]. (UU:53:1)

A characteristic of indefinite and definite nominal predicates is the use of minimal subjects which have little semantic component. For indefinite predicates, *te mea nei* ‘this thing’ is a common subject noun filler, while for definite predicates, demonstrative pronouns such as *tēnei* ‘this, by me’, *tēnā* ‘that, by you’, *tēā* ‘that, over there’, or *teia* ‘this, about which I am talking’ commonly occur as subjects. These minimal subjects are also commonly deleted.

- (18) E tala tika lā **te mea nei**?
Prd story true Int A thing here
Is this a true story?
- (19) **Ko tona teina teia.**
Prd his brother this
This is his brother [just mentioned]. (U:11)
- (20) **Ko nā talatala ia.**
Prd A RR-talk Af
That's what was said. (U:C1)

The subject commonly, but not always (21), separates a complex predicate from its postposed possessive phrase (24-27). Such subjects usually consist of single demonstrative pronouns (22, 23), but may also be personal pronouns (24) or sometimes lexical noun phrases (25).

- (21) **Ko te lima malama o Miliāma tēnei.**
Prd A five month P Miliāma this
[Lit. This is Miliāma's fifth month.]
Miliāma is five months old now.

- (22) Ko te kau **teia** o tona vaka.
Prd A people this P his canoe
These are the people [crew] of his canoe [listed herewith]. (MM:L2)
- (23) Ko te ono **tēnei** o te māina i tana yapū i tona pōvīnga nei.
Prd A six this P A month L her pregnancy L her old.age-Nom here
This is the sixth month of her pregnancy in her old age. (KM:LK1:36)
- (24) Ko nā pūāpii **lātou** o te āpii i Niua.
Prd A teacher they P A school L Niua
They are the school teachers in Niua.
- (25) E tala **te mea nei** nō oku.
Prd story A thing this P me
This is a story about me.

Longer noun phrases occurring as subjects allow ambiguity as to the reference of a postposed possessive phrase. The primary reading is that the possessive phrase modifies the subject, although modification of the predicate is also a possibility.

- (26) Ko nā pūāpii te kau māwuwutu o te āpii i Niua.
Prd A teacher A people R-clever P A school L Niua
The cleverest people at the school in Niua are the teachers.
?The cleverest people are the school teachers in Niua

Complex subjects may not be separated by a predicate, in contrast to complex predicates which may be separated by a subject (cf. above).

- (27) * Ko nā pūāpii [ni tangata wowolo wua]_{PRD} o te āpii i Niua.
[Ko nā pūāpii o te āpii i Niua]_{SU}, [ni tangata wowolo wua]_{PRD}.
Top A teacher Prd person R-big just P A school L Niua Prd people R-big just
The school teachers at Niua are important people.

Definite predicates, consisting of a nominalised verb, with a demonstrative pronoun as subject, or with a non-overt subject, may often refer to an underlying reason for the existence of the activity or state denoted by the equational predicate.

- (28) Ko te lili **teia** o te wī lōpā.
Prd A anger this P A all youth
This is [why] the youth were so angry. (U:4)
- (29) Ko te tanginga ia.
Prd A cry-Nom Af
That's [why she] cried. (AT:C1)

Indefinite nominal predicates may also express reason or purpose. The predicate consists of a suffixed nominalisation which is very often a motion verb. The noun phrase denoting the subject may be the same nominalised verb as that of the predicate, marked by a possessive pronoun which refers to the actor.

- (30) E yaunga wea tau yaunga nei?
Prd come-Nom what your come-Nom here
[Lit. What sort of coming is your coming?]
Why have you come?

More idiomatically, a pronoun or personal noun is subject. Questions phrased in this way may have an exclamatory force and their answers may address motives or rights for doing the action as well as purpose or reason. The nominal predicate may take a subordinated clause, for instance a purpose clause (10.7.3).

- (31) E nikonga wea iāna/ia Tele ki te uwi?
Prd return-Nom what she A Tele G A garden
Why did she/Tele go back to the garden?

- (32) E yaunga au kia koe ke āpii tau tama nā.
Prd come-Nom I G-A you C teach your child there
I have come to teach your child [a thing or two]. (F3S1:2)

A definite nominal predicate consisting of a nominalisation may occur as an adjunct to a motion verb denoting purpose (10.7.3).

- (33) Yau loa iāna ko te vākulenga o toku ulu.
come Int she Prd A search.for.nits-Nom P my head
She came along and just started looking for nits in my hair[without first asking whether I wanted her to].

Following from its function as a nominal predicate marker (cf. Clark 1976:46), *ko* may also introduce appositive phrases:

- (34) Wōmamai loa ma lua ona yoa, ko Pīngao ma Yālou.
go.Pl-Dir Int with two his.Pl friend Prd Pīngao and Yālou
[He] came with his two friends, Pīngao and Yālou.

Predicates containing naming verbs often mark personal names with *ko*:

- (35) Ka tapa tona ingoa ko Ionātana.
T name his name Prd Ionātana
His name will be called Ionātana.

Ko also introduces lists of personal nouns, although the *ko* preceding the final element in the list may be replaced by the conjunction *ma* 'and':

- (36) Eia oki nā ingoa o nā tāngata o tona vaka ia:
here also A name P A people P his canoe Af

ko Matai Monomono, ko Tupua Keliana, ko Tupua Ululapa, ko Akapeyī ma Wakapalalu.
Prd Matai Monomono Prd Tupua Keliana Prd Tupua Ululapa Prd Akapeyī and Wakapalalu
Here are the names of the people of his canoe: Matai Monomono, Tupua Keliana, Tupua Ululapa, Akapeyī and Wakapalalu. (MM:L2)

7.1.2 INTENSIFIED EQUATIONAL PREDICATES

Indefinite nominal predicates of the equational type may be intensified by *loa*, with a stative verb following the subject. These predicates comment on an attribute of the subject, making the attribute more intense.

Intensified nominal predicates are of the form:

[e N loa]_{NP Pred} [NP]_{Subject} Stative
ni

This structure may have been historically derived from a nominal predicate modified by a stative, from which the stative has been extraposed, but the former ordering is never found today.

[e N Stative loa]_{NP Pred} [NP]_{Subject} ~ [e N loa]_{NP Pred} [NP]_{Subject} Stative

The nucleus of the predicate is typically just the head noun and the subject noun phrase occurs preceding the stative verb.

- (37) E wawine loa toku māmā atawai.
Prd woman Int my mother kind
My mother is a very kind woman.
- (38) E kovi loa koe ngutungutua.
Prd person Int you RR-mouth-full.of
[Lit. You're a person who is all mouth]
You're a real troublemaker [because of your gossip].
- (39) E kai loa te tātā, waingatā ke wai.
Prd food Int A tātā difficult C make
Tātā is a food that really takes a long time to prepare.
- (40) E tama loa taku tama nei kanga.
Prd child Int my child here playful
My child is very mischievous.

Alternatively, less commonly, the subject may occur after the stative; compare sentence (40) with (41).

- (41) E tama loa kanga taku tama nei.
Prd child Int playful my child here
My child is very mischievous.
- (42) E pō loa makalili te mea ia.
Prd night Int cold A thing Af
It was a very cold night. (KM:AM:1:1)

If the attribute relates to only a part, or a characteristic, of the subject, then the part is specified before the stative.

- (43) E kovi loa iāna leo wolo.
Prd person Int he voice big
He is a person with a big voice
- (44) E tangata loa teki vave ia Uyo.
Prd person Int hop fast A Uyo
Uyo was a person who could really hop fast.
- (45) Te tāiva, e ika loa ngako kukula.
A fish.sp Prd fish Int fat R-red
The blackspot snapper is a fish with lots of red fatty flesh.

As is evidenced by (45) and the following examples (46, 47) the subject may be topicalised and moved to the front of the clause.

- (46) **Toku matua tăné,** e kovi loa nguyenguea.
 my parent man-Da Prd person Int sickly
My father is a rather sickly man.
- (47) **Ko nā vaka o Wití,** ni vaka loa yoyolo.
 Top A canoe P Fiji-Da Prd canoe Int R-swift
The canoes of Fiji were very swift. (PT:L6)

The subject may be deleted under anaphoric rules:

- (48) Wōmamai loa lua nanue ia, **ni lua nanue loa totongi,** ka kai i tō lātou vaka.
 go.PI-Dir Int two fish.sp Af Prd two fish.sp Int R-big T eat Acc P they canoe
Then two rudderfish came along, they were two very big fish which were going to eat their canoe. (MM:L2)

7.1.3 POSSESSIVE PREDICATES

Nō and *nā* introduce a possessive prepositional phrase which can function as a nonverbal predicate in Pukapukan. This type of predicate appears to have been borrowed from Eastern Polynesian languages (Clark 1976:35), but the four-way distinction of tense and possessive categories in Māori, Penrhyn and Mangareva (Clark op. cit.:112) has been collapsed into two in Pukapukan since *mō/mā* only appear as prepositions introducing adjuncts and never function predicatively (see 6.2.10). Actor-emphatic constructions found in EP languages are historically derived from possessive predicates (Clark 1976:119-122), although their structure has been a matter for debate (Harlow 1986, Waite 1990). Actor-emphatic constructions exist in Pukapukan only in discourse styles that are characterised by heavy borrowing from Cook Islands Māori.⁴

The distinction between *nō* and *nā* parallels the distinction between the genitive case marking categories *o* and *a* (see 6.2.8). *Nō* predication is used for inalienable, subordinate possession, while *nā* predication denotes that the possessor is active or dominant to that which is possessed. As noted in 6.2.9, *nō* and *nā* combine with the pronouns, making coalesced forms in the singular.

Nō:

- (49) **Nō oku** te tayi nā.
 P me A challenge there
That challenge is mine. (PT:L4)
- (50) **Nō Te Tea** te vao lākau ia.
 P Te Tea A forest tree Af
The forest belonged to Te Tea. (PT:L2)
- (51) Taku tala **nō Uyo.**
 my story P Uyo
My story is about Uyo. (U:4)

- (52) E āpale te mea nei nō Āpela.
Prd funeral A thing here P Apela
This is a memorial singing service for Āpela [who has died].

Nā:

- (53) Nā Lalotonga te kauwiwi ia.
P Rarotonga A tongue Af
The tongue [of the clam] is for Rarotonga. (PT:L4)
- (54) Nā ai lā mō te moa kula nei?
P whoInt Q A hen red this
I wonder whose red fowl that is?
- (55) Nā te leo Pukapuka e i loto o te mako.
P A language Pukapuka T L inside P A chant
[They] are from Pukapukan language that is in the chants. (MM:T8)
- (56) Nā aku te puka nei.
P me A book this
This book belongs to me/is written by me.

Certain possessive predicates may govern an optional subject raising rule affecting a lower clause (see 9.1.5.1.2; 10.4.1). These include reason clauses and interrogative time clauses. The subject pronoun of (57 b) is raised to become the subject of the possessive predicate in (57 a).

- (57)a. Nō te vāia wea lāua na wō ai?
P A time what they.2 T go.PI Pro
[Lit. since what time did they leave]
How long have they been gone for?
- b. Nō te vāia wea na wō ai lāua?
P A time what T go.PI Pro they.2
How long have they been gone for?
- (58) Nō leila au na maka ai toku māmā.
P then I T leave Pro my mother
That's why I left my mother. (AP:C1)

7.1.4 SIMILATIVE PREDICATES

Like *nō* and *nā*, *pe* is a preposition introducing an adjunct, and the whole prepositional phrase can function as a predicate. Its meaning is 'like' or 'as' (see 6.2.12). Nonverbal predicates introduced by *pe* thus denote characteristic similarity to their subjects. The length of the vowel in *pe* 'like' is predictable by a morphophonemic rule (see 2.6.1). Similative predicates usually occur with topicalised subjects.

- (59) Ko te mūweke pe te weke, e tō lewu oki.
Top A squid like A octopus T bit small also
The squid is like the octopus, but it's a bit smaller.
- (60) Ko te pakipaki pe te tāmālu.
Top A jellyfish like A mushroom
Jellyfish are like mushrooms [in shape].
- (61) Tō leo e vavalo mai nei, pe te wui a te kāleva.
your voice T R-call Dir here like A whistle P A cuckoo
Your voice calling me is like the whistle of the long-tailed cuckoo.

- (69) Nō te lāwie lā o te awiawi ia, kamuloa i te puyipuyi lelei te matangi...
 P A clarity but P A afternoon Af really Prd RR-blow good A wind
Be cause it was such a fine evening, the wind was blowing gently... (WK1:6)

Habitual states may be denoted by preposing a stative verb (70) or an adverbial particle (71) to an active verb, or prefixing the verb with a stativising prefix (72) to make a compound attributive predicate of this type.

- (70) Tau kulī nā i te mina kaekae.
 your dog there Prd like RR-bark
Your dog barks a lot.
- (71) Ia koe i te mou wano ki Kō.
 A you Prd often go G Ko
You often go to Ko.
- (72) Toku māmā i te ata- tunu kai.
 my mother Prd good-at cook food
My mother is good at cooking.

A part of the entity denoted by the subject together with a stative modifier may also function as a compound stative in an attributive predicate. This denotes that a part of the subject noun phrase has a particular attribute (see also 7.1.2).

- (73) Tau mōlī nā i te yila wolo.
 P lantern there Prd light big
Your lantern has a bright light.
- (74) Te lākau nei i te kili makeke.
 A tree here Prd skin hard
This tree has a tough [thick] bark.
- (75) Nā matikao o te manu ia i te mata keokeo.
 A claw P A bird Af Prd point sharp
That bird's claws are sharply pointed.

The stative verb which is the head of the attributive predicate still has some verbal qualities. It shows agreement with the plurality of its subject (76), occasionally there are postposed modifiers (77) and there may be other verbal prefixes or reduplication (78).

- (76) Kaikai ai mātou i te awiawi ia. Kamuloa nā kaipea i te mōmomona ma te vene.
 RR-eat Pro we L A afternoon Af really A crab Prd Pl-fat and sweet
We ate them that evening. The crabs were really juicy and sweet. (PP2:14:3)
- (77) Kamuloa i te tauyala wua i te onoononga peia oki ke tatau.
 really Prd good just L A look-Nom like-so also C read
It is great to look at and also to read. (IL1:3)
- (78) Onoono atu au ki tō tupu nā, kamuloa i te akakatakata, nō leila au na kata ai.
 look Dir I G your face there really Prd caus-RR-laugh P that I T laugh Pro
I looked at your face, and it was so funny, that's why I laughed. (PP4:1)

Sometimes there are other adjuncts of the clause (71), and a few verbs can be suffixed with *-Cia* and retain the agentive noun phrase (79).

- (79) Te lōpā ia i te minā e te tiniu.
 A youth Af Prd like-Cia Ag A women
Women find that young man attractive.

This type of predicate seems to be partly nominal and partly verbal. It is never marked for tense; tense is indicated by context and tense marking in surrounding clauses (78). But it is not merely a tenseless verbal predicate, since verbal clauses do not occur with a nominal head modified by a stative verb as in (73-75). It seems that a sentential structure has been re-ranked as a noun phrase and made into the complement of a prepositional phrase.

7.1.6 DEMONSTRATIVE PREDICATES

The positional modifiers, *nei* ‘close to speaker’, *nā* ‘close to addressee’, *lā* ‘distant to speaker and addressee’ and *ia* ‘being demonstrated, anaphoric’ combine with the nonspecific and specific singular articles *e* and *te* to form fused compounds which may constitute the nucleus of indefinite nominal predicates or the subject of definite nominal predicates respectively (see Table 15, 4.7.2.1; 5.1.4).

Indefinite demonstrative pronouns can function as predicates which denote spatial or temporal location. These predicates are normally followed by their subjects.

- (80) Ēnei taku puka.
 here my book
Here is my book [in my hands/by me].
- (81) Ēnā taku puka.
 there my book
My book is beside you/in your hands.
- (82) Ēlā taku puka.
 there my book
My book is over there.
- (83) Eia tau kapu kaope.
 here your cup coffee.
Here is your cup of coffee [handing it over].

When followed by the politeness particle *ake* ‘please’ (5.1.2.3), the predicates *ēnā* or *ēlā* denote a request for the referent of the subject noun phrase to be brought from the addressee to the speaker, or to be brought by the addressee from a distant location to the speaker.

- (84) Ēnā ake te puka nā.
 there please A book there.
Please pass me the book by you.
- (85) Ēlā ake te pōlō.
 there please A ball-Da
Please throw that ball over here [to me].

Temporal location may be denoted specifically or indirectly by demonstrative predicates.

- (86) **Ēnei** loa te taime ko velavela.
 here Int A time T RR-hot
This is really the time when [the food] is hot.
- (87) **Ēnei** loa te maonga o te uwa.
 here Int A cease-Nom P A rain
Now the rain is stopping. (U:C3)
- (88) Kalia wua, **ēnei** na pau.
 wait-Cia just here T finish
Just wait, [I'm nearly] finished. (KM:C3)
- (89) **Ēnei** te lau a Uyo ko valenga wua e te kaikai.
 here A 100 P Uyo T enjoy just C RR-eat
Here Uyo's men were, just enjoying their meal. (U:7)

An important function of these predicate markers is their role in discourse. In narratives, they may be used to set the scene for an imminent event:

- (90) **Ēnei**, iki nā vaka.
 here carry A canoe
Here [they were] carrying the canoes. (U:8)

They may be used to describe or explain an aside in real time to the listeners, or they may function as an affirmation seeker.

- (91) **Ēnei**, na tiketike ai te langi ki lunga nei.
 here T RR-high Pro A sky G up here
Thus, the sky is high up above. (BB:979)
- (92) **Ēlā**, ko te tangata na uwiuwia na pulú, ko Tepou.
 there Top A person T RR-cover-Cia A husk-Da, Prd Tepou
You know, that person who was turning over those husks, it was Tepou. (U:7)

Eia has a role in setting apart narrative clauses from backgrounding comments and is also used as a marker which concludes a narrative (5.2.2).

- (93) **Eia**. Kave loa lā oki lātou ia Uyo ma tana lau.
 so take Int Int also they A Uyo and his men
So, then they took Uyo and his men. (U:11)
- (94) **Eia**, pau atu ai taku tala ia.
 so finish Dir Pro my story Af
So that's the end of my story.

A demonstrative pronoun may be qualified by postposed modifiers which often acquire specific meanings, for instance, *eia lā* is used as to mark an exclamation of surprise, *eia loa* means 'very nearly', and *ēāpē* means 'at last'.

- (95) **Eia** lā i te vela kino.
 here Int Prd hot bad
Wow, it's really hot now.

- (96) **Eia loa** au ko moe i nā talatalanga a te pūāpii.
 here Int I T sleep L A RR-talk-Nom P A teacher
I very nearly go to sleep when the teacher talks.
- (97) **Ēlā pē** te kaú.
 there definitely A people-Da
There they are at last [and we were just talking about them].

Demonstrative predicates do not allow topicalisation of their subjects.

- (98) *Te puka ēnei.
 A book here
(Here is the book)

Definite demonstrative pronouns commonly occur as the subjects of definite equational predicates (7.1.1). However, *teia* may also occur as the head of a definite nominal predicate. It differs from *eia* in that it refers to an utterance rather than a concrete object being given to the hearer, and signals something to follow in a discourse.

- (99) **Teia** ona mātalō:
 here his.PI sailor
Here follows a list of his sailors: (PT:L2)

7.2 TENSED NONVERBAL PREDICATES

The most common tensed predicate involves a verb. Locative clauses contain a tense marker but the nucleus of the predicate is filled by a locative prepositional phrase. The prepositional phrase is treated as if it was a verb in that it is marked for tense. Tenses of the locative predicate are limited to *ko* ‘present’ and *nā* ‘past’ for main clauses and subordinate clauses, and *e* ‘relative present’ for subordinate clauses. The present tense interrogative locative predicate *ko i wea* ‘where is?’ has an alternate form *kou wea* in older people’s speech (9.1.4.1.2).

- (100) **Nā i Te Ā** katoatoa te Ngake.
 T L Te Ā everyone A Ngake
The whole of Ngake [village] was at Te Ā (MM:L3:72)
- (101) E yī tikava **ko i te kolo** i Tuá.
 T exist fish.sp T L A causeway L Tua-Da
There are some tikava fish at the causeway at Tuá.
- (102) **Nā** te leo Pukapuka **e i loto o te mako**.
 P A language Pukapuka T L inside P A chant
[They] are from Pukapukan language that is in the chants.

Locative predicates do not allow future tense marking:

- (103) * **Ka i kinei** ia Mele i te tāyao.
 T L here A Mele L A tomorrow
(Mele will be here tomorrow.)

Locative predicates may be qualified by postposed adverbial particles:

- (104) **Ko i mua loa** tona tumunga.
T L front Int its beginning
Its beginning is right at the front.

- (105) **Nā i te āpīi oki** ia Lavalua.
T L A school also A Lavalua
Lavalua was at school.

(MN:2:1)

The position of the postposed particles in a complex locative predicate is immediately following the head, preceding the possessive phrase.

- (106) **Ko i loto pā** o te puka nei nī mō takayala.
T L inside probably P A book this A some mistake
There are probably some mistakes in this book.

- (107) **Ko i lunga wua lā** o te weather mē e payī yolo te payī wōu ia.
T L on just but P A weather if Prd ship fast A ship new Af
But it's just up to the weather if this new ship is [going to be] fast [or not].

The subject may be topicalised by fronting:

- (108) **Ko Uyo** ko i Motu Kotawa.
Top Uyo T L Motu Kotawa
As for Uyo, he was on Motu Kotawa [at that time].

The locative phrase may be topicalised (109) or relativised (110, 111); its normal place in the predicate is filled by *ai*:

- (109) Toku kēkē nei **ko i ai** te uwauwa.
my armpit here T L Pro A boil
As for my armpit, there is a boil in it.

- (110) Iki mai oki iāna aumai ki te kongā **e i ai** tō lāua poti.
carry Dir also he bring G A place T L Pro P they.2 boat
He carried [the rocks] and brought them to the place where their boat was. (KM:YK3:2)

- (111) Ulu ai te akulā i te wai ia lā tawa o te watu **e i lalo ai** te wai.
search Pro A swordfish Acc A stingray Af L side P A stone T L under Pro A stingray-Da
The swordfish searched for the stingray beside the stone which the stingray was under. (W1:P5:3:4)

In main clauses, the present tense locative predicate *ko i ai* extends its meaning from location to an existential predicate.

- (112) **Ko i ai** te wawine kaungatā ia, ko Mulitauyakana.
T L Pro A woman difficult Af Prd Mulitauyakana
There was [once] a difficult woman, [called] Mulitauyakana.

(BB:1010)

- (113) **Ko i ai** te toe ingoa o te tai mē ngalungalu.
T L Pro A other name P A sea if RR-wave
There is another name for the sea when it's rough.

Where a complex locational phrase fills the nucleus of the locative predicate, the subject noun phrase normally interrupts the head from its following possessive phrase so that the predicate is split (see 7.3.3). This is the most natural word order.

- (114) **Ko i lunga** nā popoa **o te kaingākai**.
 T L on A food P A table
The food is on the table.
- (115) Wō atu mātou, ko tunu tī ia Wolau, **ko i loto** ia Tengele **o te wale**.
 go.Pl Dir we T cook tea A Wolau T L inside A Tengele P A house
When we went [there], Wolau was cooking tea and Tengele was inside the house. (F4:S3:2)
- (116) **Ko i lunga** ia Limapēni ma Tāvita **o te poti**, ko i lalo au.
 T L on A Limapēni and Tāvita P A boat T L under I
Limapēni and Tāvita were on the boat, and I was down [in the water]. (PS2:5)

Example (116) shows that the subject can be a compound noun phrase in this position, however heavy noun phrases occur following the entire complex locative predicate.

- (117) **Ko i lolotonu o te akau e wano ki te alō** [nā wuakau ia ko ngali ai.]
 T L inside P A reef T go G A lagoon-Da A parrot.fish Af T swim Pro
The school of parrotfish swimming there, were inside the reef that runs to the lagoon. (MN1:5)

A locative predicate may acquire an idiomatic meaning when the head is a noun phrase referring to a person or group of people, or when the head is modified by a possessive pronoun, usually second person pronoun, referring to the addressee. It indicates that the speaker is deferring to the addressee's opinion or to the opinion of the mentioned referent. This type of expression is used in deference as a way of avoiding conflict, but may imply that the speaker in fact disagrees.

- (118) **Ko ia koe wua**.
 T L-A you just
It's just up to you.
- (119) **Ko i tau taime wua** ka yau ai koe.
 T L your time just T come Pro you
It's up to you, whatever time you want to come.
- (120) **Ko i te kau lōpā wua**, e wea tā lātou winangalo.
 T L A group youth just Prd what P they.Pl want
It's up to the youth, whatever they want.

When qualified by the postposed modifier *lā* 'but' this type of locative predicate means 'according to you such and such, but the contrary is true'.

- (121) **Ko ia koe lā ē ka wano koe yī ika?!**
 T L-A you Int C T go you catch fish
You told me [according to you] you were going fishing, [but now I see you haven't].
- (122) **Ko ia kōlua lā e yengayenga, e palu yāyālua koia**.
 T L-A you.2 Int Prd deep.sea.snapper Prd deep.sea.trevally part
According to you [your guess], it was a deep-sea snapper, but it's a deep-sea trevally all the same.

for clauses in natural discourse to consist of a verb and a single noun phrase has been noted for other Polynesian languages (Besnier 2000:134 (for Tuvaluan), Ochs 1988:104-127 (for Samoan)).

The basic word order is verb initial. The basic order is VS for intransitive clauses and VSO for transitive clauses of the nominative-accusative pattern. This is the order found in most elicited sentences and is the neutral pattern. VOS is not allowed for the 'accusative' pattern. Oblique noun phrases usually follow the main arguments of the verb.

(128) Wō loa te wī tāne ki te moana.
go.Pl Int A all men G A ocean
All the menfolk went to the ocean.

(129) Ka ālai te wawine i nā mālamalama ki te tāinamu.
T block A woman Acc A window Ins A mosquito.net
The woman will screen the windows with netting.

Clauses which have incorporated the object into the verb phrase (3.8) show the VS ordering of intransitive clauses:

(130) Ko teletele wāwā au.
T RR-peel taro I
I'm peeling taro.

SV and SVO ordering also occurs. Noun phrases can be topicalised for emphasis by being shifted to the front of the clause (see 7.7.4). Alternatively, subjects occurring in a preceding clause may be deleted under rules of anaphora resulting in a VO order.

(131) Te wutu ko piki ki te lauulu.
A louse T stick G A hair
The louse sticks on to the hair.

(132) Lōmamai ai māua ki wale, wano ai au tunu i aku ika.
come.Pl Pro we.2 G home go Pro I cook Acc my.Pl fish
We came home and I went to cook my fish.

(PP2:7:3)

The word order for nominative-accusative transitive clauses is clear; the subject always occurs before the object whether the verb is clause initial or not, the object never occurs preceding the subject, thus the agent always occurs before the patient. Agents of this pattern account for more than 70% of all lexical mentions of agents in the corpus.

The 'passive' and 'ergative' patterns appear to have a different preferred order of arguments. But agents of these two patterns appear only rarely, comprising less than 1% each of all lexical mentions (M. Salisbury 1999). Moreover clauses containing an agent do not necessarily also have an overt patient in the same clause, so that there are very few clauses indeed containing two core arguments. Although both types of agent are relatively rare, agents of the 'passive' pattern occur twice as frequently as agents of the 'ergative' pattern (20% versus 10% of all lexical agents respectively). Out of a corpus of 150,000 words there are fewer than 20 clauses of each pattern containing both arguments following the verb⁵. Although this is a very small sample from which to draw statistical conclusions, all of the clauses that have been

found exhibit the same word order for each pattern. Those of the ‘passive’ pattern show the order of the patient before the agent (133), while those of the ‘ergative’ pattern all have the reverse order; the agent occurs next to the verb followed by the patient (134). The grammatical status of these arguments are discussed in section 7.8.

- (133) Onoono ki te tala, na wawaoina te paipa a te langatila Papā e Tāwaki mai te ngutu...
 look G A story T R-pull-Cia A pipe P A captain European Ag Tāwaki from A mouth
Look at the story: Tāwaki pulled the European captain’s pipe out of his mouth...
- (134) Na yoni loa e mātou te Manihiki ma te tele o te kau o te Pukapuka i Brisbane yayako lelei.
 T strangle Int Ag we A Manihiki and A tour.party P A people P A Pukapuka L Brisbane R-dead good
We beat the Manihikians and the tour group of Pukapukans from Brisbane solidly [lit. until they were truly dead].

The small group of perception verbs which allow preverbal pronouns in the ‘passive’ pattern (3.3), show a different word order from the main order for ‘passive’ clauses. The agent occurs next to the verb followed by the patient:

- (135) Ko yē iloa e te pōvī nei te leo Papā.
 T Neg know-Cia Ag A old.person here A language European
This old person doesn’t know English.
- (136) ...ke kitea e te wenua nā tala leleka a te kauliki nei
 C see-Cia Ag A land A story R-nice P A children here
...so that the island can see these great stories the children have written

Either the agentive (137) or the nominative/absolutive noun phrase (138) of the ‘passive’ pattern may be topicalised so that it occurs in preverbal position, leaving the other argument following the verb. Oblique noun phrases may occur postverbally between the verb and the agentive noun phrase:

- (137) Ko lāua nā wakayakoyakoa te wulinga ki te leo Papā.
 Top they.2 T caus-RR-straight-Cia A turn-Nom G A language European
They corrected the translations into English.
- (138) Ko te pia ia, na kāvea ki Lalotonga e toku yoa.
 Top A box Af T take-Cia G Rarotonga Ag my friend
That box was taken to Rarotonga by my friend. (T7:3)

7.3.1.1 Oblique Cases

Oblique noun phrases normally follow the main arguments of the verb. There is seldom more than one oblique noun phrase in a clause, with the exception of locative or temporal phrases, several of which may occur in the same clause. There may be a goal as well as a locative marked noun phrase in the same clause:

- (139) Wō loa te tangata [ki te pule] [i te ola iva].
 go.Pl Int A people G A pray L A hour nine
Everyone went to church at nine o’clock.

- (140) E ni poti ko wō [ki Kō] [i nā pō].
 T exist.Pl boat T go.Pl G Kō L A night
Boats are going to Kō at night. (MC1:16)

A phrase denoting source may occur in the same clause as a goal:

- (141) Ko ona lāi na wulingia [mai te leo Papā] [ki te leo Wale].
 Prd her Int T turn-Cia from A language European G A language Home
It was she who translated [it] from English to Pukapukan. (IL:4:4)

1. Locative or goal cases marked by *i* or *ki* normally occur clause finally:

- (142) Welele te au lau ki lunga o te au lā o te lākau.
 Pl-run A all leaf G on P A all branch P A tree
All the leaves ran back onto all the branches of the tree.

However, a goal may sometimes precede the subject:

- (143) Na tō ki lalo tona tamanu nei.
 T fall G down his tree.sp here
His tamanu tree fell down.
- (144) Tuku ki tai tō lātou payī.
 leave G sea P they ship
They put their ship in the sea.
- (145) Ko ai na talaina ki te akulā te wai?
 Prd who T tell-Cia G A swordfish A stingray
Who told on the stingray to the swordfish? (W1:P5:3:6)

The addressee of a verb of communication can either follow or precede the direct object:

- (146) Tū loa ia Manila ki lunga akakite i tona manako ki te pule lua ka kikī taula lātou.
 stand Int A Manila G up announce Acc his thought G A group two T R-pull rope they
Manila stood up and announced his idea to the second guard group that they would have a game of tug-of-war. (F3:S10:1)
- (147) Na manatu mātou ke akailo kia kōtou i nā mea nei ke a kōtou iloloa.
 T think we C indicate G-A you Acc A thing here C you R-know-Cia
We want to tell you these things so that you know [about them].

2. Instrumentals are marked by *ki* and normally occur clause finally:

- (148) Tuki loa i te toka ia ki tona ulu.
 hit Int Acc A rock Af Ins his head
[He] hit the rock with his head.

3. Temporal phrases may occur clause finally or clause initially. They are commonly marked by *i* (149) but this may be dropped in casual speech (150, 151) especially when the temporal phrase consists only of a simple time element.

- (149) Ka wō tātou i te taime nei.
 T go.Pl we L A time here
We'll go now.

- (150) Mōnitē, koa vayi te toe taki-lau.
 Monday T split A other each-100
On Monday [we] will break another 100 [coconuts] each.
- (151) Ka wāngai au i a tātou puaka tāyao.
 T feed I Acc P we pig tomorrow
I'll feed our pigs tomorrow.

A temporal phrase may also occur between the subject and the direct object in transitive clauses.

- (152) Ka vayi tātou i te Palapalau e toe taki-lau.
 T break we L A Thursday A other each-100
We will break another 100 [coconuts] each on Thursday.

For a full description of other oblique phrases see 6.2.

7.3.2 NONVERBAL PREDICATES

Nominal clauses minimally consist of just a noun phrase which is the predicate.

- (153) Ko toku pāpā.
 Prd my father
[It] was my father.

Word ordering for nonverbal predicates is normally predicate initial. This is true of equational (154), intensified equational (155), possessive (156) and demonstrative predicates (157).

- (154) Ko Tepapa oki te ingoa o tō lātou wenua ia.
 Prd Tepapa also A name P P they land Af
The name of their land was Tepapa.
- (155) E konga loa maulalo tana konga na wano ai ia.
 Prd place Int deep his place T go Pro Af
It was a very deep place that he went down to.
- (156) Nā Letai te tama nei.
 P Letai A child here
This child belongs to Letai.
- (157) Ēnei te pō akamata ai nā mako.
 here A night start Pro A chant
This is the night on which to start the chants.

As noted in 7.1, these predicates allow a fronting rule of topicalisation.

- (158) Toku pō ka tanu ai ko Muliwutu.
 my cemetery T bury Pro Prd Muliwutu
The cemetery that I will be buried in is Muliwutu.
- (159) Nā pupu lā oki ia ni pupu loa ivi makeke.
 A class but Af Prd class Int bone strong
Those classes are really conscientious classes.

- (160) Te talatala mua nō tā tātou ōlo i Lalotonga.
 A talk first P P we hall L Rarotonga
The first matter to discuss is about our hall [that we are building] in Rarotonga.
- (161) Ko te popounga oki ēnei i te kongā e akatomo ai nā vaka.
 Top A channel also here L A place T enter Pro A canoe
The channel is here where the canoes enter through.

Attributive predicates (7.1.5) are preceded by their subjects:

- (162) Taku wāwā nei i te kalukalu.
 my taro here Prd RR-soft
My taro here is rather soft.

Attributive predicates may also appear without a subject and in casual speech these also appear in a reduced form in which the stative verb is marked solely by *te*.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| (163) | Kamuloa i te makalili. | te makalili. |
| | really Prd cold | Prd cold |
| | <i>[It]'s really cold.</i> | <i>[It]'s cold.</i> |

7.3.3 SPLIT PREDICATES

A split predicate occurs when the modifier of the predicate is separated from its head. There are several types of complex nonverbal predicates in which the subject appears between the nucleus of the predicate and its following modifier. Complex locative predicates and complex nominal predicates allow the subject to intervene between the head and the possessive phrase. A relative clause which has a nominal predicate as its head may be separated from the head by the subject of the predicate. A third type of split predicate results from a subject being raised out of a subordinate clause.

1. Split possessives:

(a) A subject of a complex locative predicate normally intervenes between the head and the possessive phrase (7.2):

- (164) **Ko i loto** te leo Pukapuka **o te mako**.
 T L inside A language Pukapuka P A mako
The [real] Pukapukan language is in the chants.
- (165) **Nā i lunga** te tangata matua **o te wāoa o Tēnana**.
 T L on A person old P A crew P Tēnana
The old man was on the crew of Tēnana.
- (166) **Ko i lolotonu** te mea ia **o te akau e wano ki te alo**.
 T L middle A thing Af P A reef T go G A lagoon
It is in the middle of the reef which goes to the lagoon.

(b) Nominal predicates modified by a possessive phrase allow a demonstrative subject to intervene between the head of the predicate and the possessive phrase (7.1.1).

- (167) **Ko te yoa teia o toku pāpā.**
 Prd A friend this P my father
This is a friend of my father's.

2. A relative clause may be separated from its head by the subject of a nominal predicate (10.6). This is the most usual word order for this type of clause. The relative clause, being a heavy constituent, is in clause final position.

- (168) **Ko te tangata tēnei na yau tana tama.**
 Prd A person this T come his child
This is the man whose son came.

- (169) **Ko te tumu teia na yau ai ia Walemaki.**
 Prd A reason this T come Pro A Walemaki
That is the reason why Walemaki came.

- (170) **Ko ai tēnei e wakia nā lau puapua?**
 Prd who this T pluck-Cia A leaf tree.sp
Who is this who is picking Guettardia leaves?

3. Actor-possessor raising:

Actor-possessor raising may occur whereby the subject of a relative clause is raised to the main clause and becomes a possessor of the head of the relative clause (10.6.1). For a relative clause whose head is a nominal predicate, actor-possessor raising attaches the possessive phrase to a demonstrative subject instead of to the predicate. Thus the demonstrative subject intervenes between the head of a nominal predicate and its possessive phrase which denotes the actor in the relative clause.

- (171) **Ko te taime teia o Uyo ko wawao mai.**
 Prd A time this P Uyo T R-jump Dir
This is the time when Uyo [started] jumping here.

- (172) **Ko te tumu teia āna na winangalo ai...**
 Prd A reason this P-he T want Pro
This is the reason why he wanted to...

7.4 CASE MARKING

The main arguments of the clause can occur in the following case marking configurations. The patterns are subject to the ordering rules discussed in section 7.3. Subjects of nonverbal predicates and intransitive verbs, represented by (S), are in the nominative/absolute case, which is unmarked. Subjects of intransitive verbs may be either agent-like or patient-like. For transitive verbs, pending a discussion on which arguments are most subject-like (see 7.8), the arguments are indicated in Table 20 according to their semantic role: Ag (agent) or Pt (patient). The agent of the 'accusative' pattern is in the (unmarked) nominative case and the patient is marked by the 'accusative' case marker *i*. For the 'passive' and

‘ergative’ clause patterns, the agent is marked by the agentive case marker *e* and the patient is in the nominative/absolutive case, which is unmarked. Pattern IIIa denotes the subclass of the ‘passive’ pattern for verbs which allow preverbal pronoun placement. In addition to these major types there is variation within the ‘accusative’ pattern for patients denoted by indefinite noun phrases, and in the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns for partially affected patients. These will be discussed in the relevant sections. The reader is reminded that the labels for the three major case marking patterns (II-IV) have been chosen for pseudo-historical reasons, following Chung’s terminology (1978), but do not intend to make any claims about the transitivity of the patterns, which is discussed in 7.8.

TABLE 20: Case Marking Patterns

1. Nonverbal Predicates

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---|------|---|
| Nominal and Prepositional | | Pred | S |
| Tensed Nonverbal | | Pred | S |
| Attributive | S | Pred | |

2. Verbal Predicates

A. Intransitive:

| | | | |
|---|--------------|---|---|
| I | Intransitive | V | S |
|---|--------------|---|---|

B. Transitive:

| | | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------------|----------|----------|----|
| II | ‘Accusative’ | V | Ag | <i>i</i> | Pt |
| III | ‘Passive’ | V- <i>Cia</i> | Pt | <i>e</i> | Ag |
| IIIa | | Ag-Pro V- <i>Cia</i> | | | Pt |
| | | V- <i>Cia</i> | <i>e</i> | Ag | Pt |
| IV | ‘Ergative’ | V | <i>e</i> | Ag | Pt |

7.4.1 NONVERBAL PREDICATES

Nonverbal predicates of all types (7.1-7.2) have their subject in the nominative/absolutive case, which is unmarked. Alternatively for most of these predicate types, the subject can be topicalised (7.7.4) and is optionally marked by *ko*.

(173) [E weke wea]_{PRD} [tā lāua mea ia.]_S
 Prd octopus what P they.2 thing Af
What type of octopus did they catch [lit. is their thing]?

(174) [Ko nā tala i lotó.]_S [ko nā tala a te kauliki na au tukua mai i loto o Okotopa.]_{PRD}
 Top A story L inside-Da Prd A story P A children T you send-Cia Dir L inside P October
The stories inside are the children’s stories that you sent us in October.

Attributive predicates follow their subject, which is in the nominative/absolute case (7.1.5).

- (175) [Te poti o Matā]_S [i te yolo.]_{PRD}
 A boat P Matā Prd swift
Matā's boat is swift.

7.4.2 VERBAL PREDICATES

7.4.2.1 Intransitive Clauses

Intransitive clauses have one main argument, the subject, which is unmarked for case (**Pattern I**). The subject may be agent-like (176, 177) or patient-like (178, 179). Many intransitive verbs agree in number with their subject (3.5.5, 7.7.1).

- (176) Na tākele au.
 T wash I
I bathed.
- (177) Wetū loa nā tāngata.
 Pl-stand Int A people
The people then stood up.
- (178) Na mamate ana niu.
 T Pl-die his.Pl coconut
His coconut trees are dead.
- (179) Na momoyo lua ngutumanu nā.
 T Pl-cook two mouth.bird there
Those couple of taro are cooked.

Oblique noun phrases are marked for case by prepositions such as *i* 'locative' or *ki* 'goal, instrument'.

- (180) Ko nōnō lātou i Onehunga.
 T R-stay they L Onehunga
They live at Onehunga.
- (181) E yē niko loa au wakawōu ki ai.
 T Neg return Int I again G Pro
I'll never go back there again.

Patient-oriented intransitive verbs and neuter verbs have patients as their subjects and the cause of the situation is in an oblique noun phrase marked by *i*.

- (182) Ka ngalo nā ipiipi i te ngalu.
 T lost A copra By A wave
The copra will be lost on account of the waves.
- (183) Kikī a lātou kete i te ika.
 R-full P they basket By A fish
Their baskets were full of fish.

- (184) Mākekeā i te mauanga o Nonu ia Moa.
 jealous By A get-Nom P Nonu By-A Moa
[They] were jealous on account of the getting of Nonu by Moa. (BB:551)

The subject of a clause containing an incorporated object is also unmarked for case and the clause is intransitive (see 3.8).

- (185) Ko i wea te konga [na yoka yakali ai lātou]?
 T L where A place T husk dry.coconut Pro they
Where was the place they husked coconuts at?

Subjects of intransitive verbs can be topicalised or left dislocated and optionally marked by *ko* (7.7.4). A fronted subject pronoun has different morphology from a postverbal subject pronoun (4.5.2.1) and is marked by the personal article *ia* if the topic marker *ko* is absent (4.1.1; 7.7.4).

Subjects of intransitive verbs are marked in the same way as subjects of transitive verbs in the ‘accusative’ pattern and as noun phrases in the role of patient in the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns. The grammar therefore exhibits a mixed ‘accusative-ergative’ system of case marking (see 7.8).

7.4.2.2 Transitive Clauses

Transitive clauses allow three patterns of case marking: ‘accusative’, ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’. While there are some constraints on which verbs can occur in each pattern (see 7.5), in the main any transitive verb is able to occur in any of these three patterns. The labels for the patterns follow Chung (1978) as a convenient naming device. However the labels themselves should not be taken as indicative of the degree of transitivity of the patterns, which is discussed in (7.8).

1. In the ‘**accusative**’ pattern (II), the subject, typically an agent or experiencer, is the nominative argument which is unmarked for case and the direct object, typically a patient or theme, is marked with the ‘accusative’ marker *i*.

- (186) Ko vāele te wawine i te taua.
 T sweep A woman Acc A floor
The woman is sweeping the floor.
- (187) Ko mina au ia koe.
 T like I Acc-A you
I like you.
- (188) Ka kave au i taku pēpē ki te paunu.
 T take I Acc my baby G A weigh
I will take my baby to be weighed.

In the ‘accusative’ case system, transitive and intransitive subjects are treated as a unified category as opposed to transitive direct objects. Subjects of intransitive and transitive verbs are unmarked (189), while direct objects are marked by the ‘accusative’ marker *i*.

- (194) Nōnō ai ia Loto e tai tāpati i Uta.
 RR-stay Pro A Loto A one week L Uta
Loto village stayed for a week at Uta. (F3:S3:7)
- (195) Wuwuti mai loa te pāpā i te maunu e lua ngawa ki lunga.
 R-pull Dir Int A father Acc A bait A two fathom G up
The father pulled the bait up a couple of fathoms. (KM:YK:3:3)
- (196) Nā maki oki te kau nei i lua toe tāpati.
 T sick also A people here A?/L? two other week
These people have been sick for the past two weeks. (P:W1:7)

2. In the ‘passive’ pattern (III) the agent is marked with the agentive marker *e*, the patient is unmarked, and some variant of the ‘passive’ suffix *-Cia*, usually *-a*, *-ina*, or *-ngia*, is attached to the verb. As has been noted in section 7.3.1, in clauses containing two arguments in postverbal position, the patient normally precedes the agent (197), but this is not the case for pattern IIIa (below). Either argument can be topicalised to occur in preverbal position (198, 199), in which case the agentive marker *e* is replaced by the topic marker *ko* (see 7.7.4).

- (197) Na kaina te maunu e te pātuki.
 T eat-Cia A bait Ag A fish.sp
The bait was eaten by a hawkfish.
- (198) Ko te pātuki na kaina te maunu.
 Top A fish.sp T eat-Cia A bait
The bait was eaten by a hawkfish.
- (199) Ko te maunu na kaina e te pātuki.
 Top A bait T eat-Cia Ag A fish.sp
The bait was eaten by a hawkfish.

Pattern IIIa is a variation of the ‘passive’ pattern, but is distinct from pattern III in two respects: the placement of a preverbal pronoun and word order. There is a small subclass of verbs which allow a preverbal pronoun between the tense-aspect marker and the verb in main clauses (200). These include certain verbs of perception: *iloa* ‘know’, *kitea* ‘see’, *manatua* ‘remember’, *mitia* ‘dream’, *langona* ‘hear’; and also *maua* ‘be able to’. A wider range of transitive verbs allow preverbal pronoun placement in subordinate clauses (see 3.3).

- (200) Ko yē ana kitea.
 T Neg he see-Cia
He doesn’t know.

Pattern IIIa has a different word order from pattern III for arguments which appear postverbally. The agentive noun phrase precedes the patient:

- (201) ...ke kitea e te kaú tona yila.
 C see-Cia Ag A people-Da its light
...so that those people can see its light.

The agentive or the patient noun phrase can occur in clause-initial position:

- (202) **Ko Vigo** ko iloa te kau nā ālu i lunga ia.
 Top Vigo T know-Cia A people T follow L on Af
Vigo knows the people who joined in [the search].
- (203) **Ko te kau nā ālu i lunga ia,** ko iloa e Vigo.
 Top A people T follow L on Af T know-Cia Ag Vigo
The people who joined in [the search] are known by Vigo.

3. In the ‘ergative’ pattern (IV) the agent is marked with *e* and the patient is unmarked, but there is no verbal suffix. The typical word order when both arguments are in postverbal position is for the agentive noun phrase to precede the patient (7.3.1).

- (204) Ūta mai loa e lātou te kiko o te pāyua ki lunga.
 surface Dir Int Ag they A flesh P A clam G up
They brought the flesh of the clam to the surface. (ML1:11)

Although morphologically the ‘ergative’ pattern differs from the ‘passive’ pattern only by the absence of the *-Cia* suffix, the suffix is not merely an optional feature. Its appearance typically depends on a number of factors including postverbal particles, topicalisation of noun phrases or complexity of the sentence. Chung (1978:340-352) demonstrated that the two patterns are distinct in their ability to undergo various subject referring rules, namely Equi, Raising, Relativisation, Clefting, Question movement and Subject Preposing. Although many of the details of her findings are contested elsewhere in this thesis, her general conclusion that the patterns are distinct is not in question.

Instead of an absolutive noun phrase in the role of patient, a clause of the ‘ergative’ pattern can have a locative complement that specifies the exact part of the patient which is affected (205, 206) or denotes a partially affected patient (207).

- (205) Patu oki e Tokolua i te ulu o te takupú, mate.
 hit also Ag Tokolua L A head P A bird.sp-Da dead
Tokolua hit (at) the head of the red-footed booby until it died. (F3:5:4)
- (206) Eia lā ia Takitini koa ulu ki loto, yoka loa e Kūluea i te kaokao, mate.
 almost A Takitini T enter G inside stab Int Ag Kūluea L A side dead
Just when Takitini was about to enter, Kūluea stabbed [him] in the side and [he] died. (W2:F2:6:7)
- (207) Kikī oki e te pule tai i te taula.
 pull also Ag A group one L A rope
Team One also pulled on the rope. (F3:S10:5)

7.4.2.3 Agents as Possessors

Apart from the nominative case of the ‘accusative’ pattern or the agentive case of the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns, a further choice is available in Pukapukan to signify agency. This is the possessor role, where a semantic agent is syntactically marked in an oblique case. It is quite common among Polynesian languages for agency to be encoded in the possessor role and this phenomenon has received some attention for Samoan (Cook 1999; Duranti 1990, 1994; Duranti and Ochs 1990; Mosel 1991; Mosel and

Hovdhaugen 1992:422-425). Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:422) assert that if the agent is also a possessor of the patient then the agent will most commonly be encoded as a possessor and not as an ergative agent. However, Cook (1999:400) points out that possession in a strict sense is not required in order for the agent to be coded as a possessor. Although one might expect agency to be encoded only by *a*-possession, Cook gives illustrations which show that in Samoan agents can also be expressed as *o*-possessors and that the choice of marking is determined by the relationship between the possessor and the possessed item (1999:397).

In Pukapukan, the agent of a transitive verb can be encoded as a possessor of the patient instead of being in the agentive case. This is an ‘ergative’-like pattern since the verb is unaffixed and the patient is in the absolutive case. However, there is only one core argument of the verb and there can never be more than one core argument in an agent–possessor construction. Compare the agent–possessor construction of (208a) with the ‘ergative’ pattern in (208b), in which there are two core arguments of the verb, the absolutive noun phrase and the agentive noun phrase. If there is an overt agentive noun phrase in the ‘ergative’ pattern, a possessive modifier of the patient is not interpreted as the agent (209), but if there is no overt agentive phrase a possessor of the patient is interpreted as the agent (208a).

- (208) a. ...liko te kati a Tāvita...
 hold A line P Tāvita
 ...Tāvita held onto his fishing line... (PS2:8)
 [Lit. Held the fishing line of Tāvita.]
- b. Na liko e Tāvita te kati.
 T hold Ag Tāvita A line
 Tāvita held the fishing line.
- (209) Na liko e Tāvita te kati a Lima.
 T hold Ag Tāvita A line P Lima
 Tāvita held Lima’s fishing line.

It seems therefore that this construction decreases the valency of the verb. It is also associated with a lower degree of transitivity in terms of semantic characteristics than an ‘ergative’ construction with an overt agentive noun phrase (see further below for discussion of semantic differences).

The agent–possessor construction can be used when the agent is in a relationship of ownership to the patient:

- (210) Ūnu oki nā pupui a te wāoa o te payī, tulituli i te wī tāne o nā vaka ki lalo, wewao.
 take.out also A gun P A crew P A ship RR-chase Acc A all men P A canoe G down Pl-jump
 The ship’s crew took out [their] guns and chased all the men off the deck, [they] leaped overboard.

The agent may be in the role of possessor to the patient and as well be in an active role of having made, collected or prepared the item denoted by the patient:

- (211) ...tangi loa te pātē ka kave nā tākai a te tiniu ki te wale uwipānga.
 sound Int A drum T take A food.sp P A women G A house meeting
 ...then the gong sounded for the women to take [their] takai [food] [which they had made]
 to the meeting house. (PU93:13:13)
- (212) Aumai loa nā kete a te wī tāne ki Waletoa. Aumai loa nā kete kaveu.
 bring Int A basket P A all men G Waletoa bring Int A basket coconut.crab
 Then the men brought [their] baskets to Waletoa, [they] brought the baskets of coconut crabs
 [that they had collected]. (PU93:13:13)

sample, suggesting that semantic agents in possessor roles can account for up to 40% of all possessively marked noun phrases although the proportion can be as low as 10% in a given narrative. Overall, semantic agents in possessor role averaged 30% of possessively marked noun phrases. The number of possessively marked semantic agents (n=85) is very close to the number of nominative agents (n=79) in clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern. In other words, even though A mentions are rare, the most commonly selected choices are nominative agents in clauses of the ‘accusative’ case marking pattern or semantic agents encoded as possessors (5% of lexical mentions each). They are not only the most common, but are also the unmarked choices semantically. Agents encoded in the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns are extremely rare (less than 1% of lexical mentions each).

Table 21: Distribution of Lexical Mentions

| Agent | S (intransitive) | | Patient | | Oblique | | Other | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|-----|---------|-----|-------|--|
| n % | n % | n % | n % | n % | n % | n % | n % | |
| ‘accusative’ clauses 79 5% | 403 26% | 120 8% | agent possessor 85 5% | | 71 4% | | | |
| ‘ergative’ clauses 8 <1% | | 41 3% | non-agent possessor 194 13% | | | | | |
| ‘passive’ clauses 16 1% | | 38 2% | other types of oblique 491 32% | | | | | |
| Totals: 103 7% | 403 26% | 199 13% | 770 50% | | 71 4% | | | |

Distribution of lexical mentions (n=1546) among grammatical roles to highlight the various ways agency can be marked: as A mentions in clauses of different case marking patterns or as semantic agents in possessor role.

Below is a short excerpt from a personal narrative showing a high frequency of action clauses in which agents are encoded as a possessor:

- (222) Tāpenapena ai **taku kati takitaki kakai**, peia ia Lima, tāpenapena **tana kati takitaki kakai**.
RR-prepare Pro my line RR-troll tuna also A Lima RR-prepare his line RR-troll tuna

Mea ia Lima i te kati a Tāvita. Tuku ki tai, tuku kia Tāvita, liko **te kati a Tāvita**.
do A Lima Acc A line P Tāvita put G sea put G-A Tāvita hold A line P Tāvita

Tuku taku kati, liko au i taku kati, tatala **te kati a Lima**. Eia, e tolu **a mātou kati**.
put my gut hold I Acc my gut R-loose A line P Lima so Prd three P we line
Then [I] prepared my fishing line to troll for tuna and so did Lima, [he] prepared his trolling fishing line. Lima did Tāvita’s line [for him], put it into the water, gave it to Tāvita and [Tāvita] held onto his line. [I] put my fishing line [into the water] and I held onto it. [Lima] wound out his line. So [we] had three lines out.
(PS2:8)

The encoding of agents as possessors contrasts semantically with their expression as the subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern, but contrasts even more markedly with their expression as the agentive argument of the ‘passive’ or ‘ergative’ patterns. Expression of the agent in the ‘ergative’ pattern emphasises deliberate agency and the responsibility of the agent for his/her actions. It often carries strong connotations and can be used in situations which imply disapproval of the speaker towards the action of the agent (see 7.5.2). Expression of the agent as a possessor minimises the importance of the agency, making the action denoted by the verb more salient than the volition of the agent. Encoding the agent as the nominative argument

of the ‘accusative’ pattern lies somewhere between these two extremes. The agency and volition of the actor are recognised, but there are no strong connotations implied. Duranti (1990) states that in Samoan, encoding the agent as a possessor ‘focuses on the object rather than on the human initiator or cause of an event’ and ‘leaves the listener to infer agency’ (1990:656), while ergative agents ‘appear in speech acts where a party ... is being held or made accountable’ for some action and highlight the human participant as a wilful and responsible actor (1990:652-3). These comments accord with the findings in Pukapukan. In Lima’s version of the same story (above), a storm arises while they are out fishing and the only clause in the whole narrative containing an agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern (bolded) emphasises Lima’s determination and his accountability in his actions for the safety of the younger member of the fishing party:

- (223) Tupu mai ai te matangi nei ko i lalo lāua. ... Ko Tāvita pā nā mea ka kakau mai ki lunga o te poti.
 rise Dir Pro A wind here T L down they.2 Prd Tāvita probably T do T swim Dir G on P A boat

Tāpū loa ēku, “Wano kia Punga, ei?” Tauvalo au ia Tāvita ke wano kia Punga, e yē pukea te poti,
 prevent Int Ag-I go G-A Punga eh call I Acc-A Tāvita C go G-A Punga T Neg catch-Cia A boat

na āngia, na āngia au.
 T blow-Cia T blow-Cia I

The storm arose while they were down [in the water]...Tāvita probably wanted to swim [to the boat] and climb aboard, but I stopped him, “Go to Punga, eh?” I called out to Tāvita to go to Punga [because] [he] wouldn’t have reached the boat, [it] was being blown [out to sea], I was being swept out. (LS2:26)

There also seem to be some semantic differences between the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns in which the only core argument in the clause is the patient and its possessor. The ‘ergative’ pattern implies that the possessor is the volitional agent of a deliberate action, although the agency is not highly emphasised (224), whereas the ‘passive’ pattern is often used for accidental actions in which the possessor is not necessarily an agent (225).

- (224) Lūlū ō **lima**.
 shake your hand
Shake your hands.

- (225) Na kōtia **toku vae**.
 T cut-Cia my leg
[I] cut my leg [by accident].
My leg is cut.

7.5 CASE MARKING VARIATION

In this section the ‘accusative’, ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns (patterns II, III and IV in 7.4.2.2) are examined in more detail (7.5.1-3) and the variation of case marking for complements of semitransitive verbs is also discussed (7.5.4).

In general, the three patterns of case marking are found with the majority of transitive verbs, although there are certain constraints. Chung (1978:64) discovered that the ‘ergative’ pattern, for instance, is less acceptable than the ‘accusative’ or ‘passive’ patterns for certain ‘middle verbs’: verbs of experience,

perception and others that do not directly affect the object. Variation among the patterns is also determined by other syntactic, semantic and discourse factors. These will be discussed in the following sections.

7.5.1 SYNTACTIC VARIATION

Firstly, variation among the case marking patterns is determined to a large extent by what syntactic rules or processes have applied. Chung (1978:326-352) discussed the way the prior application of certain syntactic rules interacts with the choice of case marking systems available. Her findings are discussed in relevant sections throughout this thesis, and section 7.8 summarises the grammatical processes that are relevant to the identification of subject for each case marking pattern. These processes are not discussed further here. There are also other syntactic factors, not mentioned by Chung, which play a role in the choice of case marking. These are general tendencies for certain clause types to be marked according to a particular pattern.

1. 'passive'

The 'passive' pattern is commonly used for unrealised events. Chung (1978:64) noted that speakers attest this fact, and she recognised that there is a tendency for the 'passive' pattern to occur in imperatives or clauses introduced by the subjunctive *ke*, but that it is not restricted to these contexts. The following types of clauses denoting irrealis situations are commonly encoded using the 'passive' pattern of case marking.

(a) The 'passive' pattern is preferred for imperative clauses subordinated to motion verbs, especially in clauses with patients denoted by definite noun phrases (see 9.2.1).

(226) Wano lā pania tō kili ki te pua o te wau.
 go there smear-Cia P skin Ins A scent P A flower.sp
Go and smear your skin with the scent of the wau flower. (BB:554)

(227) Yau kaina tō tuanga.
 come eat-Cia your share
Come and eat your food share.

However, suffix-less verbs are also acceptable in clauses which contain indefinite objects. The marking on these verbs is ambiguously 'accusative' or 'ergative' since indefinite objects are never marked with 'accusative' *i* (see 4.1.2.2).

(228) Wano wakiwaki mai i tiāniu.
 go RR-break Dir A coconut.midrib
Go and break off some midribs of coconut leaflets.

(229) Wano koe yoka ni yakali.
 go you pierce A nut
Go and husk some nuts.

(b) Complements of negative imperative verbs are commonly found in the ‘passive’:

- (230) Aulaka e aumaiina te ipiipi, ka yūina e te uwa.
 Neg.Imp T bring-Cia A copra T wet-Cia Ag A rain
Don't bring the copra lest it get wet by the rain.

(c) The ‘passive’ pattern is common in precautionary clauses introduced by *ka* (10.7.4):

- (231) Ke onono wakalelei ka pōina e te ngalu.
 T look well T sweep.away-Cia Ag A wave
Watch out carefully lest [they] be swept away by the waves.

- (232) Limalima ka pōina tātou.
 RR-hurry T night-Cia we
Hurry lest night fall on us.

and in purpose clauses introduced by the subordinator *ke* (10.7.3):

- (233) ...ke yē puyia e te matangi.
 C Neg blow.away-Cia Ag A wind
...so that [they] won't get blown away by the wind.

- (234) Na takutaku te toa ki ona atua ke akavaveina iāna.
 T RR-pray A warrior G his.Pl god C caus-strong-Cia he
He prayed to his gods to strengthen him.

- (235) Lōmamai ki te kolo i Tua ke akayāeleeleina ia Pēpē e tangi nei.
 come.Pl G A causeway L Tua C caus-walk-Cia A baby T cry here
Come [with me] to the causeway at Tua to take Baby, who is crying, for a walk.

(d) The ‘passive’ pattern is typical of threats:

- (236) Ka yanoa ō talinga nā.
 T slap-Cia P ear there
[I'll] slap your ears.

While the ‘passive’ pattern is common in irrealis situations, this is not the only pattern acceptable for irrealis situations, nor is it the only type of situation encoded by the ‘passive’ pattern. The ‘accusative’ pattern is commonly used, for instance, in focused interrogative constructions and relative clauses which are set in future time (see 9.1.5.3, 7.7.4, 10.6.2 and (3) below). The ‘passive’ pattern also denotes perfective aspect which is typically associated with past time realis situations (see 7.5.2).

The ‘passive’ pattern is also strongly preferred in the following syntactic environments:

(e) Transitive clauses in the past tense which are negated by *kiai* commonly follow the ‘passive’ pattern (237). The ‘passive’ pattern, but not the ‘accusative’ pattern, allows raising of the patient noun phrase of the negated clause to become the subject of the negative verb *kiai* (238). The ‘ergative’ pattern also, less frequently, allows raising of the absolutive argument (see 8.2.1).

- (237) Ēnā a lāua niu wai kawa, kiai na yokaina.
 there P they.2 coconut make sinnet Neg T husk-Cia
There [they have] their nuts for making sinnet, [although they] haven't been husked. (MN:C2:24)

- (238) E kiai au na kāvea ki te walemaki.
 T Neg I T take-Cia G A house-sick
I haven't been taken to hospital.

(f) The 'passive' pattern is strongly preferred in relative clauses whose head is the agent of the clause (10.6.2) or in clauses where the agent has been deleted under rules of anaphora, topicalised, left-dislocated or focused in clause initial position (see 7.7.4).

- (239) ...peia ki lua tangata na patupatua nā lata o te puka nei.
 like-so G two people T RR-hit-Cia A letter P A book here
...And also to the two people who typed the letters of this book.

- (240) Te mālava e ika loa aumala ke yokaina tō lima.
 A mālava Prd fish Int poisonous C pierce-Cia your hand
The rabbitfish is a very poisonous fish if [it] pierces your hand.

- (241) Ko lāua na tautulua.
 Prd they.2 T help-Cia
It was they who helped.

(g) The 'passive' pattern is strongly preferred when the patient/theme is deleted under rules of anaphora or is relativised (10.6.2):

- (242) E tayi oku uāti, ko yē wainia.
 T exist my watch T Neg wind-Cia
I have a watch but it's not wound up.

- (243) Koa wakamata oki tō tātou leo e te wiwiina e te leo Lalotonga.
 T start also P we language C mix-Cia Ag A language Rarotonga
Our language is starting to be mixed up with Rarotongan.

- (244) ...o te tamanu na kōtia e Lata.
 P A tree.sp T cut-Cia Ag Lata
...of the tamanu tree that Lata had cut down.

Clauses in which the patient has been topicalised or focused initially are preferentially configured in the 'passive' pattern:

- (245) Te puakaoa ko tulituliina e te kauliki.
 A dog T RR-chase-Cia Ag A children
The dog is being chased by the children

- (246) Ko te puka nei na tātāina nā te tamaliki e wō ki te āpii.
 Top A book here T write-Cia P A children T go.Pl G A school
This book has been written for the children who go to school.

The main exceptions to the tendency for the 'passive' pattern to encode relative clauses are that the 'accusative' pattern may occur in clauses containing semitransitive verbs (247) or expressing irrealis situations (248):

- (247) Peia oki ki te wī tangata na tautulu i te kūmiti...
 like-so also G A all people T help Acc A committee
And also to all the people who have helped the committee...

- (248) ...ki te wī tangata ka kave i nā apinga ki lunga o te payī.
 G A all people T take Acc A things G on P A ship
...to all the people who will carry the things on board the ship.

The ‘ergative’ pattern can also encode relative clauses whose head is the patient. The agent is frequently encoded as a possessor of the head (see 10.6.1).

- (249) Nō ai au kākau ka palu i te ayo nei?
 P who your clothes T wash L A day here
Whose are the clothes you will wash today?
- (250) Ko te kawa lā a Māui na yuai ai e lua tokalua ia e kawa papala.
 Top A line Int P Māui T provide Pro Ag two cls-two Af Prd line rotten
Māui’s line that [his] two brothers provided was a rotten line. (BB:9)

2. ‘ergative’

(a) The ‘ergative’ pattern is the most frequent pattern for simple imperative clauses in which an expression of the addressee is not overt in the clause (see 8.2.2.2).

- (251) Liko mai (ake) te koyo, lua pūtē ma te uwilapa.
 hold Dir please A husking.stick two sack and A wheelbarrow
Get me the husking stick, two sacks and the wheelbarrow.

The ‘passive’ is less common, but is also acceptable:

- (252) Meaina ake ke yau ake.
 tell-Cia please C come please
Tell [him] to come please.

However, when the addressee of the imperative is overt, the ‘accusative’ pattern is required for imperatives.

- (253) Yongiyongi atu koe i tona kili.
 RR-smell Dir you Acc her skin
You smell her skin. (BB:554)

(b) Relativisation of the patient allows the ‘ergative’ case marking pattern.

- (254) Nō ai nā kākau na palu ēku?
 P who A clothes T wash Ag-me
Whose clothes did I wash?

(c) Raising of the patient to become the subject of the negative verb *kiai* is possible in the ‘ergative’ pattern only if the agent is encoded as the possessor of the patient.

- (255) E kiai taku pōlo nei na patu ki lunga o te wale.
 T Neg my ball here T hit G on P A house
I didn’t hit the ball onto the roof of the house.

3. 'accusative'

(a) The 'accusative' case marking is the preferred pattern for declarative (256) or interrogative (257) clauses which are subordinated to motion verbs (cf. 1.(a) above for imperatives), and is required when the subject occurs in the motion verb clause.

(256) Wano loa iāna pū i te imu.
go Int he light Acc A oven
He then went and lit the oven.

(257) Ka wano mō au aumai i te kete?
T go Q I bring Acc A basket
Shall I go and bring [your] basket?

The 'ergative' pattern is also acceptable, but rarely occurs and is marked semantically if the agent is overt.

(258) Wano ki te tangata ia, popō ēna i te ulu.
go G A person Af cuff Ag-he L A head
[He] went to someone and cuffed him on the head.

(b) Transitive clauses negated by *kiai* are restricted to the 'accusative' pattern when the agent of the negated clause has been raised to become the subject of the negative verb *kiai*. The 'passive' pattern is not permitted with a raised agent (see (1e) above and section 8.2.1).

(259) E kiai loa au na kave i toku motokā ki tona WOF.
T Neg Int I T take Acc my car G its WOF
I haven't taken my car for its warrant of fitness.

7.5.2 SEMANTIC VARIATION

As earlier mentioned (7.4.2.3), the 'ergative' case marking pattern with an overt agent in the agentive case is the most marked pattern semantically. The agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern is the least frequently found, comprising less than 1% of all lexical mentions (see Table 21, 7.4.2.3). Duranti (1990) claims that in Samoan, ergative agents are not very frequent, but he gives no figures. His analysis of *fono* 'village council meetings' shows that the ergative agent is used in speech acts of assigning responsibility and the number of times a speaker uses ergative agents correlates positively with his political power. Ergative agents are also commonly found in statements about what a certain person or group of people is expected or not expected to do.

In Pukapukan, an agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern denotes deliberate agency and often carries connotations of expectation as it does in Samoan. The agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern always denotes a human or personified volitional agent. It contrasts with that of the 'passive' pattern which can also denote an inanimate entity, cause or non-volitional agent (see 6.1.1). However, agents of the 'passive' and 'ergative' patterns are often not overt (see 7.3.1). Clauses of these two patterns without an overt agent, containing only a patient, are not marked semantically, but are neutral. The patient often

depicts less highly individuated entities than the object of the ‘accusative’ pattern, in which only definite/specific objects are marked by accusative *i* (4.1.2, 7.4.2.2).

Agents of transitive clauses can be expressed in ways other than in the agentive case. Firstly, an agent can be expressed as a possessive modifier of the nominative/absolute noun phrase denoting the patient (see 7.4.2.3). These constructions are very common in colloquial speech and the agency of the action is not highlighted in this type of construction. An agent can also be expressed as an oblique noun phrase marked by the benefactive marker *mā* (6.2.10). This type of construction is most common in imperatives:

- (260) Kai mā au te ika ia.
eat for you A fish Af
You eat that fish [while I eat this one].

The choice of case marking between the three main case marking patterns is often associated with deliberateness of the action or volitionality, or other semantic features which reflect a degree of semantic markedness. The ‘ergative’ pattern, in which the agent is encoded in the agentive case marked by *e*, is typically more marked semantically than the ‘accusative’ pattern in which the agent is encoded in the nominative case, which has no overt case marking. Syntactic marking of the agentive phrase in the ‘ergative’ pattern is therefore associated with semantic markedness. The types of semantic differences that can be made are illustrated below.

In (261), the clause in the ‘accusative’ pattern which has as its agent *au* ‘I’ in the nominative case, expresses an intended action as a less emphatic threat than the equivalent clause in the ‘ergative’ pattern. The agent expressed in the agentive case, *ēku* ‘Ag-I’, places emphasis on the deliberate agency of the intended action which will be accomplished by that person and no one else, and the clause expresses a threat which will definitely be carried out. The ‘accusative’ clause expresses a less definite threat, which is likely to be carried out, but which may perhaps be averted, and the threatened action could potentially be performed by another person according to instructions from the speaker.

- (261) Te kovi lewú, ka patu au.
Te kovi lewú, ka patu ēku.
A person small-Da T hit I/ Ag I
That child, I’m going to punish.

Degrees of markedness in terms of deliberate and intentional action is clearly illustrated in the reflexive patterns. The ‘accusative’ pattern is neutral (262), the ‘passive’ pattern with no overt agentive phrase is the most idiomatic way to express accidental action (263), whereas the ‘ergative’ pattern with an overt agent implies deliberate action (264).

- (262) Na koti ia Tao i tona lima lāi.
T cut A Tao Acc his hand Int
Tao cut his own hand.

- (263) Na kōtia te lima o Tao.
T cut-Cia A hand P Tao
Tao cut his hand [by accident].

- (264) Na koti e Tao tona lima.
 T cut Ag Tao his hand
Tao deliberately cut off his hand.

Difference in semantic markedness between the case marking patterns may be reflected in a difference in pragmatic function. In (265), the ‘accusative’ pattern is neutral semantically, whereas the ‘ergative’ pattern (266) is more marked semantically and can imply that the agent of the clause should not be doing the action. For instance, in (266) the fish may have been intended for someone else, or may have been intended as a raw fish meal. The pragmatic function of the ‘ergative’ pattern in this example is to forewarn, so that the imminent action denoted by the clause can be averted.

- (265) Koa tunu iāna i te iká.
 T cook he Acc A fish-Da
He is about to cook that fish.
- (266) Te iká, koa tunu loa ēna.
 A fish-Da T cook Int Ag-he
He is about to cook that fish [and he shouldn't]!

The ‘accusative’ pattern may also imply prior knowledge or planning of an event by the speaker, whereas the ‘ergative’ pattern may imply that the agent of the clause acted of his/her own volition, independently of the speaker’s knowledge or permission. For instance, in (267) a possible scenario is that there was a plan for Mele to take the child to the hospital, whereas the equivalent clause of the ‘ergative’ pattern (268) describes a situation in which the speaker knew nothing about the trip to the hospital in advance. A likely scenario is that the child had an accident or was taken ill and the child had already been taken to hospital before the speaker knew about it. Thus, the ‘accusative’ pattern is neutral semantically, but the ‘ergative’ pattern emphasises the volition of the agent of the clause.

- (267) Ko te walemaki Middlemore na kave ai ia Mele i taku tama.
 Prd A house-sick Middlemore T take Pro A Mele Acc my child
It was Middlemore Hospital where Mele took/has taken my child [by appointment, and with my knowledge].
- (268) Ko te walemaki Middlemore na kave ai e Mele taku tama.
 Prd A house-sick Middlemore T take Pro Ag Mele my child
It was Middlemore Hospital where Mele took/has taken my child [without my prior knowledge].

Aspectual differences and the time setting may determine the choice of case marking pattern. A number of linguists (for example, Clark 1973a, Milner 1973) have discussed whether transitive suffixes encode aspect rather than transitivity in Eastern Oceanic languages. In Pukapukan, the ‘passive’ pattern can be used to denote ‘perfective’ aspect in past time situations. Sentences (269) and (270) below differ only with respect to the suffix on the verb and aspectual differences in meaning. Thus, (269) denotes a situation which has been completed, while (270) denotes a situation encoded by the ‘ergative’ pattern that has started but is still in process.

- (269) E wea na kotoa ai te wī tiale tākatoa?
 Prd what T pick-Cia Pro A all flower all
Why have all the flowers been picked? [there are no flowers left]
- (270) E wea na koto ai te wī tiale tākatoa?
 Prd what T pick Pro A all flower all
Why are [you/they] picking all the flowers? [all the flowers in a patch have been picked, but others remain]

Similarly, the ‘passive’ pattern of (271) relates a completed event which happened some time ago and is the answer to a question regarding which hospital the child was taken to. Compare this sentence with the ‘ergative’ pattern of (268) above, which could describe a situation in which the child is on the way to the hospital or is still at the hospital.

- (271) Ko te walemaki Middlemore na kāvea ai taku tama e Mele.
 Prd A house-sick Middlemore T take-Cia Pro my child Ag Mele
It was Middlemore Hospital that Mele took my child to [some time ago].

Because the ‘passive’ pattern can denote perfective aspect, it often encodes past time situations, as in (269, 271, 272), but the types of clauses in which it occurs are typically syntactically determined (see 7.5.1). It often contrasts with the ‘accusative’ pattern in this respect which is preferred for the same types of clauses set in future time. For instance, interrogative constructions in which the agent is focused are typically encoded in the ‘passive’ pattern for past time (realis) situations (272), but in the ‘accusative’ pattern for future time (irrealis) situations (273 a) (see 9.1.5.3). The ‘accusative’ pattern is disallowed for this type of sentence set in past time (273 b). However, the ‘accusative’ pattern is not restricted to future time, since it can also be used for non-focused declarative clauses set in past time (274), or for declarative clauses set in past time which focus an oblique noun phrase (267), rather than the agent.

- (272) Ko ai na kaina te iká?
 Prd who T eat-Cia A fish-Da
Who ate the fish?
- (273)a. Ko ai ka kai i te iká?
 Prd who T eat Acc A fish-Da
Who will eat the fish?
- b. * Ko ai na kai i te iká?
 Prd who T eat Acc A fish
(Who ate the fish?)
- (274) Na kai au i te iká.
 T eat I Acc A fish-Da
I ate the fish.

Nor is the ‘passive’ pattern restricted to past time situations, as declarative clauses with future time reference can be encoded in the ‘accusative’ pattern or the ‘passive’ pattern. There may be fine distinctions of meaning expressed by these two patterns. Clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern denote future intention (275), while those of the ‘passive’ pattern can denote a possible future outcome (276), rather than intended action by the actor.

- (275) Nā tāne o te wenua ka patu i nā tāne o Yāngalipulé.
 A man P A land T kill Acc A man P Yāngalipule-Da
The men of the island will kill [are determined to kill] the men of Yāngalipule.
- (276) Ka patua nā tāne o Yāngalipulé e te wī tāne o te wenua.
 T kill-Cia A man P Yāngalipule-Da Ag A all man P A land
The men of Yāngalipule would be killed by the men of the island.

Because the ‘passive’ pattern commonly encodes perfective aspect, it can indicate a situation that has been completed further in the past than situations encoded by the ‘ergative’ pattern or the ‘accusative’ pattern. Sentence (277) in the ‘ergative’ pattern denotes a situation just completed, but the ball or object that was hit may still be in view, whereas in (278) in the ‘passive’ pattern, the game or situation of hitting objects

has been completed some time ago and the addressee must rely on his memory or knowledge of the situation, rather than visual clues, to answer the question.

- (277) E wea tana mea na patú?
Prd what his thing T hit-Da
What did he hit? [just now]
- (278) E wea te mea na patua ēna?
Prd what A thing T hit-Cia Ag-he
What did he hit? [further ago in past]

Some speakers also attest that certain forms of the ‘passive’ suffix denote a remote time frame, while others denote a more recent past (see 3.9.3).

Other aspectual differences can be distinguished by the choice of case marking pattern. For clauses marked with the same tense-aspect marker *ko*, which can denote present progressive or habitual action, the ‘passive’ pattern may be associated with habitual aspect, while the ‘accusative’ pattern is used to denote progressive aspect. The first two examples below are in the ‘passive’ pattern and denote habitual action (279, 280), while the third denotes progressive action in the present and is encoded in the ‘accusative’ pattern (281).

- (279) Ko te wī tāne ko taea nā yakali.
Top A all men T collect-Cia A dry.coconut
It's the men[folk] who collect coconuts.
- (280) Ko taea nā yakali e te wī tāne?
T collect-Cia A dry.coconut Ag A all men
Do the men collect the coconuts?
- (281) Ko tae te wī tāne i nā yakali?
T collect A all men Acc A dry.coconut
Are the men collecting coconuts?

The ‘ergative’ pattern offers both alternatives, but is more emphatic, shown by the tendency for it to attract postposed particles to the verb.

- (282) Ko tae wua loa nā yakali e te wī tāne.
T collect just Int A nut Ag A all men
It's always the men who collect the coconuts.
- (283) Ko tae loa nā yakali e te kau tāné.
T collect Int A nut Ag A folk men-Da
Those men are collecting coconuts.

There are semantic differences between the ‘passive’ and the ‘ergative’ patterns which reflect the ability of the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern, but not the ‘passive’ pattern, to undergo actor-possessor raising (10.6.1). Both patterns allow a patient noun phrase to be raised from a negated clause to become the subject of the negative verb *kiai*, but only the ‘ergative’ pattern encodes the agent of the clause as a possessor of the patient (see 8.2.1, 10.6.1). A possessor of the patient in the ‘passive’ pattern is not co-referential with the agent of the clause (284), whereas in the ‘ergative’ pattern it is (285).

- (284) E kiai taku pōlo nei na patua.
 T Neg my ball here T hit-Cia
My ball has not been hit [has not been used by anyone].
**(I did not hit the ball.)*
- (285) E kiai taku pōlo nei na patu (ki lunga o te wale).
 T Neg my ball here T hit G on P A house
I did not hit the ball (on the roof of the house) [I hit it elsewhere].

Some minimal pairs of ‘accusative’ and ‘passive’ clauses have opposite meanings which reflect the ability of a nominative/absolutive noun phrase to be raised to subject position in focused questions (see 9.1.5.3). In the ‘accusative’ pattern it is the agent which is raised (286), whereas in the ‘passive’ pattern it is the patient which is raised (287).

- (286) Ko ai koe ka kave ki wale?
 Prd who you T take G home
Who will you take home?
- (287) Ko ai koe ka kāvea ki wale?
 Prd who you T take-Cia G home
Who will take you home?

7.5.3 DISCOURSE VARIATION

Choice in the patterns of case marking can be related to the type of discourse, stylistics and register, and the patterns may vary within a discourse.

Variation in case marking patterns can be associated with the type of discourse. The ‘accusative’ and ‘ergative’ patterns are more common in relating events in narrative style, while the ‘passive’ pattern is commonly used to ask questions, answer questions or to make comments about a particular participant. Questions and answers commonly have focused core arguments which preferentially occur in the ‘passive’ pattern (see 7.7.4, 9.1.5.3). The ‘ergative’ pattern is also commonly used in answer to questions or in making statements. These differences are illustrated in (288-290), in which the ‘accusative’ pattern is used for a declarative sentence denoting intention (288), the ‘passive’ pattern is used in a question and answer which focuses the agent (289) and the ‘ergative’ pattern is used in casual reply to a question in which the topic of conversation, the patient of the ‘ergative’ clause, is deleted under rules of anaphora (290).

- (288) Ka kave au i te puka nei ki wale.
 T take I Acc A book here G home
I’ll take this book home.
- (289) Ko ai na kāvea taku puka? Ko Mele (na kāvea tau puka).
 Prd who T take-Cia my book Prd Mele T take-Cia your book
Who has taken my book? Mele (took your book).
- (290) Ko i wea taku puka? Na kave e Mele.
 T L where my book T take Ag Mele
Where is my book? Mele took [it].

There are stylistic differences among the patterns. Chung (1978:64-65) noted that the ‘accusative’ pattern is identified as ‘formal, polite and proper’, the ‘ergative’ pattern is ‘informal, casual and slightly improper’, while ‘passive’ is ‘neutral’. The difference in meaning between the following two sentences is one of formality. The ‘accusative’ pattern is formal (291), while the ‘ergative’ pattern is casual and colloquial in style (292).

(291) E kiai koe na kave i tō motokā?
 T Neg you T take Acc your car
Didn't you take your car?

(292) E kiai tō motokā na kave?
 T Neg your car T take
Didn't [you] take your car?

The level of politeness between the patterns can be related to difference in semantic markedness among the patterns (7.5.2). The emphasis placed on deliberate agency in the ‘ergative’ pattern often precludes it from being used as a polite form. For instance, the ‘accusative’ pattern in (293a) can be used for declarative or interrogative clauses, and the verb can be modified by the modal particle *mō* ‘maybe’ to express a polite request (293b). However, the ‘ergative’ pattern (294) expresses a definite intended action with deliberate agency, and is not used to express a polite request.

(293) a. Ka kave au i te puka nei.
 T take I Acc A book here
I will take this book.
Can I take this book?

b. Ka kave mō au i te puka nei?
 T take maybe I Acc A book here
May I take this book?

(294) Ka kave ēku te puka nei.
 T take Ag-I A book here
I will definitely take this book [because I want to, not because you have asked me to].

However, a counter situation to this trend is that in imperative clauses it is the ‘ergative’ pattern which is modified most commonly with the politeness particle *ake* ‘please’. Imperative sentences comprising a motion verb and a subordinate purpose clause in the ‘ergative’ pattern are commonly modified by two mentions of this politeness particle, one in each clause (see 9.2.1).

(295) Te kākā ia ē, yau **ake** kave **ake** mātou ki te wenua o Tinilau
 A tern Af Voc come please take please we G A land P Tinilau-Da
Oh white tern, please come and take us to the land of Tinilau. (MKS1:4)

There may be variation within a discourse with different case marking patterns being used for different sections of a narrative text. Chung (1978:65) cited examples of narratives beginning in the ‘accusative’ pattern and shifting to the ‘ergative’ pattern (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., a:1086-89), or beginning in the ‘ergative’ pattern with a subsequent shift to the ‘accusative’ pattern (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., a:1009-11). Alternatively, she said (*ibid.*), ‘the patterns are sometimes assigned so that the topic of the narrative is consistently nominative’ (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., a:993-95). However, Chung recognised that the choice of case marking patterns was more complex than the situation she described and that there were many instances in which the choice of case pattern could not be attributed to any clear factors. The three narratives mentioned by Chung will be discussed briefly later in this section.

Variation of case marking patterns within a narrative discourse shows that the case marking patterns are associated with different functions. Some of these differences have parallels with the distinctive elements that Hooper (1998) has described as being contrastive in Tokelauan narratives. In particular that, in addition to their referential functions, tense-aspect markers and other indicators can signal grounding relationships and distinguish narrative sequences from backgrounding clauses. Hooper's study provides support for the distinctions that Labov (1972) proposed were important in narrative structure; namely the division of a narrative into the narrative portion of the text (the complicating action) and the non-narrative portions contained in the abstract, orientation, resolution and coda, which are also called *foreground* and *background* in subsequent studies. Wallace (1982) and Reinhart (1984) distinguish between *figure* and *ground* and allow for degrees of foregrounding and backgrounding, while Fleishman (1985, 1990) proposes a cluster concept of *foreground* and *background* and suggests that languages will "[make] use of as many grounding correlates as their structures permit" (1985:872). There are two types of background clauses, called *background₁* and *background₂* by Hooper (1998:122-123). *Background₁* contains descriptive material of various kinds to do with the setting, abstract and orientation of the narrative. They describe situations which exist fairly much independently of the plot line. *Background₂* comprises clauses which are more closely tied to the main sequence of events and encode situations which are simultaneous with the narrative reference time or evaluated relative to the narrative reference time. It basically corresponds to the types of clauses that Labov (1972:380-393) called comparators (modals, negatives), correlatives (participles, progressives), and explicatives (relative clauses, reason clauses and *that* clauses). Hopper (1979) and Reinhart (1984) show that tense-aspect, word order, voice and syntactic embedding are among the types of syntactic means employed by languages to signal levels of grounding.

The main focus of this discussion of Pukapukan will be the choice of case marking pattern in narrative discourse which can be considered as 'voice'. Hooper (1998) discusses tense-aspect and word order in particular as they are associated with degrees of grounding in Tokelauan, but these will not be considered here for Pukapukan, except to point out that narrative clauses typically lack an overt tense-aspect marker (3.1.13) and the verb is commonly modified by the postposed particle *loa*, especially in the initial clauses of each narrative sequence (5.1.3). Thus, the narrative portion of a text is syntactically different in these two respects from the non-narrative portion. Hooper claims that in Tokelauan, zero tense-aspect marking has aspectual value, expressing the perfective aspect (1998:127) and in Pukapukan the absence of a tense-aspect marker also means perfective aspect. Each narrative clause in sequence represents a single event which is completed before the event denoted by the following clause. Although many narratives are set in past time, the same two features are characteristic of procedural texts and narratives about hypothetical situations which are not set in past time, but in which the events also occur one after the other. The sequence of narrative clauses sets the reference time for the story and events which are displaced in time relative to the story line must be marked with a tense-aspect marker. Those which are prior to the reference time are marked with the tense-aspect markers *nā/na* 'past imperfective' / 'past perfective', and those which are not yet realised at the reference time are marked with the future tense marker *ka*. Events which are simultaneous with the narrative present and asides, which are external to the narrative and simultaneous with real speech time, are marked with the present tense marker *ko*. Events which are displaced in time relative to the reference time comprise background information which may be supportive, explanatory or evaluative in nature.

Narratives typically begin with an abstract or orientation. Background clauses in these sections are usually equational in structure, most commonly nominal or possessive predicates (296 a, b.) (see 7.1). By contrast, narrative clauses (indented here) are verbal; the verb is in initial position in the clause, it is unmarked for tense-aspect and the first one or two narrative clauses are typically postmodified by *loa* (bolded) (296 c):

(296) a. Ko Te Awuawu ma Ngaliyeyeu. E atua nō Wakalava ia Te Awuawu.
Prd Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu Prd god P Wakalava A Te Awuawu

b. Yaulā ia Ngaliyeyeu e atua nō lalo o te papa yuayua.
but A Ngaliyeyeu Prd god P down P A earth RR-wet

c. **Yau loa** ia Te Awuawu ma tana lukipoko mai Wakalava.
come Int A Te Awuawu with his wrestling.game from Wakalava
*[This story is about] Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu. Te Awuawu was a god of Wakalava.
But Ngaliyeyeu was a god from below the wet earth [Tonga]. Te Awuawu came on a wrestling
competition from Wakalava. (BB:1009-11)*

In some narratives the orientation is very short or even omitted entirely, especially in narrative sequences which are embedded in conversational discourse. In the following excerpt (297), only the first clause is *background*, material (297 a) and the narrative is launched immediately in the second clause of the first sentence (297 b):

(297) a. I te vāia ko Alatakupu te aliki wolo,
L A time Prd Alatakupu A king big

b. **yau loa** te payī tilalua ia ki Wale.
come Int A ship mast-two Af G Home

c. **Penapena loa** te wī tāne o nā matākawa, iki nā vaka, woewoe, oko ki te tawa o te akau,
prepare Int A all man P A lineage carry A canoe RR-paddle arrive G A side P A reef

d. tataki nā vaka, oko ki te Avamutu, uwi ki tua, aloalo ki tawa o te payī.
R-drag A canoe arrive G A Avamutu turn G back RR-paddle G side P A ship

In the time when Alatakupu was the high chief, a ship with two masts came to Pukapuka. All the men of the lineages made ready, carried their canoes, [to the water], paddled out [and] reached the side of the reef. [Then] [they] guided the canoes to the Avamutu channel, crossed over to the ocean [lit. back] and paddled to the side of the ship. (PM1:1)

The first two narrative clauses (297 b, c.) contain verbs which are postmodified by *loa* (bolded), although none in the rest of the sequence does. Each subsequent section of the narrative follows this pattern, where the first one or two narrative clauses contain *loa*, but the rest of the clauses in a sequence do not. Most of the clauses in narrative sequences are intransitive (see 7.3; Table 21 7.4.2.3), so that actors are usually introduced in intransitive clauses (e.g. 297 c) and subsequently deleted in following clauses under rules of anaphora, both in intransitive and transitive clauses (illustrated for all subsequent clauses in 297 c, d).

There are two choices of case marking pattern for transitive clauses in narrative sequences; the ‘ergative’ pattern and the ‘accusative’ pattern. These appear to be distinguished on the basis of factors such as individuation of the object. In (297 c, d.) there are two transitive clauses (underlined), both of which have the patient in the absolutive case and are in the ‘ergative’ pattern. The emphasis in these clauses is the accomplishment of the action, not on the actual entity which is encoded as the patient of the clause. The

canoes (*vaka*) are not individually important to the discourse, but the focus of the discourse is the sequential action culminating in the arrival at the side of the ship. Factors governing the choice of the ‘accusative’ pattern will be discussed below.

Narrative sequences can be interrupted by asides, direct speech, explanations and evaluative comments which are background material, and are often on the same temporal plane as the plot line or related to it as a reference point, but are not narrative clauses. Background clauses may be equational (bracketted) (297 h, j) or they may be verbal (297 f). Verbal background clauses (*background₂*) have tense-aspect marking which places them in time relative to the narrative time line, and are often not verb initial, but focused constructions. The case marking pattern for transitive clauses of this type is typically the ‘passive’ pattern (297 f) (underlined), which can denote irrealis situations including negative or future situations as well as situations which have taken place prior to the time line of the story. Clauses of the ‘passive’ pattern are only ever found in background sections of a narrative. The narrative above continues as follows:

(297) (continued)

- e. **Velo loa** te yiliyili ki lunga o te payī
 throw Int A coconut.leaf G on P A ship
- f. Nō tēlā e kiai na veloa wakawōu mai,
 because T Neg T throw-Cia again Dir
- g. **manatu loa** lātou
 think Int they
- h. [e payī lelei te mea ia].
 Prd ship good A thing Af
- i. **Wekake loa** lua toa nei ki lunga o te payī lā te kaungutu,
 Pl.climb Int two warrior here G on P A ship via A side
- j. [ko Tāwaki te toa o Yālongo] ma [Kālevāmotu te toa o Yāngalipule].
 Prd Tāwaki A warrior P Yālongo and Kālevāmotu A warrior P Yāngalipule
- k. **Wiwiti mai** nā tāngata o nā toe vaka ma nā pānga ma nā niu,
 R-climb Dir A people P A other canoe with A mat and A coconut
- l. oko ke nī a lātou penupenu mai nā papā.
 trade C exist P they things from A European

[They] threw the coconut leaf challenge onto the ship [a sign of peace], and because [it] wasn't thrown back [to them], they thought that this was a good ship. [So] two warriors climbed up the side of the ship. [They were] Tāwaki, the champion of Yālongo and Kālevāmotu [of Yāto village], the champion of Yāngalipule [of Loto village]. [Then] the men of the other canoes climbed on board with mats and drinking coconuts to trade them for goods from the foreigners. (PM1:2-4)

In this section narrative clauses are interspersed with background comments which primarily give explanation.

There are two types of situation in which transitive clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern are used consistently in narrative sequences of a discourse. Firstly, transitive clauses in which an agent and a patient are both mentioned are usually encoded in the ‘accusative’ pattern rather than the ‘ergative’ pattern. As mentioned in 7.5.2, the ‘ergative’ pattern is highly marked semantically when the agentive phrase is overt. The

‘accusative’ pattern is the neutral pattern used to introduce a previously mentioned actor or to bring the actions of an individual into focus. This type of situation is illustrated in (297 m, w.) (underlined) below. The second type of situation in which the ‘accusative’ pattern is common is when the patient (the direct object) is highly individuated. This type of situation is illustrated in (297 q) below. As seen earlier, by contrast, the ‘ergative’ pattern is commonly used with no overt agentive phrase in narrative clauses in which the sequence of actions is salient and the patient is not highly individuated. The ‘accusative’ pattern can also be used in background clauses (297 t, v.) denoting habitual or progressive action. The ‘passive’ case marking pattern is also illustrated here in *background*₂ material (297 n) in a relative clause (bolded) denoting a modal irrealis situation.

(297) (continued)

- m. Yemu loa ia Tāwaki i te wī taula o nā kaokao, tili ki loto o te vaka,
cut Int A Tāwaki Acc A all rope P A RR-side throw G on P A canoe
- n. pēia ki nā āuli ma nā uniuni, naelo, te mea wua **ka kitea e ona mata**,
like-so G A iron and A wire nail A thing just T see-Cia Ag his.Pl eye
- o. tili ki loto o te vaka. Yāele mai loa ki te langatila
throw G inside P A canoe walk Dir Int G A captain
- p. ko ngūngū ma te paipa,
T RR-puff with A pipe
- q. ūnu i te paipa mai te ngutu, onoono i te mea wakawotu ia,
pull.out Acc A pipe from A mouth look Acc A thing unusual Af
- r. Kamuloa te langatila lili,
really A captain angry
- s. leilo ki lalo o tona pia, niko mai ki lunga ma te pupui
went.down G down P his room return Dir G up with A gun
- t. ko mea te Pukapuka i te pupui e ngāvalivali
T say A Pukapuka Acc A gun Prd RR-shake
- u. oko mai atu te langatila
arrive Dir then A captain
- v. na oko ia Tāwaki ki te veo o te payī, ko yemu nei i te wī taula, e kiai loa ia Tāwaki na akaoti.
T arrive A Tāwaki G A front P A ship T cut here Acc A all rope T Neg Int A Tāwaki T finish
- w. ...Eia, tuki loa te langatila i tana pupui, tō ia Tāwaki ki lalo, mate.
so hit Int A captain Acc his gun fall A Tāwaki G down dead

Tāwaki [began] to cut off the ropes from the side of the ship and throw them into [his] canoe. [He did] the same thing with the pieces of iron and wire, nails, anything he could find, [he cut them] [and] threw them down into [his] canoe. [He] walked up to the captain, who was puffing on [his] pipe, [then he] pulled the pipe out of [his] mouth [to] look at the strange object. The captain was very angry [and] went down to his cabin, returning on deck with a gun. The Pukapukans called a gun a ngāvalivali. [When] the captain got there, Tāwaki had already reached the bow of the ship [and] was cutting away at the ropes and had not stopped... So the captain fired his gun and Tāwaki fell down dead.
(PM1:5-8)

Clauses of the ‘ergative’ case marking pattern containing an overt agent are extremely rare in discourse as mentioned earlier (7.3, 7.4.2.3) and denote deliberate action on the part of the agent.

Returning to the three narratives mentioned by Chung (1978:65), closer examination reveals that the choice of case marking can be accounted for by the semantic and discourse factors discussed in this section and in 7.5.2. The first narrative (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., a:1086-89), the story of Mokoyikungavali, a giant lizard-like creature who ate Yina for taking leaves from his tree, begins with an orientation that consists entirely of equational clauses. The narrative sequence consists of mainly intransitive clauses, a few clauses of the ‘ergative’ pattern with only absolutive noun phrases denoting plural entities (not highly individuated), and a number of clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern with definite/specific objects, usually individuated and singular:

There are two clauses in this narrative which are in the ‘ergative’ case marking pattern and which have an overt agent. Both are in direct speech (bolded below), in the first of which the monster justifies his action in swallowing the child (298 d), and the second in which the parents acknowledge that their daughter has indeed been swallowed by the monster (298 e). Both emphasise the deliberate action of the monster. However, the actual narrative sequence in which the child gets swallowed is encoded in the ‘accusative’ pattern (underlined) a number of clauses earlier (298 a). In the action sequence, the emphasis is on the gradual process of the monster swallowing Yina alive, from the legs upwards, whereas in the direct speech section the emphasis is on the deliberateness of his action.

- (298) a. Wakamanga loa lā te ngutu o Mokoyikungavali. Wolo loa i lua vae o Yina...
 caus-open Int then A mouth P Mokoyikungavali swallow Int Acc two leg P Yina
- b. Iiili loa lā ia Wiwiuli kia Mokoyikungavali, “Ko koe na kaina tā māua tama nei?”
 RR-ask Int then A Wiwiuli G-A Mokoyikungavali Prd you T eat-Cia P we.2 child here
- c. Kākole ia Mokoyikungavali, “Tā kōlua tama ngākaumate nei. Na yau kake ki lunga o toku
 reply A Mokoyikungavali P you.2 child stomach-dead here T come climb G on P my
- d. wakamalu nei. Na yau loa wakiwaki i nā tauulu. Lili ai loa au. **Wolo loa ai e aku.**”
 caus-shade here T come Int RR-pluck Acc A leaves angry Pro Int I swallow Int Pro Ag I
- e. Kākole ia Wiwiuli ma te valovaloa kia Wiwitea, “Yau ake, ko i wea, **na wolo pē e Mokoyikungavali**”.
 answer A Wiwiuli with A RR-call.out G-A Wiwitea come Dir T L where T swallow indeed Ag Mokoyikungavali

*Mokoyikungavali opened his mouth wide. He swallowed the two legs of Yina...
 Wiwiuli asked Mokoyikungavali, “Did you swallow our child?”. Mokoyikungavali answered,
 “Your impudent child. [She] came and climbed up into my tree here and picked bunches of leaves.
 So I got angry and then I swallowed [her].” Wiwiuli answered by calling out to Wiwitea, “Come
 here, why, [she] has indeed been swallowed by Mokoyikungavali. (BB:1087-88)*

There are several examples of clauses encoded in the ‘passive’ pattern in this narrative. They are found in direct speech, encoding imperatives, focused interrogatives (298 b above) and in explanatory material about events that have occurred prior to the reference time of the narrative sequence (298 g).

- (298) f. Wakaluaki loa lā ia Mokoyikungavali, “a-a-a.” Tō loa ia Yina ki tātea.
 caus-vomit Int then A Mokoyikungavali, “a-a-a.” fall Int A Yina G side
- g. Onono atu lā lāua, na mate pē ia Yina. **Na wakawūngia i loto o te manava o Mokoyikungavali.**
 look Dir then they.2 T die indeed A Yina T caus-burn-Cia L inside P A stomach P Mokoyikungavali

*Then Mokoyikungavali vomitted, “a-a-a.” Yina fell to the side. They looked, Yina was certainly dead.
 [She] had been burned inside the belly of Mokoyikungavali. (BB:1089)*

Likewise, the other two narratives cited by Chung (op. cit.) (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., a:1009-11; 993-995) depict highly deliberate action in clauses of the ‘ergative’ case marking pattern which have overt agents. The first story initially depicts a struggle between two gods who are wrestling with each other (encoded by ‘ergative’ case marking) (299 a) and the second story depicts the deliberate action of Yina in marking the fish with various stripes on their flesh (also encoded by ‘ergative’ case marking). However, the first story shows that the choice of case marking changes during the narrative. The second episode of the story depicts the gods going about making liaisons with women. This episode is encoded entirely by intransitive clauses. The third episode depicts the way the gods went about tricking a certain woman by taking on the form of a bird and then grabbing her. The action of grabbing the woman is parallel to the action in the first episode of one god grabbing the other and the clauses are structurally parallel except for their case marking; that in the third episode is in the ‘accusative’ pattern (299 b):

- (299) a. Tui loa e Te Awuawu ia Ngaliyeyeu ...Tui mai oki e Ngaliyeyeu ia Te Awuawu.
 grab Int Ag Te Awuawu A Ngaliyeyeu grab Dir also Ag Ngaliyeyeu A Te Awuawu
- b. ...Tui loa te manu ia ia Mulitauyakana.
 grab Int A bird Af Acc-A Mulitauyakana
- Te Awuawu grabbed Ngaliyeyeu. ... Ngaliyeyeu also grabbed hold of Te Awuawu.
 ...The bird grabbed hold of Mulitauyakana.*

It is likely that here the contrast is made with the struggle between the gods as requiring more determination and effort than the effort of grabbing hold of a mere mortal.

In summary, the two choices of case marking pattern for narrative sequences of a narrative are the ‘accusative’ pattern and the ‘ergative’ pattern, which are semantically differentiated on the basis of individuation of the patient, but the ‘ergative’ pattern with an overt agent can also be used for deliberate action, albeit very rarely. The ‘passive’ pattern is always restricted to background material, in particular *background₂* clauses (including negatives, modals, relative clauses). The ‘passive’ pattern is always used for clauses which are anterior in time to the narrative reference time. The ‘accusative’ pattern can be used in background clauses to denote asides, and action outside the time frame of the story or progressive action simultaneous in time with the narrative sequence of events.

7.5.4 CHOICE OF MARKING FOR SEMITRANSITIVE COMPLEMENTS : *i* or *ki*

Semitransitive verbs occur in two case marking patterns. They can follow the ‘accusative’ case marking pattern for transitive verbs, in which case the complement is marked by the ‘accusative’ marker *i*, or they can be intransitive and the complement is marked by *ki* as an oblique argument (see 7.6.2). There is an element of free choice involved in the selection. There may be semantic or lexical differences between the two alternatives which may reflect differences in the degree of transitivity of the clause or different viewpoints of the speaker.⁶ In general, clauses with complements marked by *i* appear to be higher in transitivity than those with complements marked by *ki* in terms of the parameters proposed by Hopper and Thompson for the Transitivity Hypothesis (1980:252), but this is not always the case. The parameters identified by Hopper and Thompson are tabulated below:

TRANSITIVITY

| | HIGH | LOW |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| A. PARTICIPANTS | 2 or more participants, A and O | 1 participant |
| B. KINESIS | action | non-action |
| C. ASPECT | telic | atelic |
| D. PUNCTUALITY | punctual | non-punctual |
| E. VOLITIONALITY | volitional | non-volitional |
| F. AFFIRMATION | affirmative | negative |
| G. MODE | realis | irrealis |
| H. AGENCY | A high in potency | A low in potency |
| I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O | O totally affected | O not affected |
| J. INDIVIDUATION OF O | O highly individuated | O non-individuated |

(Hopper & Thompson 1980:252)

Hopper and Thompson regard transitivity as a continuum, so that the more features a clause has in the 'high' column, the more transitive it is. Their claim is that these features co-vary systematically with one another, so that whenever a pairing of two transitivity features occurs in a clause, the paired features will be on the same side of the transitivity scale. A high transitivity feature will not co-vary with a low transitivity feature in the same clause.

The first of Hopper and Thompson's parameters is that the number of participants in a clause which is high on the transitivity scale is at least two (Dixon's A and O (1979)), while clauses which are low in transitivity have only one participant. In Pukapukan, the 'accusative' pattern has two core arguments: the the agent (A), which is in the nominative case, and the object (O), which is the noun phrase marked by the accusative marker *i*. On the other hand, the phrase marked by *ki* is not a core argument, but an oblique, so that clauses in which there is one core argument (A) and in which the complement is marked by *ki* are lower in transitivity than clauses in which the complement is marked by *i*. It is expected therefore that other features which are associated with *ki* will be those which are low in transitivity while those which are associated with *i* will be high in transitivity.

The features of aspect and punctuality are occasionally distinguished by the marking of complements in Pukapukan. For some verbs, such as *kali* 'wait', the marking of a complement is related to the choice of tense-aspect marker. A clause containing the past imperfective aspect marker *nā* is more likely to mark its complement with *ki*, while a clause containing *na* 'past perfective aspect' is more likely to mark its complement with *i*, although this tendency is not always maintained. The association of *ki* with atelic aspect is expected according to the parameters of the continuum. In (300), a clause in the imperfective aspect marked by *nā* requires the complement to be marked by *ki*, not *i*. In the equivalent clause in the perfective aspect marked by *na*, the usual marking of the complement is by *i*, but *ki* is also possibly acceptable, sounding old-fashioned to my consultant. Example (301) illustrates that durative aspect can be expressed by other means in a clause which has *na* as 'past perfective' marker, but that the marking of complements is still associated with the choice of tense-aspect marker.

- (300) a. E kiai au *nā* kali **kia** koe.
 * E kiai au *nā* kali **ia** koe.
 T Neg I T wait G-A you
I wasn't waiting for you.
- b. E kiai au **na** kali **ia** koe.
 ? E kiai au **na** kali **kia** koe. [?archaic]
 T Neg I T wait Acc-A you
I didn't wait for you.

- (301) a. Nā kali wua au **kia** koe i te ayó.
 T wait just I G-A you L A day-Da
I was waiting [and waiting] for you yesterday.
- b. Na kali ē au **ia** koe i te ayó.
 T wait Dur I Acc-A you L A day-Da
I waited for you for a long time yesterday.

Negation/affirmation seems to have no effect on the marking of semitransitive complements; however, volitionality appears to be a salient feature. Complements marked by *i* commonly imply higher volitionality than those marked by *ki*. The verb *onoono* ‘look at’ acquires additional highly volitional senses of ‘look for, care for, inspect, take heed to’ with complements marked by *i*, while a less volitional sense ‘notice’ is allowed with a complement marked by *ki*.

- (302) a. Na onoono wua au **i** (*ki) taku lēkoti na ngalo.
 T look just I Acc (*G) my record T lost
I looked for my record which I had lost.
- b. Onoono loa au **ki** te lēkoti na ngawā.
 look Int I G A record T broken
I looked at the record which had been broken.

Complements of motion verbs which imply purposeful action require the ‘accusative’ pattern of case marking.

- (303) Ūyu tāua onoono **i** (*ki) nā puká.
 go we.2 look Acc (*G) A tree.sp-Da
Let’s go and have a look at the puka trees [to catch birds]. (F3:S:5:5)

There may be a modal distinction between complements marked with *i* and those marked by *ki*. Irrealis events such as clauses with future time (304) or hypothetical reference (305) are likely to have complements marked by *ki*, while those denoting perfective past time events (306, 307) have complements marked by *i*:

- (304) Ka onoono tātou **ki** te matawiti lā mua nei.
 T look we G A year through front here
We’ll look forward to next year. (V:80:1:4)

- (305) Ke onoono koe **ki** te liona kamulua koe matakū.
 C look you G A lion really you fear
If you were to look at a lion you would be scared.

- (306) I taku onoononga **i** te mea ia, kamulua au matakū.
 L my look-Nom Acc A thing Af really I fear
When I looked at that I was really scared.

- (307) Onoono koe **i** tō māua palianga ia.
 look you Acc P we.2 drift-Cia-Nom Af
Look at [what happened when] we drifted out to sea.

Complements marked by *i* are sometimes disallowed in clauses denoting irrealis events:

- (308) Ka kali au **ki** te ayo ka yau ai te payī.
 *Ka kali au **i** te ayo ka yau ai te payī.
 T wait I G A day T come Pro A ship
I’ll wait until the day the ship comes.

Both possibilities of complement-marking are found in clauses with present time reference. If the complement is encoded by a nominalisation, the difference in meaning can distinguish complements marked by *ki* as unrealised events from complements marked by *i* as realised events:

- (309) a. Ko kali mātou **ki** tā kōtou pauanga.
 T wait we G P you answer-Nom
We are waiting until you decide and tell us.
- b. Ko kali mātou **i** tā kōtou pauanga.
 T wait we Acc P you answer-Nom
We are waiting until you tell us what you have already decided.

Abstract senses of a verb are often possible with complements marked by *ki* and this appears to be linked with the realis/irrealis distinction.

- (310) Onoono **ki** (*i) te Māoli, i te vāia nei ko akavavave lātou i te ūlu i tō lātou leo.
 look G (*Acc) A Māori L A time now T caus-R-strong they C search Acc P they language
Consider the [N.Z.] Māori, at the present time they are revitalising their language. (P:S6:2)

Affectedness of the patient may be higher with complements marked by *i*. With the verb *kai* ‘eat’, complements marked by *i* are completely consumed (311), while those marked by *ki* are often only partially consumed (312):

- (311) Kai ai māua **i** a māua niu ia, pupute o māua manava.
 eat Pro we.2 Acc P we.2 coconut Af R-full P we.2 stomach
We ate [all of] our coconuts and our stomachs were full. (KU:7:4)
- (312) Kai loa lātou **ki** te wāwā o te motu ia.
 eat Int they G A taro P A reserve Af
They ate of the taro of the reserve plantation. (MM:T4)

The feature of individuation is not consistently differentiated by the marking of semitransitive complements, as many verbs allow both types of marking for individuated and non-individuated complements, but certain verbs do appear to make a distinction in this respect, for instance *kai* ‘eat’. In general, non-individuated complements are marked with *ki*, while highly individuated complements are marked with *i*.

- (313) a. Na kai au **ki** te ika.
 T eat I G A fish
*I ate some fish.
 I ate fish [not taro].*
- b. Na kai au **i** te ika ia.
 T eat I Acc A fish Af
I ate the [whole of one particular] fish.

Individuated complements may disallow marking by *ki*:

- (314) Ko mina koe e te kai **i** (*ki) te ulú?
 T like you C eat Acc (*G) A head-Da
Would you like to eat that [fish] head?

Desiderative verbs, such as *mina* ‘like’ and *winangalo* ‘want’, seldom take complements marked with *ki*, but when they do, *ki* marks non-individuated complements, whereas complements marked with *i* are usually individuated:

- (315) Ko mina wua au **ki** te moni i te wī vāia pau.
 T like just I G A money L A all time finish
I only want money and have a continual obsession for it.
- (316) Ko mina au **i** te tala ia.
 T like I Acc A story Af
I like that story.

All of these factors have so far concurred with Hopper and Thompson's criteria for establishing a transitivity gradient. However, there are certain aspects of the choice of marking for semitransitive complements in Pukapukan which appear to be discrepant with their theory.

1. Complements of verbs of emotion (such as *lili* 'be angry', *aloe* 'love') which are marked with *ki* appear to indicate a stronger emotion than those marked with *i* (317, also 315, 316 above). Moreover, complements marked with *ki* indicate that the emotion is displayed towards the addressee of the emotion, while those marked by *i* may be inward feelings not known to others. Thus the transitivity gradient appears to be violated by the marking of the arguments of these verbs with respect to kinesis (transferred action) and affectedness of the patient.

- (317) a. Na lili au ia ana.
 T angry I Acc-A he
I was angry with him.
[but he didn't necessarily know]
- b. Na lili au kia ana.
 T angry I G-A he
I was angry at him.
[and he knew all about it].

2. The feature of volitionality is not consistently high with complements marked with *i*. In fact the reverse is true for certain verbs:

- (318) a. Ko yī wua au ki te malau.
 T fish just I G A fish.sp
I'm only fishing for soldierfish [by intention].
- b. Ko yī wua au i te malau.
 T fish just I Acc A fish.sp
I'm only catching soldierfish [without planning to].
- (319) I taku wanonga ki te ula a Yātō, welavei loa au i te wawine a Matāliki.
 L my go-Nom G A dance P Yātō meet Int I Acc A woman P Matāliki
When I went to Yātō's dance, I met Matāliki's wife [without preplanning it].
- (320) I taku wanonga ia, welāvei atu ai au ki te wawine a Matāliki.
 L my go-Nom Af meet Dir Pro I G A woman P Matāliki
When I went [there], I met Matāliki's wife [by arrangement].

3. The feature of individuation does not co-vary consistently with other features even for the verbs which distinguish it. In one sense (the perfect aspect), the verb *kai* 'eat' allows a non-individuated object to be marked by *i* and not *ki* (321), whereas elsewhere the opposite is generally true, as in (313) above.

- (321) Na kai kōtou i (*ki) te kiko tawolā?
 T eat you Acc (G) A flesh whale
Have you ever eaten whale meat?

4. Sometimes the criteria suggested by Hopper and Thompson are in opposition to each other. For instance, the verb *manatu* has less volitional senses, such as 'recall, spring to mind', in which the complement is marked by *ki*, while highly volitional senses such as 'consider, remember, think about, decide, want' mark their complements by *i*. In this case the criterion of volitionality is at variance with punctuality. A less volitional, but highly punctual sense is marked by *ki*, so that the feature of punctuality is outweighed by volitionality.

Hopper and Thompson's criteria are not the only factors relevant for the choice of the marking of semitransitive complements by *ki* or *i*. There may be lexical or semantic distinctions between the two; for

instance *onoono* ‘look at’ may mean ‘look after, care for’ but only with a complement marked by *i*, not with a complement marked by *ki*.

- (322) a. Onoono koe **ia** Māmā.
 look you Acc-A Mother
Look after Mother.
Look for Mother.
- b. Onoono koe **kia** Māmā.
 look you G-A Mother
[Turn to] look at Mother [she wants you].
Look at Mother [and follow her example].
 * (*Look after Mother.*) * (*Look for Mother.*)

With locative complements there is also a clear semantic distinction since those marked with *i* imply that the agent or experiencer is in a certain location doing the action, while those marked with *ki* indicate that the action is done in a certain direction.

- (323) a. Ko onoono ia Pāpā **i** lalo o te loki.
 T look A Father L under P A bed
Father is under the bed looking.
- b. Ko onoono ia Pāpā **ki** lalo o te loki.
 T look A Father G under P A bed
Father is looking under the bed [from without].

A near goal may be marked by *i* whereas a far one is marked by *ki*, thus those marked by *ki* are more likely to be accompanied by gestures such as pointing. Those marked by *ki* are also more likely to be marked by a definitive accent, denoting an object distant from both speaker and addressee.

- (324) a. Onoono mai koe **i** te wuti nei.
 look Dir you Acc A banana here
Take a look at this banana.
- b. Onoono koe **ki** te wuti.
 look you G A banana-Da
Look at the banana over there.

Similarly when denoting new information, *ki* is more likely to mark the complement, while *i* is common for old information. Thus in the above sentences, (324 b) implies that the addressee hasn't yet noticed the banana and that there is something surprising about it, while in (324 a) the banana is known information and the speaker is asking the addressee to take a closer look.

It is important to point out that not all semitransitive verbs allow variation in the marking of their complements. Verbs of communication (speaking, praying, writing etc), which are semitransitive at least on semantic grounds, strictly differentiate a complement marked by *i* which is the content of the message, (story, prayer, song, letter, event, truth) and an addressee which is marked by *ki*. Moreover, both arguments are permitted in the same clause.

- (325) Kai wano koe tala **i** te mea nei **ki** te tangata.
 T go you tell Acc A thing here G A person
You might go and tell this to someone. (KM:LK12:6)

The only type of goal which can be marked alternatively by *i* or *ki* for verbs of communication is a locative phrase denoting the language of communication:

- (i) Tātā atu au **i/ki** loto o te leo Wale.
 write Dir I L/G in P A language Home
I wrote [to him] in Pukapukan.

The verb *akalongo* ‘listen’ seems to group with verbs of communication since for the most part the complement marked by *i* is the sound (noise, story, message, song), while the noun phrase marked by *ki*

is the source of the sound (machine, person, animal), although there is a certain amount of overlap as discussed below. However, like other verbs of perception it allows only one complement marked either by *i* or *ki* (326, 327). Clauses containing both the sound and its source mark the source in a possessive construction (326).

(326) Akalongo atu au *i* nā muna a te wolomatua.
listen Dir I Acc A word P A big-father
I listened to the words of the minister.

(327) Ko yē akalongo nā tamaliki ia *ki* o lātou mātutua.
T Neg listen A children Af G P they parent.Pl
Those children don't listen to their parents.

Where there is variation in marking of the complement, the semantic differences that are implied are expected from the transitivity hypothesis. For instance, a complement marked by *i* implies a greater degree of attention towards listening and taking heed to the content (greater volitionality), while a complement marked by *ki* may imply that there is less volitionality, that the act of listening is stimulated by the sound itself (from without) rather than a wish of the experiencer, or that the source of the sound is distant, rather than near to the experiencer.

(328) a. Na akalongo au *i* tō leo nā i te leka. b. Na akalongo au *ki* tō leo na tauvalo mai.
T listen I Acc your voice there Prd nice T listen I G P voice T call Dir
I listened to your voice, it sounded beautiful. *I listened to your voice calling me [from a distance].*

7.6 VERB CLASSES

It is the case marking patterns that primarily determine verb classes, since groups of verbs function together in allowing different combinations of these case marking patterns. Table 20 displaying the case marking patterns is repeated below for ease of reference.

7.6.1 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs are subcategorised for a subject, but not a direct object. They are distinguished syntactically from transitive verbs by the form of the possessive in nominalisations (see 10.8). Many, but not all, intransitive verbs are inflected for plurality to agree in number with their subject (see 3.5.5, 7.7.1). Noun phrases in intransitive clauses which are marked by *i* or *ki* are oblique noun phrases denoting location, cause or goal. The agent or cause of an intransitive verb is marked by *i*.

(329) Na yāngia koe *i* te uto.
T satisfied you By A uto
You're full of uto [sprouting coconut].

(330) Te pāla na tō ki lalo *ia* koe.
A knife T fall G down By-A you
The knife fell down on your account.

TABLE 20: Case Marking Patterns

1. Nonverbal Predicates

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---|------|---|
| Nominal and Prepositional | | Pred | S |
| Tensed Nonverbal | | Pred | S |
| Attributive | S | Pred | |

2. Verbal Predicates

A. Intransitive:

| | | | |
|---|--------------|---|---|
| I | Intransitive | V | S |
|---|--------------|---|---|

B. Transitive:

| | | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------|----------|----------|----|
| II | 'Accusative' | V | Ag | <i>i</i> | Pt |
| III | 'Passive' | V-Cia | Pt | <i>e</i> | Ag |
| IIIa | | Ag-Pro V-Cia | | | Pt |
| | | V-Cia | <i>e</i> | Ag | Pt |
| IV | 'Ergative' | V | <i>e</i> | Ag | Pt |

Stative verbs (but not motion verbs or neuter verbs) allow an idiomatic use of the 'passive' in which the meaning is not entirely predictable from the active form.

(331) Ka pōina tātou.
T night-Cia we
Night will fall on us [before we reach our destination].

(332) Na velangia au.
T hot-Cia I
I'm [too] hot.

Classes of intransitive verbs include motion and posture verbs, neuter verbs and stative verbs.

1. Motion and posture verbs:

Motion and posture verbs (e.g. *wano* 'go', *yaele* 'walk', *lele* 'run', *nō* 'stay', *moe* 'sleep') are actor-oriented. They do not allow the 'passive' case marking pattern but can occur as imperatives. Many are inflected for plurality by monomoraic reduplication, prefixation or suppletive change (3.5.5).

(333) Welele te au lā ki lunga o te lākau.
Pl-run A all branch G on P A tree
All the branches ran back onto the tree.

(334) Lele koe ki te pou ia.
run.Sg you G A post Af
Run to the post.

2. Neuter verbs:

Neuter verbs are a subset of intransitive verbs which have a single core argument, the subject, that is in the nominative/absolute case. This class of intransitive verbs is goal-selecting and has variously been called ‘stative’ verbs (Hohepa (1969), Biggs (1974), Pawley (1973), Sharples (1976)) ‘patient-oriented’ verbs (Arms (1974)) and sometimes included with other intransitive verbs (Spencer Churchward (1951), Chung (1978)). It corresponds to Biggs’ V-bases (1961). The term ‘neuter’ has been used by Lynch for Tongan (1972) and by Hooper with reference to Polynesian languages in general, who argues that the term ‘stative’ is semantically misleading because neuter verbs need not be stative and usually are not (1982:59). They may sometimes refer to contingent state but never to absolute state.

The class of neuter verbs in Pukapukan includes verbs of completion: *pau* ‘finish, use up’, *oti* ‘finish, complete’, *mutu* ‘finish’; verbs prefixed with *Ca-* (3.5.3.5): *mawola* ‘be spread out’, *ngalue* ‘sway’, *payeke* ‘slip’; and other patient-oriented verbs: *yinga* ‘fall down’, *wati* ‘break’, *motu* ‘be severed’, *ngalo* ‘be lost, disappear’.

Hooper (1982:34) set out various features which establish neuter verbs as a syntactic class in Polynesian languages. The following five of her features hold in general for this class of verbs in Pukapukan:

- (i) They cannot take the ‘passive’ suffix as a productive process.

None of the verbs of completion allow the ‘passive’ suffix (e.g. *oti* ‘finish’ **oti-a*), nor do the verbs derived by prefixation of *Ca-* (e.g. *ngalepe* ‘be broken’ **ngalepe-a*). A few other types of patient-oriented verbs (e.g. *wati* ‘break’) have an identical base for the active form of the verb, to which a ‘passive’ suffix can be attached (335). However the ‘passive’ suffix cannot be attached to the patient-oriented verb (336).⁷

(335) Ko ai na **watia** te lākau nei?
Prd who T break-Cia A tree here
Who broke this tree?

(336) Te lākau nei, na **wati** /**wati-a*].
A tree here T break break-Cia
This tree has broken.

- (ii) Their subjects cannot generally be the addressees of imperatives,⁸ but require the subjunctive marking *ke* or the causative prefix *waka-*.

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (337) * Pau au kai. | Akapau au kai. |
| finish your food | caus-finish your food |
| <i>Finish off your food.</i> | <i>Finish off your food.</i> |

- (iii) They cannot occur following the complementiser *e te* after volitional verbs such as verbs of wanting or commanding, but require the complementiser *ke*:

(338) * Ko winangalo au e te **oti**...
T want I C finish
(I want to finish...)

However, neuter verbs can occur in *e te* complements when the main verb is another neuter verb or intransitive verb.

- (339) Koa **oti** te taime o te anu **e te pau**.
T finish A time P A cold C finish
Winter time is almost over. (V90:10:1)
- (340) **Pau** ai nā tāngata **e te mamate**.
finish Pro A people C R-dead
The people were all dead. (W1:P5:5:12)
- (341) **Vātata** wua **e te mate**.
close just C dead
[He was] close to death. (NN:L3:84)
- (iv) They cannot be accompanied by an agent phrase marked by *e*. The ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ case marking patterns are not acceptable.
- (v) They are frequently accompanied by an agent phrase marked by *i*. The agent phrase may be fronted in focused constructions in Pukapukan.⁹
- (342) ...ke pau tākatoa te imukai nei **ia kōtou** nō te mea...
C finish completely A feast here By-A you P A thing
...so you finish the entire feast because... (PS:1:4)
- (343) **Ko ona lāi** na oti ai te uwipānga.
Prd he Int T finish Pro A meeting
It was on his account that the meeting finished.
- (344) **Ko te watinga o te niū** na yinga ai te wale.
Prd A break-Nom P A coconut-Da T fall Pro A house
On account of the coconut tree breaking, the house fell down.

Three other criteria identified by Hooper (op. cit.) as characteristics of neuter verbs in Eastern Polynesian languages require certain qualifications in regard to the class in Pukapukan.

- (vi) They cannot be used as the head words of nominal phrases.

Unaffixed nominalisations do occur rarely in the Pukapukan corpus, but only in negative constructions marked with *yē*:

- (345) ...nō kiai te loa, **te yē oti vave o tā tātou yanga**.
P because A long A Neg finish quickly P P we work
...that's why [it has taken] a long time, [why] our work [hasn't] finished quickly.

Elsewhere unaffixed nominalisations are not permitted: **te oti o te wale* ‘the finishing of the house’, **te oti o te angaanga* ‘the finishing of the work’. This fact distinguishes neuter verbs from stative verbs (section 3 below) which readily occur as unaffixed nominalisations (e.g. *te lelei o te Atua*, ‘the goodness of God’).

Whereas in Tokelauan suffixed nominalisations of neuter verbs refer only to concrete objects, suffixed nominalisations of neuter verbs readily occur in Pukapukan, referring not only to concrete objects but also to events that have taken place. Nominalisations of neuter verbs are available for possessive marking by *o* (see 10.8.2), but they do not allow incorporated objects in their nominalisations.

- (346) **I te otinga o taku kalo pāyua**, kake loa au ki lunga o toku poti.
 L A finish-Nom P my scoop clam climb Int I G on P my boat
When I had finished scooping out clams, I climbed on board my boat. (KM:YK2:3)
- (347) **Te watinga o te lākau** na yinga peia, na tō loa mai lunga o tō mātou wale.
 A break-Nom P A tree T fall like-so T fall Int Dir on P P we house
When the tree broke it fell like this, it fell on our house.
- (348) **Te mawolenga o toku kili** i te ongo.
 A Pre-peel-Nom P my skin C hard
My skin is peeling badly.

(vii) They cannot directly modify other bases.

There are two types of exceptions to this criterion. Firstly, reduplicated forms of the subclass of neuter verbs which are prefixed with *Ca-* (see 3.5.3.5) regularly occur in attributive predicates or modifying noun bases.

- (349) Te ngutupā ia e pū loa **māwukewuke** wua.
 A door Af Prd hole Int Pre-RR-open just
That door is one which is always opening by itself.

Pau ‘finish’ may occur adverbially modifying verbs (350) and attributively modifying nouns (351):

- (350) **Kī pau** ia Kō, mai te Matautū, ngalo ki te mata o Vailoa.
 full completely A Kō from A Matautū-Da as.far.as G A point P Vailoa-Da
Kō is completely full [of sprouting coconuts] from Matautū right as far as Vailoa point. (UW:40:1)
- (351) Ko lōmamai mai te wī kongā **pau**.
 T come.Pl from A all place completely
[They] are coming from everywhere. (KM:AM:1:2)

Other members of the class of neuter verbs do not occur modifying other bases.

The last of Hooper’s features does not hold for Pukapukan:

(viii) They can have subjects introduced by the indefinite article *e*.

- (352) * Na wati e lā o te lākau ia.
 T break A branch P A tree Af
(A branch of that tree has broken.)

Features (i)¹⁰, (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v) are shared with stative verbs; however, neuter verbs differ from stative verbs in that the latter readily occur as head words of nominal phrases without suffixation (see feature vi) and can be used attributively (vii). Neither neuter verbs nor stative verbs allow indefinite subjects (viii).

Pukapukan neuter verbs differ from stative verbs in that they cannot occur in attributive predicates marked by *i te*, nor can they occur in nominal predicates intensified by *loa*. However, like stative verbs, neuter verbs may occur with intransitive case marking with optional deletion of the tense-aspect marker.

(353) Oti te uwipānga...
finish A meeting
When the meeting had finished...

(354) Wati te koyo.
break A husking stick
The husking stick broke.

Neuter verbs differ from ‘passives’ in features (i), (ii), (iv), (v) and (viii), but share features (iii)¹¹, (vi) and (vii) with verbs that allow ‘passive’ morphology.

Neuter verbs can be transformed into transitive verbs by prefixation by *waka-* (3.5.1). Those which are prefixed by *Ca-* (3.5.3.5) are related to transitive bases, many of which have a form showing monomoraic reduplication (R-).

| | | | |
|--------|----------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| oti | finish (v.i.) | wakaoti | finish (v.t.) |
| mawuke | bè open (v.i.) (patient subject) | wakamawuke | leave open (v.t.) (agent subject) |
| | | wuwuke | open (v.t.) (agent subject) |

Some neuter verbs (including those prefixed with *Ca-* and those which are related to transitive verbs of the form R-, but not including verbs of completion) are inflected for plurality of the patient subject by monomoraic reduplication. This fact affiliates the prefixed group in some ways with the class of stative verbs.

The issue of variable case marking for some members of this class has received comment in various languages (e.g. Elbert and Pukui (1979:50) for Hawai‘ian, Seiter (1979:120) for Niuean). In Pukapukan, the verb *ngalopoina* has almost replaced *ngalo*¹² in the sense ‘forget’. Although both verbs are patient-oriented and mark their agents or causes with *i*, *ngalopoina* also allows ‘accusative’ marking in colloquial speech, but only where both arguments of the verb are pronouns. Since the pronoun co-referential with the speaker is generally understood to be the agent, there is no misunderstanding.

(355) Kamuloa te mea ia, e yē ngalopoina ia aku.
really A thing Af T Neg forget By-A me
I’ll never forget that thing. (L1:4)

(356) E yē ngalopoina kōlua ia mātou, ka mayala wua lāi mātou ia kōlua.
T Neg forget you.2 By-A we T remember just Int we Acc-A you
We won’t forget you, we will keep remembering you. (NF1:5)

(357) E yē ngalopoina māua ia kōtou.
T Neg forget we.2 Acc-A you
We won’t forget you.

Some of the members of this class also allow flexibility in the marking of their subjects when there is a complement clause. *Maua* ‘get, be able to’ and *oti* ‘finish’ are verbs which allow either the main verb (358, 360) or the complement verb (359, 361) to govern the marking of pronoun subjects.

- (358) E yē maua **ia aku** i te tatala i te yele o ona tāmaka.
 T Neg able By-A I C untie Acc A tie P his.Pl shoe
I wouldn't be able to undo his shoelaces. (KM:LK1:15)
- (359) E yē maua **koe** e te talatala.
 T Neg able you C RR-speak
You won't be able to talk. (KM:L1:20)
- (360) Pēnei ake e kiai na oti **ia koe** e te akaputupu i nā wī ĩmene o te wī wenua.
 maybe Dir T Neg T finish By-A you C caus-RR-gather Acc A all hymn P A all land
Maybe you haven't finished collecting all the countries' songs. (P:S2:2)
- (361) Te mea nei, na oti **au** e te wakakite atu kia koe.
 A thing here T finish I C caus-see Dir G-A you
I've already finished explaining this to you. (KK:6:1)

3. Stative verbs:

The class of stative verbs consists of terms denoting size, colour, quality and moral attributes, and so on. They can be used attributively and are frequently used predicatively. They are often inflected for plurality of the subject by monomoraic reduplication. They commonly occur in attributive predicates marked by *i te*.

- (362) Tau olo nā i te **malie**.
 your taro.pudding there Prd sweet
Your taro pudding is nice.
- (363) Kamuloa tana lelenga ia i te **mākalokalo**.
 really his run-Nom Af Prd swift
His running is really swift.

They may occur in the intransitive pattern I in which the tense-aspect marker is commonly deleted:

- (364) **Pewu** nā ivi.
 strong A bone
[Their] bones were strong.
- (365) **Loa** te taime.
 long A time
The time was long.

The cause or reason for the state is also marked by *i* for this class of intransitive verbs:

- (366) Te tāne koa **lelei** i nā vai lākau.
 A man T good By A water tree
The man is well again on account of the medicine.

Stative verbs also occur in intensified equational predicates (7.1.2):

- (367) Te tama nā e tama loa **nanau**.
 A child there Prd child Int greedy
That boy is a very greedy child.

- (368) Ni lua nanue loa totongi.
 Prd two rudderfish Int R-big
[They] were two very large rudderfish.

Stative verbs used predicatively normally denote a constant state, but they may also refer to change of state in a dynamic sense. Some of them may allow the ‘passive’ case marking pattern, but the meaning may vary idiosyncratically from the intransitive form.

- (369) Ka **velangia** koe e te awi.
 T hot-Cia you Ag A fire
You’ll get scorched by the fire.
- (370) Ko **kulangia** au e te yila o te lā.
 T red-Cia I Ag A shine P A sun
I am sunburnt.

7.6.2 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs have two core arguments. They can be classified semantically into two categories: canonical transitive verbs and semitransitive verbs. Verbs which allow preverbal pronoun placement are a subclass of transitive verbs which are defined syntactically by their ability to take only the ‘passive’ case marking pattern. Ditransitive verbs have three arguments, one of which is an oblique.

1. Canonical transitive verbs:

This canonical class comprises agent-object verbs in which the action expressed by the verb directly affects the direct object. These verbs allow ‘accusative’ (II) (371), ‘passive’ (III) (372), and ‘ergative’ (IV) (373) case marking. This class corresponds to what Clark labels as Type A (Agent-Object) (Clark 1976:71), and Chung calls ‘canonical transitive’ (Chung 1978:47).

- (371) Na palu au i te āliki kaingākai.
 T wash I Acc A lay table
I washed the tablecloth.
- (372) Ko ai na palua nā kākau nei?
 Prd who T wash-Cia A clothes here
Who washed these clothes?
- (373) Na palu ēku.
 T wash Ag-me
I washed [them].

2. Semitransitive Verbs:

Semitransitive verbs take two arguments, but many of them allow only one or two of the patterns II, III, and IV. They also allow the intransitive pattern of case marking in which the complement is marked as an oblique noun phrase by *ki*. Semitransitive verbs typically denote actions that do not directly affect the complement. They form a semantic grouping of experience verbs including verbs of perception (*onoono* ‘look at’, *wakalongo* ‘listen’), verbs of emotion (*lili* ‘be angry’, *aloa* ‘love’) and other psychological states

or processes (*manatu* ‘think, remember’), communication verbs (*tala* ‘tell’, *tauvalo* ‘call’) and miscellaneous verbs whose complements are animate or human (*welāvei* ‘meet’, *tautulu* ‘help’, *kali* ‘wait for’, *ālu* ‘follow’), as well as a few verbs that denote actions which do directly affect the patient (*kai* ‘eat’, *wāngai* ‘feed’) and which also allow their complements to be marked either as a core argument or as an oblique. The class corresponds to Clark’s Type B, non-agent-object class (Clark 1976:71) and Chung’s ‘middle’ verb class (Chung 1978:47).

All semitransitive verbs allow the ‘accusative’ pattern, many allow the ‘passive’ pattern, but most do not allow the ‘ergative’ pattern. However, some semitransitive verbs allow all three types of transitive case marking. For instance, *tala* ‘tell’ allows ‘accusative’ (374), ‘passive’ (375) and ‘ergative’ (376) case marking.

- (374) Ka tala tāua i te tala o Yī Vaveai.
T tell we.2 Acc A tale P Yī Vaveai.
Let’s tell the tale of Yī Vaveai.

- (375) Mamai ke talaina ia Akaola kia Māmī.
come C tell-Cia A Akaola G-A Mummy
Come on, let’s tell on Akaola to Mummy.

- (376) Tala atu lā te tala ki te wenua.
tell Dir Int A story G A land
The story was told to the island.

(BB:551)

Semitransitive verbs allow either *ki* or *i* to mark their complements, so that they sometimes follow the intransitive pattern and mark the complement as an oblique noun phrase (*ki*) and they sometimes follow the ‘accusative’ pattern and mark the noun phrase denoting the patient by *i*. Many semitransitive verbs allow both markings with little semantic variation (see 7.5.4).

- (377) Onoono iāna ki nā angaanga a te lau a Uyo nei.
look he G A work P A men P Uyo here
He watched the way Uyo’s men did things.

- (378) Onoono lā te kau nei, nā tūpele, i te kau e welele mai.
look Int A people here A old.men Acc A people T Pl-run Dir
These people, the old men, watched the people who were running towards them.

- (379) Ka wāngai wū au kia ana.
T feed milk I G-A her
I’ll feed her milk.

- (380) Ka wāngai au i a tātou puaka tāyao.
T feed I Acc P we pig tomorrow
I’ll feed our pigs tomorrow.

A sizeable group of semitransitive verbs allow the ‘passive’ case marking pattern although the meaning of the ‘passive’ is sometimes slightly idiosyncratic. Some of these verbs include: *onoono* ‘look at’, *kai* ‘eat’, *mea* ‘say’.

- (381) Wō lā ke onoonoa tō kōlua wale.
go.Pl Int C look-Cia P you.Pl house
Go and inspect your house.

- (382) Ko nā tūpele na **kaina** te wonu ia.
 Top A old.men T eat-Cia A turtle Af
It was the old men who ate the turtle.
- (383) Ko **meaina** e wetau i tō mātou leo.
 T say-Cia A wetau L P we language
It's called a wetau in our language.

Of those above, the meaning of only one, *kaina* 'eat', is entirely predictable from the active form. Unlike most semitransitive verbs, *kai* 'eat' also allows 'ergative' case marking (384). However, it must be regarded as a semitransitive verb because it allows either *ki* (385) or *i* (386) to mark its complement.

- (384) Kai loa e nā tūpele te wonu ia.
 eat Int Ag A old.men A turtle Af
The old men ate the turtle. (U:4)
- (385) Ko kai **ki** te meá.
 T eat G A thing-Da
[She's] eating that thing!
- (386) ... ka kai i tō lātou vaka.
 T eat Acc P they canoe
...[it] was going to eat their canoe.

3. Preverbal Pronoun Verbs:

A restricted group of verbs that allow the 'passive' pattern IIIa take preverbal pronoun subjects in both main clauses and subordinate clauses (see 3.3). These include verbs of perception: *kitea* 'see, know', *iloa* 'know', *manatua* 'remember', *mitia* 'dream' and *langona* 'hear, feel', as well as *maua* 'be able to'.

- (387) Ko yē **aku** iloa e te ula.
 T Neg I know-Cia C dance
I don't know how to dance.

Preverbal pronoun placement is not restricted to this class of verbs in subordinate clauses (see 3.3), but it is permitted only in the 'passive' pattern. Most preverbal pronoun verbs can also occur in their base form, without the 'passive' suffix, in the 'accusative' pattern of case marking. A few verbs in this class either do not have an unaffixed base form (*iloa* 'know'), and therefore do not allow the 'accusative' pattern of case marking, or have a suffixed form which is irregularly derived from the base form (*langona* 'hear' < *longo* 'hear').

4. Ditransitive verbs:

There are a few ditransitive verbs in Pukapukan including *kave* 'take', *avatu* 'take', *aumai* 'bring', *tuku* 'put, give'. Ditransitive verbs have three arguments, one of which is an oblique noun phrase which may be marked by *ki* as a goal (388, 389), but which may also be marked as a benefactive by *ma/mo* (390, 391). All three case marking patterns, 'accusative' (388, 390), 'passive' (389) and 'ergative' (391), are possible for the other two arguments.

- (388) Ka angatu au **kave** ia kōtou **ki** te wenua o Tinilaú.
 T come I take Acc-A you G A land P Tinilau-Da
I will come and take you to the land of Tinilau. (MK:S1:6)
- (389) Ko te pia ia, na **kāvea** **ki** Lalotonga e toku yoa.
 Top A box Af T take-Cia G Rarotonga Ag my friend
That box was taken to Rarotonga by my friend. (TL7:3)
- (390) Ka **kave** mo au i te mea ia **ma** aku?
 T take maybe I Acc A thing Af for I
Can I take that thing for myself?
- (391) Ko lua tawa na maua mai o te kālena nei, ka **kave** **mō** tō tātou ōlo ka akatū i Lalotonga.
 Top two dollar T get Dir P A calendar here T take for P we hall T build L Rarotonga
The money which is raised from this calendar will be sent for the hall which we are building in Rarotonga. (K1:4)

7.7 CLAUSAL PROCESSES RELEVANT TO SUBJECTHOOD

Features of the clause and processes within the clause which are relevant to the identification of subject are discussed in this section. These include agreement, reflexivity, reciprocity, quantifier float and quantifier raising, topicalisation and focusing. Noun phrase raising (10.4.1), Equi-deletion (10.4.2) and Actor-possessor raising (10.6.1) and other relativisation strategies (10.6) are processes affecting subordinate clauses which are also relevant to the identification of subject and these are discussed in Chapter 10. The concept of subjecthood is discussed in 7.8.

7.7.1 AGREEMENT

Several different classes of verbs agree in number with the plurality of a core argument which can be the subject of an intransitive clause or one of the core arguments of a transitive clause. Both the dual and plural categories of pronoun morphology trigger agreement with the plural form of verbs that show agreement, but when the referent of a dual pronoun is singular or impersonal a singular verb form is allowed (see 4.5.2.1).

1. Intransitive verbs

Many intransitive verbs obligatorily agree in number with the subject. The verb is inflected for plurality by monomoraic reduplication (392), prefixation by *we-* (393) or suppletive change (392) (see 3.5.5). Compare the first sentence of the following pairs in which the intransitive verb(s) agree with the plural subject, with the second sentence in which the basic form of the verb is used because the subject is singular.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(392) Wō kōtou momoe ki loto o te walé. go.Pl you.Pl sleep.Pl G inside P A house-Da <i>You (pl.) go and sleep inside the house.</i></p> | <p>Wano koe moe ki loto o te walé. go.Sg you.Sg sleep.Sg G inside P A house-Da <i>You (sg.) go and sleep inside the house.</i></p> |
| <p>(393) Welele kōlua ke mākalokalo. run.Pl you.Pl C RR-swift <i>The two of you, run fast.</i></p> | <p>Lele koe ke ongo. run you C hard <i>Run fast.</i></p> |

The subject can be an experiencer of an action as illustrated in the sentences above. Intransitive verbs which take patient-like subjects and stative verbs also agree in number with their subjects. Thus an intransitive verb agrees with its subject regardless of semantic role.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (394) | Wua mua kai ngālelepe nā kapu nā. careful T break.Pl A cup that <i>Watch out or those cups might break.</i> | Onoono ka ngalepe te kapu nā. look T break.Sg A cup that <i>Be careful or that cup will break.</i> |
| (395) | Na mamate te wī puaka ma nā moa. T die.Pl A all pig and A chicken <i>All the pigs and the chickens are dead.</i> | Na mate toku māmā wāngai. T die.Sg my mother feed <i>My feeding mother is dead.</i> |
| (396) | Nā niu nā ko momoto . A coconut there T unripe.Pl <i>Those coconuts are unripe.</i> | Te kāuwi o te wala nei ko moto . A bunch P A pandanus this T unripe.Sg <i>This bunch of pandanus fruit is unripe.</i> |
| (397) | Ko mātataku te wī tamaliki i te yītolo. T afraid.Pl A all children By A ghosts <i>Children are frightened of ghosts.</i> | Na mataku iāna i tona matua tāne ke lili. T afraid.Sg he By his parent man C angry <i>He was afraid of his father getting angry.</i> |

Verbal agreement also occurs when the subject is semantically plural but grammatically singular. Compare the two following sentences both of which have grammatically singular subjects, but the first is semantically plural:

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (398) | Kamuloa te wī tangata ngālelepe e te kākata . really A all people break.Pl C laugh.Pl <i>All the people were cracking up laughing.</i> | Kamuloa au ngalepe e te kata . really I break.Sg C laugh.Sg <i>I was really cracking up laughing.</i> |
|-------|--|---|

Village and social groupings can be considered to be semantically singular entities (c.f. also *kāuwi* ‘bunch in (396) which is semantically singular).

- (399) Ko koe, Kotipolo, **wakamāloyi** i nā vaia ki mua.
Top you.Sg Kotipolo caus-strong.Sg L A time G front
[People of] Kotipolo [village name], strengthen yourselves in the future.

Additively coordinated noun phrases and inclusory constructions in subject position trigger plural verb agreement:

- (400) Na wō [ia Eleta ma Akakoromaki] lā wea ki Kō?
T go.Pl A Eleta and Akakoromaki via where G Kō
How did Eleta and Akakoromaki get to Kō? (PP2:13:7)
- (401) [Ko lāua ma ai] na wō tākele?
Prd they.2 incl who T go.Pl bathe
Who did he go for a swim with? (PP2:13:8)
- (402) Na wō wakatai [mātou ma toku tuaine ma tana tāne] ki te ayo ia.
T go.Pl together we incl my sister and her man G A day Af
I went together with my sister and her husband to [the celebration] that day. (ML1:3)

The number of the pronoun, which is the first element in inclusory constructions, triggers agreement on the verb. Dual and plural pronouns trigger plural agreement (401, 402). A singular pronoun triggers the

singular form of the verb (403) and the referents of a following comitative noun phrase are not included in the number controlling agreement.

- (403) **Wano** /*wō loa [iāna] [ma tona pupu].
 go.Sg go.Pl Int he with his group
He went with his group [of men]. (U1:6)

Likewise, if the subject noun phrase has a human referent and is followed by a sequence of noun phrases marked by *ma*, following noun phrases with non-human referents do not trigger plural verb agreement and are in a comitative relationship to the subject (404), but noun phrases denoting human or personified referents do trigger plural verb agreement (405) and are therefore in a conjoined structure.

- (404) **Yau** [ia Tūtau] [ma ana manini ma te kupenga], tuaki ai māua i a māua manini ia pau.
 come.Sg A Tūtau with his fish.sp and A net gut Pro we.2 Acc P we.2 fish.sp Af finish
Tūtau came with his manini fish and the fishing net, and we gutted all the fish. (PP2:9:3)
- (405) **Wō** ai [ia Luka ma tana wawine punga ia] ki wale.
 go.Pl Pro A Luka and his woman coral.head Af G house
Luka went home with [what he thought was] his wife [made out of a] coral head. (F4:3:2).

Agreement in alternatively coordinated noun phrases depends on the number of persons in each of the alternative phrases, rather than the combined or inclusive total of persons in additively coordinated noun phrases or inclusory constructions. Alternative coordinated noun phrases in which each phrase has a single referent trigger the singular form of the verb. Two or more referents in each of the alternatives require the plural form of the verb.

- (406) [Ko koe] mē kole [ko Tao] ka wano.
 Prd you or not Prd Tao T go.Sg
You or Tao will go.
- (407) [Ko kōlua] mē kole [ko Tao ma Tai] ka wō.
 Prd you.2 or not Prd Tao and Tai T go.Pl
Either you both or Tao and Tai will go.

Clauses can be coordinated by the conjunction *ma* ‘and’ which occurs immediately after the verb and introduces a noun phrase (see 10.1.1.1). Verbal agreement with the noun phrase marked by *ma* shows that the noun phrase following the coordinator is the subject, a core argument of the verb and not in an oblique case.

- (408) **Kikino** ma o lātou wale. **Kikino** ma nā wāwā na meaina e te yuatai.
 bad.Pl and P they house bad.Pl and A taro T do-Cia Ag A water-sea
And their houses were demolished. And [their] taro was bad, destroyed by the seawater. (PU92:8)

2. Transitive verbs

(a) Causative verbs

Intransitive verbs that undergo agreement in their basic form also undergo optional agreement with one of the core noun phrases in the clause when prefixed with the causative prefix *waka-* (~ *aka-*) (3.5.1). This is true for verbs that show agreement by reduplication (409) and prefixation by *we-* (410) and verbs with

slightly irregular reduplication (411), but verbs which show agreement by suppletive change do not allow prefixation by *waka-*.

- (409) **Wakatutupu** ake nā wāwā nā. **Wakatupu** ake te yuli ia.
 caus-grow.Pl please A taro that caus-grow.Sg please A shoot Af
Look after those taro plants. *Look after the shoot [so it will grow].*
- (410) **Wakawetū** mai kōtou ki lungā. **Wakatū** ake te pēpē ia ki lungā.
 caus-stand.Pl Dir you.Pl G up caus-stand.Sg please A baby Af G up
Stand yourselves up. *Stand the baby up.*
- (411) **Wakanōnō** ake te kau nā ki lalo. **Wakanō** ake ia Pēpē ki lalo.
 caus-sit.Pl please A people there G down caus-sit.Sg please A baby G down
Get those people to sit down. *Sit baby down.*

Prefixed causative verbs, many of which are transitive, agree with the patient of the clause. This can be the direct object in a clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern (412), the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern (413) or the absolutive noun phrase in a clause of the ‘ergative’ pattern (414).

- (412) Na yau ia Rōti **akawetū** i nā **punu** ki lungā.
 T come A Ross caus-stand.Pl Acc A tin G up
Ross came and stood the tins up [on end].
- (413) Ko Rōti na **wakawetūngia** nā **punu** ia ki lungā.
 Top Ross T caus-stand.Pl-Cia A tin Af G up
It was Ross who stood the tins up [on end].
- (414) Na yau **akawetū** ēna nā **punu** ki lungā.
 T come caus-stand.Pl Ag-he A tin G up
He came along and stood the tins up [on end].

Prefixed causative verbs which remain intransitive agree with their subjects:

- (415) Ke **wakamāloloi** tātou i te yanga nei.
 C caus-strong.Pl we.Pl L A work this
Let us strengthen ourselves in this work.

Agreement with the patient is not obligatory in casual speech for prefixed causative verbs which are transitive. But agreement seems to be dispreferred in tensed verbal predicates for certain verbs which denote states of emotion, including *wakaaloo* ‘love, pity’ (416). However, agreement with the patient occurs for these same verbs in attributive predicates (417) and in tenseless verbal predicates emphasised by *kamuloo* ‘really’ (418, 419). It is possible that *wakaaloo* is in the process of relexicalisation and agrees with its subject, not the patient, in tensed verbal predicates.

- (416) * Na **wakaāloloa** au ia kōtou.
 T caus-love.Pl I Acc-A you.Pl
 Na **wakaaloo** au ia kōtou. Na **wakaaloo** au i te tama nā.
 T caus-love.Sg I Acc-A you.Pl T caus-love.Sg I Acc A child there
I felt sorry for you all. *I felt sorry for the child.*
- (417) Te kau ia i te **wakaāloloa**. Te tama ia i te **wakaaloo**.
 A people Af Prd caus-love.Pl A child Af Prd caus-love.Sg
[lit. Those people are pitied.] *[lit. That boy is pitied.]*
[I] feel sorry for those people. *[I] feel sorry for that boy.*

- (418) Kamuloa au **wakaāloloa** i te kaú, na wiakakaia.
 really I caus-love.Pl Acc A people-Da T hungry.Pl
I really feel sorry for those people, because they are hungry.
- (419) Kamuloa au **wakaaloo** ia Mele na wiakaia.
 really I caus-love.Sg A Mele T hungry.Sg
I really feel sorry for Mele because she is hungry.

(b) Verbs which allow preverbal pronouns

There is one verb of perception in the class of verbs which take preverbal pronouns (3.3) that undergoes agreement. The agreement is with the experiencer which may be the preverbal pronoun (420) or the noun phrase in the agentive case (421).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (420) | Ko a mātou īloloa te tangata ia. T we know.Pl-Cia A person Af <i>We know that person.</i> | Ko aku iloa te tangata ia. T I know.Sg-Cia A person Af <i>I know that person.</i> |
| (421) | Ko īloloa e te wī tamaliki te tangata ia. T know.Pl-Cia Ag A all children A person Af <i>All the children know that person.</i> | Ko iloa e Mele te tangata ia. T know.Sg-Cia Ag Mele A person Af <i>Mele knows that person.</i> |

All of the verbs in this class are suffixed with *-Cia* when they take preverbal pronouns (Pattern IIIa, 7.6). Although *iloa* ‘know’ does not have an unsuffixed base form, its experiencer may be in the ‘agentive’ case or it may occur as a preverbal pronoun, which is some evidence that the verb is in fact suffixed, like all the other members of the class. Furthermore, the ‘accusative’ case marking pattern is not permitted for clauses containing this verb. This class of verbs is also distinct from other verbs which can be suffixed with *-Cia* in the word order of main arguments in the clause (see 7.3).

In summary, agreement for intransitive verbs which show agreement is triggered by the subject, the noun phrase in nominative/absolute case, regardless of semantic role. For causative transitive verbs, agreement is determined by the patient regardless of syntactic case. For those verbs which allow preverbal pronouns only one undergoes agreement which is triggered by the experiencer: the preverbal pronoun or the noun phrase in the agentive case. Thus for intransitive clauses, agreement is reference related, but for transitive clauses it is a role related phenomenon.

7.7.2 REFLEXIVITY AND RECIPROCALITY

In Pukapukan, as in many languages, the means by which reflexive and reciprocal relations are expressed is a shared syntactic form, one that also has additional functions (Lichtenberk 1985b, Geniušienė 1987, Kemmer 1993). In addition to this shared form, reciprocals are encoded in ways that are distinct from reflexives (see Lichtenberk 2000b). Reflexives and reciprocals have no special morphology of their own; instead these relations are expressed by ordinary pronouns which may be modified by the postposed intensifier *lāi*, or by verbs which have reflexive or reciprocal meanings. The same constructions which are used to express reflexive and reciprocal relations are related to emphatic forms and have additional functions which are discussed at the end of each section.

7.7.2.1 Reflexives

Reflexive relations are expressed by verbs which entail reflexive action or by ordinary personal pronouns in target position which are co-referential with an antecedent. The notion of ‘acting on oneself’ can be differentiated from a nonreflexive interpretation by the use of intensifiers which otherwise have emphatic functions. The postposed intensifier most commonly used is *lāi* ‘indeed’, occasionally *wua* ‘just, only’, or more emphatically the two are combined; *wua lāi*. Usually it is the pronoun in target position which is modified in this way (423), but the antecedent can be modified when fronted (424) and sometimes the verb is modified by *lāi* (but not *wua lāi*) (425). A clause containing a third person pronoun and no modification is potentially ambiguous between the reflexive and the nonreflexive reading (422). But even with modification by *lāi* there is still a measure of ambiguity except when it is the target which is modified (423). Modifying the antecedent with *wua lāi* (424b) is the most emphatic and always carries the reflexive reading.

- (422) Na patu ia Kaliwi ia ana.
 T kill A Kaliwi Acc-A he
Kaliwi killed himself/him.
- (423) a. Na patu ia Kaliwi ia ana lāi.
 T kill A Kaliwi Acc-A he Int
*Kaliwi killed himself/*him*
 b. Ko Kaliwi na patua iāna lāi.
 Top Kaliwi T kill-Cia he Int
*Kaliwi killed himself/*him.*
- (424) a. Ko Kaliwi lāi na patua iāna.
 Top Kaliwi Int T kill-Cia he
Kaliwi killed himself.
It was definitely Kaliwi who killed him.
 b. Ko Kaliwi wua lāi na patua iāna.
 Top Kaliwi just Int T kill-Cia he
*Kaliwi killed himself/*him*
- (425) Na patu lāi ia Kaliwi ia ana.
 T kill Int A Kaliwi Acc-A he.
Kaliwi killed himself/?him

When the antecedent is fronted (424), the verb is always suffixed (see 7.7.4) and the pronoun in the nominative/absolutive case is optional. If the pronoun is absent the nonreflexive reading is the only possible interpretation whether or not the antecedent is modified by *lāi*.

- (426) Ko Kaliwi lāi na patua.
 Top Kaliwi Int T kill-Cia
*Kaliwi definitely killed him/*himself.*

The most idiomatic way of expressing reflexive relations is to front the antecedent in a clause of the ‘passive’ pattern and to modify the antecedent with *lāi*. When both the antecedent and the target are pronouns, the primary interpretation is the reflexive one.

- (427) Ko ona lāi na patua iāna.
 Top he Int T kill-Cia he
He killed himself/?him.

Apart from using pronouns, there are several other ways of expressing reflexive relations:

1. Verbs which entail reflexive action:

(a) Certain intransitive verbs express actions which one usually does to oneself, for example *tākele* ‘wash oneself, shower, bathe’, *kākau* ‘dress’. These verbs are inherently reflexive; *kākau* cannot mean ‘dress someone else’ unless it is first transitivised with the causative prefix *waka-* (3.5.1), *tākele* ‘wash’ may be transitivised with the *-Cia* suffix, as in (450) further below.

(428) Na tākele au.
T wash I
I washed myself/had a shower.

(b) Certain causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs which have been prefixed by *waka-* acquire a reflexive meaning: ‘cause oneself to be, to do, or to undergo’ what is denoted by the simple verb when it is used intransitively; for instance *wakamaloyi* ‘strengthen oneself’ from *maloyi* ‘be strong’. Other verbs of this type include *wakamakeke* ‘strengthen oneself’, *wakaāngiāngi* ‘cool oneself in the breeze’, *wakapaepae* ‘set oneself adrift’, *wakayinga* ‘fall at one’s feet’, *wakamānavanava* ‘rest, take a breather’.

(429) Ko koe, e Kotipolo, wakamaloyi i nā vāia ki mua.
Top you Voc Kotipolo caus-strong L A time G front
Strengthen yourself, Kotipolo, in the future.

2. Possessive constructions:

(a) Another way of expressing reflexive relations is to use a noun phrase that denotes a part of the antecedent. It is often more idiomatic to express a part-whole relationship by the use of a possessive construction (430) instead of using a pronoun as a reflexive target (431).

(430) Na onoono ia Mele i tona tupu ki loto o te io.
T look A Mele Acc her face G inside P A mirror
Mary looked at herself [lit. her face] in the mirror.

(431) Na onoono ia Mele ia ana ki loto o te io.
T look A Mele Acc-A she G inside P A mirror
Mary looked at herself in the mirror.

(b) The subject of the clause may contain a possessive phrase so that reflexive relations are expressed without either a reflexive antecedent or a target.

(432) Manatu loa tona manako ke talikai ni lua tawa ki tona māmā.
think Int his thought C beg A two dollar G his mother
[He] thought [to himself] [lit. his thought] of asking his mother for a couple of dollars. (KM1:6)

(433) Wowola loa tona ulu ē malu te vaka tākatoa.
R-spread Int his head Dur shade A canoe completely
[Tupua Ulu Lapa folkhero ‘Broad Head’] spread out his head until it shaded the whole canoe. (MM:L1:9)

(434) Na motu te lima o Tao, e mea na kōtia e te pāla.
T cut A hand P Tao Prd thing T cut-Cia Ag A knife
Tao has [just] cut his hand [lit. Tao’s hand was cut], it was a thing [that happened through being] cut by a knife.

- (442) Na akataumea loa ia Tai ma Tū, patu loa ia Tū ia ana lāi.
 T together.do Int A Tai and Tū, kill Int A Tū Acc-A he Int
Tai and Tū had an argument and Tao killed himself.
- (443) Onoono koe ia koe wakalelei.
 look you Acc-A you well
Look after yourself.

The reflexive antecedent may not be the direct object of the ‘accusative’ pattern with the target as the subject. Sentence (444) only allows a nonreflexive interpretation.

- (444) Na koti iāna ia Tai (lāi).
 T cut he Acc-A Tai Int
 He/*himself_i cut Tai_j.

2. Agentive noun phrase of ‘passive’ pattern

The antecedent may be the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern, but only if the agent has been fronted (445 a). The agentive noun phrase may not appear postverbally either before or after the target (445 b). Thus the reflexive antecedent must precede the target. The optional noun phrase denoting the patient is in the nominative/absolutive case following the verb. The ‘passive’ pattern is very common in reflexivisation and is more idiomatic than the ‘accusative’ for simple clauses; (445) is more idiomatic than (441).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(445) a. Ko oku lai na kōtia (au). Top I Int T cut-Cia I <i>I cut myself [accidentally].</i> <i>It was I who cut myself.</i></p> | <p>Ko Tao lāi na kōtia (iāna). Top Tao Int T cut-Cia he <i>Tao cut himself [accidentally].</i> <i>It was Tao who cut himself.</i></p> |
| <p>b.* Na kōtia au lāi ēku. T cut-Cia I Int Ag-I * Na kōtia ēku au lāi T cut-Cia Ag-I I Int <i>(I cut myself.)</i></p> | <p>* Na kōtia iāna lāi e Tao T cut he Int Ag Tao * Na kotia e Tao iāna lāi T cut-Cia Ag Tao he Int <i>(Tao cut himself.)</i></p> |

If the agentive noun phrase appears in postverbal position following a nominative/absolutive pronoun, the reflexive interpretation is not possible.

- (446) Na kōtia iāna e Tao.
 T cut-Cia he Ag Tao
*Tao cut him/*himself.*

However, it is possible for the agentive noun phrase as antecedent to appear in postverbal position but only if the target is not in the absolutive case, but is in an oblique case, so that the antecedent precedes the target.

- (447) Na kāvea te puka e Tao mā ana wua.
 T take-Cia A book Ag Tao for he just
Tao took the book for himself.

An instrument may occur in the agentive case, and in most situations the most likely interpretation is a reflexive meaning, but this is not a true reflexive since the relationship with the patient noun phrase is not made explicit by a co-referential antecedent.

- (448) Ia Tao na kōtia e te keke.
 A Tao T cut-Cia Ag A saw
Tao was cut by the saw. [Tao cut [himself] with a saw].

When the antecedent is fronted as in (445), the target also often appears in a preverbal position (449, 450). The structure of this sentence type appears to be a focused nominal predicate whose subject is the noun phrase denoting the patient which is the head of a relative clause (see 9.1.5.3). The ordering of antecedent before the target is still maintained.

- (449) Ko oku lai au [na āpiingia].
 Prd I Int I T teach-Cia
I taught myself. [It was me who taught myself.]
- (450) Onoono ake kia Pēpē, ko ona lāi iāna ko tākelea.
 look please G-A baby Prd he Int he T wash-Cia
Look at Baby, he's washing himself.

3. Nominative/absolute noun phrase of 'passive' pattern

The reflexive antecedent may not be in the absolute case with the target in the agentive case. The following examples allow only a nonreflexive interpretation.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(451) Ko ona lāi na kōtia ia Tao. Top he Int T cut-Cia A Tao <i>It was he who cut Tao.</i> <i>*(Tao cut himself.)</i></p> | <p>Na kōtia ia Tao ēna. T cut-Cia A Tao Ag-he <i>Tao was cut by him/*himself.</i></p> |
| <p>(452) Na kōtia iāna e Tao. T cut-Cia he Ag Tao <i>Tao cut him /*himself</i></p> | |

4. Agentive noun phrase of 'ergative' pattern

The antecedent may be the agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern, but it is very rare indeed for a reflexive interpretation to be possible in this case marking configuration. The 'ergative' pattern is acceptable if the target denotes a particular part or aspect of the antecedent, so that the pronoun is a possessive modifier of the target (453, 454). Sentences with an agentive noun phrase as antecedent and an absolute noun phrase as target are either ungrammatical (455) or do not allow a reflexive interpretation (456). The 'ergative' pattern always implies deliberate intended action, whereas the 'passive' pattern can mean accidental action (see 445).

- (453) Na koti ēku toku vae nei ki te pāla wolo.
 T cut Ag-I my leg this Ins A knife big
I cut my leg [on purpose] with a big knife.

- (454) Koti loa e Tao tona lima lāi.
cut Int Ag Tao his arm Int
Tao cut his own arm [on purpose].
- (455) * Na koti ēku au.
T cut Ag-II
(I cut myself.)
- (456) Koti loa e Tao iāna (lai).
cut Int Ag Tao he Int
*Tao cut him/*himself deliberately.*

Nor does this clause type allow fronting of the ergative antecedent.

- (457) * Ko oku lai na koti loa toku vae māyui.
Top I Int T cut Int my leg left
(I cut my left leg on purpose.)

The reflexive antecedent can be an agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern if the target is in an oblique case.

- (458) Yau loa ia Tao, kave ēna te puka mā ana.
come Int A Tao take Ag-he A book for he
Tao came along and took the book for himself [without asking].

Agentive noun phrases of the ‘ergative’ pattern are very rarely overt in naturally occurring discourse as reflexive antecedents of oblique or possessive targets, probably because the pattern is highly marked semantically, denoting deliberate action. The preferred pattern is the ‘passive’ pattern which can denote accidental action. However, the ‘ergative’ pattern is a common configuration for imperative constructions which allow an implied antecedent expressing reflexive relations (459) (see below p.407). The target in (459) is structurally ambiguous with a nominative antecedent of the ‘accusative’ pattern, but clauses subordinated to motion verbs which have no overt expression of the addressee in the motion clause are configured in the ‘ergative’ pattern (see 9.2.1). An expression of the addressee in the motion clause triggers the ‘accusative’ pattern in the subordinate clause (460), which also shows that the target is overt in the subordinate clause.

- (459) Wano ake onoono ake koe ki loto o te io.
go please look please you G inside P A mirror
Go and look at yourself in the mirror.
- (460) Wano koe onoono ia koe ki loto o te io.
go you look Acc-A you G inside P A mirror
Go and look at yourself in the mirror.

5. Absolutive noun phrase of ‘ergative’ pattern

In the ‘ergative’ pattern, the antecedent may not be in the absolutive case with the agent as target. The following examples only allow the nonreflexive interpretation.

- (461) Na koti loa ēna ia Tao.
T cut Int Ag-he A Tao
He cut Tao.
**(Tao was cut by himself.)*

- (462) Na koti loa ēna te lima o Tao.
 T cut Int Ag-he A arm P Tao
He cut Tao's arm.
**(Tao's arm was cut by himself.)*

6. Preverbal pronoun as antecedent

Preverbal pronouns can be used as a reflexive antecedent when the target is a possessive modifier in a nominative/absolute noun phrase in the 'passive' pattern.

- (463) Na aku kitea toku ata i loto o te io.
 T I see-Cia my shadow L inside P A mirror
I saw my reflection in the mirror.

They do not allow the reflexive target to be an independent pronoun (464). Instead the clause must be configured in a different pattern, for instance the 'accusative' pattern (b).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(464)a* Na aku kitea au. T I see-Cia I <i>(I saw myself.)</i></p> | <p>b. Na kite au ia aku i loto o te io. I see I Acc-A I L inside P A mirror <i>I saw myself in the mirror.</i></p> |
| <p>(465)a* Na aku langona au i loto o te lātio. T I hear-Cia I L in P A radio <i>(I heard myself on the radio.)</i></p> | <p>b. Na longo au ia aku i loto o te lātio. T hear I Acc-A I L inside P A radio <i>I heard myself on the radio.</i></p> |

In summary, reflexive antecedents are always actors and reflexivity is a role-related phenomenon. For transitive clauses, the reflexive antecedent can be the nominative noun phrase of the 'accusative' pattern or the agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern. The agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern and the preverbal pronoun of the 'passive' pattern cannot function as antecedents that bind nominative/absolute noun phrases, although they both allow possessive or oblique targets, and the 'ergative' pattern can occur in imperative constructions with an implied antecedent. Direct objects cannot bind a nominative antecedent, nor can nominative/absolute noun phrases bind agentive noun phrases as reflexives.

2. Questioning the antecedent

Strategies for questioning the reflexive antecedent are different from non-reflexive questioning strategies. An interrogative-word focused question must be used (9.1.5.3). Although the 'passive' case marking pattern is the usual configuration for questioning the identity of an agent, this case marking pattern does not allow a reflexive interpretation (466). Instead, the 'accusative' pattern must be used to ask the question 'who killed himself?' (467).

- (466) Ko ai te tama na patua iāna?
 Prd who A person T kill-Cia he
Who killed that person?
*[Lit. Who was the person who killed him/*himself?]*

- (467) Ko ai te tama na patu ia ana lāi.
 Prd who A person T kill Acc-A he Int
Who killed himself?
 [Lit. Who was the person who killed himself/*him?]

3. Strategies affecting the antecedent

The reflexive antecedent can be affected by various processes such as Raising and Equi-deletion (10.4.1-10.4.2). The antecedent can also be deleted in imperative sentences and in declarative clauses under rules of anaphora.

1. Raising can target antecedents:

- (468) Ka mau ia Tū e te patu ia ana lāi.
 T able A Tū C kill Acc-A he Int
Tū is able to kill himself.

2. Equi-deletion of antecedents:

The deleted antecedent can be the nominative subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern for clauses subordinated by juxtaposition (469) or by the subordinators *e te* (470) or *ke* (471), but it cannot be the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern (469). The deleted antecedent can also be the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern for clauses introduced by *ke* (472).

- (469) Yau loa ia Tao [kave i tana puká mā ana lāi]. ‘accusative’ pattern
 *Yau loa ia Tao kave tana puka mā ana lāi. ‘ergative’ pattern
 come Int A Tao take Acc his book-Da for he Int
Tao came to take his book for himself.
- (470) Ko winangalo iāna [e te patu ia ana lāi]. ‘accusative’ pattern
 T want he C kill Acc-A he Int
He wants to kill himself.
- (471) Manatu loa iāna [ke wakaali ia ana ki te kau pōvivī]. ‘accusative’ pattern
 think Int he C caus-show Acc-A he G A people R-old
He decided to show himself to the elders.
- (472) Ko winangalo au ia Tao [ke kavea te puka mā ana]. ‘passive’ pattern
 T want I Acc-A Tao C take-Cia A book for he
I want Tao to take the book for himself.

3. Deletion of antecedents in imperative constructions

Reflexive antecedents can be deleted in imperative sentences. Similar case marking constraints hold for any other expression of the addressee in imperative clauses (9.2.1), but there are some differences. When the reflexive antecedent is subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern, it can be deleted under identity in a subordinate clause such as an imperative complement of a motion verb (473), although it must be present in an imperative clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern (474). This general constraint for imperatives prohibits the deletion of the antecedent in simple imperative clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern (475).

- (473) Wano koe patu ia koe.
 go you kill Acc-A you
Go and kill yourself.
- (474) Onoono koe ia koe ki loto o te io.
 look you Acc-A you G inside P A mirror
Look at yourself in the mirror.
- (475) * Patu ia koe.
 kill Acc-A you
(Kill yourself)

The agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern is typically deleted in imperative clauses subordinated to motion verbs and does not require a co-referential pronoun to be present in the main clause containing the motion verb (476, 477). Simple imperative clauses in the ‘passive’ pattern exist (9.2.1) but do not allow a reflexive reading with an absolutive pronoun as a reflexive target (478), although the reflexive reading is found with possessive (479) or oblique targets (480).

- (476) Wano onoonoa tō tupu ki loto o te io.
 go look-Cia P face G inside P A mirror
Go and look at your face in the mirror.
- (477) Wano patua koe.
 go kill-Cia you
Go and kill yourself!
- (478) * Patua koe.
 kill-Cia you
(Kill yourself!)
- (479) Onoonoa tō tupu ki loto o te io.
 look-Cia P face G inside P A mirror
Look at your face in the mirror.
- (480) Waia e kete mā koe.
 weave-Cia A basket for you
Weave a basket for yourself.

The agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern is always deleted in simple clauses (481) as well as in clauses subordinated to motion verbs (482, 483). Neither the antecedent nor the target pronoun in absolutive case are required for the ‘ergative’ pattern (481, 483).

- (481) Onoono ake (tō tupu) ki loto o te io.
 look please your face G inside P A mirror
Look [at your face] in the mirror.
- (482) Yau ake kave ake te puka ia mā koe lāi.
 come please take please A book Af for you Int
Come and get the book for yourself.
- (483) Wano ake onoono ake ki loto o te io.
 go please look please G inside P A mirror
Go and look [at yourself] in the mirror.

7.7.2.1.3 Constraints on the target

The target may occur in a wider range of syntactic functions than the antecedent. Usually the target is the accusatively marked object of the ‘accusative’ pattern of transitive clauses or the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern of which there have been many examples cited earlier. The target may also be in any other oblique case:

(484) Ko lalanga ia Mala e pānga **mō ona**, nō ona wua tokotai.
 T weave A Mala A mat for she P she just cls-one
Mala is weaving a mat for herself, for herself alone.

(485) Ko tala ia Vave i te tala **ōna lāi**.
 T tell A Vave Acc A story P-he Int
Vave is telling a story about himself

The target must follow the antecedent in the clause. This ordering determines the availability of certain core arguments to express reflexive relations. For instance, when the reflexive antecedent is the agent of the ‘passive’ pattern the target may be the absolutive noun phrase only if the antecedent is fronted (7.7.2.1.2). In postverbal position the agentive noun phrase always follows the absolutive noun phrase (7.3.1), which prevents a reflexive interpretation since the order of antecedent before target is not fulfilled (486). However, the linear ordering requirement is fulfilled for oblique noun phrases which can be a reflexive target when the antecedent is an agentive noun phrase in postverbal position (487).

(486) Na kōtia iāna e Tao.
 T cut he Ag Tao
*Tao cut him/*himself.*

(487) Na kāvea te puka e Tao **mā ana wua**.
 T take-Cia A book Ag Tao for he just
Tao took the book for himself.

The target pronoun can be deleted only when it is the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern and retrievable by context.

(488) Ko ona lāi na kōtia (**iāna**).
 Top he Int T cut-Cia he
He cut himself/him.

A reflexive target can also undergo Raising, providing it is a nominative/absolutive noun phrase (10.4.1) and the linear ordering of the antecedent before the target is fulfilled:

(489) E kiai ko Vave na patua **iāna lai**.
 T Neg Prd Vave T kill-Cia he Int
It wasn't Vave who killed himself.

(490) E kiai ko Vave lāi **iāna** na patua.
 T Neg Prd Vave Int he T kill-Cia
It wasn't Vave who killed himself.

7.7.2.1.4 Reflexivity in nominalised clauses

Reflexive relations can exist in nominalised clauses. The antecedent of a transitive nominalised clause is restricted to the subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern, which is marked by *a*-possession in the nominalisation with the target marked in the ‘accusative’ case (491, 492a). The antecedent cannot be the agentive or the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern (492b).

(491) Kamuloa ia Tao ūmele i te kitenga a Mele ia ana (lāi) i loto o te io.
 really A Tao surprised L A see-Nom P Mele Acc-A he Int L inside P A mirror
Tao was really surprised when Mele saw herself/him in the mirror.

(492)a. Na tala mai ia Tao i te patunga a Mua ia ana lāi.
 Y tell Dir A Tao Acc A kill-Nom P Mua Acc-A he Int
Tao told us about Mua killing himself.

b.* tona patuanga lāi e Mua
 his kill-Cia-Nom Int Ag Mua
(Mua's killing himself)

* te patuanga o Mua ēna lāi
 A kill-Cia-Nom P Mua Ag-he Int
(Mua's killing himself)

However, the subject of the main clause and the nominative/absolutive argument of the nominalised clause in the ‘passive’ pattern can be co-referential.

(493) Na tala mai lātou i tō lātou pukeanga e te laloao.
 T tell Dir they Acc P they catch-Cia-Nom Ag A storm
They told about themselves being caught by the storm.

There is some ambiguity as to the reference of the accusatively marked object of the nominalisation in (491), which can be interpreted as co-referential with either the subject of the nominalisation or with the subject of the main clause. There is also ambiguity when the target is a possessive modifier of a noun:

(494) Na tala mai ia Tao i te makekenga o Mele i loto o tana pūeleele.
 T tell Dir A Tao Acc A secure-Nom P Mele L inside P her trap
Tao told us about Mele catching herself in her/his trap.

(495) Na tala mai ia Tao i te pukeanga o Mele e tana tama.
 T tell Dir A Tao Acc A catch-Cia-Nom P Mele Ag his/her child
Tao told us about Mele being caught by her own/his child.

7.7.2.2 Reciprocals

Reciprocal relations can be expressed in a number of ways, primarily by the dual and plural personal pronouns which may be modified by *lāi* ‘indeed, definitely’. In this respect reciprocals and reflexives have a shared syntactic form. As with other languages (cf. Lichtenberk 2000b), in Pukapukan there are a number of other ways to express reciprocal relations that are not shared with reflexives, including forms that are used to express plurality of relations. There is no reciprocal circumfix reflecting PPn **fe*...-(C)*aki* as there is in some other Samoic-Outlier languages, but the suffix *-aki* is found in a few words with meanings in the area reciprocity or plurality of relations. The prefix *we-* (see 3.5.5.1) denotes plurality of the subject and collective situations, but it can also denote chaining and distributed situations when accompanied by reduplication of the verbal base. It is likely to have also had a reciprocal function since

there are a few verbs with an inherently reciprocal meaning, most of which appear to have a bound prefix *we-* but do not have an independent base form. The same constructions used to express reciprocal relations also have other functions (see 7.7.2.2.4).

7.7.2.2.1 Means of expressing reciprocal relations

1. Reciprocal relations can be expressed by a dual or plural personal pronoun which is marked with *lāi* ‘indeed, definitely’. This method of encoding reciprocal situations is almost always ambiguous with a reflexive interpretation (496, 497), but the semantics of the verb may sometimes exclude a reflexive meaning (498). In reciprocal situations there is plurality of relations because the same relation holds more than once between the participants: A stands in a certain relation to B and B stands in the same relation to A (Lichtenberk 2000b:34).

- (496) Ko kakalo lātou **kia** lātou lāi.
 T look they G-A they Int
They are looking at one another.
They are looking at themselves.
- (497) Ko lua tamatāne ia ko motomoto **ia** lāua lāi.
 Top two boy Af T RR-punch Acc-A they.2 Int
The two boys are punching each other.
?The two boys are punching themselves.
- (498) Te kaú, ko tamaki lātou **ia** lātou lāi.
 A people-Da T fight they Acc-A they Int
They are fighting each other.
They are fighting among themselves.
 * (They are fighting themselves.)

Reflexive and reciprocal meanings are only disambiguated with a singular pronoun, which necessarily excludes the reciprocal meaning:

- (499) Ko motomoto iāna **ia** ana lāi.
 T RR-punch he Acc-A he Int
He is punching himself.

2. Reciprocal relations can be expressed by a verb chain (3.7) in which the first element is (*w*)*akatau* ‘be together, join’. Reciprocity is therefore encoded by the verb chain itself and there is typically only one argument in the clause.

- (500) Nā **wakatau** totoko lātou.
 T together stubborn they
They were arguing with one another.
- (501) Te kaú, ko **akatau** tamaki lātou.
 A people-Da T together fight they
Those people are fighting with one another.

This strategy may be combined with the first strategy in which an object pronoun is marked by *lāi*:

- (502) Ko **akatau** kakalo lātou **ia** lātou **lāi**.
 T together look they Acc-A they Int
They keep looking at each other.
- (503) Lua tamá ko akatau patu **ia** lāua **lāi**.
 two boy-Da T together hit Acc-A they.2 Int
Those two boys are hitting each other.

3. Reciprocal relations may be made explicit by the expression *te toe ... ki/i te toe*, ‘one to another’:

- (504) Ko motomoto **te toe** **ki te toe**.
 T RR-punch A other G A other
They are punching one another.
- (505) Ko paletua **te toe** **kau i te toe** **kau**.
 T help A other people Acc A other people
They are helping each other.
- (506) Pupula wua ai **te toe** **ki te toe**.
 look just Pro A other G A other
[They] just looked at one another.

The meaning of reciprocals encoded in this way is slightly different from those marked with *(w)akatau* ‘be together’. Those marked with *te toe...ki/i te toe* denote reciprocal action which is carried out by taking turns, while clauses containing *(w)akatau* denote collective situations whose meaning is potentially ambiguous with action that is carried out simultaneously by all the parties.

- (507) Ko talatala **te toe** **ki te toe**.
 T RR-talk A other G A other
[They] are speaking to one another in turn, or in groups to one another.
- (508) Ko **wakatau** talatala lātou.
 T together R-talk they
They are talking together [potentially at the same time].

4. Certain intransitive verbs express inherently reciprocal situations:

- (509) Na **wakaa**o lāua.
 T marry they.2
They are married.
- (510) Na **wakaipoipo** lāua.
 T caus-RR-lover they
They are married .

5. The prefix *we-* and the suffix *-aki* have some meanings associated with plurality of relations.

a. A few verbs with meanings related to a reciprocal function appear to have been historically derived through prefixation by *we-*, although they do not have independent base forms today. They include: *weolo* ‘be the same as’, *wekiki* ‘be the same as’, *welāvei* ‘meet’, *wengatu* ‘greet one another [archaic]’. Most of these verbs take only a plural subject, but *welāvei* also allows a singular subject.

- (511) Ko Tai ma Tua ko **weolo** nā tupu.
 Top Tai and Tua T same A face
Tai and Tua look alike.
- (512) **Welāvei** loa iāna i te wawine ko Mele.
 meet Int he Acc A woman Prd Mele
He met a woman called Mele.

There is one verb, *yongi* ‘kiss, smell, greet’, which typically has a reciprocal meaning in the plural and which has two alternative forms agreeing with a plural subject. The plural form in common usage is the partially reduplicated base *yōyongi*, but elderly speakers sometimes use the almost archaic form *weyongi* which has connotations of endearment, in which *we-* is a prefix that is related to reciprocal action.

- (513) Yau ake ke **weyongi** tāua.
 come please G Pl-kiss we.2
Come here so we can kiss each other [affectionately].

b. There are a handful of words which reflect the suffix *-aki* and which are likely to have been derived by means of the PPn circumfix **fe-...-(C)aki* ‘reciprocal action’, but the suffix is not found in association with the prefix *we-* and in some words it is fossilised since the verbs do not have independent bases without the suffix. The meanings of some words containing the form *-aki* denote inherently reciprocal relations or types of plurality of relations such as collective action. The meaning of *poloaki* ‘lovers to arrange meeting via messages’ suggests an inherently reciprocal action, but there is no base verb *polo* reflecting PPn **poro* ‘give instructions’. Cognates of this word in some Polynesian languages also contain the form *-aki* although their meanings are not necessarily reciprocal actions. The expression *poli tō wilowiloaki* ‘offspring interspersed as boy-girl-boy-girl’ [lit. ‘offspring a bit intertwined’] (cf. *poli tāne* ‘all male offspring’) suggests that a chaining type of situation is encoded by the suffix *-aki*; and a quote from a chant: *wilowiloaki ki te polopuka* ‘intertwined with [berries] from a small shrub, *Solanum viride* (similar to black nightshade)’ (cf. *wilo* ‘plait, braid’) also suggests plurality of relations. Several other instances of the suffix in the ancient chant corpus are in words not found in modern Pukapukan and denote collective situations: *yoloaki ō nawa* ‘go together with one’s opponent’ (*yolo* ‘go in group’, also archaic); *moeaki* ‘sleep together’ (*moe* ‘sleep’).

7.7.2.2.2 Other functions of *we-* ‘plurality of relations’

Verbs prefixed by *we-* denote a range of other types of plurality of relations apart from reciprocal relations. These other functions include agreement with a plural subject, collective situations, plurality of events, chaining, dispersive situations and plurality of directions and locality which are often related to the reciprocal function in other Oceanic languages, but unrelated to reflexives (Lichtenberk 2000b:31).

1. All verbs in which *we-* occurs as a prefix take a plural subject. They cannot take a singular subject.

- (514) **Wetū** wua māua /(*au) i lunga o te akau, **wetangi** wua ai māua tokalua wua.
 Pl-stand just we.2 I L on P A reef Pl-cry just Pro we.2 cls-two just
We both stood on the reef and cried together. (PS5:8)

2. The prefix *we-* often denotes collective situations in which two or more participants are together involved in a situation simultaneously in the same role. This seems to be the basic function of the prefix, since meanings denoting other types of plurality of relations are typically found in association with reduplication (see (3) below).

- (515) Na **welele** te lāngai toloa ki Kō.
 T PI-fly A flock duck G Kō
The flock of wild ducks flew off [together] to Motu Kō
- (516) Nō te kanga oki o te tama nei, na lūlū loa te kaingākai **wetō** nā mea ki lalo.
 P A play also P A child here T shake Int A table PI-fall A thing G down
Because the child was playing [too close], the table shook and the things fell off [all at the same time].

3. The prefix *we-* can occur with monomoraic reduplication of the verbal base to indicate a chaining type of situation in which the action takes place in succession with participants still in the same role, but acting one after another. Compare the following two sentences:

- (517) Ko te **wētōtō**, e takitai wetōnga i te konga e tai.
 Prd A PI-R-fall T each-one PI-fall-Nom L A place T one
Wētōtō means that they fell one after another in one place.
- (518) Ko te **wetō**, ko wetō tākatoa nā puka i te konga e tai.
 Prd A PI-fall T PI-fall all A book L A place T one
Wetō means the books all fell together in one place.

Likewise *wetū* means ‘stand up together’ but *wētūtū* means ‘stand up at different times (not uniformly)’. Chaining situations can also be encoded by bimoraic reduplication in association with the prefix *we-*:

- (519) Na **wēkakekake** lātou ki lungā o te niu.
 T PI-RR-climb they G on P A coconut
They climbed the coconut one after another [in turns].

4. The prefix *we-* accompanied by monomoraic reduplication of the verbal base can indicate distributed situations, such as dispersive action or unspecified multiple directions. Thus *wepae* means ‘float in a group’, whereas *wēpapae* means ‘float off in different directions’; *wetuki* means ‘rush away as in a crowd’, while *wētutuki* means ‘rush away individually in different directions’. There is no form of the verb *lele* ‘run’ which exhibits monomoraic reduplication, but the bimoraic reduplicated form *wēlelelele* means ‘run off in all directions’, whereas *welele* means ‘run in a group’.

Reversive situations, in which there is reverse directionality, are also encoded in this way so that *wekake* means ‘climb together’ whereas *wēkakekake* can mean ‘keep on climbing up and down’.

- (520) Nā **wēkakekake** lātou ki lungā o nā lākau.
 T PI-RR-climb they G on P A tree
They were all climbing up and down the trees.

A verb prefixed by *we-* accompanied by reduplication of the base can also denote situations of plural localities. For instance, *wetupu* means ‘grow together as in a crop’, whereas *wētutupu* means ‘grow at different rates’ or ‘grow in various localities all over the place’, or it can mean that there are different types

of plant growing together. Likewise *wetangi* means ‘cry together’, whereas *wēatangi* means ‘cry individually in different locations or possibly for different reasons’. The verb *wetike* ‘be naked [of humans]’ can also mean ‘lying around all over the place [of things]’.

- (521) I te yaunga o te Laumanga, nā **wetike** wua nā apinga. Yau au mai te āpii, ko **wetike** wua i Yātō.
 L A come-Nom P A Laumanga T lying.around just A thing come I from A school T lying.around just L Yātō
When [the ship] Raumanga came, the things were just lying around. When I came from school, they were just lying around [on the beach] at Yātō
 (WF1:10)

This verb illustrates that reduplication is not necessary for the distributed function. In colloquial language, the unreduplicated forms of prefixed verbs can be used to express collective situations (518) as well as distributed or chaining situations (522).

- (522) Ko **wetō** nā puka i te takitai.
 T Pl-fall A book L A each-one
The books fell one after another.

Many young people do not discriminate between the various meanings of the unreduplicated and reduplicated forms of verbs which are prefixed by *we-*, but consider that the reduplicated forms are more formal and old-fashioned.

Since the prefix *we-* applies only to intransitive verbs in modern Pukapukan, there is no obvious depatientive function associated with the marker of reciprocity (cf. Lichtenberk 2000b:42-44), but there are examples of transitive verbs containing the prefix *we-* in the traditional chant corpus (e.g. *wetuki* ‘hit’), some of which occur without an explicit direct object. A few examples seem to express general or habitual situations which may be related to the depatientive function and some have a singular subject. The prefix *we-* can no longer be attached to transitive verbs, but whether this restriction came about via an intermediate stage in which there was a depatientive function is speculation. Middle uses of the prefix *we-* have not been found.

In summary, the prefix *we-* has a range of functions in the area of plurality of relations: reciprocal function (which is now all but lost), collective action, agreement with a plural subject, and chaining and distributed functions which are typically, but not always, found in association with reduplication of the verbal base.

7.7.2.2.3 Constraints on the antecedent and the target

Like reflexives, a reciprocal relationship must have both the antecedent and the target in the same clause, and, as with reflexives, the antecedent must precede the target. Whichever means is used to encode reciprocity, the antecedent must be the subject of the clause. It can be the subject of an intransitive clause as in (496, 500, 504, 509, 513) or the subject of a transitive clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern as in (497, 502, 505, 523). The reciprocal antecedent cannot be the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ (524) or the ‘passive’ pattern (525). The first pattern is ungrammatical and the second does not allow a reciprocal meaning.

- (523) Ko tautulu **te tokalua** ia lāua lāi.
 T help A cls-two Acc-A they.2 Int
The two of them are helping each other.
- (524) * Ko tautulu **e te tokalua** lāua lāi.
 T help Ag A cls-two they.2 Int
(The two of them are helping each other.)
- (525) **Ko te tokalua** ko tautulua lāua (lāi).
 Top A cls-two T help-Cia they.2 Int
*The two of them are helping them both [other people]/ *each other.*

Nor can the reciprocal antecedent be the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ or the ‘passive’ patterns:

- (526) * Ko tautulu e lāua lāi **te tokalua**.
 T help Ag they.2 Int A cls-two
(The two of them are helping each other.)
- (527) Ko tautulua **te tokalua** e lāua lāi.
 T help-Cia A cls-two Ag they.2 Int
*(*The two of them are helping each other.)
 They are helping the two of them.*

Reciprocal antecedents can undergo equi-deletion (528) or raising (529):

- (528) Ko winangalo **lātou** ke motomoto ia lātou lāi.
 T want they C punch Acc-A they Int
They want to fight each other.
- (529) Ko yē winangalo au ia **lātou** ke motomoto ia lātou lāi.
 T Neg want I Acc-A they C RR-punch Acc-A they Int
I don't want them to fight each other.

The reciprocal antecedent can be questioned only by using a verb chain containing (*w*)*akatau* ‘together’ (530) or a verb with inherently reciprocal meaning (531). Attempts to question the antecedent using only the strategy which encodes the target as a pronoun yield nonreciprocal interpretations (532, 533).

- (530) Ko ai lua tama e **akatau moto** ia lāua lāi?
 Prd who two child T together punch Acc-A they.2 Int
Who are those two boys punching each other?
- (531) Ko ai nā tama e **tamaki**?
 Prd who A child T fight-Da
Who are those children fighting?
- (532) Ko ai lua tama e motomoto **ia lāua (lāi)**?
 Prd who two child T RR-punch Acc-A they.2 Int
Who are those two boys punching them?
- (533) Ko ai lua tama e tautulu **ia lāua lāi**?
 Prd who two child T help Acc-A they.2 Int
Who are those two who are helping them?

Clauses denoting reciprocal meanings often have only one argument which is expressed only once in subject position as in (500, 513). In this type of construction the subject can be a coordinate structure

(534) or an inclusory construction (535):

(534) **Ko Kino ma Tao** ko yōyongi.
Top Kino and Tao T R-kiss
Kino and Tao are kissing each other.

(535) **Ko lāua ma Ngā** ko vākule ulu.
Top they.2 and Ngā T search.for.nits head
She and Ngā are searching for nits in each other's hair.

The target can be the direct object of a transitive verb of the ‘accusative’ pattern as in (497, 502) or an oblique noun phrase such as a goal as in (496) or a possessor of the direct object as in (536).

(536) **Ko pākoti ia Tai ma Tei i o lāua lauulu (lāi).**
T Pre-cut A Tai and Tei Acc P they.2 hair Int
Tai and Tei are cutting each other's hair.

In summary, the constraints on the noun phrases in reciprocal constructions are more restrictive than those affecting reflexives. The antecedent must be the subject of an intransitive clause or a transitive clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern only. The antecedent must precede the target which can be the direct object of the ‘accusative’ pattern or an oblique noun phrase. No other case marking pattern is permitted apart from the ‘accusative’ pattern.

7.7.2.2.4 Other uses of reciprocal forms

The modification of a pronoun by *lāi* is also found in reflexives (7.7.2.1) as well as emphatic expressions (5.1.5.1). Reciprocity is only one of the meanings of the verb (*w*)*akatau* ‘do something together’, and is probably not the basic one since it can also mean ‘join’. The expression, *te toe..ki/i te toe* also indicates distributive action as in the following examples:

(537) **Liko te toe i te toe kaokao o te poti.**
hold A other Acc A other side P A boat
(We) were each holding on to one side of the boat. (PS4:6)

(538) **Avatu ake nā toe ki te toe kau i kinā.**
give please A other G A other people L there
Give some to everybody there.

(539) **Angaanga te tokalua ia i tā lāua toe, te toe tokalua ia i tā lāua toe.**
RR-work A cls-two Af Acc P they.2 other A other cls-two Af Acc P they.2 other
Everyone works on one between two.

The prefix *we-* is used not only in association with monomoraic reduplication but it also contrasts with it. The contrast distinguishes between human and non-human subjects and between verbs that denote a change in bodily orientation as opposed to those which denote a state of bodily orientation (see 3.5.5.2).

7.7.3 QUANTIFIER FLOAT AND QUANTIFIER RAISING

There are several quantifiers in Pukapukan which may follow the noun they modify, but can optionally occur as a postmodifier of the verb. These include *pau* (which is related to the intransitive verb meaning ‘complete, finish’), *tākatoa*, *kātoatoa* and *katoa*. All of these forms have similar meanings, that all the participants are completely affected by the action or totally involved in a state of affairs. Although cognates of *katoa* exist in many Polynesian languages, the latter two are perceived by Pukapukan native speakers to be borrowings from Cook Islands Māori and they typically occur in discourse styles characterised by heavy influence from CIM, while *pau* and *tākatoa* are perceived to be ‘true’ Pukapukan forms. Although all four forms are found in colloquial Pukapukan some examples of code-mixing give evidence in support of this view¹³ and *pau* and *tākatoa* will therefore be used in most illustrations given here. *Kātoatoa* associates only with plural or collective nouns, while the others can apply to semantically and grammatically singular nouns as well as to plural and collective nouns. *Kātoatoa* can also function as a noun meaning ‘everyone, the whole’. These quantifiers are often found in association with another quantifier *wī* ‘all’ (540, 541) which always occurs in prenominal position and never floats (see 4.3.1).

The quantifier may follow the noun it modifies:

- (540) ... ke lelei te wī mea **pau**
 T good A all thing complete
...so that everything will be good (PNI:1)
- (541) ...i te wī ayo **tākatoa**
 L A all day complete
...on every single day
- (542) Pau lā te tangata **kātoatoa** i te mate.
 finish Int A people completely By A die
All the people entirely were dead. (ML1:5)

If the noun is plural or a collective noun, the quantifier indicates that all the participants are involved.

- (543) Takitai pōlo i te wi tamaliki **pau**.
 each-one ball per all child complete
Every single child has a ball each. (KM1:2)
- (544) Ko lātou **tākatoa** na taumamaya, mē ko te toe kau wua?
 Top they all T R-eat or Top A other people just
Did they all eat, or just some people? (PP2:13:4)
- (545) Nā wō te tangata **kātoatoa** ki Motu Kotawa.
 T go.Pl A person all G Motu Kotawa
All the people went to Motu Kotawa. (M:LK3:68)

If the noun is grammatically and semantically singular then the quantifier indicates that the participant is affected totally or completely.

- (546) Tangi ai te tamāwine nei, ngalo te leo **pau**, pau ki loto o te kōpū o Mokoyikungāvali.
 cry Pro A girl this lost A voice complete gone G inside P A stomach P Mokoyikungāvali
This girl cried, [but] her voice was lost completely, [she] had disappeared inside the monster’s stomach. (KS3:7)

- (547) E moko manava wolo, tino wolo, ka puku loa i te tangata pau.
 Prd lizard stomach big body big T swallow Int Acc A person complete
It was a lizard with a huge stomach, a huge body, who could swallow a person whole. (KS3:5)
- (548) Wowola loa tona ulu ē, malu te vaka tākatoa.
 R-spread.out Int his head Dur shade A canoe complete
[The legendary character] spread out his head until the whole canoe was shaded. (M:L1:9)

A quantifier can modify a noun phrase which is subject of a negative predicate in which case it semantically intensifies the predicate meaning ‘not at all’:

- (549) Kāyi moni katoa yanga i nā yanga nei.
 Neg.exist.Pl money all work Acc A work this
[We’ve] got no money at all to work on these things. (PS:1:9)

As Chung notes for Tongan (1978:189-190), it is unclear whether the quantifier occurs inside or outside the noun phrase. As in Tongan, in Pukapukan the quantifier can be considered as part of the noun phrase because it occurs in a standard position for a modifier of a head noun, namely following the head noun, and it can be topicalised with the noun phrase (see (544) above). In Pukapukan, a positional particle can occur either before (550) or after (551) the quantifier, which shows that the quantifier is sometimes outside the noun phrase, but sometimes inside the noun phrase:

- (550) Ko nā tama nei tākatoa na wō tākele?
 Top A child here all T go.Pl bathe
Did all these children go for a swim?
- (551) Ko nā tama tākatoa nei na wō tākele?
 Top A child all here T go.Pl bathe
Did all these children go for a swim?

The quantifier may occur within a noun phrase followed by a possessive phrase:

- (552) Ko winangalo au i te wī tāne tākatoa o Ngake ke wō ki Kō.
 T want I Acc A all men all P Ngake C go.Pl G Kō
I want all the men of Ngake village to go to Kō

However, as in Tongan, the quantifier falls outside the definitive accent, so that the quantifier is treated as being outside the noun phrase by the placement of the definitive accent:

- (553) Ko nā tamá tākatoa na wō tākele?
 Top A child-Da all T go.Pl bathe
Did all those children go for a swim?

In most instances, it is not clear whether the quantifier is inside or outside the noun phrase since there are no other modifiers of the noun (543, 554), so I will use the expression ‘postnominal’ which is suitably vague.

7.7.3.1 Quantifier Float

Instead of being in postnominal position (554), the quantifier may occur as part of the predicate as in (555). Quantifier float refers to the movement of the quantifier from a position modifying the noun to a position following the verb. Thus the following two sentences are synonymous:

(554) Na wō lātou tākatoa ki Kō.
 T go.Pl they all G Kō
They all went to Kō

(555) Ko lātou na wō tākatoa ki Kō.
 Top they T go.Pl all G Kō
They all went to Kō

In postverbal position, the quantifier usually immediately follows the verbal nucleus (556), but it may occur following the postverbal particles (557).

(556) Pupula tākatoa mai ai nā mata o te wī tangata i loto o te wale ia ia ana.
 R-stare all Dir Pro A eye P A all person L inside P A house Af Acc-A he
All the eyes of all the people in the house stared at him (LK4:20)

(557) Ko vātata wua te vailanga ka tō mai tākatoa ki vao.
 T near just A uterus T fall Dir complete G outside
The uterus was very close to completely falling out. (F4S4:5)

The quantifier may also occur immediately following a nonverbal predicate:

(558) I te taimē oki ia, ko i Yātō pau lua tama, ia Ilo ma Ngālupe.
 L A time also Af T L Yātō completely two child A Ilo and Ngālupe
At that time, those two, Ilo and Ngālupe, were both at Yātō (MN4:17)

(559) Nā i Te Ā kātoatoa te Ngake.
 T L Te Ā all A Ngake
The whole of Ngake [village] was at Te Ā (ML3:72)

As can be seen from these sentences, sometimes the quantifier seems to mean that the action is complete (557), while at other times the quantifier is related semantically to the noun phrase (556, 558). Sometimes it is difficult to say with certainty whether the postverbal quantifier modifies the verb as a type of intensifier or whether it is associated semantically with the noun phrase and has floated. Not all instances of these words following a predicate are instances of Quantifier float. The same lexical items can be used as intensifiers meaning ‘completely, very’ and are not quantifiers at all in these situations:

(560) Kamulōa au toka lelei toku ao i te tataunga. Na vēvēia tākatoa i ō manako lelei.
 really I satisfied well my breath L A read-Nom T happy very L your thought good
I was very happy to read [your letter]. [I] was very happy with your good ideas. (IL1:1)

It is difficult to try to specify the conditions that separate the function of intensifier from that of quantifier. It is tempting to suggest that singular noun phrases do not allow quantifiers to float, but collective nouns are grammatically singular and seem to allow quantifiers to float. For instance, the quantifiers in (559) and (561) are associated semantically with *te Ngake* ‘Ngake village’ and *kumikumi* ‘beard’ respectively, which are grammatically singular.

- (561) Pēnei ake i te taime ka niko mai ia Kevini na yinā tākatoa tona kumikumui.
 maybe Dir L A time T return Dir A Kevin T grey-Cia completely his beard
Maybe when Kevin returns his whole beard will have turned completely grey.

The quantifier can follow any noun whether in an oblique case or as a core argument. However when the quantifier occurs in a postverbal position, it is usually related semantically to the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the clause. Most commonly this is the subject of an intransitive verb:

- (562) Ko mātou i Niu Tīleni nei, ko lelei wua tākatoa.
 Top we L New Zealand here T good just all
As for us in New Zealand, we're all fine [over here]. (ML3:3)
- (563) ...ke kite te kakai ma te atu nei i te akulā, mimia loa tākatoa, ngangalo.
 C see A tuna and A bonito this Acc A swordfish flee Int all R-lost
...when the tuna and the bonito saw the swordfish [they] all fled away, and disappeared. (MKS3:18)

The quantifier can be semantically related to the subject of the 'accusative' pattern:

- (564) Ka kave tākatoa tātou i te kauliki nei ki te tukutai?
 T take all we Acc A children here G A beach
Should all of us take these children to the beach?

The quantifier may also be semantically related to the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the 'passive' (565, 566) or the 'ergative' patterns (567, 568).

- (565) Na patua pau e te ulīa nā wale i Waletoa.
 T hit-Cia all Ag A hurricane A house L Waletoa
The hurricane destroyed all the houses at Waletoa.
- (566) Ko Tao na kāvea pau te kauliki ki te tukutai.
 Top Tao T take-Cia all A children G A beach
Tao took all the children to the beach.
- (567) ...mai loto o nā puka nei. E ngali ake pā ke tuku atu tākatoa ki te āpii.
 from inside P A book this T better Dir probably C take Dir all G A school
... from these books. It would probably be better to send [them] all to the school.
- (568) Na kave tākatoa e Tao te kauliki nei ki te tukutai.
 T take all Ag Tao A children here G A beach
Tao took all these children to the beach.

The quantifier can be semantically related to the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern (569), but when both arguments of the verb are semantically plural as in (564), a postverbal quantifier relates only to the subject, not to the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern.

- (569) Na kave pau ia Tao i te kau lōpā yī ika.
 T take all A Tao Acc A group youth catch fish
Tao took all the boys fishing.

As in Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992:713-714) and Tokelauan (Hooper 2000b:163), in Pukapukan, the quantifier is only rarely associated with an ergative argument. A search of 150,000 words of oral text yielded only one possible example. However, it is an interesting example because the quantifier is

associated with an agentive noun phrase expressed by a preverbal pronoun, a condition that is excluded in Samoan (Cook 1991:91-93).

- (570) ... ke a tātou langona **tākatoa** ni wea a tātou yanga i lunga o te wenua nō te matawiti nei.
 C we hear-Cia complete Prd what P we work L on P A land P A year this
 ... so we can all hear what we are going to do as an island for this year. (AR1:2)

Although not found in the corpus, examples of clauses containing verbs which allow preverbal pronouns were readily provided by native speakers, with non-pronominal arguments in the agentive case, showing that for this class of verbs a postverbal quantifier can be associated with an agentive argument (571) or a preverbal pronoun (572, 573). It is notable that the one example Hooper (2000b:163) finds of a quantifier being launched by an ergative noun phrase in Tokelauan is in a clause whose verb is *iloa* 'know', which is cognate with *iloa* 'know' in Pukapukan, illustrated here. She states that the ergative noun phrase must immediately follow the quantifier. The basic word order for this type of clause in Pukapukan is that the agentive noun phrase precedes the nominative/absolute noun phrase (see 7.3).

- (571) Ko iloloa **pau** e te kauliki e te ula.
 T R-know-Cia all Ag A children C dance
 All the children know how to dance.
- (572) Ko a lātou iloloa **pau** e te ula.
 T they R-know-Cia all C dance
 They all know how to dance.
- (573) Na a mātou kitea **tākatoa** te yaunga o te payī.
 T we see-Cia all A come-Nom P A ship
 We all saw the ship arrive.

The quantifier can occur following the agentive noun phrase in this type of clause (574), but it cannot occur within the verb phrase immediately following the preverbal pronoun (575). This raises questions about whether in fact the quantifier is launched from the preverbal pronoun. It seems to suggest that the quantifier is launched from the agentive noun phrase and that the preverbal placement is later.

- (574) Ko iloloa e lātou **tākatoa** e te ula.
 T R-know-Cia Ag they all C dance
 All the children know how to dance.
- (575) * Ko a lātou **pau** iloloa e te ula.
 T they all R-know-Cia C dance
 (They all know how to dance.)

Although postverbal quantifiers can be semantically associated with the agentive noun phrase of clauses containing verbs that allow preverbal pronouns, examples of postverbal quantifiers associated with agentive noun phrases in the 'ergative' and 'passive' patterns for other classes of verbs are not found in the corpus and have proved impossible to find by elicitation. In (576), a postverbal quantifier is semantically associated not with the following agentive phrase of the 'ergative' pattern despite its contiguity, but with the absolute noun phrase.

- (576) Na kai **pau** e te kauliki nā ika?
 T eat all Ag A children A fish
Did the children eat all the fish?

In (577) and (578) the quantifier is semantically associated with the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern whether the head noun is plural (577) or singular (578).

- (577) Ko te kauliki na kaina **pau** nā ika.
 Top A children T eat-Cia all A fish
The children ate all the fish.

- (578) Ko te kauliki na pēnia **pau** te ōlo.
 Top A children T paint-Cia all A hall
The children painted the whole hall.

The only way to encode the quantifier in a semantic association with the agentive noun phrase is for the quantifier to occur post-nominally as in (579). Thus, it seems that the quantifier cannot be launched from the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ or ‘ergative’ patterns, except for the class of verbs which allow preverbal pronouns in the ‘passive’ pattern.

- (579) Ko te kauliki **pau** na pēnia te ōlo.
 Top A children all T paint-Cia A hall
All the children painted the hall.

The quantifier cannot be launched from a noun phrase in an oblique case (580 a, 581a). In (580 b), a postverbal quantifier can be semantically associated only with the direct object and not the goal, and in (581 b) it can be associated with the subject but not the benefactor.

- (580) a. Na tatau au kia lātou **pau** i tana leta.
 T read I G-A they all Acc his letter
I read them all his letter.
- b. Na tatau **pau** au kia lātou i tana leta.
 T read all I G-A they Acc his letter
I read them the whole of his letter.
**(I read all of them his letter.)*
- (581) a. Na wai mātou i te imukai nei mā lātou **tākatoa**.
 T make we Acc A feast here for they all
We made a feast for them all
- b. Na wai **tākatoa** mātou i te imukai nei mā lātou.
 T make all we Acc A feast here for they
We all made a feast for them.
**(We made a feast for them all.)*

There are some additional complications to the rule of Quantifier float. For some reason, possibly because of the presence of the postverbal anaphoric pronoun *ai*, a quantifier is not permitted in postverbal position for neuter verbs, even if the association is with the nominative/absolutive argument. However, see (586, 589) further below, in which the quantifier is allowed in postverbal position when there is no anaphoric pronoun.

- (582) Ko Tao na maua (*pau) ai a lātou iká (pau).
 Prd Tao T catch all Pro P they fish-Da all
 Tao caught all of their fish.

In some situations, possibly only with verbs of perception whose subjects are singular, a quantifier is not allowed in postverbal position when it associates with the direct object, but it can float to another position in the clause, namely after the subject. In (583), the quantifier can occur in either of the other two positions, but not postverbally.

- (583) Ko winangalo (*pau) au (pau) i a lātou ika (pau).
 T want all I all Acc P they fish all
 I want all of their fish.

The ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ case marking patterns also allow an alternative position for the quantifier, namely between the two arguments. The quantifier associates semantically with the nominative/absolutive argument, no matter what its position:

- (584) Na kave (pau) e Tao (pau) a latou ika (pau).
 T take all Ag Tao all P they fish all
 Tao took all their fish.

In conclusion, Quantifier float applies mainly to quantifiers associated with nominative/absolutive noun phrases: the subject of intransitive clauses and transitive clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern and the noun phrase denoting the patient in clauses of the ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ patterns. In addition, quantifiers can be semantically associated with a preverbal pronoun of the ‘passive’ pattern and the agentive noun phrase of clauses containing verbs which allow preverbal pronouns. This is evidence that the preverbal pronoun and the agentive noun phrase of this type of clause has some subject properties. However, the quantifier cannot otherwise float from the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ or ‘passive’ patterns, nor from an oblique noun phrase. The quantifier can sometimes be semantically associated with the direct object of the ‘accusative’ pattern, but not if the subject is plural.

7.7.3.2 Quantifier Raising

Quantifier raising is a process whereby the quantifier can be moved from a postnominal position in a subordinate clause to postverbal position in the superordinate clause. Thus the two following sentences are synonymous:

- (585) Ka aku maua [e te tautulu ia lātou tākatoa].
 T I able C help Acc-A they all
 I can help them all.

- (586) Ka aku maua tākatoa [e te tautulu ia lātou].
 T I able all C help Acc-A they
 I can help them all.

This process is independent of noun phrase raising (see 10.4.1), as one can take place without the other. In (586) the noun phrase *ia lātou* ‘they’ remains in the subordinate clause but the quantifier has been raised to the superordinate clause. Other alternatives are that the noun phrase and the quantifier as in (587) can

be raised as a unit (588), or that both the noun phrase and the quantifier are raised and the quantifier is floated to postverbal position in the superordinate clause as in (589).

(587) Ka maua [e te lapakau e koe **te kau tākatoa nei**]?
 T able C treat Ag you A people all here
Could you fix all these people?

(588) Ka maua **te kau tākatoa nei** [e te lapakau e koe]?
 T able A people here C treat Ag you
Could you fix all these people?

(589) Ka maua **tākatoa te kau nei** [e te lapakau e koe]?
 T able all A people here C treat Ag you
Could you fix all these people?

Raising of the quantifier but leaving the noun phrase in the subordinate clause is prohibited if it means that there is an intervening noun phrase as in (590, 591) which creates distance between the quantifier and the noun phrase to which it is associated.

(590) * Ka maua **tākatoa** [e te lapakau e koe **te kau nei**]?
 T able all C treat Ag you A people here
(Could you fix all these people?)

| | |
|--|--|
| (591) * Na pau tākatoa [e te wō ki Kō lātou]? T finish all C go.PI G Kō they <i>(Have they all gone to Kō?)</i> | Na pau lātou tākatoa [e te wō ki Kō]? T finish they all C go.PI G Kō <i>Have they all gone to Kō?</i> |
|--|--|

Raising of the quantifier independently of the noun phrase is sometimes acceptable when there is no intervening noun phrase in the subordinate clause (592), but not acceptable at other times (593, 594, 595).

(592) Na pau **tākatoa** [e te kotoa **nā tiale**]?
 T finish all C pick-Cia A flower
Have all the flowers been picked?

| | |
|--|---|
| (593) * E wea tākatoa [na koto ai te wī tiale]? Prd what all T pick Pro A all flower <i>(Why are all the flowers being picked?)</i> | E wea te wī tiale tākatoa [na koto ai]? Prd what A all flower all T cut Pro <i>Why are all the flowers being picked?</i> |
|--|---|

The conditions restricting the quantifier being raised independently are not clear-cut. In (593), it is probable that a quantifier cannot be raised independently of a noun phrase to subject position in the nominal predicate because it is a slot occupied by a noun phrase (see 9.1.5.1.2 for discussion of *e wea* 'why' predicates). Similarly, raising to a negative verb (594) may be restricted to noun phrases (see 8.2). In (595), it could be that the incorporated object creates too much distance between the quantifier and the noun phrase.

| | |
|---|---|
| (594) * E kiai tākatoa [na momoe mātou]. T Neg all T R-sleep we <i>(None of us slept.)</i> | E kiai mātou tākatoa [na momoe]. T Neg we all T R-sleep <i>None of us slept.</i> |
|---|---|

(595) * Ko maua **takatoa** [e te kake niu **te kauliki o Wale**].
 T able all C climb coconut A children P Home
(All Pukapukan children can climb coconut trees.)

Leaving the quantifier in the subordinate clause, but raising the noun phrase sometimes results in a different meaning:

- (596) a. E kiai **mātou** [na momoe **tākatoa**]. b. E kiai **mātou tākatoa** [na momoe].
 T Neg we T R-sleep all T Neg we all T R-sleep
We didn't sleep together. *None of us slept.*

Quantifier raising can take place from clauses subordinated by *e te* (597), *ke* (598) and clauses subordinated by juxtaposition (596 b). However a postverbal quantifier in the superordinate clause must be related semantically to the following noun phrase as in (599); it cannot be related to a raised object if there is an intervening subject in the superordinate clause.

- (597) Ko maua **tākatoa** te kauliki o Wale [e te kake niu].
 T able all A children P Home C climb coconut
All Pukapukan children can climb coconut trees.
- (598) Ko **mātou** na winangalo **tākatoa** i te wī tāne [ke wō ki Kō].
 Prd we T want all Acc A all men C go.Pl G Kō
It's us who wanted all the men to go to Kō.
- (599) Ko winangalo **tākatoa** **mātou** i te wī tāne [ke wō ki Kō].
 T want all we Acc A all man C go.Pl G Kō
We all want the men to go to Kō
 (**We want all the men to go to Kō*)

Quantifiers can be raised out of a nominative/absolute noun phrase: a subject of an intransitive verb (597), the absolute noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern (589), the nominative/absolute noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern (592), as well as from the direct object of a transitive clause of the 'accusative' pattern (586).

7.7.4 LEFT DISLOCATION, TOPICALISATION AND FOCUSING

Left dislocation, topicalisation and focusing constructions use superficially similar strategies in Pukapukan. In all three constructions, there is an initial noun phrase which may be marked by *ko*. Sentence (600) is related to the following three sentences in which *te tānē* 'that man' occurs sentence initially. Sentence (601) is a left dislocation in which the anaphoric element *i āna* 'he' referring to the external topic has been bolded. Sentence (602) is a topicalisation with a line indicating the gap left in the following clause, while sentence (603) is a focusing construction comprising a nominal predicate whose subject contains a relative clause in which the head (*tēā* 'that') is optional.

- (600) Na aku kitea **te tānē** i te ayó.
 T I see-Cia A man-Da L A day-Da
I saw that man yesterday.
- (601) **Ko te tānē**, na aku kitea **i āna** i te ayó.
 Top A man-Da T I see-Cia he L A day-Da
Hey that man, I saw him yesterday.
- (602) **Ko te tānē**, na aku kitea ____ i te ayó.
 Top A man-Da T I see-Cia L A day-Da
That man I saw yesterday.

- (603) **Ko te tānē** (tēlā) [na aku kitea i te ayó].
 Prd A man-Da that T I see-Cia L A day-Da
That is that man whom I saw yesterday.

Topicalisation and left dislocation will be discussed first. Both of these fronting strategies can be used to introduce new referents into the discourse or to reintroduce a previously mentioned referent which has not been mentioned for some time (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1985:356). Thus sentences (601) and (602) would be appropriate to introduce a new topic of conversation in the context of the man coming into view or being noticed for the first time. Fronted noun phrases often mark backgrounded or known information but highlight them as a new topic in the discourse as in (604), which is the first sentence in a passage of direct speech in a narrative.

- (604) **Tau manini na ulu ai koé,** na patua e te tangata.
 Your fish.sp T search Pro you-Da T kill-Cia Ag A person
Your manini fish that you have been searching for has been killed by someone. (KS7:8)

Topicalised noun phrases can also be used in answers to questions in which known information is foregrounded and new information is introduced in the rest of the sentence.

- (605) **Nā i wea kōtou?** **Ia mātou** na vayi loa e Uila.
 T L where you A we T hit Int Ag Uila
Where have you been? Uila gave us a hiding.

Contrastive topic switch is often associated with the postposed particle *lā* 'but' modifying the fronted noun phrase (see 5..1.4).

- (606) **E kiai au na kite ia Tāvita, na aungia pā ki tō mulimuli.**
 T Neg I T see Acc-A Tāvita, T blow-Cia probably G bit RR-behind
Ko oku lā na tāmata au e te kakau ki ngāuta.
 Top I but T try I C swim G shore
I didn't see Tāvita, he had probably been blown out a bit behind me. But as for me, I tried to swim to shore. (PS4:3)

Both topicalisation and left dislocation place the noun phrase in a position preceding the predicate and optionally mark it with *ko*. Noun phrases in any case may be fronted in this way, but subjects and temporal noun phrases are the arguments most commonly topicalised or left dislocated.

- (607) **Ko te toe kaú** ko lekaleka, ko ūtutua te uto.
 Top A other people-Da T RR-happy T plenty A sprouting.coconut
Other people are happy because they have plenty of sprouting coconuts. (UU:43:1)
- (608) **Ko te uwi mua ka kotikotí,** ko Angatonu.
 Top A garden first T RR-cut-Da Prd Angatonu
The first garden to be divided was Angatonu. (KU2:2)
- (609) **Nā toe taime,** ke makeke, lolomi tāua i te wāwā taumua.
 A other time C hard R-knead we.2 Acc A taro first
At other times, if [they're] tough, knead the taro first. (MU:E2)
- (610) **Ko te patiangá,** na akatika oki au i te patianga.
 Top A request-Da T agree also I Acc A request
As for [their] request, I agreed with it. (UU59:1)

The topic is often co-referential with some noun phrase elsewhere in the sentence. Left dislocation is formally distinguished from topicalisation by the presence of an anaphoric element elsewhere in the sentence (Foley and Van Valin 1985:355). A full repetition of the co-referential noun phrase in its normal position in the clause is unusual but it does occur.

- (611) **Ko te payī,** ka topa te payī o tātou.
 Top A ship T delay A ship P we
As for our ship, it will be delayed. (UC:2)
- (612) **Ko tana laú,** ko yāele mai tana lau.
 Top his men-Da T walk Dir his men
As for his men, they were walking here. (U:6)
- (613) **Ko Tepou** lā oki, mea loa pēnei ia Tepou.
 Top Tepou but say Int like-so A Tepou
But as for Tepou, he made a statement as follows: (U:7)
- (614) **Te yakalí,** vavayi loa i lolotonu te yakali.
 A nut-Da R-split Int L middle A nut
Split the dry nut in half. (MU:E1)

More commonly the co-referential noun phrase is reduced or deleted according to rules of anaphora.

1. The co-referential noun phrase may be pronominalised:

- (615) **Ko te taote nei,** na ngaengaea iāna e te leoleo i te wī maki.
 Top A doctor here T tired he C care.for Acc A all sickness
This doctor was tired of looking after patients. (KM:MW3:10)
- (616) **Ko te kau wawiné,** ka māni pātana tātou.
 Top A people woman-Da T make partner we
As for the women, we will divide into pairs. (TU4:3)
- (617) **Ko te tamatāne nei,** ko vave atu taku tamāwiné ia lāua.
 Top A boy here T strong Dir my daughter-Da L-A they.2
As for this boy, my daughter is the strongest of the two of them. (VL90:2:1)
- (618) **Te walé,** e kiai te kovi lewú nā moe i kiai.
 A house-Da T Neg A child small-Da T sleep L there
As for that house, that child didn't sleep there.

2. The co-referential noun may be referred to by a possessive pronoun:

- (619) **Ko Uyo,** na pau mai oki tana lau ki Motu Kotawa.
 Top Uyo T finish Dir also his men G Motu Kotawa
As for Uyo, his men had already gone to Motu Kotawa. (U:4)
- (620) **Ko oku lava,** kāni aku moni.
 Top I Int Neg.exist my money
As for me, I truly haven't any money. (U:C2)
- (621) **Ko Te Vana,** ko ulu i tona matua.
 Top Te Vana T search Acc his parent
As for Te Vana, he was searching for his parent. (TV:T2)

- (622) **Ko te poti wua o Tūtū nā i te moaná,** nā yako tona tau ki tai.
 Top A boat just P Tūtū T L A ocean-Da T straight its anchor G sea
As for the boat of Tūtū which was in the ocean, its anchor was going straight out from the reef. (PS4:10)

3. The co-referential noun phrase may be deleted under the topicalisation strategy. This strategy was investigated by Chung (1978:339-350) as ‘Subject Preposing’. The details of her findings are discussed in the notes and summarised at the end of the section. The deletion strategy applies to subjects of intransitive verbs¹⁴ (623, 624, 626), tensed nonverbal predicates (625) and nominal predicates (626):

- (623) **Ko te payī** ka wano ki Māngalongalo.
 Top A ship T go G Māngalongalo
As for the ship, it will go to Māngalongalo. (U:C2)
- (624) **Ko nā niu na wetō mai ki tona ulú,** na ngālepelepe.
 Top A nut T Pl-fall Dir G his head-Da T RR-broken
As for the nuts which fell on his head, they were broken to pieces. (U:6)
- (625) **Ko Uyo,** ko i Motu Kotawa.
 Top Uyo T L Motu Kotawa
As for Uyo, he was in Motu Kotawa. (U:5)
- (626) **Ko Kūluea oki,** e toa loa vave. **Ko te wī tangata lā oki i te taime ia,** nā momoe i nā pō.
 Top Kūluea also Prd warrior Int brave Top A all people but L A time Af T R-sleep L A cemetery-Da
As for Kūluea, he was a brave warrior. All the people at that time used to sleep in the cemeteries. (W2F27:1)

The deletion strategy can apply to the agentive noun phrase (627, 628)¹⁵ and the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern (629, 630)¹⁶ and the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern (631, 632)¹⁷.

- (627) **Ko Tao** na kaina te ika.
 Top Tao T eat-Cia A fish
Tao ate the fish.
- (628) **Ko Tumutoa** na akatelea te maḡini o lātou.
 Top Tumutoa T caus-sail-Cia A machine P they
Tumutoa was driving their boat.
- (629) **Te wale nei,** ko ai na wakatūa?
 A house here Prd who T caus-stand-Cia
Who built this house?
- (630) **Ko te pia ia,** na kāvea ki Lalotonga e toku yoa.
 Top A box Af T take-Cia G Rarotonga Ag my friend
My friend took that box to Rarotonga.
- (631) **Te iká,** koa tunu loa ēna.
 A fish-Da T cook Int Ag-she
That fish, she’s about to cook [it] [and she’s not supposed to].
- (632) **Te keté,** na kave e Tele kia Tao.
 A basket-Da T take Ag Tele G-A Tao
That basket, Tele has taken to Tao.

The deletion strategy cannot apply to the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern¹⁸:

- (633) * **Ko Tele** na kave te kete kia Tao.
 Top Tele T take A basket G-A Tao
(Tele took the basket to Tao.)

The deletion strategy is restricted with the ‘accusative’ pattern. It can only apply to the subject of a transitive verb of the ‘accusative’ pattern¹⁹ in irrealis situations (634); it cannot be used with realis situations (635).

- (634) **Ia Tele** mō ka kave i te kete nei kia Tao?
 A Tele maybe T take Acc A basket here G-A Tao
Do you think Tele should take this basket to Tao?

- (635) * **Ko Tele** na kave i te kete kia Tao.
 Top Tele T take Acc A basket G-A Tao
(Tele took the basket to Tao.)

Likewise in realis situations, the direct object of the ‘accusative’ pattern cannot be topicalised by the deletion strategy or fronted leaving an anaphoric pronoun trace in the clause (636)²⁰.

- (636) * **Te keté,** nia kave (ai) ia Tele kia Tao.
 A basket-Da T take Pro A Tele G-A Tao
(That basket, Tele took [it] to Tao.)

In irrealis situations, topicalisation of the patient is acceptable using the ‘accusative’ pattern (637), but the ‘ergative’ pattern is preferred (638).

- (637) **Te kete nei,** ka kave mō ia Tele kia Tao?
 A basket here T take maybe A Tele G-A Tao
This basket, do you think Tele should take [it] to Tao?

- (638) **Te kete nei,** ka kave mō e Tele kia Tao?
 A basket here T take maybe Ag Tele G-A Tao
This basket, do you think Tele should take [it] to Tao?

There are many examples in the corpus of sentences with topicalised patients from clauses with unsuffixed verbs, but no overt agent. These clauses are structurally ambiguous between the ‘accusative’ and the ‘ergative’ patterns.

- (639) **Ko lua tawa ka maua mai o te kālena nei,** ka kave mō tō tātou ōlō ka akatū i Lālotonga.
 Top two dollar T get Dir P A calendar here T take for P we hall T erect L Rarotonga
The money we raise from [the sale] of this calendar [we] will take for our hall that [we] are building in Rarotonga.
 (K2:1:4)

- (640) **Ko te wale nei,** ko winangalo toku pāpā e te yua.
 Top A house here T want my father C demolish
This house, my father wants to demolish [it].

An oblique noun phrase almost always requires the anaphoric pronoun *ai* as a trace element postverbally, or a full resumptive pronoun or noun phrase in its normal position in the clause.

- (641) **Ko ona** na yau **ai** te kōpelu.
 Top he T come Pro A fish.sp
As for him, the mackerel scad came because of him.
- (642) **Ko Opo** na tuku ena **kia Opo**.
 Top Opo T give Ag-he G-A Opo
As for Opo, [he] gave it to Opo.
- (643) **Te moana**, na yī ika lātou i ai.
 A ocean T catch fish they L Pro
The ocean, they caught fish in it.

However, temporal noun phrases can be fronted without any trace element left in the clause. Since there can be a fronted temporal element as well as a topicalised noun phrase in the same sentence, these two processes must be distinct. Sentence (644) also indicates that topicalisation places the topic in a position before the predicate but not necessarily in sentence initial position:

- (644) **(I) te Mōnitē**, **ko Tao** na patua te puaka.
 L A Monday-Da Top Tao T kill-Cia A pig
Last Monday, Tao killed the pig.

Sentences in which the co-referential noun phrase has been deleted are often ambiguous as to whether the noun phrase marked by *ko* is a topic or focused predicate (also known as a cleft construction), as in (645):

- (645) **Ko Tao** na patua te puaka.
 Top/Prd Tao T kill-Cia A pig
Tao killed the pig.
It was Tao who killed the pig.

Focused noun phrases usually have additional forms of emphasis (cf. Hooper 1988:54), for instance intensive particles as in (646). Despite their theoretical ambiguity, the semantic impact is usually identifiable by the context.

- (646) **Ko ona** lāi na tanua iāna.
 Prd he Int T bury-Cia he
It was himself whom he buried. (U:11)
- (647) **Ko nā tūpele** i leila, na kaina te wonu ia.
 Prd A old men L then T eat-Cia A turtle Af
It was the old men who had eaten the turtle. (U:4)
- (648) ...motu loa te kōanga. Kāe konga wakamakeke ai ona vae ki lunga o te niu.
 break Int A climbing.rope Neg.exist place caus-strong Pro his.Pl leg G on P A coconut
Ko te kōanga oki ko pipiki ai o tāua vae ki lunga o te tino o te niu.
 Prd A climbing.rope also T stick Pro P we.2 leg G on P A trunk P A coconut
...the climbing rope broke. There was nowhere to attach his legs onto the trunk of the coconut tree.
[It] is the kōanga that attaches your legs to the trunk of the tree. (KM:WK5:3)
- (649) **Ko nā talatala ia** na avatu kia kōlua.
 Prd A RR-talk Af T give G-A you.2
[That] is the announcement which [we] have brought to you two [village groupings].

Focused noun phrases are often answers to WH-questions and have the same structure as focused questions (see 9.1.5 for further discussion).

- (650) **Ko ai** te kau ka wō? **Ko mātou** ka wō.
 · Prd who A people T go.Pl Prd we T go.Pl
 Who will go? [It] will be us who go.
- (651) Ko ai na meaina? **Ko te lōpā** na akamataina, ko tū wakalelei te pōvī.
 Prd who T do-Cia Prd A youth-Da T start-Cia T stand well A old.person-Da
Who did it? [It] was that young man who started [it], while the old person just stood by [watching].

Focusing or cleft constructions are equational nominal predicate constructions in which the *ko* marked predicate is often equated to a headless relative clause, as in (646-651). In focused constructions the head of the relative clause is optional in some cases and has been included in brackets in the following example sentences. Chung investigated this strategy as a ‘chopping strategy’ under ‘Clefting’ (1978:337-349). The details of her findings are discussed in the notes and summarised at the end of the section.

The head of the relative clause is optional when it is co-referential with the subject of an intransitive verb (652)²¹, the subject of a transitive verb of the ‘accusative’ pattern in unreal situations, but not realis situations (653)²², the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern (654)²³, the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern (655)²⁴, or the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern (656)²⁵. There is no trace element in the relative clause.

- (652) Ko oku (**te tangata**) ka wano.
 Prd I A person T go
It is me who will go.
I'm the person who will go.
- (653) Ko Tele (**te tangata**) ka kave i te kete.
 * Ko Tele (**te tangata**) na kave i te kete.
 Prd Tele A person T take Acc A basket
*It's Tele who will take /(*took) the basket.*
- (654) Ko Tele (**te tangata**) na kāvea te kete.
 Prd Tele A person T take-Cia A basket
It's Tele who took the basket.
- (655) Ko te keté (**te mea**) na kāvea e Tele.
 Prd A basket-Da A thing T take-Cia Ag Tele
It's that basket which was taken by Tele.
- (656) Ko te keté (**te mea**) na kave e Tele kia Tao.
 Prd A basket-Da A thing T take Ag Tele G-A Tao
It's that basket which Tele has taken to Tao.

The head of the relative clause cannot be the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern²⁶:

- (657) * Ko Tele (**te tangata**) na kave te kete.
 Prd Tele A person T take A basket
(It's Tele who has taken the basket.)

The head of the relative clause can be the direct object of the ‘accusative’ pattern, but the head is not optional and an anaphoric pronoun is required in the relative clause²⁷:

- (658) Ko te kete **te mea** na kave **ai** ia Tele kia Tao.
 Prd A basket A thing T take Pro A Tele G-A Tao
It was a basket which Tele has taken to Tao.

Focused oblique noun phrases require the anaphoric pronoun *ai* as a trace element in postverbal position²⁸. Temporal noun phrases allow headless relative clauses (659), but all other obliques require the head to be overt (660, 661).

- (659) Ko te Mānākai (**te ayo**) na tupu **ai** te ulīa.
 Prd A Saturday A day T grow Pro A hurricane
It was a Saturday when the hurricane started.
- (660) Ko te wale **tēnei** na wano **ai** au.
 Prd A house this T go Pro I
This is the house where I went.
- (661) Ko Tao **te tangata** ka kave **ai** ia Tele i te kete.
 Prd Tao A person T take Pro A Tele Acc A basket
It's Tao to whom Tele will take the basket.

Although topicalisations are often structurally ambiguous with focused constructions, there are at least two distinguishing features between them. Firstly, only topics may optionally delete *ko*.

- (662) **Nā toe** patua e lātou i kinei wua.
 A other kill-Cia Ag they L here just
As for others, they were killed by them just here. (U:10)
- (663) **(Ko) nā toe**, wekake ki lunga o nā puka.
 Top A other Pl-climb G up P A tree.sp
As for others, they climbed up on the puka trees. (U:10)
- (664) **(Ko) taku tala** nō Uyo.
 Top my story P Uyo
My story is about Uyo. (U:4)

When *ko* is deleted, personal nouns, pronouns and locational nouns are marked by the personal article *ia*.

- (665) **Ko Tai oki ma Unu** na wō takitaki.
Ia Tai oki ma Unu na wō takitaki.
 A Tai also and Unu T go.Pl trolling
Tai and Unu have gone trolling. (KM:C3)
- (666) **Ko oku oki**, e mea wua au nā talatala wua.
Ia aku oki, e mea wua au nā talatala wua.
 A I also T say just I A RR-talk just
As for me, I just said anything. (AT:C2)
- (667) **Ko Pukapuka** i te vela kino.
Ia Pukapuka i te vela kino.
 A Pukapuka Prd hot bad
Pukapuka is unbearably hot.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|---|--|
| (686) | Na liko i te kati. T hold Acc A line <i>[He] held the line.</i> | Na liko? T hold <i>Have [you] got [it]?</i> | |
| (687) | Ko ai na likoa te kati? Prd Pro T hold-Cia A line <i>Who held the line?</i> | Na likoa te kati e Tāvita? T hold-Cia A line Ag Tāvita <i>Did Tāvita pick the line up at all?</i> | Ko Tāvita na likoa? Prd Tāvita T hold-Cia <i>Did Tāvita hold [it]?</i> |
| (688) | Ko te kati na likoa. Prd A line T hold-Cia <i>It was the line that was held.</i> | Ko te kati na likoa. Prd A line-Da T hold-Cia <i>[Someone] has taken the line [it's missing].</i> | |
| (689) | Na liko e Tāvita te kati? T hold Ag Tāvita A line <i>Has Tāvita got the line?</i> | Na liko e Tāvita. T hold Ag Tāvita <i>Tāvita's got [it].</i> | |
| (690) | Liko loa te kati. hold Int A line <i>[He] held the line.</i> | Liko loa te kati a Tāvita. hold Int A line P Tāvita <i>Tāvita held his fishing line.</i> | Liko loa ē hold Int Dur <i>[He] held on and on.</i> |

These sentences illustrate that the notion of ‘argument saturation’ is not relevant for Pukapukan, since clauses can have no overt arguments. As for the notion of ‘argument obligatoriness’, native speakers respond that clauses with any missing argument have an understood referent. The best evidence probably comes from texts, which shows that a new agentive argument can sometimes be introduced into the discourse using the ‘ergative’ pattern or the ‘passive’ pattern and that the nominative/absolute argument is the one which refers to a known referent in the discourse and is most commonly used as a pivot. Agents which are known information are regularly omitted in the ‘accusative’ pattern.

3. The third type of evidence that Dukes (1998, 2002) uses to support the view that the absolute argument is subject comes from what he calls the ‘Two constituent bias’ after the same tendency found in Samoan to omit ergative arguments whenever possible (Duranti and Ochs 1990). Dukes argues that since ergative agents can be so readily deleted they are not subjects, which are prototypically obligatory. As we have already seen, the same tendency to delete agentive noun phrases is also present in Pukapukan, where it affects all types of agents including nominative arguments of the ‘accusative’ pattern and intransitive actors, although it affects agentive noun phrases of the ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ patterns much more than nominative agents. Omission of arguments cannot therefore be used as strong evidence of subjecthood, but it may be significant that nominative agents in clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern are overt with approximately the same frequency as nominative/absolute noun phrases of the ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ patterns. Since these two argument types pattern in the same way, they may both be considered subject-like in this respect.

7.8.4.3 What is the agentive argument?

If the agentive argument is not the subject as discussed in 7.8.4.1, then what is it? Dukes (1998) proposed that the ergative argument in Tongan is an oblique argument (like the ‘by’ phrase in English passives) and later refined his analysis concluding that it is what he calls a ‘head-seeking adjunct’ (Dukes 2002). By contrast, Manning (1996:36-41) claimed that the ergative argument in ergative languages is always a core argument, and seeing that it is not the subject in his analysis either, he claims that it is a complement (the

'object') under his approach labelled 'inverse analysis'. Thus, the ergative argument is like a type of 'accusative' with the subject as the absolutive argument. Dukes (2002) shows that Manning's claims with regard to the 'inverse' analysis do not naturally extend to Tongan. He finds that there is no evidence to support the idea that the ergative noun phrase is the object and therefore rejects Manning's claim that the ergative argument in ergative languages is a complement. He does find points of similarity with Manning's 'oblique analysis' (op. cit.) in which the absolutive noun phrase is the subject and the ergative noun phrase is a type of oblique. Under this analysis ergative languages lack grammatically transitive clauses. Although Manning demonstrates that Dyirbal does have transitive clauses using evidence from clause chaining, Dukes finds that chaining does not shed any light on pivohood in Tongan because missing arguments are exclusively deleted for pragmatic reasons rather than grammatical ones.

While Dukes (1998, 2002) does find counter-evidence to the notion that the ergative argument in Tongan is the subject, he does not provide very much evidence to prove that the ergative argument is an oblique. The primary piece of evidence is the fact that the ergative noun phrase is readily omitted. Instead the focus in his 2002 paper is that arguments which could be used to prove that the ergative noun phrase is a complement are inadequate in some way. His other piece of evidence is theoretical; he finds that a view of the ergative noun phrase as an adjunct fits well under a lexicalist treatment. His 1998 paper provides evidence for two distinct notions of subject, a grammatical subject (the absolutive noun phrase) and a logical subject (the ergative noun phrase). The split in subject properties leads to the conclusion that Tongan clauses are organised intransitively. It is therefore a logical conclusion that if they are intransitive then the ergative argument must be an oblique.

Applying Dukes' arguments to Pukapukan would result in system of clause types as follows:

| <u>Predicate type</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Role of Subject</u> | <u>Other argument</u> | <u>Case marking</u> |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 'Intransitive' | nominative | actor or patient | oblique (cause) | i |
| 'Accusative' | nominative | agent | oblique (goal/locative) | i/ki |
| 'Passive' | nominative | patient | oblique (agentive) | e |
| 'Ergative' | nominative | patient | oblique (agentive) | e |

This analysis is that all clauses are intransitive. There are no transitive clauses. The greatest advantage of this approach is in providing a syntactic motivation for the case marking of the nominative case. The greatest disadvantage is that there is no motivation for the distinction between the patterns in terms of semantic transitivity. Although there is some evidence to suggest that the accusatively marked noun phrase of the 'accusative' pattern behaves in some respects like an oblique, there is no syntactic justification whatsoever to presume that the agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern is oblique. It functions as a core argument for many gr-subject processes as well as most a-subject processes and it never behaves like an oblique in leaving behind a trace element after extraction processes. Nor does the agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern, although it does not exhibit very many subject properties. This analysis leans heavily on the notion that the subject is not an optional argument, but that obliques are optional.

The 'inverse analysis' proposed by Manning (1996) is equally dissatisfying. Although it seems that the agentive argument is more like a core argument than an oblique in Pukapukan, it does not appear to be an object or a complement, according to any of the object-referring processes discussed in 7.8.3.

There are important theoretical issues at stake in these arguments. Dixon's view is that languages in which S and O pattern together are ergative, and A is the grammatical subject for transitive constructions in these languages. A universal is that all languages have transitive clauses. Dukes' view is that because S and O pattern together, therefore they together comprise the category subject, which is unmarked for case in ergative Polynesian languages. A is not a complement, therefore it is oblique and an ergative language in Polynesia has no transitive clauses. Dukes and Dixon cannot both be right. These are two contrastive ways of looking at the same information, like flip sides of the same coin called 'ergativity'.

While Dukes view may hold for Tongan, I have found an additional test for direct object in Pukapukan, which has not been previously considered to my knowledge for other Polynesian languages. It straightforwardly points in one direction that there are definitely transitive clauses in Pukapukan and that clauses of the 'accusative', 'passive' and 'ergative' patterns are all transitive constructions. The tests that have traditionally been considered as subject tests must be carefully evaluated for ergative languages as some universally select S and A, and others (the gr-subject tests) are more valuable in establishing which arguments pattern together than they are in identifying the 'subject' itself. The subject of the 'accusative' pattern is firmly established as the agent. The agent of the 'ergative' pattern has some, but not many, subject-properties, and two arguments of the 'passive' pattern, the agent and the patient, both exhibit some subject-properties.

This exercise has illustrated that the lack of evidence for a category is inconclusive and very weak evidence indeed from which to make assertions because it can always be countered by a single discovery.

A further point to be made from the discussion of subjecthood is that the notion of indispensibility of the subject is not relevant for Polynesian languages since any argument can be omitted from a transitive clause, including the subject.

NOTES

1. In contrast to the tense-aspect marker *e* which marks numeral predicates, the *e* that marks nominal predicates is always phonetically a short vowel. It does not undergo phonological lengthening before words of two morae. The following minimal pair of sentences show *e* first as nominal predicate marker and then as a T/A marker.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (i) | [e] lua au. Prd two I <i>I am a number two.</i> | [e:] lua au. T two I <i>I got two [fish].</i> |
|-----|---|---|

2. The difference between these articles is in the degree of formality (see 4.1.2).

3. Except that definite plural predicates may have a singular demonstrative pronoun as subject:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (i) | Ko nā ingoa teia. Prd A name this <i>These are their names.</i> |
|-----|---|

The subject of *ko ai* 'who' may be singular or plural:

- (ii) Ko ai nā ingoa o te akaaonga nei?
Prd who A name P A couple here
What are this couple's names?

A singular predicate may also have a plural subject if the predicate pertains to a group of objects as a whole.

- (iii) Ko nā tātua, ko te mea ia angaanga maata.
Top A belt Prd A thing Af work big
The belts are the biggest job.

Or if a topicalised plural subject is itemised as consisting of members from several classes, then several singular predicates may be listed:

- (iv) Ko nā ika ko maua i te wāngota nei, e lalawi, e mū, e ume, e pakeva.
Top A fish T caught L A fishing here Prd fish.sp Prd fish.sp Prd fish.sp Prd fish.sp
The fish which are caught by this type of fishing technique are: lalawi, mū, ume, pakeva.
(KM:YK:2:3)

4. Actor Emphatic constructions are found only occasionally in Pukapukan. These are historically derived from possessive predicates (Clark 1976:119-122), but in Pukapukan they are usually lexicalised phrases of a religious nature and it is highly probable that they have been borrowed directly from an Eastern Polynesian language such as Cook Island Māori.

- (i) Nā te Atua kōtou e taute mai oko wua atu ki te vāia ka welāvei ai tātou wakawōu.
P A God you T care Dir reach just Dir G A time T meet Pro we again
God bless you/look after you until the time we meet again.

In these constructions, the agent of a transitive clause is fronted and marked by *nā*, the patient is often raised to an adjacent position after deleting the 'accusative' marker.

Some examples have been noted in the Beagleholes' manuscript (n.d., a), but these do not seem to be typically Pukapukan since some of them contain *i* as a past tense marker, which is not otherwise found in Pukapukan. It is also notable in these sentences that the direct object retains the 'accusative' marker *i* even although the subject is fronted and marked by *nā*. In EP languages which have this construction, the 'accusative' marker is usually absent although this is not universal (see Clark 1976:111-114).

- (ii) Nāna i tapa i te ingoa o te wui ika.
Emph-he ?T name Acc A name P A all fish
He it was who gave the names to all the fish. (BB:990)
- (iii) Nāna oki i wakakite i te wui ala kaveinga o te langi.
Emph-he also ?T caus-know Acc A all path direction P A sky
It was he who also made known the many constellations of the heavens. (BB:990)

5. The search for clauses containing both arguments following the verb was done manually through 3,000 tokens of *e* limited to the environments of a following *te* or a capital letter (indicating a personal name).

6. See Rice (1987) who argues that transitivity is not inherent in the morphology of the clause as assumed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), but the relevant parameters of transitivity may be imposed from without, by the subjective viewpoint of the speaker.

7. A few other verbs in this class do sporadically allow 'passive' morphology including: *ngalo-ngia* 'disappear', although this verb is not a prototypical member of the neuter verb class since it allows active senses with *ki*-marked goals.

8. One of the verbs of completion *oti* 'finish' does allow imperatives in colloquial speech:

- (i) Oti koe Oti tau tanginga
finish you finish your cry-Nom
Stop it! Stop your crying!

9. In Māori these verbs allow fronting of the agent only in an actor-emphatic construction (Hohepa 1969:10).

10. Feature (i) is also shared with intransitive motion verbs which do not allow 'passive' morphology. Certain other intransitive verbs and stative verbs can take the 'passive' suffix under certain conditions, although this is not a typical feature of the class. Pukapukan shares the ability to 'passivise' intransitive verbs with EP languages.

- (i) Na kulangia au e te yila o te lā.
 T red-Cia I Ag A light P A sun
I am sunburned.

11. Feature (iii) is shared with stative verbs and 'passives' which cannot occur in *e te* complements (cf. Chung 1978:107, Hooper 1982:37) because the target of Equi deletion must be capable of active volition and subjects of neuter verbs, 'passives' and most stative verbs are ruled out because they are involuntary experiencers.

- (i) Ko wingangalo au ke/*e te kukula na wuti nei.
 T want I C R-red A banana here
I want these bananas to get ripe.

12. Further, it seems that *ngalo* is no longer a prototypical member of the class of neuter verbs since it has a dynamic intransitive sense meaning 'go away' which marks complements with *ki*. This indicates a semantic and syntactic extension from a neuter verb to an active motion verb.

13. Some clauses containing *katoa* show clear evidence of code-mixing, since they are neither grammatical sentences in CIM nor PUK. The following example shows that the quantifier *katoa* in postverbal position is acceptable in CIM for an equivalent clause containing a different verb, but in PUK the verb *maua* 'be able to' does not allow a postverbal quantifier to be followed by an oblique noun phrase denoting the cause/actor. This seems to suggest that *katoa* is not a PUK form despite its widespread cognates throughout Polynesia.

- (i) MIXED:...ka maua **katoa** ia koe [e te lapakau ia lātou, ke ngalo te maki].
 CIM: ...ka rauka **katoa** ia koe
 Puk: ...ka maua (***tākatoa/pau**) ia koe
 T able all By-A you C treat Acc-A they C disappear A sickness
 ... you can treat them all so that the sickness disappears. (T1:6)

14. Chung's findings are the same as mine for subjects of intransitive verbs (1978:340).

15. Chung's findings (1978:348) are the same as mine, but the topic marker *ko* is required for these sentences. Both her examples omit it.

16. Chung finds the same (1978:343).

17. Chung finds the same (1978:345).

18. Chung (1978:350) says that the \bar{e} NP of the 'ergative' pattern is 'always' eligible for Subject Preposing. Here my findings are the opposite of hers. Her example (72)a. ((i) below) was corrected by my language consultants by changing it to the 'passive' pattern:

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| | | corrected to: |
| (i) | Te tāne na yoka te yakari. the man past husk the coconut <i>The man husked the coconut.</i> | Ko te tāné, na yokaina te yakalí. Top A man-Da T husk-Cia A coconut-Da <i>That man husked the coconut.</i> |

Chung's example (72)b. from E. and P. Beaglehole (n.d.,a:1024) contains archaisms and was corrected by incorporating the object to make an intransitive clause.

19. Chung's findings are that Subject Preposing applies to transitive subjects in the 'accusative' pattern (1978:340). Her example (48)a. ((i) below), however, is grammatical with the addition of a definitive accent to both arguments of the clause, possibly because the noun phrase denoting the patient could be interpreted as a locative goal.

- (i) Te kurí na kakati i te tāne mōmoná.
A dog-Da T R-bite L/Acc A man fat-Da
That dog bit that fat man.

The second of Chung's examples, (48)b (below) is an example denoting an unrealis situation which is correct except for the marking of the fronted pronoun which requires *ko*.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| | | corrected to: |
| (ii) | I a- ku ka penapena i nā popoa. topic pro-I fut prepare Acc the=pl food <i>'I have to prepare the food.'</i> | Ko oku ka penapena i nā popoa. Top I T prepare Acc A food <i>I will prepare the food.</i> |

20. Chung (1978:340) says that 'subject preposing' is 'marginal at best' for 'accusative' direct objects which 'require it to leave behind the anaphoric pronoun *ai*'. All three of her examples are in the past tense denoting realis situations and all are ungrammatical although only two are asterisked.

21. Chung (1978:337-338) finds the same.

22. Chung (1978:338) considers that the 'accusative' pattern is completely grammatical. Her examples (43) a. and b. (repeated below as (i) and (ii)) were rejected by my language consultants as ungrammatical. Both examples were corrected to the 'passive' pattern.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| | | corrected to: |
| (i) | Ko-na na tuku i te kou. Pred-he past give Acc the gift <i>It is he who gave the present.</i> | Ko ona na tukua te kou. Prd he T give-Cia A gift <i>It is he who gave the present.</i> |
| (ii) | Ko te toa na patu i te wawine. Pred the warrior past hit Acc the woman <i>It is the warrior who hit the woman.</i> | Ko te toá na patua te wawiné. Prd A warrior-Da T hit-Cia A woman-Da <i>It is the warrior who hit the woman.</i> |

23. Chung's findings (1978:347) differ from mine. She states that the \underline{e} NP of the 'passive' pattern is 'almost always eligible' for the chopping strategies of Clefting and Question Movement. Her example (64)a. would be grammatical with the past tense marker *na* instead of *koa* and the addition of a definitive accent.

24. Chung (1978:343) says the same, that the unmarked noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern can always undergo the chopping strategies of Clefting and Question Movement. Two of her examples require definitive accents, but her conclusion is the same as mine.

25. Chung (1978:345) finds the same, although there are minor errors in her examples. Her example (58)a. requires definitive accents on both arguments. Example (58)b. has two postposed particles *lā* meaning 'but' when only the first is needed and this example is an instance of topicalisation, not clefting, as postposed *lā* indicates a contrastive topic switch.

26. Chung (1978:349) says that the \underline{e} NP of the 'ergative' pattern can 'occasionally undergo the chopping strategy of Clefting', but her examples (70)a. and b. (repeated below as (i) and (ii)) which she marked with question marks to show marginal grammaticality are not grammatical and were corrected by my consultants to the 'passive' pattern.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| | | corrected to: |
| (i) | ? Ko te toa na patu te tamaiti. Pred A warrior past hit the child <i>It is the warrior who hit the child.</i> | Ko te toa na patua te tamaití. Prd A warrior T hit-Cia A child-Da <i>It's the warrior that hit the child.</i> |
| (ii) | ? Ko Te Malo kiai na pepelu te malo. Pred Te Malo not past don the loincloth <i>It is Te Malo who did not don the loincloth.</i> | Ko Te Malo kiai na pelua tona malo. Prd Te Malo Neg T don-Cia his loincloth <i>It is Te Malo who did not don the loincloth.</i> |

27. Chung (1978:338) finds that 'accusative' direct objects cannot undergo the chopping strategies of Clefting and Question movement, but they require the anaphoric pronoun *ai* to be present postverbally.

28. Chung (1978:338-339) finds that the copying strategies must be used with clefting of oblique noun phrases.

CHAPTER EIGHT : NEGATIVES

8.0 INTRODUCTION

Typical of other Polynesian languages, there are a number of negative markers in Pukapukan. Their forms indicate historical links with both Samoic languages as well as languages from Eastern Polynesia. Several of them are verbal in nature, although not all of those which may have been historically derived from verbs are synchronically verbal. The negative imperative markers and the negative past tense markers function as higher verbs which involve a complex sentence structure. The relationship between these negative verbs and lexical verbs are of typological interest (Payne 1985:207) in that the negative verb takes a full sentential complement and the subject of the negated predicate can be raised to become the subject of the negative verb. Crosslinguistically this is not common, although it is well illustrated in Polynesian languages. Typologically, the negative verb and its complement are restricted to sentence initial position in the configuration *Neg-S*, and occur in languages with verb-initial word order (ibid.). Two further features of interest are that the form of the negative varies with tense-aspect and that several forms derive historically from a fusion of an earlier negative with its tense-aspect marker.

8.1 VERBAL STATUS OF NEGATIVE MARKERS

Chung (1970) argued that negatives in Tongan, Samoan and Māori are higher verbs to which the negated sentence forms a sentential subject. Using comparative evidence, she claimed that all Polynesian negatives were verbs historically. Although disagreeing with certain details of Chung's analysis, Clark (1976:85-109) further established the verbal status of the PPn negatives.

In Pukapukan, the negative past tense marker (*kiai*) (8.2.1), the negative imperative markers (*auwē*, *auwae*, *auyē*, and *aulaka*) (8.2.2) and the negative existential markers (*kāni*, *kāyi*, *kāe*, *kākole*) (8.4) are all verbal in nature. The simple negative (*yē*) (8.3) is a preverbal particle, not a verb. The negative existential markers (8.4) are portmanteau forms incorporating an historical tense-aspect marker and a verb. The markers used to negate nominal predicates (8.5) are also historically derived from verbs as is evidenced by their association with postposed particles, but they are not synchronically verbal.

Of particular interest are the constructions containing the negative past tense marker (*kiai*) and the negative imperative markers as both of these constructions involve a complex sentence structure in which the negatives are higher verbs which always take a full sentential complement. The following affirmative and negative pairs of sentences show that the subject of the affirmative sentence occurs immediately following the verb, whereas in the negative sentence it is in a position immediately following the negative marker. In the negative sentence, there is also an additional tense-aspect marker to that of the affirmative sentence.

- (1) a. Na wano au.
T go I
I went.
- b. E kiai au na wano.
T Neg I T go
I didn't go.
- (2) a. Ø Yuyuke koe i te pū.
T R-open you Acc A door-Da
Open the door.
- b. Ø Auwē koe e yuyuke i te pū.
T Neg.Imp you T R-open Acc A door-Da
Don't open the door.

Several points establish the verbal status of these negative markers in Pukapukan, points which agree with the findings of Chung (1978:329-335)¹.

1. The occurrence of two tense-aspect markers suggests that the structure involves two clauses. As verbs, the negative markers are preceded by tense-aspect markers in the sentence. The negative past tense marker *kiai* is preceded by the tense-aspect marker *e*, however imperative clauses do not take a tense-aspect marker (3.1.13, 9.2) and negative imperatives follow the same pattern. A second tense-aspect marker occurs after the negative marker and preceding the negated verb; in the case of negated clauses in the past tense it is usually *na*, while for negative imperatives the second tense-aspect marker is always *e*.

2. The negatives may be followed by clauses introduced by tense-aspect markers which otherwise typically introduce subordinate clauses. The negative imperative marker allows only *e* to introduce the negated clause. This tense marker is found most commonly in present tense subordinate clauses (3.1.3). The negative past marker allows subordinate clauses to be marked by *ke* which otherwise introduces subordinate clauses of time and purpose (10.3.2, 10.7).

- (3) E kiai **ke** mau lelei.
T Neg C know well
[He] hasn't learned [it] very well yet. (MN4:1)

3. The negative markers are not sentence initial adverbials, since an adverbial analysis does not adequately account for the morphology of a subject pronoun when the subject precedes the negated predicate. A noun phrase which is normally found following the negated verb may occur immediately following the negative marker, suggesting either a fronting rule or a raising rule. Chung (1978:330-335) argues that the noun phrase originates in the lower clause and becomes the derived subject of the negative clause. The most compelling evidence for raising is that pronouns appear in the nominative/absolutive case immediately following the negative marker, and cannot receive instead the marking distinctive for fronted noun phrases. Pronominal forms are morphologically distinct in topicalised and postverbal positions in the nominative/absolutive case (4.1.1.2). Sentences (4a and b) illustrate these different forms for the first person singular. Sentence (5a) shows that the form of the pronoun immediately following the negative marker is the same as the postverbal form (4a) and cannot be the form used for fronted noun phrases (5b, cf. 4b).

- (4) a. Ka wano au.
T go I
I am going [in the future].
- b. **Ia aku** mo ka wano.
A I maybe T go
As for me, I might go.
- (5) a. E kiai **au** na wano.
T Neg I T go
T didn't go.
- b.* E kiai **ia aku** na wano
T Neg A I T go
(I didn't go.)

8.2.1 NEGATIVE PAST TENSE

The negative past tense marker is *kiai*, which appears to be an irregular reflex of PPn **kai*. Clark (1976:96, 1980:264) suggests that it may have been borrowed from an Eastern Polynesian language of the Cook Islands since its form appears to be related to New Zealand Māori *kiihai* ‘negative past tense’. He suggests that a form cognate with the Māori one may have existed at one time in the Cooks. However none of the other languages in the Cook Islands attest a similar existing form; the northern languages of Manihiki/Rakahanga and Penrhyn attest *kore*, while those in the southern Cooks attest *kāre* (Aitutaki, Ma’uke, Rarotonga) which are reflexes of PPn **kore*. It is also of note that only the languages of the Tongic subgroup and a few of those in Eastern Polynesia (Easter Island, Māori and possibly Tahitian) use a reflex of PPn **kai* to negate verbal predicates, while the cognate forms in Samoic languages have a function of being either a proform or a negative existential verb. In addition to verbal negation, the reflexes of **kai* in Tongan, Niuean and Tahitian also function as a proform and in Tongan and Tahitian as a negative existential verb. Clark (1976:104) suggests that the role of verbal negator may have been present at the level of PPn, but he does not rule out two independent developments in Tongic and Eastern Polynesian with this function.

The function of the Pukapukan form is primarily a verbal negator of past tense sentences, but it is also used to negate nominal predicates and as a proform (8.5 and 8.7). Thus its function appears to be intermediate between the functions exhibited by Tongic languages (to negate verbs and as a proform (Tongan, Niuean) and as negative existential verb (Tongan)) and those exhibited by the Eastern Polynesian languages (negative marker for past tense (Māori, Tahitian, Easter Island) and present tense (Easter Island)) (cf. Clark 1976:95-96). Unlike Tongan, it is not the first of the tense-aspect markers in Pukapukan which indicate the main tense of the sentence, but the second. Like Tongan, preverbal pronouns in Pukapukan follow the second of the tense-aspect markers, but the raised subject of the negative verb is not restricted to pronouns as it is in Tongan. While the Pukapukan form shares the function of past tense negator with the Eastern Polynesian languages, at an earlier stage of the language its role as verbal negator may have been wider than applying to past tense alone since the subordinator *ke* occasionally occurs instead of the past tense marker *na* (cf. 3 above).

The structure of the negative past tense sentence is as follows:

$$(e) \quad \textit{kiai} \quad (\text{NP}_{\text{su}}) \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{na} \\ \textit{ke} \end{array} \right. \quad \text{V} \quad (\dots)]$$

Kiai as a negative marker is mainly restricted to simple past tense clauses, in which case the negated verb is marked by the tense-aspect marker *na* ‘past perfective’. The negated verb also allows the subordinator *ke* (10.3.2). The negative marker is preceded by the tense-aspect marker *e* (3.1.3) which may be optionally deleted in colloquial speech. Postposed particles may follow the negative (7-9). The optional noun phrase following *kiai* is the logical subject of the negated verb and is not restricted to pronoun forms, but can also be personal nouns (10) and common nouns (11).

- (10) Kiai **ia Māui Pōtiki** na akatika ki te wī ika a te tokalua nā mea mai nei.
 Neg A Māui Pōtiki T agree G A all fish P A cls-two T say Dir here
Māui Pōtiki didn't agree with all the fish names that the other two were telling him.
- (11) Kiai ake **te ōvē** na tangi.
 Neg Dir A bell-Da T sound
The bell hasn't sounded yet.

The subject can also occur in its normal position in the negated clause:

- (12) Kiai na tangi **te ōvē o te pule**.
 Neg T sound A bell P A church
The church bell hasn't sounded.
- (13) Kiai na pala **te ninitā nei**.
 Neg T ripe A pawpaw here
This pawpaw isn't ripe.

Raising to subject of the negative verb is allowable for certain arguments in the negated clause. (See also 10.4.1 for general discussion of noun phrase raising). The details of Chung's findings (1978:328-335) will be discussed in the notes. The noun phrase that can be raised to the negative verb may be the subject of an intransitive verb as illustrated above (5, 7, 9, 10, 11). It may be the subject (14a, 15a), but not the object (15b) or an oblique noun phrase, of a transitive clause of the 'accusative' pattern. Sentence (14b) shows the subject in its normal position in the clause.

- (14) a. E kiai loa **ia Tao** na kave i te poti o Limá ki tai.
 T Neg Int A Tao T take Acc A boat P Lima-Da G sea
Tao definitely didn't take Lima's boat to sea.
- b. Na kave **ia Tao** i te poti o Limá ki tai.
 T take A Tao Acc A boat P Lima-Da G sea
Tao took Lima's boat to sea.
- (15) a. Kiai oki **iāna** na maka i te taula.
 Neg also he T leave Acc A rope
He didn't let go of the [anchor] rope.
- b.* Kiai oki **te taula** na maka (ai) iāna.
 Neg also A rope T leave Pro he
(He didn't let go of the anchor rope) (P:S4:13)

The raised noun phrase may be the patient of a clause of the 'passive' pattern:

- (16) a. E kiai loa **te poti o Limá** na kāvea e Tao.
 T Neg Int A boat P Lima-Da T take-Cia Ag Tao
Tao didn't take Lima's boat.
- b. Na kāvea **te poti o Limá** e Tao.
 T take-Cia A boat P Lima-Da Ag Tao
Tao took Lima's boat.
- (17) Kiai loa **te kete** na iliwitia ki te toe konga.
 Neg Int A basket T blow.away-Cia G A other place
The basket had not blown away to another place. (W1:P5:5:3)
- (18) E kiai **te wonu** na kitea e Uyo.
 T Neg A turtle T see-Cia Ag Uyo
Uyo didn't find the turtle.

These are the two main options for raising of a noun phrase, which agree with Chung's findings (1978:334, 342): either the agent of a clause of the 'accusative' pattern is raised, or the patient of a clause of the 'passive' pattern. Both of these arguments are the unmarked noun phrases of their respective clauses and are in the nominative/absolutive case.

The agent of a clause in the ‘passive’ pattern may not be raised to subject position. Here my findings differ from Chung’s as her examples illustrating ‘occasional raising’ of an agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern were rejected by all my consultants as ungrammatical (1978:346).³

- (19) a.* E kiai loa **ia** **Tao** na kāvea te poti.
 T Neg Int A Tao T take-Cia A boat
(Tao didn’t take the boat.)
- b. Na kāvea te poti **e** **Tao**.
 T take-Cia A boat Ag Tao
Tao took the boat

However, since *kiai* may also negate nominal predicates (8.5) a nominal predicate marked by *ko* may have as its subject a headless relative clause of the ‘passive’ pattern in a similar structure. None of Chung’s cited examples were structurally ambiguous in this way.

- (20) a. E kiai loa **ko** **Tao** na kāvea te poti, ko Tai.
 *ia Tao
 *e Tao
 T Neg Int Prd Tao T take-Cia A boat Prd Tai
It wasn’t Tao who took the boat, it was Tai.
- b. **Ko** **Tao** (te tangata) na kāvea te poti.
 Prd Tao A person T take-Cia A boat
It was Tao who took the boat.

In clauses of the ‘ergative’ pattern the absolutive argument cannot be raised, leaving the agentive noun phrase in postverbal position (21). Chung’s examples marked by ‘?’ illustrating occasional raising of the ‘unmarked noun phrase’ of the ‘ergative’ pattern (ibid:344) were not accepted by any of my consultants.⁴

- (21) * Kiai loa **te poti** na kave e Tao.
 Neg Int A boat T take Ag Tao
(Tao didn’t take the boat.)

However, the absolutive argument of the ‘ergative’ pattern may be raised in some circumstances. It seems that the patient must be human and the agent must be encoded as a possessor of the patient as in (22), or if the patient is inanimate as in (23), not only must the agent be encoded as a possessor (23b) but other adjuncts may be necessary for the sentence to be fully grammatical (24). The ‘passive’ pattern (22b) is always acceptable with a raised patient, but the *a*-possessor of the patient is not interpreted as an agent. The ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ patterns differ semantically with respect to time reference or aspect (7.5.2).

- (22) a. E kiai **taku tama** na kave ki te paunu.
 T Neg my child T take G A weigh
I haven’t taken my child to be weighed.
- b. E kiai **taku tama** na kāvea ki te paunu.
 T Neg my child T take-Cia G A weigh
My child hasn’t been taken to be weighed.

- (23)a. * E kiai **te pōlō** na patu.
 T Neg A ball-Da T hit
(The ball was not hit.)
- b. * E kiai **te pōlo a Pī** na patu.
 T Neg A ball P Pī T hit
(Pī didn’t hit the ball.)

- (24) E kiai **te pōlo a Pī** na patu ki lunga o te wale.
 T Neg A ball P Pī T hit G on P A house
Pī didn’t hit the ball on top of the house.

In general, the raised noun phrase may not be the agentive argument of the ‘ergative’ pattern. Chung agrees that sentences of this type are ungrammatical (ibid:348-349)⁵, but I have found some disagreement among speakers as to whether these sentences are acceptable. Most consultants corrected the examples (25-26a) below to the corresponding clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern in (25-26b) by inserting the accusative marker *i*.

- (25) a. Kiai ake **iāna** na vayi ake tana tama.
 Neg Dir she T hit Dir her child
She has never hit her child.
- b. Kiai **iāna** na vayi i te tamá.
 Neg she T hit Acc A child-Da
She didn't hit that [specific] child [on a specific occasion].
- (26) a. I te makanga i tona tau, e kiai **iāna** na yele te watu.
 L A throw-Nom Acc his anchor T Neg he T tie A stone
*When he threw the anchor, he didn't tie a stone on,
 [he just threw the rope and temporarily forgot about the necessity for a stone].*
- b. I te makanga i tona tau, e kiai **iāna** na yele i te watu.
 L A throw-Nom Acc his anchor T Neg he T tie Acc A stone
*When he threw the anchor he didn't tie the stone on [properly],
 but there was a specific stone there that he had in mind to use].*

For those native speakers who find the (a) examples acceptable, there is a semantic difference perceived between the 'ergative' and 'accusative' patterns. A particular object or occasion is specified by the 'accusative' pattern and the focus is on the object. The 'ergative' pattern puts the action rather than the object in focus and the object is often less specific or less definite. It is notable that the consultants who find the (a) examples ungrammatical sometimes comment that the 'i' (accusative marker) is present but 'silent'. Verb final *-i* and may be a factor in the degree of acceptability.

For intransitive verbs that have a patient subject, the raised noun phrase may be the patient (27) or the agentive noun phrase which is in an oblique case (28). A trace element is not left in the subordinate clause when the agentive noun phrase is raised.

- (27) E kiai **tā mātou īmene nei** na mau lelei ia aku.
 T Neg P we.Pl song here T know well By-A I
I don't know our song very well.
- (28) E kiai **au** ke mau lelei tā mātou īmene nei.
 T Neg I C know well P we.Pl song here
I don't know our song very well [yet].

Preverbal pronouns (3.3) typically follow the tense-aspect marker of the negated clause. Thus the structure of negative past tense sentences which allow preverbal pronouns is:

T Neg T Pro V (...).

- (29) Kiai mō na **au** kitea tā māua tamāwine ia Yina?
 Neg Q T you see-Cia P we.2 girl A Yina
You haven't seen our daughter, Yina, have you? (MK:1:5)
- (30) E kiai na **ana** iloa ē ko tona māmā teia.
 T Neg T he know-Cia C Prd his mother this
He still didn't know that this was his mother. (AR:TM:1:2)

Pronoun placement may be in two alternative positions for clauses which allow preverbal pronouns: in the normal place for a raised subject (*kiai NP na V*) (31a); or in preverbal pronoun position (*kiai na Pro*

V) (31b). There is little or no meaning difference between these two forms.

- (31) a. *Kiai au na iloa.*
 Neg I T know-Cia
I didn't understand.
- b. *Kiai na aku iloa.*
 Neg T I know-Cia
I didn't understand.

The constraints on raising of the arguments of clauses with different case marking patterns are summarised in Table 26.

Table 26: Constraints on arguments of clauses negated by *kiai*.

| | Raising of Agent | Raising of Patient |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Intransitive | ✓ | ✓ |
| 'Accusative' Pattern | ✓ | x |
| 'Passive' Pattern | x | ✓ |
| 'Ergative' Pattern | x/? | x/[Agt-Poss ✓] |
| Neuter | ✓ | ✓ |

Comparison with negative imperative clauses shows very similar restrictions in case marking (8.2.2.2). The subjects of intransitive verbs and noun phrases in the nominative/absolute case of both the 'accusative' pattern and the 'passive' pattern may be raised in both types of complex negative sentences. Raising to a negative verb primarily affects nominative/absolute noun phrases. The agent of the 'ergative' pattern may marginally undergo raising to the negative past verb, but it may not in imperative constructions.

8.2.2 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

The negative imperative verb has four distinct forms: *auyē*, *auwae*, *auwē* and *aulaka*.⁶ There seems to be no syntactic or semantic distinction between the four forms. Their usage is conditioned by sociolinguistic factors, including the age, education and background of speakers.

8.2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Variation

Auyē and *auwae* were probably the original forms of the Pukapukan negative imperative since they appear in traditional chant texts and are used mainly by speakers in the older age bracket. *Auyē* is rarely used by speakers under 60 years old, but despite its infrequent use in everyday vernacular, it was considered to be "authentic Pukapukan" for use in the "No Smoking" sign above the Government petrol store on Pukapuka: "*Auye Kai Puyipuyi*".

Aulaka, from Cook Islands Māori *'auraka*, is used in discourse styles that are characterised by heavy borrowing such as speech making and sermons, and it is also predominant in the vernacular of the youth and those who have been educated in Rarotonga or who have spent periods of time living there. *Auwē* is

probably a contraction of the older form, *auwae*, a change that is in accordance with assimilation principles in the language (2.2.3). *Auwē* is possibly a stronger prohibition than *aulaka*.

A small survey was done on Pukapuka in 1989 to investigate the relationship of age and gender to the form of the negative. There seemed to be no obvious correlation with gender, but combined figures for men and women in each age bracket revealed a trend with age. The relative frequencies with which the four forms occur in colloquial speech of the various age groups are shown in Table 27 and Figure 6.

Table 27: Percentage occurrence of negative imperative forms in spoken language for different age groups.

| | Youth (1-20 yrs) | Middle Age (20-50 yrs) | Elderly (50+ yrs) |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Aulaka</i> | 55 | 36 | 24 |
| <i>Auwē</i> | 28 | 44 | 36 |
| <i>Auwae</i> | 17 | 20 | 37 |
| <i>Auyē</i> | 0 | 0 | 3 |

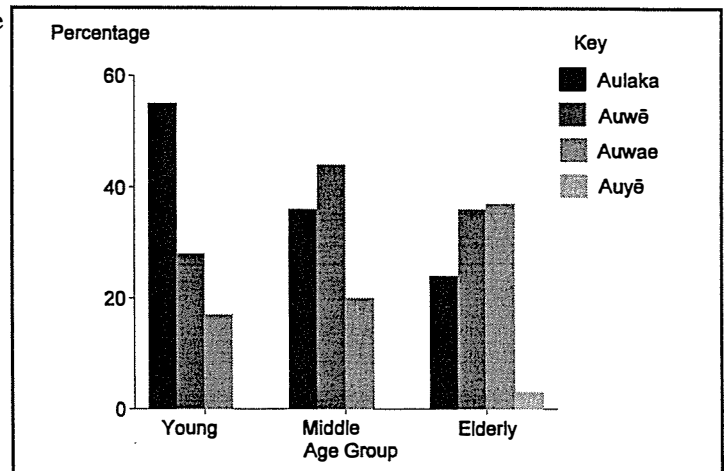


Figure 6: Graph showing percentage use of negative imperative forms within each age group.

The findings showed that *auyē* is used exclusively by speakers in the older age bracket. Of only seven people recorded as using *auyē*, six were among the oldest members of the population aged over 70 years. *Auwae* is used primarily by older members of the population, although not exclusively so. Frequency of usage of *auwē* has a peak in the middle age group. *Aulaka* is most common in the speech of younger people, but is also used by those in other age brackets, especially in formal discourse styles.

Examination of the frequency of the negative imperative markers found in the corpus of transcribed texts shows that usage varies with different discourse styles. Figure 7 (below) graphs the percentage use of each of the negative imperatives according to discourse style. Several different subcategories were investigated: formal rhetoric or speeches, narratives and conversations, texts of a religious nature such as sermons, prayers and translated scripture, and other written texts, primarily narratives and personal letters.

Aulaka has its highest usage in speech making, although it is also used fairly frequently in narratives and conversational styles. *Auwae* is also found most commonly in the formal domain of speech making. *Auwē* shows the least change in usage across different discourse styles and appears to be the least marked of the four according to its usage patterning. *Auyē* shows a peak in written texts, especially those of a religious nature. It is notable that all of the religious texts were written in the New Zealand community by a small number of people. I suspect that this peak illustrates a recent trend and that it reflects the increased usage of “true Pukapukan” forms in prestigious discourse styles associated with the expression of cultural solidarity in a migrant situation.

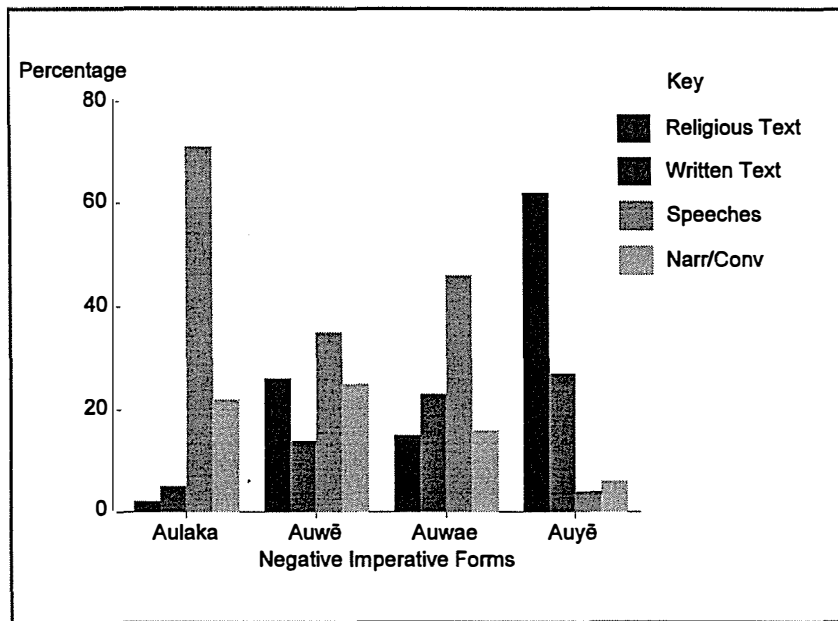


Figure 7: Graph showing percentage use of each negative imperative form according to its distribution in discourse styles.

Figure 8 (below) graphs the usage of the negative imperative forms as a percentage relative to each style of discourse. It shows that the most commonly used negative imperative marker in conversation, narratives and speech-making is *aulaka*. The next most common negative imperative in these three discourse styles is *auwē*. In the more informal styles of conversation and narratives, *auwē* has a higher percentage use than in the speech-making genre. *Auyē* is seldom used in these discourse styles. However in written texts, especially those of a religious nature, *auyē* appears to be replacing *aulaka* as a prestige form.

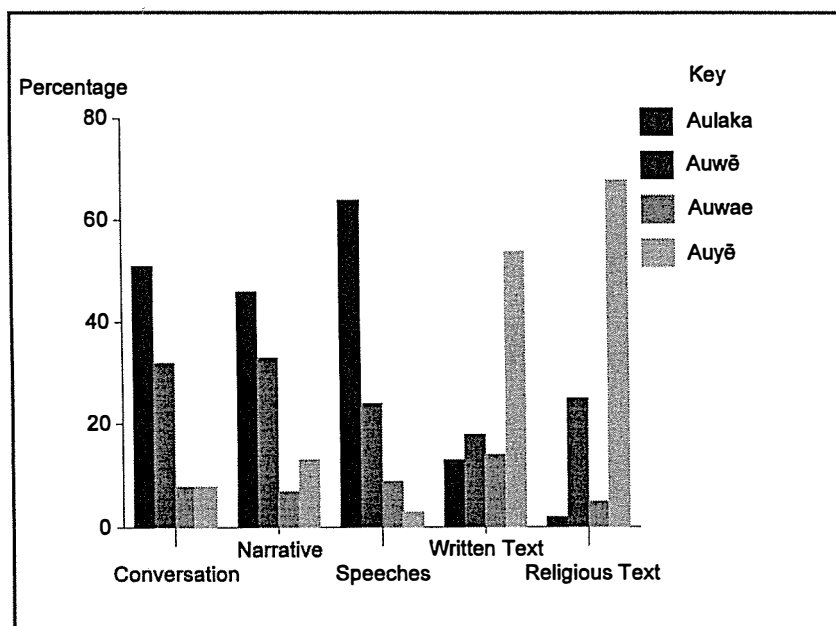


Figure 8: Percentage use of negative imperatives in each discourse style.

8.2.2.2 Negative Imperative Syntax

The negative imperative forms show historical links with Eastern Polynesia as well as with Samoic languages. The older form *auyē* reflects the double negation reconstructed for Proto-Samoic (Clark 1976:106) in that a reflex of **aua/kaua* and of **ta'e* (> *yē* in Pukapukan) appear to have merged.

From a historical perspective, the negative imperative is possibly a portmanteau form incorporating a tense-aspect morpheme. Chung (1970:103-109, 111-113) suggests that this is the case for the negative imperatives in Samoan and Sikaiana. In fact there is a striking resemblance between the older Pukapukan form *auyē* and the Sikaiana negative imperative *kauhē* which Chung analyses as a portmanteau form that was historically two morphemes *kau* (tense/aspect) and *hē* (negative). It is notable that all four Pukapukan forms of the negative imperative begin with *au-*, and it may be justifiable to analyse this as a tense-aspect marking morpheme for *auyē*. However, it is likely that *auwae* has a different derivation, possibly from **aua* + tense-aspect (*e*). *Auwē* is a predictable form following patterns of assimilation in the language (2.2.3), and *aulaka* is a borrowing from Cook Islands Māori.

The structure of the negative imperative sentence is as follows:

T Neg.Imp (NP_{Su}) [T V (...)]

Imperatives are characterised by the lack of a tense-aspect marker (3.1.13), so that the first tense-aspect marker in the negative imperative construction is not overt. The optional raised noun phrase is usually realised as a pronoun: second person singular, dual or plural; or the first person dual or plural inclusive (32, 33, 34), although it can be a lexical noun phrase (35). The tense-aspect marker immediately preceding the verb is *e* 'relative present' tense. Raising of the noun phrase is optional; the noun phrase can remain in the subordinate clause (34) or there may be no overt reference to the addressee (36). When there is no noun phrase or postposed element immediately following the negative imperative verb, the *e* becomes coalesced with the negative imperatives ending in *-e* without additional lengthening of the final vowel (36).

- (32) *Auwae koe e ngalangala, na lelei te maki o tau tama ia.*
 Neg.Imp you TRR-worry T good A sickness P P child Af
Don't worry, your child is better from his sickness.
- (33) *Auwē kōtou e kai puyipuyi i kinei.*
 Neg.Imp you T eat RR-blow L here
Don't smoke here.
- (34) *Auyē tataki tāua i te wonu ki te tukutai o Niua Yā.*
 Neg.Imp.T R-drag we.2 Acc A turtle G A beach P Niua Yā
Let's not drag the turtle to the beach of Niua Yā (L:W2:5)
- (35) *Ke pākoti au i tō ulu, aulaka tō ulu e tipa, kāe motu koe.*
 C cut I Acc P head Neg.Imp P head T move lest cut you
When I cut your hair, don't let your head move in case you get cut.
- (36) *Auwē maka wua ke tokatai, ke tokalua ke tāki i te kongā ia.*
 Neg.Imp.T leave just C cls-one C cls-two C take.up Acc A place Af
Don't leave it to one or two to take up the pitch.

When there is no overt mention of the addressee, clauses of all case marking patterns are permitted: intransitive clauses (37) and clauses of the ‘accusative’ (38), ‘passive’ (39) and ‘ergative’ (40) patterns.

- (37) Auwē vāvā.
Neg.Imp.T utter
Don't talk.
- (38) Auwē kai i te moa i loto o te kāpalātā.
Neg.Imp.T eat Acc A chicken L inside P A cupboard-Da
Don't eat that chicken in the cupboard.
- (39) Aulaka e kāvea te puká.
Neg.Imp T take-Cia A book-Da
Don't take that book.
- (40) Auwē maka te poti, ka malemo koe.
Neg.Imp.T leave A boat T drown you
Don't leave the boat, you'll drown.

The argument that can undergo raising can be the subject of an intransitive clause:

- (41) Auwē kōtou e vāvā.
Neg.Imp you T utter
Don't talk.

The raised noun phrase may be the subject (42) (but not the object (43)) of the ‘accusative’ pattern or the patient of the ‘passive’ pattern (44). Chung (1978:328-335, 342) also attests that these arguments can be raised to a negative imperative verb.

- (42) Aulaka tātou e patu i o tātou toa vavave, aulaka tātou e tutuli ki nā wenuá.
Neg.Imp we T kill Acc P we warrior R-strong Neg.Imp we T R-chase G A land-Da
Let's not kill the strongest warriors or banish [them] to foreign lands. (W2:F2:7:14)
- (43) * Aulaka te moá e kai (ai) kōtou.
Neg.Imp A chicken-Da T eat Pro you.Pl
(Don't eat that chicken.)
- (44) Auyē ana kai e kāvea ki te toe tangata.
Neg.Imp his.Pl food T take-Cia G A other person
Don't let his food get given to anyone else.

The raised noun phrase cannot be any other argument despite Chung's claims that other types of raised arguments are at least marginally grammatical (1978:344-350). The raised noun phrase cannot be the agentive argument of the ‘passive’ pattern⁷ (45), the absolutive argument of the ‘ergative’ pattern⁸ (46) or the agentive argument of the ‘ergative’ pattern⁹ (47).

- (45) * Auwē koe e kaina te moá.
Neg.Imp you T eat-Cia A chicken-Da
(Don't eat that chicken.)
- (46) * Auwē te moá e kai (e koe).
Neg.Imp A chicken-Da T eat Ag you
(Don't eat that chicken.)

- (47) * Auwē koe e kai te moá.
 Neg.Imp you T eat A chicken-Da
(Don't eat that chicken.)

There are some constraints on which arguments may occur with the 'passive' and 'ergative' case marking patterns. Agentless clauses of the 'passive' pattern (48) always allow raising of the patient (49). The meaning encoded an agentless imperative in the 'passive' pattern implies that the addressee has the responsibility to ensure that a situation is prevented. It does not necessarily imply that the addressee is the potential agent of the prohibited action. Thus it is pragmatically more polite than a negative imperative in the 'accusative' pattern (50).

- (48) Auwē kaina te moa i loto o te kāpalātá.
 Neg.Imp.T eat-Cia A chicken L inside P A cupboard-Da
?Don't eat the chicken in the cupboard.
Don't let the chicken in the cupboard get eaten [by anyone].
- (49) Auwē loa te moa i kilā e kaina.
 Neg.Imp Int A chicken L there T eat-Cia
Don't on any account let that chicken over there get eaten.
- (50) Auwē kai i te moa i loto o te kāpalātá.
 Neg.Imp.T eat Acc A chicken L inside P A cupboard-Da
Don't eat that chicken in the cupboard.

Clauses of the 'passive' pattern allow an agent which is not co-referential with the addressee (51), but a pronoun referring to the addressee is not allowed¹⁰ (52).

- (51) Auwē nā wua moa nā e kaina e te kaulikí.
 Neg.Imp A egg chicken there T eat-Cia Ag A children-Da
Don't let the children eat those eggs.
- (52) * Auwē nā wua moa nā e kaina e koe.
 Neg.Imp A egg chicken there T eat-Cia Ag you
(Don't you eat those eggs.)

If a pronoun referring to the addressee is overt, the 'accusative' pattern is required and the pronoun is normally raised¹¹ (53). Neither the 'passive' nor the 'ergative' case marking is allowed when a pronoun referring to the addressee is overt (54). Positive imperative clauses have similar constraints on case marking patterns (9.2.1).

- (53) Auwē koe e kai i nā wua moa nā.
 Neg.Imp you T eat Acc A egg chicken there
Don't eat those eggs.
- (54) * Auwē nā wua moa nā e kaina e koe. ('passive' raised patient)
 * Auwē nā wua moa nā e kai e koe. ('ergative' raised patient)
 * Auwē koe e kaina nā wua moa nā. ('passive' raised agent)
 * Auwē koe e kai nā wua moa nā. ('ergative' raised agent)

The 'passive' pattern is not the preferred marking for negative imperatives with overt lexical agentive noun phrases, instead the 'accusative' pattern is preferred. The 'passive' pattern does not allow raising of the agent:

- (55) * Auwē loa e tangata e yuyukeina te pū ('passive' raised agent)
 Auwē loa e yuyukeina te pū (agentless 'passive')
 Auwē loa e tangata e yuyuke i te pū ('accusative' raised agent)
 Neg.Imp Int A person T R-open (-Cia) Acc A door-Da
Don't let anyone open that door.

The 'ergative' pattern is allowed for negative imperatives, but does not permit an agentive pronoun referring to the addressee (56). The 'ergative' pattern is often used for prohibitions relating to the immediate present (57), whereas the 'accusative' pattern may be used for instructions relating to the future (58).

- (56) Auwē yuyuke te pū
 * Auwē koe e yuyuke te pū
 Neg.Imp.T (*you T) R-open A door-Da
Don't open the door.
- (57) Auwē kave te moá, maka wua i kilā.
 Neg.Imp.T take A chicken-Da leave just L there
Don't take that chicken [which you are about to pick up], just leave it there.
- (58) Ke wō kōlua, auwē kave i te moa ia, kave i te moá.
 C go.Pl you.2 Neg.Imp.T take Acc A chicken Af take Acc A chicken-Da
When you go, don't take that chicken, take that [other] one.

The constraints on the arguments that can occur with different case marking patterns are summarised in Table 28.

Table 28: Constraints on arguments of negative imperatives

| | Overt Addressee | Raising of Agent ¹² | Raising of Patient |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| Intransitive | ✓ | ✓ | - |
| 'Accusative' | ✓ | ✓ | x |
| 'Passive' | x | x | ✓ |
| 'Ergative' | x | x | x |

In summary, an overt pronoun referring to the addressee of a negative imperative is allowable only for intransitive clauses and clauses of the 'accusative' pattern. Raising of the agent to the negative verb is allowable only for a nominative argument: the subject of an intransitive clauses or the subject of a clause of the 'accusative' pattern. The patient can be raised only for clauses of the 'passive' pattern. Raising to a negative imperative verb therefore targets only nominative/absolutive noun phrases, but excludes the absolutive argument of the 'ergative' pattern.

8.3 THE SIMPLE NEGATIVE

The simple negative is *yē*. Clauses formed by negation in this way are structured as follows:

T *yē* V (NP) (...)

Chung (1970:83-84) argued that Samoan *lē* (which is similar in form and function to Pukapukan *yē*) may be analysed as a sequence of a verb and an aspect marker; however, *yē* in Pukapukan appears to be more like a preposed adverbial modifier as Clark (1976:94-95) claims. Unlike the negative imperatives and *kiai*, *yē* does not allow raising of the subject, nor is there an apparent tense-aspect marker immediately following the negative. It does not allow any modifying postposed particles.

Preverbal pronouns occur between the negative marker and the verb:

T *yē* (Pro) V (...)

- (59) Ko *yē* a *tātou* *īloloa* *nā* *ingoa* o te *kaú*.
 T Neg we.Pl R-know-Cia A name P A people-Da
We don't know the names of those people.

The placement of preverbal pronouns following the negative groups Pukapukan with EFu, Tok, Nan and WFu (see Clark 1978:94-95) and supports Clark's claim that PPn **ta'e* was a higher verb in the construction T Neg T V, but which subsequently merged with the second tense-aspect marker and has been reinterpreted as a preverbal adverb particle in the daughter languages. However, the placement of the preverbal pronoun in Pukapukan is not flexible as Clark (1976:94) supposed it to be. The pronoun cannot occur before the negative but only after it; *T (Pro) *yē* V.

Yē follows a wide range of tense-aspect markers.

1. Following *ko*, it negates clauses in the present tense.

- (60) Ko *yē* *winangalo* au i te *teata*.
 T Neg want I Acc A theatre
I don't enjoy movies.

- (61) Ko *nā* *toe* *tangata* *oki* ko *yē* *tatau* *lātou* i te *Puka Yā*.
 Top A other people also T Neg read they Acc A book sacred
Some people don't read the Bible.

(KM:MW3:9)

- (62) Ko *yē* i *kinei*.
 T Neg L here
[It] is not here.

(PP3:1)

2. Clauses in the future tense are also negated by *yē*; however, *ka* 'future tense' is replaced by *e* (3.1.1-3).

- (63) E *yē* *wō* *lā* *kōlua* ki te *pule* i te *awiawi* *nei*?
 * Ka *yē* *wō* *lā* *kōlua* ki te *pule* i te *awiawi* *nei*?
 T Neg go.Pl Int you.2 G A prayer L A afternoon here
Aren't you two going to church this afternoon?

- (64) Na *mea* *oki* *lātou* e *yē* *patu*, *yaulā* ia *Tepou* na *lele* *lā* *ngāuta*.
 * Na *mea* *oki* *lātou* ka *yē* *patu*, *yaulā* ia *Tepou* na *lele* *lā* *ngāuta*.
 T say also they T Neg kill but A Tepou T run via shore.
They had said they wouldn't kill [him] but Tepou had already fled along the shore.

- (65) E yē ana kitea tana motokā, na tili ēku ki te pūtē kaingá.
 * Ka yē ana kitea tana motokā, na tili ēku ki te pūtē kaingá.
 T Neg he see-Cia his car-Da T throw Ag-me G A sack rubbish-Da
He won't find his [toy] car [because] I threw it in the rubbish bag.

Ka as a tense marker co-occurs with *yē* only in certain restricted situations including threats and in certain types of subordinate clauses. These are often characterised semantically by expression of emotive judgement.

- (a) Threats and 'lest' clauses allow co-occurrence of *ka* and *yē*:

- (66) Ka yē wano koe wakawōu ki te teata!
 T Neg go you again G A theatre
You won't be going to the theatre anymore!
- (67) Ko yē angaanga ana angaanga ke oti, ka yē wō lava tātou.
 T Neg RR-work his RR-work C finish T Neg go.Pl Int we.Pl
[Unless] he finishes his work, we won't go at all!
- (68) Aulaka koe e akalili mai, ka yē wano au!
 Neg.Imp you T caus-angry Dir T Neg go I
Don't tease me or I won't go!
- (69) Takavili ki lunga te imu, ka yē māoa te walaoa e tao nā.
 Turn G up A oven T Neg cook A bread T bake there.
Turn up the oven or the bread that is baking won't get cooked.

- (b) Clauses subordinated to *e wea ...ai* 'why' predicates (9.1.5.1.2) allow *ka* and *yē* to co-occur:

- (70) E wea oki ka yē au kitea ai?
 T what also T Neg you see-Cia Pro
Why/how is it that you didn't see them?

The expression, *e wea oki ... ai* may be deleted, especially in complex sentences, but the same sense is retained. It expresses disappointment or disapproval at a situation happening contrary to expectation.

- (71) Ka yē ana kitea tana motokā, e tike wua i loto o te lūmú.
 T Neg he see-Cia his car T naked just L inside P A room-Da
Why can't he find his car, it's just lying around in his room.

Similarly, the following sentence expresses a judgement of the speaker:

- (72) I te matawiti lā mua nei, ka yē a lātou iloloa.
 L A year across front here T Neg they.Pl R-know-Cia
Even next year they still won't know!

- (c) *Ka* is optional in future negative conditional clauses. *E* as future tense marker preceding *yē* is not overt following *mē*, the conditional subordinator, since *mē* coalesces with the following *e*. *Ka* may optionally be inserted in such situations: $mē + e + yē > mē + yē > mē + ka + yē$

- (73) Mē (ka) yē oti, maka wua tāyao.
 If.T T Neg finish leave just tomorrow
If [you] don't finish [it], leave [it] till tomorrow.

- (74) Mē (ka) yē maua, līngi mai koe.
If.T T Neg able ring Dir you
If [you] can't [do it], then ring me.

3. *Yē* negates clauses containing the tense-aspect-modal markers *koa* 'inceptive' and *kai* 'possibility',

- (75) Nā noinoi wua ai koe, koa yē pau oki au kai nā.
T greedy just Pro you T Neg finish also your food that
[That will teach you for being] greedy, you can't even finish your food.
- (76) Kai yē wō mō māua, na uwauwa.
T Neg go.Pl probably we.2 T RR-rain
We mightn't go [because] it's raining.

Yē also negates clauses introduced by the subordinators *kāē* 'lest' and *ke* which introduces sentential complements:

- (77) Auwē koe e yalinga nanau mai, kāē yē pau ia aku.
Neg.Imp you T serve generously Dir lest Neg finish By-A me
Don't serve too much for me, in case I don't finish it.
- (78) E ngali ake pā ke yē akailoina te mea nei ki te kau wowoló.
T better Dir probably C Neg show-Cia A thing here G A people R-big-Da
It would be better not to show this to the elders. (IA:L4:5)

4. Like the co-occurrence of *ka* and *yē*, the negation of past tense clauses by *yē* is restricted. Negation of simple past situations is normally by *kiai* (see 8.2.1). However, *na yē* does occur denoting negative achieved states (79) or negative habitual action or ability (80). *Nā* 'past imperfective' also allows negation by *yē* (81).

- (79) Na yē aku maua e te yaele, na pōvī.
T Neg I able C walk T old.person
I can't walk anymore [because] I'm old.
- (80) Na yē wō māua wakawōu ki nā pule.
T Neg go.Pl we.2 again G A prayer
We don't go to church anymore.
- (81) Nā yē wō māua ki te pule i te vāiá, yaulā i te vāia nei na wō māua.
T Neg go.Pl we.2 G A church L A time-Da but L A time here T go.Pl we.2
We didn't used to go to church before, but now we do go.

The following pair of sentences illustrates that *yē* can be used for negative achieved states, whereas *kiai* is used for negative perfective situations:

- (82) Na yē maua ia aku nō tēlā na pōvī au.
T Neg able By-A I because T old.person I
[The reason why] I couldn't do it [can't attempt to do it] is because I am old.
- (83) E *kiai* na maua ia aku nō tēlā waingatā.
T Neg T able By-A I because difficult
[The reason why] I couldn't do it [although I tried] is because it is difficult.

Certain other types of clauses in the past tense marked by *na* or *nā* may be negated using *yē*. The restrictions are of a similar nature to those affecting the co-occurrence of *ka* and *yē* (2 (a) above).

(a) *Na yē* occurs in clauses subordinated to *e wea ... ai* ‘why’ predicates in structures such as: *E wea (oki) na yē V ai?*, which express a speaker’s judgements that the situation is contrary to expectation.

- (84) E wea oki na yē au kitea?
 T what also T Neg you see-Cia
Why didn’t you see [it]?
- (85) E wea oki na yē aumaia e niu mā aku?
 T what also T Neg bring-Cia A coconut for I
Why didn’t you bring me a nut [when you should have]?

Like similar expressions marked by *ka*, the initial part of the structure: *e wea oki... (ai)* may be deleted and still retain the same sense.

- (86) Nā yē yelewuti ai koe i nā talinga?
 T Neg slap Pro you Acc A ear
Why didn’t you slap [his] ears?
- (87) Nā yē wō ai kōlua, totoli mai e taulua mā tātou mō te Tāpati?
 T Neg go.Pl Pro you pick Dir A pair.nut for we for A Sunday
Why don’t you go and pick a couple of nuts for us for Sunday?

(b) In subordinate clauses of reason, *kiai* has been found to be interchangeable with *yē*.

- (88) Ko te tumu oki tēia na yē wō ai māua, nā maki ia Pēpē.
 Prd A reason also this T Neg go.Pl Pro we.2 T sick A Baby
 Ko te tumu oki tēia **kiai** ai māua na wō, nā maki ia Pēpē.
 Prd A reason also this Neg Pro we.2 T go.Pl T sick A Baby
The reason why we didn’t go was because Baby was sick.

In general, the negative marker *yē* is used for imperfective situations and situations in which the beginning point has been reached but not the endpoint (achieved states and in the inceptive aspect), while *kiai* is used for perfective situations in the past. For future situations, *yē* is used but the future tense marker *ka* is replaced by *e*. The negative markers therefore appear to reflect an aspectual component, even though *yē* is not verbal.

8.4 NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

There are four negative markers for existential sentences in Pukapukan: *kāni*, *kāyi*, *kākole* and *kāe*, which also reflect a striking mix between Samoic and Eastern Polynesian origins.

The structure of the negative existential sentence is of the form:

Neg.exist NP (...)

- (89) Kāni mangō i loto o te alo i Wale.
 Neg.exist shark L inside P A lagoon L Home
There are no sharks inside the lagoon at Pukapuka.

The negative existential markers function as intransitive verbs. The subject does not have an article and the noun is often modified by a plural possessive pronoun:

- (90) Kāyi oku nio na maunu.
 Neg.exist my.Pl tooth T come.out
None of my teeth have fallen out.

There is no overt tense-aspect marker for negative existential clauses; the negative existential marker is likely to be historically a portmanteau form incorporating the tense-aspect and the verb. Chung (1970:67-69) suggested a similar analysis for the negative markers in Māori. The negatives she examined include *kāhore* (Mao) which seems to be cognate with *kāko* (Puk). She concluded that the negatives are compound sequences of an aspect marker *ka* and a negative verb. The morphological parallels between *kāyi* / *kāni* and *e yī* / *e nī*, the negative and affirmative existential verbs respectively, suggest an initial *ka*-to have an aspectual component as well as a negative component, while for *kāko* the initial morpheme is likely to be only aspectual with the negative component expressed by *ko*. The lengthening of the initial aspectual morpheme is predictable by a morphophonemic rule (2.6.1). Compare the structure with the affirmative existential clauses, where *yī* and *nī* appear to be existential verbs marked by a tense-aspect marker *e*.

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (91) | E yī a kōlua kalōma na maua? E nī a kōlua kalōma na maua? T exist P you.2 fish.sp T catch <i>Have you caught any young goatfish?</i> | Kāyi aku mea na maua. Kāni aku mea na maua. Neg.exist my.Pl thing T catch <i>I caught nothing.</i> |
| (92) | E nī oku toe yoa. T exist my.Pl other friend <i>I have some other friends.</i> | Kāni oku toe yoa. Neg.exist my.Pl other friend <i>I have no other friends.</i> |

The functions of the different negative existential markers in Pukapukan appear to be very similar to each other. *Kāyi* and *kāni* are completely interchangeable; however, *kāyi* is less common in colloquial speech and is perceived by native speakers, especially those in New Zealand, to be old-fashioned.¹³ However, *kāyi* is still heard quite frequently in colloquial speech and is used by young people and children on Pukapuka itself. The corpus contains approximately equal numbers of both forms.

All four negative existential verbs can be used for negative existential statements (93-95), negative hypothetical statements (96) as well as for polite requests (97, 98), for instance to borrow another person's property.

- (93) Kāni talatala oki ka aumai kia tāua i te awiawi nei.
 Neg.exist RR-talk also T bring G-A we.2 Acc A afternoon here
There's no news to bring you [lit. us] this evening.
- (94) Kāe ona konga wakamakeke ai ona vae ki lunga o te tino o te niu.
 Neg.exist his.Pl place caus-strong Pro his.Pl leg G on P A trunk P A coconut
There was nowhere to secure his legs on the trunk of the coconut tree. (KM:WK5:3)

- (95) **Kākole** a mātou ika na maua.
Neg.exist P we fish T get
We didn't catch any fish.
- (96) **Mē kāyi** lolo ko i loto, e lulu, mē yī lolo ko i loto, e loloi.
if Neg.exist cream T L inside Prd lulu if.T exist cream T L inside Prd loloi
If there is no coconut cream in it, it's called lulu; if there is coconut cream in it, it's a loloi [taro dishes].
- (97) **Kāni** au lua tālā i kinā?
Neg.exist your two dollar L there
You don't have a few dollars on you [for me], do you?
- (98) **Kāe** au pēni mō i kinā?
Neg.exist your pen Q L there
Don't you have a pen [for me to borrow]?

Kākole can also be used as a proform in answer to a question (8.7). The syntactic structure of sentences containing *kāyi* and *kāni* is identical to those containing *kāe* and *kākole* and the subject lacks an article so that it appears to be a plural form. However, there is a semantic distinction between the forms. The former two are used for mass nouns (99) and semantically plural entities, while the latter two are used when the speaker wishes to refer to the lack of a semantically singular entity. Thus, (100) cannot be used to refer to the absence of more than one axe.

- (99) **Kāni** a māua popoa i te taime nei.
* **Kāe** a māua popoa i te taime nei.
Neg.exist P we.2 food L A time here
We've got no food at the moment.
- (100) **Kāe** aku kūkī yemu ai te lākau ki lalo.
Neg.exist my.Pl axe cut Pro A tree G down
I don't have an axe with which to chop down the tree.
* (*I don't have any axes with which to chop down the tree.*) (V90:7:1)

The distinction in semantic plurality of the existential markers is evidenced in several ways:

1. Answers to existential interrogatives.

Kāe is used in the appropriate response to a question involving the singular form of the affirmative existential verb, *tai* 'one':

- (101)Q: E **tai** au kai na maua?
T one your score T get
Did you score anything [at cricket]?
- Ans: * **Kāni** aku kai na maua.
Kāe aku kai na maua.
Neg.exist my.Pl score T get
[No.] I didn't score anything.

Kāyi and *kāni* (but not *kāe*) are used in response to questions involving the plural forms of the existential verbs, *yī* and *nī*:

- (102)Q: E **nī** au mea na maua?
T exist your.Pl thing T get
Did you catch anything?
- Ans: * **Kāe** aku mea na maua.
Kāni aku mea na maua.
Neg.exist my.Pl thing T get
I didn't get anything.

Questions using either singular or plural forms of the existential verb may be answered with *kākole*, either as a proform, or in a complete sentence, so that *kākole* is unmarked for plurality:

- (103) **Kākole** (aku mea na maua).
Neg.exist my.Pl thing T get
I got nothing at all.

2. Verbal agreement in a relative clause is triggered by the number of the subject. *Kāe* is used in main clauses where there is a singularly inflected verb in the relative clause, whereas *kāni* and *kāyi* appear with plurally inflected verbs in the relative clause.

- (104) a. **Kāe** tangata na wano ki te uwipānga.
Neg.exist person T go.Sg G A meeting
There wasn't anyone who went to the meeting.
- b. **Kāni** tāngata na wō ki te uwipānga.
Neg.exist person.Pl T go.Pl G A meeting
There weren't any people who went to the meeting.
- * **Kāe** tangata na wō ki te uwipānga.
Neg.exist person T go.Pl G A meeting
- * **Kāni** tāngata na wano ki te uwipānga.
Neg.exist person.Pl T go.Sg G A meeting

Kākole may be used whether there is a singular or plural form of the verb in the relative clause (105), and also in clauses which have mass nouns as subject (106).

- (105) a. **Kākole** loa tangata na wōmamai.
Neg.exist Int person T go.Pl
No one at all went.
- b. **Kākole** loa yītolo na yau kia ana.
Neg.exist Int ghost T come.Sg G-A he
No ghosts at all came to him. (W2:F2:2:5)
- (106) **Kākole** yua i loto o te tāngika, kiai oki na uwa.
Neg.exist water L inside P A tank Neg also T rain
There is absolutely no water in the tank because it hasn't rained.

3. In requests for borrowing property, *kāe* is used when asking for one item, while *kāni* and *kāyi* are used for requesting more than one item:

- (107) **Kāe** au pāla nā?
Neg.exist your knife there
Haven't you got a knife [that I could borrow]?
- (108) **Kāni** au akavae yī kakai mō?
Neg.exist your hook fish tuna Q
You haven't any fish hooks for catching tuna [that I could borrow], have you?

The first example (107) implies that the speaker wishes to borrow only one knife, while in the second (108) more than one fish hook is requested. The negative existential verb used in the reply to such a question must agree in number with the verb of the question. Alternatively, *kākole* is an acceptable form of the negative existential for either singular or plural requests and responses.

There are two other minor uses of the existential verbs:

1. *Kāe* may have for its subject a limited set of nouns derived from stative verbs including *lelei* 'good' and *kino* 'bad':

(109) **Kāe** lelei loa o te kai wua o te pātia.
 Neg.exist good Int P A eat just P A injection
There's nothing good about contraception [lit. there is no goodness].

(110) **Kāe** kino loa o te payī.
 Neg.exist bad Int P A ship
Nothing bad happened to the ship [lit. there is no badness of the ship].

2. Negative existential clauses can also be used as an expression of hope:

(111) **Kāe** aku pēpa mō na aumaia e toku taeake.
 Neg.exist my paper maybe T bring-Cia Ag my friend
[Lit. There probably isn't a letter from my friend.]
I hope I've got a letter from my friend.

(112) **Kāe** tano mainga lā o taku oloenua na pētī.
 Neg.exist right Dir-Nom Int P my horse T bet-Da
[Lit. The horse that I bet on definitely isn't right.]
I hope that my horse that I bet on, wins.

Questions are often framed in the negative as expressions of politeness. Requests are often framed in the negative using a negative existential (107, 108). Similarly, a simple question such as 'What do you want?', is commonly expressed politely using a negative existential verb:

(113) **Kāe** au mea ko winangalo?
 Neg.exist your.Pl thing T want
[Lit. Is there nothing you want?]
What do you want? [How can I help you?]

Table 29 below displays the existential verbs and their negative forms.

TABLE 29: Existential Verbs

| | Singular | Plural |
|-------------|----------|-------------|
| Affirmative | e tai | e nī ~ e yī |
| Negative | kāe | kāni ~ kāyi |
| | kākole | kākole |

8.5 NEGATED NOMINAL PREDICATES

There are two ways of negating nominal predicates in Pukapukan: the negative markers *kiai* and *kāle ai* may both be used with this function. *Kiai* is preferred and considered to be 'true' Pukapukan, but *kāle ai* also has widespread acceptance, in contrast with other functions of *kāle* which are often labelled as distinctively Cook Islands Māori in origin, as examples of borrowings or codemixing¹⁴. *Kiai* optionally retains the tense-aspect marker *e* for this function, whereas *kāle ai* is not marked by a tense-aspect marker.

Kiai and *kāle ai* are both used to negate nonverbal predicates which are unmarked for tense reference. These may be indefinite (114, 115) or definite equational nominal predicates (116, 117, 118).

- (114) **E kiai** e mea patua e mea ū i te motokā.
T Neg Prd thing hit-Cia Prd thing hit by A car
He wasn't beaten up, he was hit by a car [lit not a thing beaten, a thing hit by a car].
- (115) **Kāle ai** e mea yinga, e mayī wua.
Neg Pro Prd thing fall Prd scrape just
It's not a thing [that happened through] falling, it's just a graze.
- (116) **Kāle ai** te pōvī, e lōpā.
Neg Pro Prd old person Prd youth
[He's] not an old person, [he's] a youth.
- (117) **Kiai** ko Tai, ko Unu te tangata māwutu.
Neg Prd Tai Prd Unu A person clever
It's not Tai, it's Unu who's the clever one.
- (118) **Kāle ai** ko te kala kula, e kala uli.
Neg Pro Prd A colour red Prd colour black
It's not a reddish colour, it's black.

Both *kiai* and *kāle ai* negate attributive predicates (119) and possessive predicates (120, 121, 122):

- (119) **Kāle ai** te ule kaina ma te wū kaina i te tawi, e mea akateniteni.
Neg Pro A penis eat-Cia and A vagina eat-Cia Prd swear Prd thing praise
Ule kaina and wū kaina [vocatives] aren't swear words, they are words of endearment.
- (120) **E kiai** na aku te mea ia, nā koe.
T Neg P I A thing Af P you
It's not mine, it's yours.
- (121) **Kāle ai** nā koe, e Miliāma, te mōina yua nā.
Neg Pro P you Voc Miliāma A bottle water that
That bottle of water isn't yours, Miliāma.
- (122) Ko taku tala nei, **kāle ai** nō te vāiā, e tala wōu wua.
Top my story here Neg Pro P A time-Da Prd story new just
My story isn't a traditional one, it's just a made-up one. (KS:5:2)

Numeral predicates are also negated in this manner:

- (123) **E kiai** e wā, e lima a lātou walaoa na oko.
T Neg Prd four Prd five P they bread T buy
It wasn't four, but five loaves of bread that they bought.

Many nominal predicates negated by *kiai* have past time reference, denoted by the tense-aspect marker of a subordinate clause:

- (124) **E kiai** ko ona na kangangia te tākilikili, ko Lōti.
T Neg Prd he T play-Cia A swing Prd Lōti
It wasn't he who mucked up the swing, it was Ross.
- (125) **E kiai** ko Uwi, ko Tai na meangia.
T Neg Prd Uwi Prd Tai T do-Cia
It wasn't Uwi, it was Tai who did it.

Kāle ai appears to be extending in its usage as children and young people use it to negate past tense verbal clauses with a raised subject (126). Such sentences are deemed ungrammatical by older people. It appears

that a negated nominal predicate structure with a headless relative clause as subject is being reanalysed as being a raised subject from a verbal clause in which *kiai* denotes ‘simple past negative’. While *kiai* can be used for both functions (127a and b), *kāle ai* can be used only to negate nominal predicates (128b) and not verbal clauses in the past tense (128a).

(126) * **Kale ai** loa ia Wutu **na** matakū.
Neg Pro Int A Wutu T fear
Wutu wasn't afraid.

(Form 2 child) (W2:F2:2:5)

(127) a. **Kiai** iāna na kai i te uto ia.
Neg he T eat Acc A coconut Af
He hasn't eaten that sprouting coconut.

b. **E kiai** ko ona na kai i te uto ia, ko Mea.
T Neg Prd he T eat Acc A coconut Af Prd Mea
It wasn't he who ate the sprouting coconut, it was Mea.

(128)a ***Kāle ai** iāna na kai i te uto ia.
Neg Pro he T eat Acc A coconut Af
(He hasn't eaten that sprouting coconut.)

b. **Kāle ai** ko ona na kai i te uto ia.
Neg Pro Prd he T eat Acc A coconut Af
It wasn't he who ate that sprouting coconut.

Even though it is not strictly a negative use, *kāle* can also be used to form questions meaning ‘Didn’t you realise that...?’, or ‘Isn’t it true that...?’. Used in this way it may mildly refute or question a previous speaker’s assumption, or it may ask a polarised question to which the answer is obvious. *Kāle* may occur with postposed particles.

(129) **Nā** i wea koe? **Kāle** au nā i te imú.
T L where you Neg I T L A oven-Da
Where have you been? Didn't you know I was at the cookhouse over there.

(130) **Kāle** lā te wī tāne ka wō ki Kō?
Neg Int A all men T go.Pl G Kō
Isn't it true that the men are to go to Kō?

(131) **Kāle** oki au ko mea?!
Neg also I T say
Isn't it me who's telling it! [Stop interrupting!]

(132) **Kāle** ia Āpela nā i Niu Tīleni, nā yoliyoli ai nā vae i te Astor.
Neg A Āpela T L New Zealand T RR-tread Pro A leg L A Astor
Didn't you realise that Āpela was in N.Z., frequenting the Astor?

8.6 NEGATION OF LOCATIVE PREDICATES

Negated locative predicates are structured in a similar manner to negated verbal predicates. Present tense clauses are negated by *yē*:

(133) Ko **yē** i kinei ia Tua.
T Neg L here A Tua
Tua isn't here.

(134) Ko **yē** ia aku.
T Neg L-A I
It's not with me. /I don't have it.

- (135) Ko yē i loto te kau wāwine o tā mātou uwipānga.
 T Neg L inside A people woman P P we.PI meeting
The womenfolk are not in our meeting.

Clauses in the past tense are negated using *kiai* which allows subject raising (see 8.2.1):

- (136) E **kiai** ia Tua nā i kinei.
 T Neg A Tua T L here
Tua hasn't been here.

The constraint on using locative predicates in the future tense (7.1.3) holds for negated clauses, whether marked by either *ka* or *e*.

- (137) * E yē i kinei ia Tua.
 * Ka yē i kinei ia Tua.
 T Neg L here A Tua
(Tua won't be here.)

Instead, negative situations in future time must be denoted by negating verbal predicates:

- (138) E yē yau ia Tua i te toe tāpati lā mua nei.
 T Neg come A Tua L A other week across front here
Tua won't be coming [here] next week.

8.7 NEGATIVE PROFORMS

There are several negative markers which can be used interchangeably as proforms. These include the negative imperative forms and the nominal predicate negators.

1. Negative Imperative Forms

The negative imperative markers are used as proforms which stand for elipsed predicates. Of the four negative imperative forms, *aulaka* is by far the most commonly used. *Auwae* and *auwē* are also possibilities, but *auyē* is only marginally acceptable.

- (139) I te vāiá, nā lē ia Loto, **aulaka** i te taime nei.
 L A time-Da T win A Loto Neg L A time this
In the past, Loto used to win, but not now.

- (140) **Auwē** i te vāia nei, ko mō wolea wua ia Loto.
 Neg L A time this T freq lose just A Loto
Not now, Loto always loses.

- (141) Nā lē lātou. I te pōlo wua, **aulaka** i te tēniti.
 T win they L A ball only Neg L A tennis
They used to win. Only at cricket, not at tennis.

- (142) **Aulaka** te kiko i loto, ko tona mea i vao ia.
 Neg A flesh L inside Top its thing L outside Af
Not the flesh inside, its part outside.

2. Negators of Nominal Predicates

The nominal predicate negators *kiai* and *kāle ai* can also be used as a proform for elipsed predicates.¹⁵

- (143) I te vāiá, nā lē ia Loto, e **kiai** i te vāia nei.
 L A time-Da T win A Loto T Neg L A time this
In the past, Loto used to win, but not now.
- (144) Nā lē lātou. I te pōlo wua, **kiai** i te tēniti.
 T win they L A ball only Neg L A tennis
They used to win. Only at cricket, not at tennis.
- (145) **Kāle ai** i te matawití, i te toe atu.
 Neg Pro L A year-Da L A other Dir
Not last year, the year before that.
- (146) **Kāle ai** te kiko i loto, ko tona mea i vao ia.
 Neg Pro A flesh L inside Top its thing L outside Af
Not the flesh inside, its part outside.

3. *Mēkole* ‘or not’

Mēkole ‘or not’, can function as a proform for an alternate clause. Its negative function is more evident in its use as a proform than as an alternate conjunction (10.1.3). *Pēkole* is a variant form which is much less common and is used only by elderly speakers.

- (147) Ka wō kōtou ki Kō, **mē kole**.
 T go.Pl you G Kō or not
Are you going to Kō or not?

4. *E kole* ‘no’, *e kiai* ‘not’, *kākole* ‘none’

E kole ‘no’ is a negative used as a proform in answer to a yes/no question.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (148) | Ka wano koe ki te uwipānga? T go.Sg you G A meeting <i>Are you going to the meeting?</i> | E kole , e yē wano au. no T Neg go.Sg I <i>No, I'm not going.</i> |
|-------|--|--|

E is subject to a morphophonemic rule of lengthening preceding *kole* since *kole* is only two morae in length (2.6.1). *E kole* may be followed by postposed particles (5.1) including: *loa*, *mō*, *pē*, *pā*, *lava*, *keke*, which qualify its meaning.

- (149) *E kole pā*.
Probably not.
- (150) *E kole loa*.
Indeed not! [That's not true! Contradicting previous speaker]
- (151) *E kole pē*.
Oh no, that's not right. [Correcting oneself]

E kiai may also be used as a proform in answer to a yes/no question.

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (152) | Na wō kōtou yī ika? T go.Pl you.Pl catch fish <i>Did you go fishing?</i> | E kole, e kiai, kiai. Nā mea lā au ka wano. T Neg T Neg, Neg. T think Int I T go <i>No, no, no. But I was thinking of going.</i> |
|-------|--|---|

There is a semantic distinction between the use of *e kole* and *e kiai* as a proform. *E kiai* indicates that there is still an intention to fulfill the proposition, whereas there is no such implication for *e kole*.

- | | | | |
|-------|---|---|--------------------------------|
| (153) | Na wō lā te kaú? T go.Pl Int A people-Da <i>Have they gone?</i> | E kiai. T Neg <i>Not yet [they haven't but they intend to].</i> | E kole. T Neg <i>No.</i> |
|-------|---|---|--------------------------------|

The negative existential form *kākole* may be used as a proform in answer to a negative existential question.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--------------------------------------|
| (154) | E yī au ika na maua? T exist.Pl your fish T get <i>Have you caught any fish?</i> | Kākole. Neg.exist <i>None.</i> |
|-------|--|--------------------------------------|

NOTES

1. Chung's conclusions about raising (1978:328-335) are in general true, but I disagree with some of the details of her analysis. In particular, some of her sentences are ungrammatical according to my consultants (e.g. (19a), (29a), repeated here as (i)a. and (ii)a. respectively).

- | | |
|---|---|
| corrected to: | |
| (i)a. Kiai nā ika na maua. not the=pl fish past caught <i>'The fish were not caught.'</i> | b. Kiai (koe) na maua au ika. Neg you T get your fish <i>(You) didn't catch any fish.</i> |
| corrected to: | |
| (ii)a. Tapā i a-ku na lele ki Ākarana. perhaps topic pro-I past run to Auckland <i>'Perhaps I ran to Auckland.'</i> | b. Tapā lā au/(<i>*ia</i> aku) na lele ki Ākalana. perhaps Int I A I T run G Auckland <i>Perhaps I should have gone to Auckland.</i> |

The most telling error in this section is that sentence (29a) (ii a. above) is ungrammatical and sentence (29b) (which replaces the pronoun of (29a) with *au* 'I' as in (ii)b, but marks it as ungrammatical) is acceptable grammatically, not the reverse as Chung claims. Thus, sentence initial adverbs only allow subject pronouns in the nominative/absolute case, and do not allow pronouns to be marked as topics in a position following the adverb. Other sentences require additional particles in order to sound natural, there are minor omissions in others (such as the definitive accent) and minor errors in the glosses. Despite these discrepancies, Chung's conclusions are correct that a raised pronoun takes the marking appropriate for subjects that appear inside the clause; that is, the raised pronoun is in the nominative/absolute case and thus the negative marker *kiai* is a higher verb controlling raising of the subject from the negated clause. I also disagree with Chung's analysis of the pronominal proper article in this section. See section 4.1.1 for further discussion of this point.

2. Prohibitions in subordinate clauses or indirect speech are formed with a negative complement marked by *ke yē*. They are not formed with a negative imperative verb.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (i) | Na mea au kia ana ke yē wano. T say I G-A he C Neg (Pro) go <i>I told him not to go.</i> |
| * | Na mea au kia ana ke auwē (ai) wano. T say I G-A he C Neg (Pro) go |

3. Chung's examples (62)a and (62)b (1978:346) illustrating 'occasional raising' of an agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern are cited below as (i) and (ii) respectively. They were rejected by all my consultants as ungrammatical and corrected to the corresponding nominative-accusative clauses.

- (i) (62) a ?Kiai i a Te Malo na tiaki-na te wenua.
not Nom prop Te Malo past lead-Pass the island
'Te Malo did not lead the island.'

corrected to:

Kiai ia Te Malo na tiaki i te wenua.
Neg A Te Malo T guard Acc A land
Te Malo did not guard the island.

- (ii) (62) b ?Kiai i a Uyo na onoono-wia te tāne.
not Nom prop Uyo past see-Pass the man
'Uyo did not see the man.'

corrected to:

| | |
|--|---|
| Kiai ia Uyo na onoono i te tānē. Neg A Uyo T look.for Acc A man-Da <i>Uyo did not look for that man.</i> | Kiai ia Uyo na kite i te tānē. Neg A Uyo T see Acc A man-Da <i>Uyo did not see the man.</i> |
|--|---|

or:

Kiai ia Uyo na onoono-a e te tānē.
Neg A Uyo T look.for-Cia Ag A man-Da
Uyo was not seen by that man.

4. Chung's examples (56)a, b. (1978:344) illustrating occasional raising of the unmarked noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern were rejected as ungrammatical and corrected by my consultants to the corresponding clauses of the 'passive' pattern.

- (i) (56)a. ?Kiai i a-na na patu e Yina.
not Nom pro-he past hit Erg Yina
'He was not hit by Yina.'

corrected to:

Kiai iāna na patu-ina e Yina.
Neg he T hit/kill-Cia Ag Yina
He was not hit by Yina.

- (ii) (56)b. ?Kiai te lā na liaki e te wui tāngata.
not the sail past raise Erg the pl men
'The sail was not raised by the men.'

corrected to:

Kiai te lā na liaki-ina e te wī tāngata.
Neg A sail-Da T raise-Cia Ag A all men
The sail was not raised by the men.

5. The consultants who found this type of sentence acceptable were happy to accept Chung's sentences (68)a and (68)b (1978:348-349) which she listed as ungrammatical, with the addition of a definitive accent in sentence (68)a, or with a topicalised noun phrase.

- (i) (68)a. ?*Kiai te tamāwine na patu te tāne
not the girl past hit the man
(*The girl did not hit the man*)

acceptable as:

| | |
|---|---|
| Kiai te tamāwiné na patu te tānē. Neg A girl-Da T hit A man-Da <i>That girl has never hit that man.</i> | Te tamāwiné, kiai na patu te tānē A girl-Da Neg T hit A man-Da <i>As for that girl, she has never hit that man.</i> |
|---|---|

- (ii) (68)b. ?*Kiai i a Te Malo na pepelu te malo.
not Nom prop Te Malo past don the loincloth
(*Te Malo did not don the loincloth.*)

acceptable as:

Ko te maló, kiai ia Te Malo na pelu.
 Top A loincloth-Da Neg A Te Malo T don
The loincloth was not worn by Te Malo.

6. A recent borrowing from Cook Islands Māori adds a fifth negative imperative *eiā* found in colloquial speech, but not as frequently as the other borrowing from CIM, *aulaka*. Less than a dozen occurrences of *eiā* are found in the corpus and three of these are in predominantly CIM discourse. *Eiā* will not be discussed separately since it constitutes such a small minority of examples and it is used in the same syntactic structures as the other negative imperatives: Neg.Imp (NP) T V.

- (i) Eiā koe e yau tuki wakawōu i nā ngūtupa nei.
 Neg.Imp you T come knock again L A door here
Don't come knocking on my door again. (PP2:9:6)

7. Chung's examples (62c) and (62d) (1978:346) which she marked with (?) illustrating 'occasional' raising of the agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern were rejected as ungrammatical by my consultants and were corrected to the 'accusative' pattern.

8. Chung marked her examples (56c) and (56d) (1978:344) with (?) to illustrate 'occasional' raising of the absolutive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern, but they are in fact ungrammatical.

9. Chung's conclusions are the same here (1978:348-349). She states that the 'e NP' of the 'ergative' pattern is 'rarely if ever' able to undergo raising. Her example (68c) which she marked with (?*) is ungrammatical and was corrected to the 'accusative' pattern by my consultants.

10. Although Chung (1978:342) rightly claims that the patient of the 'passive' pattern can be raised, the first example she gives as a grammatical illustration (51c) (repeated here as (i)) is in fact ungrammatical because of this point, since it contains a second person pronoun, which would require the clause to be in the 'accusative' pattern. My consultants corrected the sentence by omitting the agent and adding a definitive accent or other demonstrative specifying the patient. Her second illustration (51d) is grammatical as she states.

- (i) Auwae nā yakari e vayia e koe.
 don't the=pl coconut uns split-Pass Ag you
'Don't you split the coconuts!'

corrected to:

Auwae nā yakalí e vayia.
 Neg.Imp A coconut-Da T split-Cia (*Ag you)
Don't [let anyone] split those coconuts.

11. The 'passive' pattern is still permissible if the pronoun occurs in a previous clause:

- (i) Kai kōtou i te iká, auwē te moa i kilā e kaina.
 Eat you.Pl Acc A fish-Da Neg.Imp A chicken L there T eat-Cia
Eat the fish, but don't let the chicken get eaten.
 ? *Eat the fish but don't eat the chicken.*

12. For convenience of tabulation, this category includes the actor subject of an intransitive verb, and the subject of the 'accusative' pattern, whether agent or experiencer.

13. Refer to sections 3.1.3 and 3.1.7, which mention a parallel phonological alternation between *y* and *n*.

14. The use of *kāe* as a negator of nominal predicates is distinct from the way *kāre* is used in Cook Islands Māori where, as a negative verbal marker, it has the same function as *kāyi* in existential sentences and *yē* in negative verbal clauses. Cook Islands Māori-Pukapukan combined sentence structures often occur in discourse, but the CIM content is readily identifiable by Pukapukans. Two examples of such mixed sentences follow:

- (i) CIM-Puk Nō tēlā, kāle e lākau wakawōu, na pau e te kōtia.
 Puk Nō tēlā kāyi - lākau -- na pau e te kōtia.
 That's why Neg.exist tree again T finish C cut-Cia
That's why there are no more trees, they've all been cut down.
- (ii) CIM-Puk Mē kāle lā e akaokia mai, e au.
 Puk Mē yē - - wakaokia mai lā, e au.
 if Neg return-Cia Dir Int Prd peace
If it doesn't return, it [means] peace.

In addition, *mēkālē* sometimes acts as an alternative conjunction between noun phrases, meaning 'or not', 'or else'. This is readily identifiable by Pukapukans as the Cook Islands Māori equivalent of *mēkole*.

15. Both *'auraka* and *kāre ai* are also used with these functions in CIM.

CHAPTER NINE : INTERROGATIVES AND IMPERATIVES

9.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines two non-declarative sentence types: interrogatives (9.1) and imperatives (9.2). Both these sentence types have a range of overlapping pragmatic functions. Interrogatives can be used as requests, suggestions, commands, exclamations, hedges, expressions of uncertainty or as greetings. Imperatives can be used as commands, requests, invitations, suggestions, warnings and imprecatives.

9.1 INTERROGATIVES

Several basic types of questions occur in Pukapukan and these are distinguished according to their structure as well as the type of answer they normally expect. The structure and usage of these question types are discussed in the following sections. Yes/No questions (9.1.1) are marked by a rise in intonation at the end of the sentence and they usually expect the answer 'yes' or 'no' with possible elaboration. Confirmative questions (9.1.2) are formed by means of a tag sentence finally or by a postverbal particle. Alternative questions (9.1.3) present two or more alternatives and as an answer they expect one or more of the alternatives. Echo questions (9.1.4) often repeat a previous comment with question intonation, and expect a clarifying answer. Interrogative word questions (9.1.5) contain special interrogative words and expect a reply that will supply information requested by the interrogative word. Indirect questions (9.1.6) may be subordinated to a main clause by an overt marker or simply by being apposed to the main clause. Rhetorical questions (9.1.7) do not expect an answer but may implicitly express an opinion or judgement.

9.1.1 YES/NO QUESTIONS

Yes/no questions contain no special interrogative words and the word order is identical to that of statements. They are marked by rising intonation clause finally and they expect either the answer 'yes' or 'no'.

- (1) Ka lava lā mā tātou?
T enough Int for we.Pl
Will there be enough for us all? (KM:C1)
- (2) Na wolea ia Ngake?
T lose A Ngake
Did Ngake lose? (KM:C2)
- (3) Ko koe wua tokotai? E kole. Ko mātou ko Tāvita, ko Punga.
Prd you just cls-one no Prd we Prd Tāvita Prd Punga
Were you by yourself? No. [There were three of us:] Tāvita, Punga and myself. (L:S:1:31)

Answers to yes/no questions may not necessarily directly answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ but may supply elaboration.

(4) A: Nā Loto lā te lē i Niu Tīleni?
P Loto Int A victory L New Zealand
Did Loto win in New Zealand?

B: Ā, i te vāiá, aulaka i te taime nei.
yes, L A time-Da not L A time here
Oh yes, in the past, but not now.

(KM:C2)

Ēke ‘yes’ or *e kole* ‘no’ are answers to yes/no questions. *Ā* is also used for ‘yes, I understand’ or ‘oh yes, (conceding or conciliatory)’ and *nō te ā* is used for ‘yes, on the contrary’. *Ēke* and *e kole* can be modified by postposed particles such as *pē* ‘definitely’ or *mō* ‘maybe’ to indicate the degree of certainty the speaker wants to express. Alternatively, *kei* ‘I don’t know’ can be used to indicate complete uncertainty.

Unlike many other Polynesian languages which follow an agree/disagree system in which answers to yes/no questions agree or disagree with the polarity of the question, answers to yes/no questions in Pukapukan comment only on the polarity of the state of affairs. They follow a yes/no system similar to that of English (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:190).

Answers to positively framed yes/no questions comment on whether the state of affairs is true or not.

(5) Ka wano koe ki te uwipānga? **E kole**, e yē wano au.
T go.Sg you G A meeting no T Neg go.Sg I
Are you going to the meeting? No, I’m not going.

Ēke, ka wano au.
yes T go I
Yes, I’m going.

Answers to yes/no questions framed in the negative are *e kole* ‘no’ if the state of affairs did not/will not happen, and *nō te ā* ‘on the contrary’ if the event did/will occur.

(6) E yē wano koe ki te pule? **E kole**, e yē wano au.
T Neg go you G A pray no T Neg go I
Aren’t you going to church? No, I’m not going.

Nō te ā, ka wano au.
on.the.contrary T go I
On the contrary, I am going.

(7) E kiai na a kōtou kitea tā māua tamāwine, ia Yina? Mea te kau ia, “E kole.”
T Neg T you.Pl see-Cia P we.2 girl A Yina say A people Af no
You haven’t seen our daughter, Yina, have you? The people said, “No.” (KS:3:7)

(8) Kāni mō o kōlua ao? Mea loa lua Tongoulu Lāililiki, “Nō te ā, e nī o māua ao.”
Neg.exist Q P you.2 breath say Int two warriors on.the.contrary T exist.Pl P we.2 breath
Haven’t you any strength? The two warriors said, “Indeed we have strength.” (W2:F2:7:5)

A positive answer to a yes/no question with an obvious answer is often *e wea oki* ‘of course, what else would you imagine!’

- (9) A: E nī a kōtou senpēpa i kinei?
 T exist.PI P you sandpaper L here
Is there any sandpaper here [on Pukapuka]?
- B: E wea oki! Wolo.
 Prd what also big
What else! A lot.

An interesting use of the yes/no question is found in questions framed in the negative which idiomatically express a question requesting information and expect more than just a mere ‘yes’ or ‘no’ response. For instance, a simple question such as ‘What do you want?’ is constructed in this way:

- (10) Kāe au mea ko winangalo?
 Neg.exist your thing T want
 [Lit. *Is there nothing that you want?*]
What do you want?

This negative way of framing questions has also been noted in the way requests are made.

(a) Polite requests are often yes/no questions framed in the negative.

- (11) E yē tala ai tau tala, e Vave?
 T Neg tell Pro your story Voc Vave
Couldn't you tell us a story, Vave? (KS:4:3)
- (12) E yē maua mō ia koe ke tuku ake te pia ia ki lunga o te payī ke kave ki Wale ma Nātau?
 T Neg able Q By-A you C put please A box Af G on P A ship C take G Home and Nassau
You wouldn't be able to put the box on the ship to take it to Pukapuka and Nassau, would you? (PL:3:4)
- (13) E yē pā lā koe e te yau wakakave ake mātou ki te wenua o Tinilau?
 T Neg agree Int you C come caus-take please we G A land P Tinilau-Da
Wouldn't you agree to come and take us to the land of Tinilau? (MK:S1:6)

(b) Suggestions for joint activities between speaker and hearer are also commonly questions framed in the negative:

- (14) E yē wō lā tāua ke tai a tātou kaipea?
 T Neg go.PI Int we.2 C exist P we crab
Why don't we go and get some crabs? (KM:WK1:2)

(c) Invitations are also framed as negative questions:

- (15) E yē lōmamai ai kōtou ki aku kaikainga?
 T Neg come.PI Pro you G my.PI RR-eat-Nom
Would you like to come to my feast?

(d) Requests for borrowing property are often made using a negative existential question (see 8.4).

- (16) Kāni a kōlua mō tuka i kinā?
 Neg.exist P you.2 small sugar L there
You don't have a small amount of sugar [that I could have, do you]?

Focus in yes/no questions is achieved through the same means by which a constituent is given emphasis; use of postposed particles, increased stress or higher pitch, or most emphatically of all, by *ko*-focusing (see 7.7.4). The following sentence (17) illustrates a neutral yes/no question, or with the inclusion of the particle *mō* it becomes a leading question expecting the answer ‘yes’ and is more polite.

- (17) Na tuku (mō) ia Tao i te leta ia kia Mele i te payī openga?
 T send Q A Tao Acc A letter Af G-A Mele L A ship last
Did Tao send the letter to Mele on the last ship?

Any of the nominal phrases can be focused:

- (18) Ko Tao na tukua mai te leta ia?
 Prd Tao T send-Cia Dir A letter Af
Was it Tao who sent the letter?
- (19) Ko te leta nei na tukua kia Mele?
 Prd A letter this T send-Cia G-A Mele
Was it this letter that was sent to Mele?
- (20) Ko Mele mō na tuku ai ia Tao i te leta ia ki ai?
 Prd Mele Q T send Pro A Tao Acc A letter Af G Pro
Was it Mele that Tao sent the letter to?
- (21) Ko te payī openga na tuku ai ia Tao i te leta kia Mele?
 Prd A ship last T send Pro A Tao Acc A letter G-A Mele
Was it on the last ship that Tao sent the letter to Mele?

Alternatively a modifier such as *openga* can receive extra stress and a pitch rise-fall on the penultimate mora, to indicate that it is being questioned in focus.

- (22) Na tuku mō ia Tao i te leta ia i te payī opénga?
 T send Q A Tao Acc A letter Af L A ship last
Did Tao send the letter to Mele on the last ship?

The verb can be questioned in focus by receiving extra stress and a pitch rise. Phrasing the question in the negative also gives emphasis to the verbal constituent.

- (23) Kiai mō ia Tao na túku i te leta kia Mele?
 Neg Q A Tao T send Acc A letter G-A Mele
Tao hasn't sent the letter to Mele, has he?

9.1.2 CONFIRMATIVE QUESTIONS

There are a number of types of confirmative questions. Pragmatically they can be used to ask a question to which the answer is obvious, to indicate uncertainty, to refute a previous speaker's assumption or to request feedback that the hearer is still attentive to the discourse. These questions are characterised by the use of tags including *mō*, *eā*, *(i)nē*, *e wea*, and the negative *kāle*. The tags are clause final, although *mō* may also occur postverbally and *kāle* occurs sentence initially. Word order is the same as the corresponding statement except for the use of the tag.

1. Tags:

There are several tags which have different but somewhat overlapping functions. Tags are usually found sentence finally, but may appear before a vocative phrase. Tags which seek minimal feedback in a discourse may appear sentence medially but they are always clause final. Sentence final tags function as

a turn taking device, indicating that the addressee should respond. The tag is in a separate tone group from the rest of the sentence.

(a) *Mō* is a confirmative tag which asks for agreement from the listener. Sometimes the speaker is asking for confirmation of the truth of the proposition because he is unsure himself, or *mō* may ask for agreement when an opinion is offered. At other times it is an affirmatory particle which is facilitative¹ to the discourse, giving opportunity for feedback and assurance that the listener is still attentive to the discourse.

(24) Ko ai te kovi e yaelé? Ko Tepa mō?
Prd who A person T walk-Da Prd Tepa Tag
Who is that person walking? It's Tepa isn't it?

(25) Mō, e Akaola?
Tag Voc Akaola
Isn't that right, Akaola?

(26) Nā yele mai oki tō lātou poti ia lā muli o mātou, mō, e Tāvita?
T tie Dir also P they boat Af behind P we Tag Voc Tāvita
[They] had tied their boat up behind ours, didn't they, Tāvita? (PS:1:6)

(b) *Eā* is a similar affirmatory tag which provides opportunity for feedback during a discourse to indicate that the listener is still attentive. It may mean 'OK?' or 'you know?' 'do you recall?' It does not indicate that the speaker is unsure of the events in a narrative.

(27) Ko mau ia koe, eā?
T get By-A you Tag
You understand, don't you? (U:C2)

(28) ...ke oko ki te konga e yī kōpelu aī, eā, e Tāvita?
C arrive G A place T fish fish.sp Pro-Da Tag Voc Tāvita
...until we arrived at the place [people] catch mackerel scad, isn't that right, Tāvita? (P:S:1:1)

(29) Ma a mātou kōpelú, na pau wua e te kāvea e te tangata, wāngai manu, eā?
and P we fish.sp-Da T finish just C take-Cia Ag A people feed bird Tag
And our mackerel scad, [they] had all been taken by people to feed [their] birds, hadn't they? (L:S:1:46)

(30) Ia aku na tuku taku au, eā, na mea au ka maka ia Tāvita.
A I T put my breath Tag T think I T leave Acc-A Tāvita
I had given up hope, eh, I thought I would have to leave Tāvita. (PS:5:1)

(c) *Inē*, or in casual styles *nē*, is a politeness tag meaning 'please' or 'is that alright by you?'. It is often used with imperatives or requests.

(31) Kālia wua ka angaanga ai au, inē?
wait just T RR-work Pro I Tag
Just wait while I'm working on it, won't you? (KM:C3)

It is also used to soften a statement, by framing it as a question which defers to the addressee.

(32) Na oti tā tāua mea, inē?
T finish P we.2 thing Tag
We have finished, haven't we? (MK:S5:104)

(d) *E wea* ‘what do you think? [lit. what?]' is a sentence final tag asking for the opinion of the listener. While on the surface it appears to ask for confirmation, it would often be inappropriate or rude to answer ‘yes’.

- (33) Na wakalialia keke, e wea?
 T dirty Q isn't it
[My house] is dirty, don't you think?

2. *Kāle*:

Kāle occurs sentence initially in confirmative questions without tags without a strictly negative meaning. It has the sense of ‘Didn't you realise that...?’ or ‘Isn't it true that...?’ Used in this way it may mildly refute or question a previous speaker's assumption.

- (34) *Kāle* lā te wī tāne ka wō ki Kō?
 Neg Int A all men T go.PI G Kō
Isn't it true that the men are to go to Kō?
[I thought it was announced yesterday.]
- (35) *Kāle* ia Āpela nā i Niu Tīleni, nā yoliyoli ai nā vae i te Astor.
 Neg A Āpela T L New Zealand T RR-tread Pro A leg L A Astor
Didn't you realise that Āpela was in N.Z., frequenting the Astor?

3. *Mō*:

As well as occurring as a sentence final tag, *mō* commonly occurs postverbally in questions which have the function of making a statement in a non-assertive way. Thus, positively framed questions marked by *mō* expect the answer ‘yes’.

- (36) Ko ngangana *mō* ia Tere ma Mea?
 T on-speaking.terms maybe A Tere and Mea
Maybe Tere and Mea are on speaking terms now, aren't they?
- (37) E tokawolo *mō* te kau na yī pātuki?
 T cls-many maybe A people T fish fish.sp
There were quite a few people fishing for hawfish, weren't there?
- Ēke, kamuloa i te tokawolo.
 yes really Prd cls-many
Yes, there were quite a few. (KM:YK4:4)

Questions framed in the negative expect the answer ‘no’.

- (38) Kiai *mō* ia Tao na tuku i te leta ia kia Mele?
 Neg Q A Tao T send Acc A letter Af G-A Mele
Tao hasn't sent the letter to Mele, has he?
- E kole, kiai na tuku.
 no Neg T send
No, he hasn't sent [it].

Mō may ask for clarification of the addressee's opinion about an intended action:

- (39) Ka wano *mō* au aumai i te keté?
 T go Q I bring Acc A basket-Da
Shall I go and bring the basket?

Or it may be used in questions which ask for a confirmatory reply. It can be used more assertively to protest about the content of a previous utterance.

- (40) Ko tātou mō ka wō?
 Top we Q T go.Pl
We are all going aren't we? [You made out to go without me]. (BB:8)

4. Confirmative questions may also be framed by asking an interrogative word question and supplying a possible answer as a supplementary question.

- (41) A: Ko i wea lua tama a koe, na momoe?
 T L where two child P you T R-sleep
Where are your two children, are they asleep?
 B: Ēke.
 yes
Yes. (U:C3)

- (42) A: E wea tā kōlua puaka ia, e aliki?
 Prd what P you.2 pig Af Prd king
What is your pig? Is it a king?
 B: Kāle, ko te pelemia.
 no Prd A premier
No, it's the Prime Mnister. (U:C2)

5. One further method of asking confirmative questions is by the use of postposed *lā*. *Lā* is often used in questions which anticipate an affirmative answer, in that they are responses to information already given in the discourse, but often express surprise. *Lā* may be translated 'so, then, really' and may be postposed to verbal phrases as well as nominal predicates.

- (43) Ko mina lā koe i te wano ki te āpii?
 T like Int you C go G A school
Do you really like going to school, then?

- (44) Ni lua Niu Tileni lā kōlua?
 A two New Zealand Int you.2
Are you both really New Zealanders? (AT:C3)

Questions phrased in the negative with postposed *lā* expect the affirmative proposition to be true. This type of question may function as an indirect speech act which asks for justification or expresses an opinion of the speaker, rather than one which requests confirmation.

- (45) E yē wō lā kōlua ki Kō?
 T Neg go.Pl Int you.2 G Kō
Aren't you two going to Kō, then? [I expect that you would].
- (46) E yē kave lā te tamaliki ki te paunu?
 T Neg take Int A child G A weigh
Aren't you going to take the child to be weighed, [like you should]?

Negative questions may also be used as an emphatic assertion which has the effect of mildly refuting a previous speaker's assumption or action.

- (47) Kāle oki au ko mea?!
 Neg also I T say
Isn't it me who's telling it! [Stop interrupting] (MU:E1)

9.1.3 ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS

Questions of this sort present two or more alternatives. The two alternative clauses are conjoined by the coordinators *mē* or *pē* meaning ‘or’. The second alternative can be reduced to *mē kole* ‘or not’. Alternative questions expect one of the alternatives as an answer.

1. Alternative direct questions can be conjoined by *mē* ‘or’:

- (48) Ka wea iāna, ka wano **mē** ka nō?
 T what he T go or T stay
What will he do? Will he go or stay?
- (49) Ko kula lā te mea nei, **mē** ko uli?
 T red Int A thing here or T black?
Is this thing red or black?
- (50) Koa wea ona matawiti; koa lima **mē** koa ono?
 T how.many his year T five or T six
How old is he? Is he five or six?
- (51) Ko ai te ika na kaitangi? Ko te akulā **mē** ko te wai?
 Prd who A fish T bully Prd A swordfish or Prd A stingray
Which was the bullying fish? Was it the swordfish or the stingray? (W1:P5:3:6)

Pē may also introduce alternative indirect questions, but this is much less common, more formal in style and slightly old-fashioned in usage.

- (52) Ko wea te mea waingāwie? Ko te talatala wua, ‘Ke matala tau yala?’ **pē** ko te talatala ‘E matete ki lunga, wano’?
 Prd what A thing easy Prd A RR-talk just T loosen your sin or Prd A RR-talk T get.up G up go
What is the easiest [of these]? Just to say, ‘May your sins be forgiven’, or to say ‘Get up and go’? (KM:L3:22)

Occasionally both alternatives are marked by *mē*, but repetition of *mē* normally indicates an indirect question and its alternative (9.1.6 (2)). The second clause may contain an interrogative word in the nucleus of the predicate. This structure conveys uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

- (53) Ko i wea ia Vēti, **mē** ko i Tua, **mē** ko i wea?
 T L where A Vēti whether T L Tua or T L where
Where is Vēti [buried]? Is [he] at Tua or where is [he]? (TU:1:4)
- (54) Ko Lata e tangata, e wea lā tona wenua, **mē** Yāmoa, **mē** wea?
 Top Lata Prd person Prd what Int his land whether Samoa or what
Lata was a person, but what was his country? Was it Samoa or what?

2. *Mē kole* ‘or not’ may function as a proform for an alternative question; however, its most common function is to conjoin alternative declarative clauses (10.1.1.3).

- (55) Ka wō kōtou ki Kō, **mē kole**?
 T go.pl you.PI G Kō or not
Are you going to Kō or not?

Focus in alternative questions can be achieved through *ko*-focusing of a nominal e.g. sentence (51).

9.1.4 ECHO QUESTIONS

This type of question is a response by the addressee when he is not certain about some aspect of what the speaker is talking about, or when, in surprise or disbelief, he is seeking confirmation that the previous comment is indeed true. Echo questions often repeat the previous comment (or the phrase about which there is uncertainty) with rising intonation clause finally.

- (56) Ia Vete mā?
L-A Vete etc
Do you mean at Vete's place?
- (57) Tā mātou vānanganga?
P we announcement-Nom
Do you mean our announcement? (U:C1)
- (58) Kiai na papā?
Neg T R-agree
You mean they didn't allow you to? (KM:C2)

Sometimes information may be offered in the form of a question when the previous speaker's comment requires clarification.

- (59) P: Ia Kaina nei nā Iāpala ma- ma Mea. M: ma Kālepa? P: ma Kālepa.
A Kaina here P Iāpala and and Thing and Kālepa? and Kālepa.
Kaina was Iāpala and Thingy's child. [you mean] and Kālepa? and Kālepa. (MM:L2:10)

Two particles may be used to elicit clarification:

1. *Ei* 'pardon' is used when the speaker did not understand what was said. In this situation there was a double misunderstanding through misinterpreting an idiom.²

- (60) A: Ia aku na tuku taku au. B: Na pau tō ao? A: Ei? Na matakau au, eā?
A I T put my peace T finish your breath pardon? T fear I, Tag
I had completely give up hope. Were you out of breath? What did you say? I was scared, eh?
[because I was so scared] (P:S2:2)

2. *E wea* 'what?' is used for clarification of the previous utterance. In this case poor grammar impaired understanding:

- (61) B: *Na lava koe i te yua? A: E wea?
T enough you Acc A water What?
**Do you have enough water?*
- B: Na lava ia koe te yua? A: Kole, yeke lewu wua te tāngika. Yau te vaí, ko tākele mātou ki te vaí.
T enough By-A you A water no flow small just A tank but A well-Da T wash we G A well-Da
Do you have enough water? No, the tank is just a trickle, But the well [is different, there is plenty of water]. We wash at the well. (MV:C:1:4)

9.1.5 INTERROGATIVE WORD QUESTIONS

There are only three interrogative words in Pukapukan. Typologically this is the smallest system attested in languages of the world (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:184):

| | |
|-------|---|
| wea | what, how many, why, where, which, what sort? |
| pēwea | how, which? |
| ai | who? |

Questions using these interrogative words may be formed in two ways. The interrogative word may be inserted instead of a content word in its normal position in a sentence, or the structure of the sentence may be altered so that the interrogative word becomes the head of a predicate.

- (62) Na wō lātou ki wea? Ko i wea te kongā na wō ai lātou?
 T go.Pl they G where T L where A place T go.Pl Pro they
Where did they go? *Where did they go? [Lit. Where was the place where they went?]*
- (63) Ko tope wāwā pēwea? Ko pēwea te tope wāwā?
 T plant taro how T how A plant taro
How does [one] plant taro? *How does [one plant] taro? [Lit. The taro-planting is like-what?]*
- (64) Ka wano koe **kia ai**? **Ko ai** te tangata ka wano ai koe?
 T go you G-A who Prd who A person T go Pro you
To whom are you going? *To whom are you going? [Lit. Who is the person to whom you will go?]*

Questions about people use the interrogative form *ai* ‘who?’, while those about things use *wea* ‘what?’. In focused constructions, both types of question are equational nominal predicates; those about people are focused by means of a definite nominal predicate introduced by *ko* (65), while questions about things are indefinite nominal predicates introduced by the indefinite articles, *e* or *ni* (66, 67). However, *ko* is not tagged to animacy elsewhere in the grammar and can be used to focus animate as well as inanimate noun phrases in declarative sentences (7.7.4). The use of *ko* in questions may not have been so restricted in the past as elderly speakers allow *kou wea* ‘where?, which one?’ as a variant of a locative interrogative predicate (see p.515).

- (65) Ko **ai** tana tangata na patú?
 Prd who his person T hit-Da
Who did he hit?
- (66) * Ko
 E **wea** tana mea na patú?
 Prd what his thing T hit-Da?
What [thing] did he hit?
- (67) Ni wea ana mea na patú?
 Prd what his.Pl thing T hit-Da
What [things] did he hit?

9.1.5.1 *Wea*

Wea may be used in a wide range of functions in different parts of speech. It may constitute the nucleus of a predicate as well as a noun phrase. It may also occur attributively and as a quantifier.

9.1.5.1.1 Verbal *wea*:

1. *Wea* may function as an intransitive action verb marked for tense:

- (68) Nā *wea* koe i te ayo nei?
T what you L A day here
What were you doing today?
- (69) ...mē ka wō mātou, mē *ka wea*?
Q T go.Pl we Q T what
...whether we will go or what?
- (70) Ko yoka uto te wī tāngata, *ko wea* ia Wutu?
T husk sprouting.nut A all people T what A Wutu
When everyone was husking sprouting nuts, what was Wutu doing? (W2F2:3:7)
- (71) Tū wua ai iāna onoono. *Ka wea* iāna? Kāe ona ngutuala wano ai.
stand just Pro he look T what he Neg.exist his.Pl path go Pro
He just stood and looked. What was he going to do? There was no path on which to go. (KM:WK:4:1)

It may also be a stative verb:

- (72) Na *wea* tā lāua tamāwine, na mate mē na ola?
T what P they.2 girl T die or T live
In what state was their girl? Was she dead or alive? (W2:F2:5:7)
- (73) Ko kali mātou i te pauanga mē ko puapinga mē *ko wea*?
T wait we Acc A answer Q T worthwhile Q T what
We are waiting for the response [to see] if [they] are useful or what? (TM:2:8)

2. *Wea* may also stand for a transitive verb in a clause which may be marked according to the ‘accusative’ pattern (74), (or less commonly) the ‘passive’ (75) or ‘ergative’ (76) pattern.

- (74) Na *wea* ia Tāvita i te pēpē?
T what A Tāvita Acc A baby
What did Tāvita do to the baby?
- (75) Na *weaina* te pēpē e Tāvita?
T what-Cia A baby Ag Tāvita
What did Tāvita do to the baby?
- (76) Na *wea* ai e Tāvita te pēpē?
T what Pro Ag Tāvita A baby
What did Tāvita do to the baby?

The concept of questioning something happening to a patient is often expressed in a relative clause in which *wea* functions as a verb, and the patient is the noun phrase in the nominative/absolute case. The head of the relative clause is an indefinite nominal predicate expressed as: *e mea* ‘It was a thing which...’.

9.1.5.1.2 *Wea* in Nominal Predicates:

1. Equational Nominal Predicates:

As the head of a nominal predicate, *wea* commonly means ‘what’. It may constitute the nucleus of indefinite singular or plural nominal predicates.³

(a) Indefinite Singular:

- (88) E *wea* te mea nei?
Prd what A thing here
What is this?
- (89) E *wea* lā mō taku ika na maua nei?
Prd what Int Q my fish T got here
I wonder what my fish is, that I've caught [on my line]? (KM:YK:3:7)
- (90) E *wea* te tūkē o te tukunga ma te māwutu?
Prd what A difference P A skilled and A clever
What's the difference between skilled and clever?
- (91) E *wea* te angaanga a te akulā i te wī ayo?
Prd what A RR-act P A swordfish L A all day
[Lit. What were the swordfish's actions every day]
What did the swordfish used to do every day? (W1:P5:3:5)
- (92) E *wea* lā nā te Pukapuka?
Prd what Int P A Pukapuka
What is the Pukapukan [word for it]?

(b) Indefinite Plural:

- (93) Ni *wea* au popoa i te ayo nei?
Prd what your food L A day here
What are you going to eat today?
- (94) Ni *wea* au mea ko maunu ai koe?
Prd what your thing T bait Pro you
What are you using for bait? (KM:YK:4:3)
- (95) I *wea* a tātou talatala ka talatala?
Prd what P we RR-talk T RR-talk
What shall we talk about?
- (96) I *wea* nā manu taki-wā vae, uwa loloa, taupulapula?
Prd what A animal each-four leg neck long spotted
What sort of animals have four legs each, long necks and are spotted?

Generic words for ‘thing’, ‘time’, ‘place’, ‘reason’ and ‘method’ commonly occur as subjects of these predicates and they are often modified by a relative clause.

- (97) I wea au mea e mea nā?
Prd what your thing T do there
What are you doing?
- (98) E wea te ola ka wō ai tātou?
Prd what A hour T go.Pl Pro we
What time shall we go?
- (99) E wea te konga o Watumanavanui na ū? Ko te ponaponāvae.
Prd what A place P Watumanavanui T hit Prd A shoulder
What part of Watumanavanui was hit? [It] was the shoulder. (W1:P5:5:14)
- (100) E wea te mea na palu ai iāna i te pēpē?
Prd what A thing T wash Pro he Acc A baby
Why did he wash the baby?
- (101) E wea te lāvenga e maunu ai oki tona tau ia?
Prd what A method T pull.out Pro also his anchor Af
*[Lit. What was the way by which he pulled out the anchor?]
How did he pull out his anchor?*

(c) Quantity nouns may occur as the head of the subject of a nominal predicate filled by *wea*.

- (102) E wea te wolo o tau yīnga?
Prd what A big P your fish-Nom
How big is your catch?
- (103) E wea te wōwonu o te konga nei?
Prd what A deep P A place here
How deep is the place here? (BB:9)
- (104) E wea te loa o te taime nā makimaki ai koe?
Prd what A long P A time T RR-sick Pro you
[Lit. What was the length of time] How long were you sick? (V90:8:1)

One of the arguments of a relative clause may occur as a possessive modifier of the generic noun which is the subject of the nominal predicate. The possessor is usually the actor of the subordinate clause (105), but it may be the patient (106), or the actor may be a possessor of the patient which itself is a possessor of the subject (107) (see 10.6.1).

- (105) E wea te mea a Kula na longo i tona okonga ki tō muamua?
Prd what A thing P Kula T hear L her arrive-Nom G bit ahead
What did Kula hear when she went a little further ahead? (W1:P5:4:7)
- (106) E wea te wolo o te yakali ka vayi i te ayo nei?
Prd what A big P A nut T break L A day here
How many coconuts will be broken today?
- (107) E wea te loa o tā tātou punu e yē yuyuke ai?
Prd what A long P P we can T Neg R-open Pro
*[Lit. What is the long time of our can to not be opened?]
Why is it taking so long for [for one of us] to open the can?*

(d) A common function of *wea* as the nucleus of an indefinite nominal predicate is to refer to reason. Because a reason phrase is an obliquely marked noun phrase it leaves a trace *ai* in the relative clause.

(108) E wea **te tumu** ka kali ai loa te payī ki loto o Āpelila?
 Prd what A reason T wait Pro Int A ship G inside P April
Why will the ship be delayed until April?

(109) Ni wea **a kōtou mea** e wakataukati ai kōtou nā?
 Prd what P you thing T caus-argue Pro you there
Why are you arguing?

(KM:YN:2:9)

For indefinite predicates referring to both reason and method, the generic subject of *wea* may optionally be deleted.

(110) E wea lā (**te tumu**) e kiai ai na oti te talatala ia?
 Prd what Int A reason T Neg Pro T finish A RR-talk Af
Why have [they] not finished talking [about that]?

(111) E wea (**te lāvenga**) na maua ai i tona matua? E mea na pana ēna te loka.
 Prd what A method T get Pro By his father Prd thing T prise Ag-he A lock
How could his father do it? He prised the lock open.

The generic subject may be deleted in clauses containing an intransitive verb (112), and transitive clauses of the ‘accusative’ (113), ‘passive’ (114) and ‘ergative’ (115) patterns, although the ‘ergative’ pattern is marginal in this format.

(112) E wea na yē wano ai koe kia Pikura?
 Prd what T Neg go Pro you G-A Pikura
Why haven’t you gone to Pikura?

(113) E wea na yē kave ai koe i tau pēpa kia Pikura?
 Prd what T Neg take Pro you Acc your paper G-A Pikura
Why haven’t you taken your paper to Pikura?

(114) E wea na yē kāvea ai tau pēpa kia Pikura?
 Prd what T Neg take-Cia Pro your paper G-A Pikura
Why didn’t [you] take your paper to Pikura [while you had a chance to]?

(115) E wea na yē kave ai tau pēpā kia Pikura?
 Prd what T Neg take Pro your paper-Da G-A Pikura
Why didn’t [you] take your paper to Pikura?

When *wea* has no subject, the subject of the subordinate clause may be raised to become the subject of *wea*. In these cases, *e wea* ‘how?’, ‘why?’ is structurally ambiguous with a tensed verbal predicate. The raised subject may be the subject of an intransitive verb (116), a nominative subject of a semitransitive or transitive verb in a clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern (117, 118), or the nominative/absolutive noun phrase (in the role of patient) in a clause of the ‘passive’ (119) or the ‘ergative’ pattern (120).⁴ (See also the nominal predicate structures: *ko ai* ‘who?’ (9.1.5.3) and *nō wea* ‘why?’ (2.(b) below) which also allow raising.) Thus the noun phrase which can be raised is always in the nominative/absolutive case which is unmarked, and in its raised position it maintains this case marking. If there is an actor explicit in the subordinate clause, the neutral case marking is the ‘accusative’ pattern for transitive clauses. An explicit actor in postverbal position is marked in either the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns.

- (116) E wea **iāna** na wano ai lā ngāuta ma te tangi?
Prd what he T go Pro via land and A cry
Why did he go [home] along the reef crying? (PP2:13:7)
- (117) E wea **koe** na maka ai i tō māmā?
Prd what you T leave Pro Acc your mother
Why did you leave your mother? (AP:C1)
- (118) E wea **te wai** na patu ai i te tao o te akulā?
Prd what A stingray T hit Pro Acc A spear P A swordfish
Why did the stingray hit the bill of the swordfish? (W1:P5:3:6)
- (119) E wea **ia Rima** na vayia ai e tona māmā?
Prd what A Rima T hit-Cia Pro Ag his mother
Why was Rima given a hiding by his mother? (PP2:13:12)
- (120) E wea **te pātukí** na yē kai ai e Tao?
Prd what A fish.sp-Da T Neg eat Pro Ag Tao
Why hasn't Tao eaten that hawkfish yet?

In a few sentences expressing idioms, the raised subject may be a possessor of the subject of the subordinate clause when there is a part-whole relationship between the possessum and the possessor:

- (121) E wea **te kau nei** na vili ai nā ate? Na vili **o lātou** ate nō tei mātataku.
Prd what A people here T shake Pro A liver T shake P they liver because R-fear
[Lit. Why these people did [their] livers shake?] *[Lit. Their livers shook because [they were] afraid]*
Why did these people get a shock? (PP2:13:5) *They got a shock because they were afraid.*

The raised subject may not be the agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' (122) or 'ergative' (123) pattern.

- (122) * E wea **ia Tao** na yē kāvea ai tana puka kia Mele?
Prd what A Tao T Neg take-Cia Pro his book G-A Mele
(Why didn't Tao take his book to Mele?)
- (123) * E wea **ia Tao** na yē kave ai tana puka kia Mele?
Prd what A Tao T Neg take Pro his book G-A Mele
(Why didn't Tao take his book to Mele?)

The raised subject noun phrase may not be the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern or an oblique noun phrase.

- (124) * E wea **tau pātukí** na yē kai ai ia Tao?
Prd what your fish.sp-Da T Neg eat Pro A Tao
(Why didn't Tao eat your hawkfish?)
- (125) * E wea **te pālā** na yē yuyuke ai koe i te punú (ki ai).
Prd what A knife-Da T Neg R-open Pro you Acc A can-Da Ins Pro
(Why didn't you open the can with that knife?)

Although the agent of the 'ergative' pattern cannot itself become the raised subject, it can be raised to become a possessor of the subject. Superficially, this sentence type is structurally ambiguous between the 'accusative' and the 'ergative' pattern, since there is no agent following the verb and the verb is unsuffixed. Comparison of sentences (120), (124) and (126) shows that it must be of the 'ergative' type since only the patient of the 'ergative' pattern can be raised to subject position. This format for the

ergative pattern is the most frequent and is neutral in emphasis. The possessor of the raised subject is interpreted only as the agent of the subordinate clause.

- (126) E wea tau pātukí na yē kai ai?
 Prd what your fish.sp-Da T Neg eat Pro
Why haven't you eaten your hawkfish?
 * *(Why hasn't anyone eaten your hawkfish?)*

Only the 'ergative' agent can be raised to become a possessor; a possessor of the raised subject in the 'passive' pattern does not correspond with the agent of the subordinate clause. However, if the agent is not explicit, that interpretation is not completely excluded for a possessor of the patient, either in raised subject position (127) or *in situ* in the subordinate clause (128):

- (127) E wea te puka a Tao na yē kāvea ai kia Pikura?
 Prd what A book P Tao T Neg take-Cia Pro G-A Pikura
Why wasn't Tao's book taken to Pikura?
Why didn't anyone take Tao's book to Pikura?
 ? *Why didn't Tao take his book to Pikura?*

- (128) E wea na yē kaina ai tau pātukí?
 Prd what T Neg eat-Cia Pro your fish.sp
Why didn't [you] eat your hawkfish?
Why wasn't your hawkfish eaten?

Although no other oblique noun phrases can undergo raising, the raised subject can be the agentive noun phrase of an intransitive verb which normally takes a patient subject. In the subordinate clause the agentive noun phrase would be marked by *i* as an oblique noun phrase. However, there is no formal change in the case marking of this noun phrase as it is raised, since the personal article *ia* and the third person pronoun *i āna* are both superficially the same in both nominative/absolutive case and in the oblique case.

- (129) E wea ia Tereāpii na yē pā ai ke wō lāua onoono i nā puká?
 Prd what A Tereāpii T Neg agree Pro C go.Pl they.2 look Acc A tree.sp-Da
Why didn't Tereāpii agree to them going to look at the puka trees? (PP2:13:14)

Questions formed by *e wea...ai* are often exclamatory in nature, and can be interpreted as an indirect speech act which expects justification of the action. They express judgement that an action was contrary to expectation (see 9.1.7 (2)).

- (130) E wea koe na maka ai i au ipiipi kaveu i kinei?
 Prd what you T leave Pro Acc your-pl shell crab L here
Why on earth did you leave your coconut crab shells here? [You should have picked them up.]
- (131) E wea koe ka kata ai?
 Prd what you T laugh Pro
Why on earth are you laughing [for nothing]!

- (150) **Kou wea** koe? **Kou wea** au, ko i kinei, ko i loto o te lūmu nei.
 T where you T where I T L here T L inside P A room here
Where are you? Yoo hoo! Where am I, I'm just here, in this room.

- (151) Wō! **Kou wea** aku tītia nei?
 excl T where my.Pl glasses here
Oh dear! Where are my glasses [which were here just a moment ago]?

Kou wea may also carry attitudinal information such as concern, impatience or surprise, and may imply that something unusual or bad has happened at the location.

- (152) Na kai koe i tā māua tamá? **Kou wea?** **Kou wea** tā māua tamá? Akaluaki koe.
 T eat you Acc P we.2 child-Da T where T where P we.2 child-Da caus-vomit you
Did you eat our child? Where is she? What's happened to her? Vomit her up. (KS:3:7)

- (153) Wō, **kou wea** taku manini nei?...Ko ai lā mō taku manini nei na patua?
 excl T where my fish.sp here Prd who Int Q my fish.sp here T hit-Cia
Where is my pet manini fish? [What's happened to it?] I wonder who might have killed it? (KS7:7)

It may indicate temporal location:

- (154) Moni! **Kou wea** te vāia e oti ai te yanga nā? Kamuloa tātou tū kō te papa.
 money T where A time T finish Pro A work that really we stand Top A earth
Money! When will they ever stop that practice! We're completely destitute!
[Lit. standing on the bedrock] (KM:AM1:4)

Like other locative predicates, *kou wea* is used to discriminate between two or more alternatives, meaning 'which'.

- (155) **Kou wea** te mea lelei?
 T where A thing good
Which is the best? [out of a choice of several].
- (156) ...**kou wea** tona tikānga o te talatala nei, me ko te u.e., me ko te u.w.e.
 T where its right-Nom P A speech here S Top A u e S Top A u w e
[So we can't really discriminate properly] which is the right way of saying it, whether it is u.e. or whether it is u.w.e. (KM:P1:8)

Kou wea or *koi wea*⁵ also functions as an interjectional adverbial with two uses; an exclamation of surprise and a politeness adverbial (see 5.3).

9.1.5.1.3 Wea as Non-predicate Nominal:

Wea can function as a noun, meaning 'what'.

- (157)A: Ko lātou teia na wō tali manini a mātou nei.
 Prd they this T go.Pl collect fish.sp P we here
It was they who went fishing for manini fish as our [payment for winning the contest].
- (158)B: Tali **wea**?
 Collect what
Collecting what [as a payment]? (KM:C2)

Wea may be a common noun marked for case:

- (159) Ko te ngutu o te wea?
Prd A mouth P A what
The mouth of what?
- (160) Ko kaikai ia Tāvita ki te wea?
T RR-eat A Tāvita G A what
What is Tāvita eating?
- (161) Na ava nā yītolo ia Wutu ki te wea?
T carry T ghost Acc-A Wutu Ins A what
With what did the ghosts carry Wutu?
- (162) i te wea lā?
L A what Int
but at what?

or it may be a locative noun marked for case:

- (163) Ka wano koe ki wea?
T go you G where
Where are you going?
- (164) Ka wō lā tāua wuli kaipea i wea?
T go.Pl Int we.2 turn crab L where
Where shall we go to hunt for crabs? (KM:WK1:4)
- (165) Na wō ia Eleta ma Akakoromaki lā wea ki Kō?
T go.Pl A Eleta and Akakoromaki via where G Kō
Eleta and Akakoromaki went along where to Kō? (PP2:13:7)
- (166) Ka kamata iāna mai wea?
T start he from where
Where shall he start from? (L:S:1:6)

9.1.5.1.4 *Wea* as Attributive:

Wea occurs attributively, modifying common nouns meaning ‘which’ or ‘what sort of’. It may also modify temporal nouns meaning ‘when’.

1. Modifying common nouns meaning ‘which’:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(167) Ko tatau iāna i te puka wea? T read he Acc A book which <i>Which book is he reading?</i></p> | <p>I te Ēvangelia a Ioane. Acc A gospel P John <i>The gospel of John.</i></p> |
| <p>(168) E pō wea te mea ia? Prd night what A thing Af <i>Which night was it?</i></p> | <p>E pō Mōnitē. Prd night Monday <i>[It] was Monday night.</i></p> |

2. It may be used attributively modifying the head in a nominal predicate, meaning ‘what sort?’ (169-171), ‘what is it used for?’ (172), ‘what happened?’ (173), or ‘which?’ (174).⁶

- (169) E **puka wea** tana mea e tatau ia?
Prd book what his thing T read Af
What sort of book is he reading? E puka akapapānga.
Prd book genealogy
A genealogy book.
- (170) E **wawine wea** tana wawine?
Prd woman what his woman.
What sort of woman is she? E papā.
Prd European
A European.
- (171) E **tama wea** te mea a te akaaonga nei?
Prd child what A thing P A couple here
What sort of child did the couple have? E tamāwine.
Prd girl
A daughter. (W2:F2:5:7)
- (172) E **uwilapa wea** tā lātou mea?
Prd wheelbarrow what.sort P they thing
What was their wheelbarrow used for?
[Lit. *What sort of wheelbarrow did they have?*] E uwilapa tali uto.
Prd wheelbarrow collect nut
It was used for collecting sprouting nuts.
(PP2:13:12)
- (173) E **iyu wea** tō mea nā?
Prd nose what your thing there
What happened to your nose?
[Lit. *What sort of nose is your thing?*] E mea tukia.
Prd thing hit-Cia
It was hit by something.
- (174) **Ko tana tama wea** te mea na patua?
Prd her child what A thing T kill-Cia
Which of her children was it that was killed?
[Lit. *It was her which child?*] Ko te uluaki.
Prd A firstborn
[It] was the firstborn.
(W2:F2:6:10)

3. When modifying a nominalised clause which is the head of a nominal predicate (7.1.1), *wea* refers to reason or purpose. Unlike other types of reason clauses, this type of reason clause does not carry negative connotations and is the neutral type:⁷

- (175) E **yaunga wea** tau yaunga nā?
Prd come-Nom what your come-Nom there
For what purpose have you come?
[Lit. *What sort of coming is your coming?*]
- (176) E **nikonga wea** iāna ki te uwi?
Prd return-Nom what.sort he G A garden
Why did he return to the garden? (PP2:13:7)

4. *Wea* may modify temporal nouns meaning ‘when?’:

- (177) Ka wō tātou i te **taime wea**?
T go.Pl we L A time what
When shall we go?

The temporal noun may be the head of a nominal predicate:

- (178) E **ola wea** te mea e yau ai ia Tua.
Prd hour what A thing T come Pro A Tua
What time does Tua come [home]?

5. A temporal noun modified by *wea* may be the head of a possessive predicate. This type of predicate also triggers a raising rule which optionally raises the subject of a relative clause to subject position of the possessive clause (see also reason clauses (9.1.5.1.2) which do likewise).

(179) Nō te taime wea na ala ai iāna?
 P A time what T wake Pro he
When did he wake up?

(180) Nō te vāia wea lāua na wō ai?
 P A time what they.2 T go.Pl Pro
 [Lit. Since what time did they go?]
How long have they been gone?

6. *Wea* may also occur modifying a tensed verb which is derived from a nominal.

(181) Na pōlo wea kōtou? Na pōlo tali.
 T ball what you T ball payment
What sort of cricket did you play? [We] played cricket [for] reward [in which the losing team pays the winner usually in food; by going fishing, collecting sprouting nuts (on Pukapuka) or by putting on a barbecue (in N.Z.)]. (KM:WK7:1)

However *wea* cannot modify any other type of verb; instead a verb is modified by *pēwea* ‘how’ (9.1.5.2):

(182) * Na patu wea kōtou i te pōlo ia?
 T hit what you L A cricket Af
(How did you bat at the cricket?)

9.1.5.1.5 *Wea* as Quantifier:

Wea may occur in the quantifier slot preceding a noun.

(183) Ko te wea malama o Miliāma tēnei?
 Top A how.many month P Miliāma Prd-here
How many months old is Miliāma now?

(184) Koa wea malama o Miliāma tēnei.
 T how.many month P Miliāma here
How many months old is Miliāma now?

9.1.5.1.6 *Wea* as Tag:

Wea may also be used as a sentence final tag (see 9.1.2).

(185) Na wakalialia keke, e wea?
 T dirty Q isn't it
[The house] is dirty, don't you think?

9.1.5.1.7 Idiomatic *wea*:

Finally, *wea* may occur idiomatically, in exclamatory expressions:

(186) E wea oki!
 Prd what also
Why else! Of course!

- (187) **Wea** atu ai?
 what Dir Pro
And then what will happen? [Often implied: there will be no useful outcome].

9.1.5.2 *Pēwea*: ‘how?’

1. *Pēwea*, meaning ‘how?’ ‘in what state?’, may occur as the nucleus of a verb phrase. The tense marker is optionally deleted with reference to the present tense.

(a) *Pēwea* functions as a stative verb meaning ‘in what state?’:

- (188) **Na pēwea** koe i te ayó?
 T how you L A day-Da
How were you yesterday?
- (189) **Ko pēwea mai** kōtou i Wale nā? Mē ko yinukalule, ke peia atu lāi.
 T how Dir you L Home there C T very.good T like-that Dir Int
How are you on Pukapuka now? If you are well, may you continue to be so. (TM:2:3)

(b) With a nominalised clause as its subject, *pēwea* means ‘how?’, ‘in what way or manner?’

- (190) **Na pēwea** te tununga o nā wāwā nā?
 T how A cook-Nom P A taro there
How did the cooking of that taro turn out?
- (191) **Ko pēwea** te tope wāwā? Kāle ko tope peia.
 T how A plant taro Neg T plant like-this
How does one plant taro? You do it like this.
- (192) **Pēwea** te akamatanga ia?
 How A beginning Af
How does it start?

(c) Manner questions may optionally contain *ai* in main clauses, implying a potentially difficult situation to be overcome. *Pēwea...ai* denotes ‘how can X be done?’. The subject of *pēwea* may be a nominalised clause.

- (193) **Ka pēwea ai** te katoatoa?
 T how Pro A everyone
*How will everyone get on?
 What will they do about it?* (UU:49:2)
- (194) **Ko pēwea ai** tō lātou tutupunga?
 T how Pro P they RR-grow-Nom
How then do they grow? (KM:PY1:5)

(d) *Pēwea* also triggers a raising rule which raises the subject of a subordinate clause to the subject of *pēwea*.

- (195) **Ka pēwea te Atua** e yanga ai lā loto o koe?
 T how A God T work Pro through inside P you
How does God work through you? (KM:S10:1:4)

2. *Pēwea* may also be used adverbially meaning ‘in what manner, how?’:

- (196) Na tunu **pēwea** nā pātuki a Wekata?
 T cook how A fish.sp P Wekata
How did Wekata cook her hawkfish? (PP2:13:13)

The main verb is commonly *mea* ‘do’:

- (197) Na mea kōtou **pēwea** i te puaka nei?
 T do you how Acc A pig here
What have you done to the pig? [that it is in such a state?] (F4:S2:4:9)

The addition of *ai* modifying the verb *mea* ‘do’ similarly implies a greater degree of effort or difficulty than is expressed by the unmodified verb.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|--|
| (198) | Ka mea pēwea ? | Ka mea ai pēwea ? |
| | T do how | T do Pro how |
| | <i>How shall we do it?</i> | <i>How could we manage to do it?/ What else could we do?</i> |

Mea allows subordinate clauses. *Pēwea* syntactically modifies the main verb *mea* but semantically qualifies the manner in which the action denoted by a subordinate clause is performed.

- (199) Ka mea **pēwea** e tele ai te yanga ki mua?
 T do how T proceed Pro A work G front
How will the work proceed? (KL:1:4)
- (200) Na mea **pēwea** na maua ai a lātou memea i tā lātou painga mua?
 T do how T get Pro P they fish.sp L P they net-Nom first
How did they catch their goatfish in their first netting attempt? (P2:13:13)

Pēwea appears to be mobile and may appear in a number of positions in the sentence; following the verb either preceding or following the postverbal particles, or separated from the verb by the subject:

- (201) Ka maua **pēwea** ai te mea nei? ... Ka maua ai **pēwea** te mea nei?
 T able how Pro A thing here T able Pro how A thing here
How can this thing be?....How can it happen? (KM:LK:1:34)
- (202) Na mea kōtou **pēwea** i te puaka nei?
 T do you how Acc A pig here
What have you done to the pig? [that it is in such a state?] (F4:S2:4:9)

Pēwea may express judgement about the manner in which an action is performed:

- (203) Ko akatangi **pēwea**?
 T caus-sound how
What on earth are you playing!

3. Occasionally *pēwea* is used attributively modifying a noun. Its function here overlaps with the attributive use of *wea* (see 9.1.5.1.4).

It may modify a common noun or a nominal predicate meaning ‘which?’, ‘what sort of?’.

- (204) Te koke pēwea?
A saw how
Which type of saw [do you want]? (KM:C3)
- (205) E pō pēwea te pō na ala ai ia Kūluea? E pō lāwie.
Prd night what.sort A night T wake Pro A Kūluea Prd night clear
What was the night like when Kūluea awoke? It was a clear night.
[Lit. What sort of night was it] (W2:F2:7:16)

9.1.5.3 Ai: ‘who?’

Ai ‘who?’ is the interrogative pronoun used for human reference. It can occur as the head of a definite nominal predicate, a possessive nominal predicate, a locative predicate or as the nucleus of a noun phrase marked for case.

9.1.5.3.1 Definite nominal predicate

Ai may be the head of a definite nominal predicate:

- (206) Ko ai tō yoa?
Prd who your friend
Who is your friend?
- (207) Ko ai te tangata mua na oko mai ki kinei?
Prd who A person first T arrive Dir G here
Who was the first person to arrive here?

The subject of the nominal predicate is normally human but may also be *ingoa* ‘name’ or the name of a small number of non-human subjects. These include the names of social groupings (*lulu* ‘village’, *ākonoanga* ‘church denomination’, *pō* ‘patrilineal burial grouping, cemetery’, *pilianga* ‘relationship’), the names of residential areas (*yikuanga* ‘suburb’) or the names of locations (*motu* ‘island’, *wenua* ‘country’) as well as animal characters in a narrative.

- (208) Ko ai tō ingoa?
Prd who P name
What is your name?
- (209) Ko ai te motu na wō ai te kau nei, e wea te ayo?
Prd who A reserve T go.Pl Pro A people here Prd what A day
What was [the name of] the island that these people went to, and what day was it? (PP2:13:14)
- (210) Ko ai tō wenua wānau?
Prd who P land birth
What is [the name of] your native land?
- (211) Ko ai tō pilianga kia Te Kula? Ko toku māmā, e tamāwine iāna nā Laukape.
Prd who P relationship G-A Te Kula Prd my mother Prd daughter she P Laukape
What is your relationship to Te Kula? It is [through] my mother, she is a descendent of Laukape.

The subject may be a demonstrative pronoun which stands for one of the above:

- (212) Ko ai tēnei ngākaumate na wakiwakia nā lau o toku akamalu nei?
 Prd who this shameless T RR-pluck-Cia A leaf P my shade here
Who is this so shameless that picked the leaves off my tree? (MK1:3)

Ko ai may be modified by possessive noun phrases and postposed particles.

- (213) Ko ai ō tātou kūmiti e nō nei?
 Prd who P-P we committee T sit here
Who of our committee [members] is presently sitting? (U:11:1)
- (214) Ko ai lā mō taku manini nei na patua?
 Prd who Int Q my fish.sp here T kill-Cia
I wonder who has killed my manini fish? (KS:7:7)

The subject noun phrase is usually not explicit (215), resulting in a construction which is structurally ambiguous between a focused nominal predicate and a fronted topicalised noun phrase (see 7.7.4). It is always possible in these sentences for a subject to be made explicit, as in (216).

- (215) Ko ai na palua nā kākau nei?
 Prd who T wash-Cia A clothes here
Who washed these clothes?
Who was it that washed these clothes?
- (216) Ko ai te tangata na palua nā kākau nei?
 Prd who A person T wash-Cia A clothes here
Who is the person who washed these clothes?

The analysis of this type of sentence as a nominal predicate structure with an embedded relative clause is supported by several facts. The most important is that the relative clause part of the structure is identical in all respects to that of a relative clause. If an oblique noun phrase is focused to become the subject of the nominal predicate it leaves a trace *ai* in the relative clause, whereas a subject noun phrase does not leave a trace. Secondly, the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern in the relative clause can become a possessor of the head of the relative clause (217). Elsewhere in the language this strategy is confined to relative clauses. Thirdly, this type of construction is clearly a relative clause since the definitive accent (a marker of noun phrases only) can occur phrase finally on the verb (217). These facts will be clarified in the subsequent discussion. Headless relative clauses (10.6) are found elsewhere in the language in focused constructions (7.7.4) and reason interrogatives: *e wea...ai* (9.1.5.1.2 (d)).

- (217) Ko ai [tau tangata [nā tulitulí?]]_{NP}
 Prd who your person T chase-Da
Who was the person you were chasing?

There are two primary features of this type of question which need to be investigated. The first is which arguments require a trace to be left behind in the relative clause when they are the subject of the nominal predicate construction. The second is which arguments allow optional deletion of the head of the relative clause. There are two types of raising which are also relevant to the discussion at certain points: raising of a patient noun phrase to an empty head in the ‘passive’ pattern, and promotion of an agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern to become a possessor of the head of the relative clause. The details of

Chung's findings for what she calls 'Question Movement' (1978:337) are compared in endnotes at each point and summarised following the discussion.

The subject of the nominal predicate may not be deleted and it always leaves behind a trace if it represents an oblique noun phrase in the relative clause:

- (218) Ko ai **te motu** na wō ai te kau nei?
 *Ko ai na wō ai te kau nei?
 Prd who A island T go.Pl Pro A people here
What is [the name of] the island where these people went? (PP2:13:14)

The subject of the nominal predicate may be the subject of an intransitive verb (219) or a tensed locative predicate (220), in which case no trace is left in the relative clause and the head is optionally deleted (221):

- (219) Ko ai **te ika mua** na totolo wuwuti i nā yika o te tavake?
 Prd who A fish first T crawl R-pull Acc A tail P A tropic.bird
Who was the first fish to crawl over and pull out the tail feathers of the tropic bird? (WP5:2:8)
- (220) Ko ai **tā kōtou tamaiti** e i Lotó, ko Miliāma?
 Prd who P you child T L Loto-Da, Prd Miliāma
Who is your child who is in Loto, is it Miliāma? (MM:C2:11)
- (221) Ko ai nā inuinu i lalo o nā nīnitā?
 Prd who T RR-drink L down P A pawpaw-Da
Who was drinking under those pawpaw trees? (PP2:13:1)

The subject of the nominal predicate may be the patient noun phrase (222) or the agentive noun phrase (223) of an intransitive or neuter verb, in which case the head is optionally empty, and the agentive noun phrase optionally, but not always leaves a trace in the relative clause (223).

- (222) Ko ai (tēlā) na yinga?
 Prd who that T fall
Who is that who fell?
- (223) Ko ai na maua (ai) te āyeu?
 Prd who T get Pro A trevally
Who caught a trevally?

For transitive clauses, the agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern may be the subject of the nominal predicate. In questioning the identity of an actor, the 'passive' pattern is much more common than the 'accusative' pattern, which is quite restricted in its usage. There is no trace left in the relative clause and the head is optional, usually absent:⁸

- (224) Ko ai **te wolomatua** na pulea te pule?
 Prd who A minister T pray-Cia A prayer
Who was the minister who led the service? (PP2:13:7)
- (225) Ko ai ko iloa te ngākau o te tangata?
 Prd who T know-Cia A heart P A person
Who knows the heart of a person? (PY:10:1)

- (226) Ko ai na talaina ki te akulā te wai?
Prd who T tell-Cia G A swordfish A stingray
Who told on the stingray to the swordfish? (PS:3:6)
- (227) Ko ai na wutiwutiina nā yika o te tavake?
Prd who T RR-pull.out-Cia T tail.feather P A tropic.bird
Who pulled out the tail feathers of the tropic bird? (PS:2:8)

Where there is an empty head, the nominative/absolutive noun phrase (patient) of a clause of the ‘passive’ pattern may be raised from the subordinate clause to the empty slot, but *ai* in the nominal predicate still refers to the actor:

- (228) Ko ai koe na talangia?
Prd who you T tell-Cia
Who told you? /Who told on you? (F3:S11:2)
- (229) Ko ai lā mō taku manini nei na patua?
Prd who Int Q my fish.sp here T kill-Cia
I wonder who killed my manini fish? (KS:7:7)

The subject of the nominal predicate may correspond to the nominative/absolutive noun phrase (patient) of the ‘passive’ pattern when the agentive noun phrase is explicit in postverbal position marked by *e*. The head is optional, although usually present, and there is no trace left in the relative clause:⁹

- (230) Ko ai (nā tama) nā tautea e toku māmā?
Prd who A child T look.after-Cia Ag my mother
Who are the children my mother was looking after?
- (231) Ko ai (te kauliki) na vayia e te pūāpii?
Prd who A children T hit-Cia Ag A teacher
Who are the children that the teacher hit?

Ai is ambiguous in its reference if the noun phrase preceding the ‘passive’ verb is the only argument. Where the noun phrase is a generic or non-specific noun it is interpreted as a patient subject co-referential with *ai*. But where it is a noun with specific reference, it is interpreted as the raised patient and the missing subject of *ai* is interpreted as the agent:

- (232) Ko ai te kau na patua? (patient subject)
Prd who A people T kill-Cia
Who are the people who have been killed?
* *(Who are the people who killed [someone]?)*
- (233) Ko ai te kauliki na vayia? (patient subject)
Prd who A children T hit-Cia
Who are the children who were hit?
* *(Who did the children hit?)*
- (234) Ko ai taku tama nei na patua? (deleted agent subject, raised patient)
Prd who my child here T kill-Cia
Who has killed my child?
* *(Who did my child kill?)*

- (235) Ko ai lāua na kitea? (deleted agent subject, raised patient)
 Prd who they.2 T see-Cia
 Who saw them?
 * (Who did they see?)

The subject of the nominal predicate cannot correspond to the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern:¹⁰

- (236) * Ko ai na kave te puka?
 Prd who T take A book
 (Who took the book?)

The subject of the nominal predicate may correspond to the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern, in which case there is no trace left in the relative clause and the head is not optional. The agent is promoted to become a possessor of the head. Relative clauses of this type are typified by a final definitive accent (or other positional particle).

- (237) Ko ai tau tangata nā tulituli?
 Prd who your person T chase-Da
 Who were you chasing?
- (238) Ko ai te kauliki a te pūāpii na vayi?
 Prd who A children P A teacher T hit-Da
 Who were the children whom the teacher hit?

If the agent is marked by *e* in the relative clause, the ‘ergative’ pattern is not permitted and the ‘passive’ pattern is required:¹¹

- (239) * Ko ai (teia) na tulituli e koe? (‘ergative’)
 Ko ai na tulituli-a e koe? (‘passive’)
 Prd who (this) T RR-chase-Cia Ag you
 Whom did you chase?
- (240) * Ko ai te kauliki na vayi e te pūāpii? (‘ergative’)
 Ko ai te kauliki na vayia e te pūāpii? (‘passive’)
 Prd who A children T hit-Cia Ag A teacher
 Who were the children whom the teacher hit?

The subject of the nominal predicate can be the subject of a transitive clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern,¹² but this is much less common than the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern. In fact, in the one example in the corpus (241), the object has ambiguous case marking which could be interpreted as locative or accusative.¹³ The ‘accusative’ pattern is available for irrealis situations denoted by the future tense-aspect marker (241, 242), but the ‘passive’ pattern is required for completed actions (243). The head is optional and there is no trace left behind in the relative clause.

- (241) Ko ai ka aka wakawōu i tō tātou ngūtupa nei ke ngawā, ke wō tātou ki vao?
 Prd who T kick again ?Acc/?L P we door here C break C go.Pl we G out
 Who will kick (at) the door to break it, so we can go out? (MK:S1:3)
- (242) Ko ai (te pūāpii) ka vayi i te kauliki?
 Prd who A teacher T hit Acc A children
 Who is the teacher who will hit the children?

- (243) * Ko ai te pūāpii na vayi i te kauliki? 'accusative' pattern
 Ko ai (te pūāpii) na vayia te kauliki? 'passive' pattern
 Prd who A teacher T hit-Cia A children
Who is the teacher who hit the children?

The direct object (patient) of a canonical transitive verb in the 'accusative' pattern cannot be the subject of the nominal predicate, either with or without a trace in the relative clause (244).¹⁴ Instead, the 'passive' (231) or 'ergative' (238) pattern must be used if the identity of a patient is to be questioned. However, for semitransitive verbs, including verbs of emotion and perception which mark their objects with either *i* or *ki*, the goal may be the head of the nominal predicate, the head is obligatory and there is a trace *ai* in the relative clause (245-247).

- (244) * Ko ai te kauliki ka vayi (ai) koe?
 Prd who A children T hit Pro you
(Who are the children you will hit?)
- (245) Ko ai te tangata e winangalo ai koe?
 Prd who A person T want Pro you
Who do you want?
- (246) Ko ai te tangata na tala atu ai ia Tao?
 Prd who A person T tell Dir Pro A Tao
Who did Tao say it was?
- (247) Ko ai te tangata a Mele e manatu ai ka ana wolea?
 Prd who A person P Mele T think Pro T she beat-Cia
Who does Mele think she can beat?

Indirect objects are rarely questioned in focus. The head of the relative clause is obligatory and there is always a trace *ai* in the relative clause. The 'accusative' (248) and 'ergative' (249) patterns are allowed but not the 'passive'.

- (248) Ko ai te tangata na kave ai koe i te kete iká?
 Prd who A person T give Pro you Acc A basket fish-Da
Who is the person to whom you gave that basket of fish?
- (249) Ko ai tau tangata na kave ai te kete iká?
 Prd who your person T give Pro A basket fish-Da
Who is the person to whom you gave that basket of fish?

The various arguments of the relative clause that are allowable as subjects of *ko ai* nominal predicates are summarised here and in Table 30:

- (250) Ko ai (te pūāpii) ka vayi i te kauliki? ('Accusative' Subject -optionally deleted)
 Ko ai (te pūāpii) ka vayia te kauliki? ('Passive' Agent - optionally deleted)
 Prd who A teacher T hit A children
Who is the teacher who will hit the children?
- (251) Ko ai taku tama nei ka vayia? ('Passive' Agent - deleted subject, raised patient)
 Prd who my child here T hit-Cia
Who would hit my child?

- (252) Ko ai (te kauliki) ka vayia e te pūāpii? ('Passive' Patient - optionally deleted)
 Prd who A children T hit-Cia Ag A teacher
Who are the children who the teacher will hit?
- (253) Ko ai te kauliki a te pūāpii ka vayi? ('Ergative' Patient with Agent as possessor)
 Prd who A children P A teacher T hit-Da
Who are the children who the teacher will hit?

TABLE 30: Arguments that can occur as the subject of *Ko ai* predicates.

| | Actor | Patient |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| Intransitive | ✓ (opt) | - |
| Accusative | x/✓ (opt) | x/✓ + ai |
| Passive | ✓ (opt) | ✓ (opt) |
| Ergative | x | ✓ [+actor possessor] |
| Neuter | ✓ (opt) (ai) | ✓ (opt) |

In summary, the arguments that can occur as the subject of an interrogative nominal predicate using *ko ai* are a mixed group, including nominative/absolutive noun phrases as well as the agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern, none of which leave a trace in the relative clause. The agentive noun phrase of a neuter verb can be added to this list but it optionally leaves a trace, as oblique noun phrases always do. The direct object of the 'accusative' pattern leaves a trace, but it is questioned in focus only with semitransitive verbs. For transitive verbs, the most common pattern for questioning the identity of an agent is the 'passive' pattern, not the 'accusative' pattern, which is largely restricted. Headless relative clauses are found for all patterns except the 'ergative' pattern, in which the preferred configuration is for the patient noun phrase to be the subject of the nominal predicate and the agent to be a possessor of the head.

These findings are at considerable variance with those of Chung (1978:337-350). She considers that nominative/absolutive noun phrases (subjects of intransitive clauses and transitive clauses of the 'accusative' pattern as well as the 'unmarked' noun phrase of the 'passive and 'ergative' patterns) always undergo the 'chopping' strategy of 'Question Movement' and that for the 'e marked noun phrase' it is not available for the 'ergative' pattern and restricted for the 'passive' pattern.

Thus there are three major points of variance: the 'accusative' pattern is restricted and should not be considered the 'basic' pattern for questioning an actor; the agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern is freely questioned in headless constructions (not restricted), and the absolutive argument of the 'ergative' pattern cannot be questioned in headless constructions.

A further issue is that Chung's rule of 'Question Movement' (1978:337) is a rule which applies to questions introduced by *ko ai* 'who?' as well as to reason interrogatives, of which she gives only one

example. These two types of question formation are different but related processes. The subject is sometimes optional for both types of nominal predicate structure and when there is no overt subject, there is a subsequent raising process which can apply only to an nominative/absolutive noun phrase. However, the constraints are considerably different for each type of question. For *ko ai* predicates, the subject which can be deleted is not necessarily in the nominative/absolutive case, but it cannot be an oblique noun phrase, whereas the generic noun which is the subject of a reason predicate (*e wea... ai* ‘why?’ (9.1.5.1.2)) always represents an oblique noun phrase. When a reason predicate has no overt subject, any nominative/absolutive noun phrase can be raised to become its derived subject, but only one type of nominative/absolutive noun phrase (the patient of the ‘passive’ pattern) undergoes a raising process to become the subject of *ko ai*. Thus the noun phrase in subject position can only correspond to an nominative/absolutive noun phrase in the relative clause for reason interrogatives, but agentive noun phrases of the ‘passive’ pattern are commonly subjects of *ko ai* predicates. The subject noun phrase of the ‘accusative’ pattern is commonly a subject of *e wea...ai*, but restricted in *ko ai* predicates.

9.1.5.3.2 Other uses of ai

1. *Ai* may occur as the head of a possessive nominal predicate:

- (254) Nō ai te tayi nei? Nō oku.
 P who A turn here P me
Whose turn is this? Mine.
- (255) Nō ai te ala nā yoka uto ai lātou?
 P who A path T husk sprouting.nut Pro they
Whose was the path where they were husking sprouting coconuts? (P2:13:12)
- (256) Nā ai te tama nei? Nā Lētai.
 P who A child here P Lētai
Whose is this child? [It] is Lētai’s.
- (257) Nā ai te kaukau nā onoono i te akatautotokonga ia?
 P who A group.people T look Acc A argue-Nom Af
Whose was the group of people who were looking at the argument? (P2:13:8)

2. As the head of a locative predicate it is realised as *ā*, since it is marked by the personal article *ia* which coalesces with the locative marker and the pronoun.¹⁵

- (258) Ko i āi te meá?¹⁶ Ko i ia Uyo, e pito kave wua atu ēna.
 T L A-who A thing-Da T L A Uyo T recently take just Dir Ag-he
With whom is that thing? It is with Uyo, he has just taken [it]. (KM:PP2:1)

3. Occasionally, *ai* is found occurring as the nucleus of a noun phrase marked for case.

- (259) Ka kave ki ai te koke?
 T carry G who A saw
To whom are you taking the saw? (KM:C3)
- (260) Ko kōlua ma ai?
 Prd you.2 with who
You and who else?

- (261) Te tele o ai?
A tour.party P who
The tour party of whom?

In the nominative/absolutive case *ai* is commonly found in echo questions (9.1.4) or rhetorical questions (9.1.7) in which the speaker addresses himself when he has temporarily forgotten someone's name.

- (262) Ia ai?
A who
Who do you mean? (MM:L4:12)

- (263) Mea loa ia-... ia-...ia ai? ia Mea mā, ia Wakapeyī ma Wakapalalū,
Say Int A... A... A who A Thing etc A Wakapeyī and Wakapalalū
Someone said, who was it now?... Thingy and the others... Wakapeyī and Wakapalalū (MM:L2:10)

9.1.6 INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Indirect questions are typically marked either by *pē* or by *mē*. *Pē* is considered to be more formal, perhaps slightly old-fashioned. *Mē* occurs at least three times more frequently in the corpus than *pē*.

1. Indirect questions may be introduced by *pē*.

- (264) Uwi atu koe ki taku vale pē ko ia ana taku puka.
ask Dir you G my spouse Q T L-A he my book
Ask my husband whether he has my book.
- (265) Nō kiai, na wakavale atu ai mātou pē ka maua ia koe e te tautulu mai.
P Pro T ask Dir Pro we Q T able By-A you C help Dir
That's why we have asked [you] whether you are able to help [us]. (P:S4:5)
- (266) Mea loa ia Tupou ke wō mātou onoono ia Langi pē na wānau.
say Int A Tupou C go.Pl we look Acc-A Langi Q T give.birth
Tupou told us to go and see whether Langi had given birth. (F3:S9:1)
- (267) Ka onoono ai pē yī lito.
T look Pro Q exist.Pl fine.pandanus.leaf.sp
Then [we] will see whether there are any fine pandanus leaves [available]. (TU:8:1)

2. In indirect alternative questions, *pē* marks both alternative clauses:

- (268) Kiai au na onoono wakalelei pē ko makeke te kōanga, pē na papala.
Neg I T look carefully whether T strong A climbing.rope whether T rotten
I hadn't looked carefully [to see] whether the climbing rope was strong or rotten. (KM:WK5:2)
- (269) Mata mai nā yolonga nā pē lelei pē kikino.
inspect Dir A tread-Nom there whether good or pl-bad
Inspect the procession to see whether it is good or bad. (BB:550)

Or the second of two alternative clauses may be substituted by the proform *kole* 'not':

- (270) ...pē ko te Metia mō koe, mē kole.
...Q Prd A Messiah Q you or not
...whether you are the Messiah or not. (KM:LK1:14)

3. *Mē* is also used as a marker of indirect yes/no questions and indirect alternative questions. It commonly occurs in indirect questions which are complements of verbs of knowing (or not knowing) (271- 274) or verbs of asking (275) or looking (276). It marks both (272) or all (274) the alternative clauses.

- (271) Ko yē aku iloa lā mē ni wea a kōtou manatunga.
T Neg I know-Cia Int Q A what P you think-Nom
But I don't know what you think [about this].
- (272) Ko yē mailonga mē ka ala mē ka moe.
T Neg sure Q T awake Q T sleep
[I'm] not sure whether [he'll] be awake or asleep.
- (273) Ko yē mailonga ia aku, mē ka oko ki Lalotonga i te Tāpati nei.
T Neg sure By-A I Q T arrive G Rarotonga L A Sunday this
I'm not sure whether [we'll] arrive in Rarotonga on Sunday [or not].
- (274) Mē nō wea lā te tala iā Lata nei, ko yē mālama loa ia aku, mē nō Yāmoa, mē nō Wale,
Q P what Int A story Af-P Lata here T Neg clear Int By-A I Q P Samoa Q P Home

mē nō te toe wenua.
Q P A other land
I'm not sure where this story of Lata is from, whether from Samoa, from Pukapuka, or from another land.
(MM:L3)
- (275) Pati ai ki te tangata wolo o te tele mē tai o lātou manako.
ask Pro G A person big P A tour.group Q-T exist P they thought
Then [they] asked the leader of the tour group whether they had anything to say. (F3:S6:3)
- (276) Ka kake au onono mē yī a tāua niu ka maua i lunga o te niu nei.
T climb I look Q-T exist.Pl P we.2 coconut T get L on P A coconut here
I will climb up and see whether there are any coconuts [for us] to get up in this tree. (KU:4:4)

4. The main clause is often absent, and *mē* (or much less frequently *pē*) stands on its own as a marker of an implied indirect question.

- (277) Mē ko ai te toe o tona wāoa ia.
Q Prd who A other P his crew Af
[I don't remember] who were the others in his crew. (MM:L2)
- (278) ...Vavayi loa lātou i te tangata nei, mē e wea te mea e vave ai te tangata nei.
R-split Int they Acc A person here Q Prd what A thing T stong Pro A person here
...They cut open this person [to see] why he was so strong. (U:11)
- (279) Kāe yeke toe, mē ko mālama ia koe i te yeke.
Neg.exist seat remain Q T clear By-A you ?L A seat
No more canoe seats were left, [I don't know] whether you understand what a yeke is. (MM:L4)
- (280) Pē yī tātua ko i te kongā i nā titi, mē e wea tātua ko i te kongā ia.
Q-T exist.Pl belt T L A place L A skirt Q T how.many belt T L A place Af
[I don't know] whether there are any [woven] belts with the skirts, or how many belts are there. (T:U8:1)

Indirect questions of all types are found. Examples of yes/no questions are found in (1) above, alternative questions in (2), and a full range of interrogative word questions can be found introduced by *mē*. Sentence (277) (above) contains the interrogative *ko ai* 'who?', sentence (278) *e wea...ai* 'why?' and sentence (280) *e wea* 'how many?'. Sentence (281) below shows *pēwea* 'how?' in an indirect question of this type.

- (281) Na talatala mātou mē ka mea pēwea ma tā tātou pukamuna e wowou nei.
 T RR-talk we Q T do how with P we book.word T R-make here
We talked about how to action our dictionary that we are in the process of making. (T2:5)

Indirect questions containing interrogative words, but not alternative questions, can be found without any means of subordination, so that the indirect question can be simply apposed to the main clause.

- (282) Ko yē iloa ēna ka wea.
 T Neg know-Cia Ag-he T what
He didn't know what to do. (LS2:3)
- (283) Ko ana iloa oki e wea na yau ai.
 T he know-Cia also Prd what T come Pro
He knew why he had come. (MW3:6)
- (284) Ko au iloa ko ai au?
 T you know-Cia Prd who I
Do you know who I am? (TM1:4)
- (285) Ko yē a lātou iloa e wea te au.
 T Neg they know-Cia Prd what A peace
They don't know what peace is. (SK1:8)
- (286) Tala mai ake kia mātou ka mea pēwea ke pule.
 Tell Dir please G-A we T do how C pray
Tell us how to pray. (L11:1)

9.1.7 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Rhetorical questions expressing judgements are of two types. The first type is in the form of the yes/no question, and the second is based on the interrogative word question. Neither expect an answer, but implicitly express the opinion of the speaker.

1. Rhetorical questions in the form of yes/no questions may be sarcastic in their mode. Sometimes the sarcasm is expressed via a postposed particle; at other times there is an overt content word expressing a negative view.

- (287) Ko a koe iloa lā e te yī ika?
 T you know-Cia Int C catch fish
Do you indeed know how to fish? [I don't think you do]
- (288) E yī oki lā au kawa?
 T exist.Pl also Int your line
Besides, have you any line at all? [you haven't have you?]
- (289) Ka yau wua koe ki te kākole, waka lā ma te lā?
 T come just you G A nothing caus-sun with A sun
Are you just going to come for nothing, merely to expose yourself to the sun?

2. Rhetorical questions expressing a judgement by the speaker may be based on the form of interrogative questions asking 'why?'. However, they do not expect an answer but express disapproval or surprise that an event or state occurred contrary to expectation or in violation of normal behaviour.

They are of the form:

E wea NP₁ ka V (NP₂) ai!
 na
 Prd what T Pro

- (290) E wea koe ka kata ai?
 Prd what you T laugh Pro
Why are you laughing [for nothing]? (AT:C3)
- (291) E wea oki koe na vayi ai?
 Prd what also you T hit Pro
Why did you hit her for nothing? (AT:C1)

As noted in Chapter 3 (note 2), this construction is somewhat petrified in that it allows only *ka* (standing for present not future tense) and *na* (past tense) as tense-aspect markers. Also, it may have an optional negative component, *yē*, which normally co-occurs with neither *ka* nor *na*. Future negatives and past negatives are respectively *e yē* and (*e*) *kiai* (NP) *na* (...), (see 3.1.3; 8.2.1; 8.3).

- (292) E wea ka yē maua ai?
 Prd what T Neg be.able Pro
Why shouldn't [they] catch [something]? (KM:C3)
- (293) E wea oki ka yē au kitea ai?
 Prd what also T Neg you see-Cia Pro
Why/how is it that you didn't see them?
- (294) E wea koe na yē mea ai ke aku langona?
 Prd what you T Neg do Pro C I hear-Cia
Why didn't you play [it] so I could hear? (MU:C4)
- (295) E wea oki na yē aumaia ai e niu mā aku?
 Prd what also T Neg bring-Cia Pro A nut for me
Why didn't you bring me a nut [when I expected you to]?

The expression *e wea oki* may be deleted, especially in complex sentences, but the sense of the idiom is retained. It expresses disappointment or disapproval at such an occurrence happening contrary to expectation.

- (296) E Maloti, e yē yelea ai tā kōlua puaka?
 Voc Maloti T Neg tie-Cia Pro P you.2 pig
Hey Maloti, why don't you tie up your pig? (U:C2)
- (297) Nā yē yelewuti ai koe i nā talinga?
 T Neg slap Pro you Acc A ear
Why didn't you slap [his] ears?
- (298) Nā yē wō ai kōlua, totoli mai e taulua mā tātou mō te Tāpati?
 T Neg go.Pl Pro you R-pick Dir A bunch for we for A Sunday
Why don't you go and pick a bunch of nuts for us for Sunday?
- (299) Ka yē ana kitea ai tana motokā, e tike wua i loto o te lūmu!
 T Neg he see-Cia Pro his car T naked just L inside P A room
Why can't he find his [toy] car, it's just lying around in his room!

9.2 IMPERATIVES

Imperative constructions are marked by the absence of a tense-aspect-mood marker. The subject noun phrase is optional and may be a pronoun (second person singular, dual or plural, or first person dual or plural inclusive) or for negative imperatives the subject may also be a noun phrase with a noun as its head. Subject-verb agreement applies whether or not the subject is overt.

- (300) Wetū lā (kōtou) ki lunga.
 Pl-stand Int you.Pl G up
Stand up. (U:C3)

A subject in postverbal position is common, but a preverbal pronoun subject cannot occur in imperative constructions:

- (301) Manatu koe wakalelei. * au manatua wakalelei
 think you well you think-Cia well
Think carefully. (*Think carefully*)

A topicalised noun phrase can occur clause initially:

- (302) Te kau e yī pulepule, takitaki ni pulepule ki kinei, aulaka oki tātou e lōmamai wua.
 A people T exist.Pl cowrie.shell RR-bring A cowrie.shell G here Neg.Imp also we T come.Pl just
The people who have some cowrie shells, bring them here, don't just come [with nothing]. (TU13:1)

Imperative constructions can be used to denote commands (303), requests (304), invitations (305), suggestions (306), warnings (307) and imprecatives (308):

- (303) Limalima mai koe kia aku nei.
 hurry Dir you G-A I here
Hurry [and come] here to me.
- (304) Pupuni mai ake te pū.
 shut Dir please A door
Please shut the door.
- (305) Lōmamai loa kōtou ki te imukai tāyao.
 come.Pl Int you G A feast tomorrow
Do come to the feast tomorrow.
- (306) Mamai tāua ki te uwi.
 come.Pl we.2 G A garden
Let's go together to the garden. (MU:E2)
- (307) Onoono (koe) ka tō koe.
 watch you T fall you
Watch out in case you fall.
- (308) Kai tau olo.
 eat your taro.pudding
 [Lit. Eat your taro pudding]
Take your just desserts, it serves you right.

9.2.1 Positive Imperatives

1. In simple imperative constructions, the subject of an intransitive clause can always be deleted (see (300) above). Simple imperative transitive clauses may follow the ‘accusative’, ‘ergative’ or ‘passive’ case marking patterns. Deletion of the noun phrase expressing the addressee is found only in the ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ patterns. An overt expression of the addressee is required for the ‘accusative’ pattern. The ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ patterns do not occur with an overt expression of the addressee.

- (309) Taute kōtou i taku tama nei wakalelei. ‘accusative’ pattern
 look.after you.Pl Acc my child here well
Look after my child well.
- (310) Taute ake taku tama ke niko mai au. ‘ergative’ pattern
 look.after please my child C return Dir I
Please look after my child until I return.
- (311) Tauteina taku tama nei wakalelei. ‘passive’ pattern
 look.after-Cia my child here well
[Make sure that you] look after my child well [while I am away].

The politeness postverbal marker *ake* (5.1.3) is often used to soften the imperative.

- (312) Kave **ake** koe ia aku ki te wenua o Tinilau. (MK:S2:14)
 take please you Acc-AI G A land P Tinilau-Da
Please take me to the land of Tinilau.
- (313) Aumai **ake** nā wāwā nā.
 bring please A taro that
Please pass the taro.

There are usage differences between the patterns. The ‘ergative’ case marking pattern is used in casual speech between equals and is the most common and the neutral pattern. The ‘accusative’ pattern is more formal or respectful than the ‘ergative’ pattern and may be used by a younger person speaking to an elder. The ‘passive’ pattern (314) is the least frequently found, and may be used for requests which are expected to be long-term in their fulfillment.

- (314) Wakaleleiina mai te maki o taku tāne nei. (BB:1120)
 caus-good-Cia Dir A sickness P my man here.
[I need you to] make the sickness of my husband well.

‘Passive’ case marking may sometimes distance the imperative from the immediate present (315a), but not always (316). ‘Ergative’ case marking normally implies that an immediate response is required (315b).

- (315) a. Aumaiina nā wāwā (ke yau koe). b. Aumai ake nā wāwā (i te vāia nei).
 bring-Cia A taro C come you bring please A taro L A time here
Bring the taro with you (when you come). Please bring the taro (now).

The ‘passive’ pattern is the usual one found in complex sentences in association with a subordinate clause of purpose which may contain a preverbal pronoun and therefore has ‘passive’ case marking:

Although an overt pronoun referring to the addressee is not acceptable for the ‘ergative’ pattern, a vocative phrase or an expression of the addressee is acceptable in a previous clause:

- (322) Yau koe, yau avatu tau mea.
 come you come take your thing
You come, come and take your thing. (ML3:27)

The ‘passive’ pattern often occurs without any politeness markers and is commonly used for giving instructions to equals or subordinates. It can occur with an overt subject pronoun in the motion verb clause. In contrast to simple imperative clauses where it is not very frequent, the ‘passive’ pattern is relatively frequent in complex sentences containing a motion verb.

- (323) Wano onoona toku wale pē ko pēwea.
 go look-Cia my house Q T how
Would you go and check on my house to see how it is.
- (324) Wano (koe) tutuina te awi.
 go you light-Cia A fire
Go and light the fire.
- (325) Mea oki ia Tengele, “Yau, e Peni, lālāina te puaka nei.”
 say also A Tengele come Voc Peni singe-Cia A pig
Tengele said, “Peni, come and singe the pig [to take off the hair].” (F4:S2:7)

(b) Imperatives with purpose clauses subordinated by *ke*

A purpose clause can be subordinated to a motion verb or to any other lexical verb denoting an action or state by means of *ke*. The subordinate clause of this type of construction can be an intransitive clause:

- (326) Wano atu ake [ke mamao].
 go Dir please C distant
Go away from me.
- (327) Maka wua iāna [ke moe].
 leave just he C sleep
Just leave him to sleep.

A subordinate clause is typically configured in the ‘passive’ pattern (328-330). The ‘accusative’ pattern is not preferred. The ‘ergative’ pattern does not allow an expression of the addressee in the main clause (331).

- (328) Wano koe [ke tanutanua te kongā na totolo mai ai te wonu [ke yē mailonga tona ala na kake mai ai]].
 go you C RR-bury-Cia A place T R-crawl Dir Pro A turtle C Neg notice its track T climb Dir Pro
Go and bury the place where the turtle crawled [up the beach] so that its track where it climbed ashore cannot be noticed. (LW2:4)
- (329) Ulu koe i tau pēni na ngalo nā [ke kitea]. ... Ulu [ke kitea e koe], ulu koe [ke kitea].
 search you Acc your pen T lost near.you C find-Cia search C find-Cia Ag you search you C find-Cia
Search for your pen that is lost so that/until [you] find [it]...Search until you find, search until you find [it]. (MC5:10)
- (330) Pāti e, aumai nā tītia [ke onooina te watu nei mē yī memea].
 Pāti Voc bring A glasses C look-Cia A stone here if exist.Pl fish.cp
Pāti, bring the goggles so [I] can look at this stone [to see] whether there are any goatfish there.

- (331) Yau ake [ke ulu ake te poti].
 come please C search please A cat
Come and hunt for the cat.

The fact that an expression of the addressee can be overt in the subordinate clause (329) shows that Equi-deletion is not at work (see 10.4.2).

Imperative constructions do not occur as dependent clauses. Indirect commands are introduced by the subordinator *ke* (10.5.3).

- (332) I te mōtayao o te Mānākai, mea loa ia Tetō ke tanu i te taime nei.
 L A morning P A Saturday say Int A Tetō C bury L A time here
On Saturday morning, Tetō said to bury [him] straight away. (PP2:3:3)

The case marking constraints in imperative clauses are summarised below.

TABLE 31: Case Marking Constraints in Imperative Clauses

| | Overt Addressee | | No Overt Addressee | |
|--------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| | Simple Imperative Clause | Motion Verb Imperative | Simple Imperative Clause | Motion Verb Imperative |
| Intransitive | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 'Accusative' | ✓ | ✓ | x | x |
| 'Passive' | x | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 'Ergative' | x | x | ✓ | ✓ |

In summary, the subject of an intransitive verb can be optionally deleted in imperatives. The agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' and 'passive' patterns is not overt in simple imperatives, but a nominative pronoun referring to the addressee can be present in the main clause of a complex motion verb imperative whose subordinate clause is in the 'passive' pattern. The subject of the 'accusative' pattern is always overt in simple imperative clauses, but can be deleted from the subordinate clause of complex imperatives if it is present in the main clause. Thus there is a role-related deletion strategy for all case marking patterns which applies to the noun phrase corresponding to the addressee in a subordinate clause.

9.2.2 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES

The main difference between positive and negative imperatives is that negative imperatives are complex constructions in which the negative imperative is a higher verb (8.2.2). The subject of negated clause can be raised to become the subject of the negative imperative verb (8.1):

- (333) Auwē koe e tangi.
 Neg.Imp you T cry
Don't you cry.

Like positive imperatives, a clause subordinated to a negative imperative verb can be configured in the ‘accusative’, ‘passive’ or ‘ergative’ patterns, but the only expression of the addressee that can be overt is the nominative subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern. Constraints on the case marking of negative imperatives are discussed in 8.2.2.2.

- (334) Auwē tataki tātou i te wonu ki te tukutai o Niua Yā.
 Neg.Imp.T R-drag we Acc A turtle G A beach P Niua Yā
Let's not drag the turtle to the beach of Niua Yā (LW2:5)

Indirect negative imperatives and quoted commands are introduced with the subjunctive marker *ke* and the negative marker *yē*:

- (335) Ko tana manatunga ke yē wakatai lua mea.
 Prd his think-Nom C Neg caus-one two thing
He thinks that [we] shouldn't combine these two things. (TL2:5)

9.2.3 OTHER WAYS OF EXPRESSING IMPERATIVES

Besides imperative constructions, there are several other ways to express commands and requests.

1. The subjunctive marker *ke* (3.1.8) can be used to express commands, requests and wishes.

- (336) Ke pule ake au e pule mō tātou.
 C pray please I A prayer for we
Let me pray a prayer for us.
- (337) Ae, kāe o kōlua ao lā. Ke wō ake tātou ki te kau na yā taku manini ke patu ake.
 hey Neg.exist P you.2 breath Int C go.Pl please we G A people T catch-Cia my fish.sp C kill please
Hey, haven't you got any energy! Let's go to the people who fished up my fish and kill them. (KS7:8)

2. A statement using the verb *oti* ‘finish’ can have the pragmatic force of a negative imperative. It can be used as a command for the addressee to immediately desist from some action which is encoded as a nominalised subject of the verb *oti*. As with an imperative clause, the verb does not have a tense-aspect-mood marker, but the addressee cannot occur as subject.

- (338) Oti tau tanginga.
 finish your cry-Nom
Stop your crying.

3. Statements can be used to express commands, requests and suggestions. Statements used to express positive imperatives are usually in the future tense marked by *ka* (3.1.1) and can have an initial imperative clause which often consists of a single motion verb.

- (339) Ka wō tātou i te taime nei ke yī o tātou yua, ka lōmamai i leila tātou tākatoa ki kinei.
 T go.Pl we L A time here C exist P we water T come.Pl L then we all G here
Let's go right now and get something to drink and then all of us come back here. (TU8:1)

- (340) Lōmamai ka wō tātou ki wale tunu i a tātou tikava nei.
 come.Pl T go.Pl we G home cook Acc P we fish.sp here
Come on, let's go home and cook our fish. (F4S1:3)

Statements used to express negative imperatives are often marked by the modal marker *kai* 'might' (3.1.10). Such statements are more polite than direct negative imperatives.

- (341) Ke iliili mai ia Lua ma Tolu...kai wano koe tala i o māua ingoa.
 C RR-ask Dir A Lua and Tolu T go you tell Acc P we.2 name.
If Lua and Tolu ask.... don't you go and tell our names [lit. you might go and tell]. (BB:1056)

4. Questions are also used to express requests and suggestions. The most polite type of request does not use an imperative construction, but is a yes/no question framed in the negative.

- (342) E yē pā lā koe e te wano aumai i aku mea i kilā?
 T Neg agree Int you C go bring Acc my.Pl thing L there
Would you mind going and bringing my things over there?

NOTES:

1. Following the use of 'facilitative' as discussed by Janet Holmes (1986:2).
2. In both examples, B is a non-native speaker of Pukapukan.
3. Quantifier existential sentences appear to be similar in form to indefinite nominal predicates when marked by *e wea*, but these are dealt with under tensed verbal predicates since they also allow other tense-aspect markers.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (i) | E wea au ika na maua? T how.many your fish T get <i>How many fish have you caught?</i> | Koa wea au ika na maua? T how.many your fish T get <i>How many fish have you caught already?</i> |
|-----|--|--|

4. Chung (1978) does not mention *wea* as governing a subject raising rule in Pukapukan.

5. It is difficult to know whether this adverbial function is derived from the locative predicate *ko i* or the tense-aspect marker *koi* which is a politeness marker as one of its functions. In any case, the relationship with the locative predicate seems tenuous at best, and it seems unjustifiable to divide *koi* into two morphemes.

6. Questions asking for characteristics are formed by an equational noun phrase predicate with *tū* 'type' as the subject, or using *pēwea* as predicate:

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (i) | E wea te tū o tō lātou uwilapa? Prd what A type P P they wheelbarrow <i>What is their wheelbarrow like?</i> | E uwilapa kula. Prd wheelbarrow red <i>It's a red one.</i> | |
| (ii) | Ko pēwea tō lātou uwilapa? T how P they wheelbarrow <i>What is their wheelbarrow like?</i> <i>What state is it in?</i> | Ko lelei wua, ko wōu wua. T good just T new just <i>It's fine, it's just new.</i> | Na pupuna. T rusty <i>It's rusty.</i> |

7. This type of reason clause is the most neutral. The first example sentence (175) allows the meaning 'Can I help you with something? Is that why you came?' It contrasts pragmatically with reason clauses formed by *e wea*, *nōwea* or *nōte wea* nominal predicates which often carry negative connotations.

- (i) E wea koe na yau ai?
Prd what you T come Pro
Why did you come? [I wish you hadn't]
- (ii) E wea te tumu na yau ai koe?
Prd what A reason T come Pro you
Why did you come? [reason required - somewhat blunt]
- (iii) Nō wea koe na yau ai?
P what you T come Pro
Why did you come? [I am surprised because I didn't expect you to]
- (iv) Nō te wea koe na yau ai?
P A what you T come Pro
Why did you come? [I am surprised that you have come, explanation or reason required]

8. Chung (1978:347) says that the *e* marked noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern is 'almost always' eligible for the 'chopping strategies' [resulting in an empty head] of 'Clefting' or 'Question Movement' and therefore marks it with †. However her example sentences are questionable for reasons other than those pertaining to the movement rules. Sentence (64a) would be acceptable with a different tense marker and (65a) contains an archaic verb which no longer means 'see'. In my corpus, the agentive noun phrase of 'passive' is the most common argument of a transitive verb to occur as subject.

9. My consultants preferred the sentences with overt subjects and took some time to process Chung's examples (54)a.,b. (reproduced below as (i) and (ii)) which are headless constructions. They inserted a patient subject as they repeated each sentence to themselves, but did not say that Chung's sentences were ungrammatical. The first sentence caused the most difficulty as it is not idiomatic with a postverbal agentive pronoun and there is a discrepancy with the gloss.

- (i) Ko ai na welāvei-ngia e lāua?
Pred who? past visit-Pass Ag them=du
'Who did they visit?'

corrected to:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ko ai lātou na welaveingia? | Ko ai lātou na welāvei? |
| Prd who they T meet-Cia | Prd who they T meet |
| <i>Who [went to] meet them?</i> | <i>Who did they meet?</i> |
| <i>Who met them?</i> | |

Ko ai tā lātou tangata na welāvei ia?
Prd who P they person T meet Af
Who did they meet?
Who was the person they went to meet?

- (ii) Ko ai na wakautunga-ina e te pūāpī?
Pred who? past punish-Pass Ag the teacher
'Who was punished by the teacher?'

repeated as:

Ko ai (tēlā) na wakautungaina e te pūāpī?
Prd who that T punish-Cia Ag A teacher
Who was punished by the teacher?
Who did the teacher punish?

10. Chung concurs here (1978:349).

11. Chung (1978:345) says that the unmarked noun phrase of the ergative pattern is always eligible for the 'chopping strategy' of 'Question Movement' but my consultants did not accept her examples (59)a.,b. as grammatical (reproduced here as (i) and (ii)). Both her examples have postverbal agentive noun phrases and were corrected either by promoting the agent to a possessor of the patient in the 'ergative' pattern or by changing the sentence to the 'passive' pattern.

- (i) Ko ai na turituri e koe?
 Pred who? past chase Erg you
 'Who did you chase?'

corrected to:

Ko ai tau mea na tulitulí?
 Prd who your thing T chase-Da
 Who did you chase?

- (ii) Ko ai na wakautunga e te pūāpī?
 Pred who? past punish Erg A teacher
 Who was punished by the teacher?

corrected to:

Ko ai na wakautungaina e te pūāpī?
 Prd who T punish-Cia Ag A teacher
 Who was punished by the teacher?

12. Chung (1978:338) says that the 'chopping strategy' is available to subjects including transitive subjects in the 'accusative' pattern. Her examples [(44)a.,b.] (reproduced below as (i) and (ii)) were not accepted by my consultants as grammatical. They considered them to sound 'like Rarotongan', which uses an actor-emphatic construction for questioning agents of the 'accusative' pattern, and corrected them to the 'passive' pattern.

- (i) Ko ai na wakatū i te wale?
 Pred who? past build Acc the house
 'Who built the house?'

corrected to:

Ko ai na wakatūa te walé?
 Prd who T caus-stand-Cia A house-Da
 Who built the house?

or:

Te wale nei, ko ai na wakatūa?
 A house here Prd who T caus-stand-Cia
 Who built this house?

- (ii) Ko ai na aumai i te puka?
 Pred who? past bring Acc the book
 'Who brought the book?'

corrected to:

Ko ai na aumaia te puká?
 Prd who T bring-Cia A book-Da
 Who brought the book?

or:

Ko ai te puka nei na aumaia?
 Prd who A book here T bring-Cia
 Who brought this book?

13. Note also that this sentence is unrealis in that it is marked with the future tense marker *ka*. My consultant suggests that the corresponding sentence with 'passive' case marking is 'stronger'. Passive appears to imply a greater degree of affectedness of the patient.

14. Chung (1978:339) does not give an example of questioning the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern but gives only examples of oblique noun phrases undergoing 'Clefting' by *ko*. She sees both 'Clefting' and 'Question Movement' as parallel rules which require a trace *ai* for 'accusative' direct objects and oblique noun phrases.

15. This use of *ai* should not be confused with the locative pronoun *ai* 'there' which does not contain a lengthened vowel in locative predicates (see 4.5.2.2).

- (i) Ko i ai te meá?
 T L Pro A thing-Da
 Is that thing there?

16. This may also be interpreted as a polite request 'Who has it, could I have it?'

CHAPTER TEN : COMPOUND AND COMPLEX SENTENCES

10.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with sentences beyond the simple clause; both compound and complex sentence types. Coordinated clauses (10.1) are constituents of the same order which may be coordinated by conjunctions. Auxiliary verbs are discussed in 10.2, in a section immediately preceding subordination. Auxiliary verbs exhibit a number of verbal properties and appear to behave like higher verbs in allowing subordinate clauses, so that they usually occur in complex sentences. Subordination and types of subordinators are discussed in 10.3, followed by Processes which affect subordinate clauses (10.4), namely Equi-deletion and Noun Phrase Raising (10.4.1 and 10.4.2 respectively). Three types of subordinate clauses are commonly identified crosslinguistically: noun clauses (complements) (10.5), relative clauses (adjective clauses) (10.6) and adverbial clauses (10.7). Noun clauses and adverbial clauses are structurally similar in Pukapukan in that they are sometimes marked by the same subordinators and occur in the same type of constructions. Relative clauses (10.6) form a relatively unified class in terms of structure, although the functions of relative clauses overlap with the functions of adverbial clauses in other languages. Actor-possessor raising applies only to relative clauses and is discussed in 10.6.1. There are some restrictions on tense-aspect of relative clauses which are discussed in 10.6.4. This chapter concludes with a section on nominalisations (10.8).

10.1 COORDINATION

There are three types of coordination: additive coordination ('and' coordination), adversative coordination ('but' coordination) and alternative coordination ('or' coordination). The coordination strategies apply at sentential level as well as at phrasal level, thereby forming complex phrases of various grammatical levels.

10.1.1 CLAUSE COORDINATION

There are a number of ways in which clauses of equal status are connected in discourse. Sometimes there is no overt marking. Alternatively, the coordination of clauses may be by means of conjunctions or indicated by other markers.

10.1.1.1 Additive Coordination

The most frequent way of coordinating clauses is by juxtaposing the coordinated elements with no formal marker. Additiveness may be emphasised by means of modifiers such as *oki* 'also', *ma* 'and', *ē* 'duration'. Subordinate clauses may be coordinated by means of a conjunction, whereas main clauses are typically juxtaposed to one another.

1. Juxtaposition

Clauses may be juxtaposed to each other and in addition there may be other markers to indicate that the clauses are in an additive relationship.

(a) Semantically coordinate clauses may be simply juxtaposed to each other with no overt marking to indicate coordination. The tense-aspect marker normally remains intact.

- (1) [Na maka ai toku māmā], [na alu au ki te wale o toku tāne].
T leave Pro my mother T follow I G A house P my husband.
I left my mother and joined my husband's house. (AP:C1)
- (2) Yau atu ia Yinata, [na tō ki lalo tona tamanu nei], [na kōtia nā ualoto], [na taia wai vaka mō Lata].
come Dir A Yinata T fall G down his tree.sp here T cut-Cia A middle T carve-Cia make canoe for Lata
When Yinata came, his tamanu tree had fallen, and its middle had been cut out and it had been carved out to make a canoe for Lata. (MM:L1)
- (3) [Mea wua ai pēia] [ko wuwuti nei ia Māui Pōtiki i tana ika nei].
act just Pro like-so T R-pull here A Māui Pōtiki Acc his fish here
[They] carried on like that while Māui Pōtiki was pulling his fish in. (PK:M1)

Coordinate sentences like these are sequentially ordered or concurrent as the above examples indicate, or resultant action may be inferred as in the following example.¹

- (4) [Na ālai loa te toka loa tongi i te ava pupuni], [e yē oko tō lātou vaka].
T block Int A rock Int big Acc A channel R-closed T Neg arrive P their canoe
A very big rock was completely blocking the channel and/so that their canoe couldn't enter. (MM:L2)

Subordinated clauses may be conjoined by this method:

- (5) [Mē popō atu iāna], [e yē wati te uwa], mea ia Lata...
if R-cuff Dir he T Neg break A neck say A Lata
If he cuffed [him] and his neck didn't break, Lata said... (MM:L2)

In sequences of narrative clauses, which are typified by the absence of a tense-aspect marker (3.1.13), this method of conjoining clauses often results in several verbs occurring adjacent to one another.

- (6) Wano ai au tunu i taku tī, [pupū], [tāvene], [āliki oki au i tā mātou kaingākai].
go Pro I cook Acc my tea boil sweeten set.table also I Acc P we.Pl table
Then I went to cook some tea, [it] boiled, [I] sweetened [it], and then I set the table. (PP2:2:3)
- (7) Wano ai au liko mai i tō māua tuanga, [kave] [tunu].
go Pro I hold Dir Acc P we.2 food.share take cook
I went and picked up our food share, took [it home] and cooked [it]. (PP2:8:3)

(b) *oki* 'also'

The modifier *oki* 'also' can be postposed to the verb of the second conjunct to emphasise additiveness (see 5.1.5.2).

- (8) [Kite loa ia Apolo ma Teta ia Tangiula], [tauvalo oki lāua].
see Int A Apolo and Teta Acc-A Tangiula call also they.2
Apolo and Teta saw Tangiula and they called to him. (PP2:2:4)

Several conjuncts can be modified in this way:

- (9) [Kai ia Limapēni], [kai **oki** au], [kai **oki** ia Tāvita], [kai tolu **oki** akawōu].
 strike A Limapēni strike also I strike also A Tāvita strike three also again
Limapēni got a strike, and I got a strike and so did Tāvita, and so we got three strikes again. (PS3:7)

(c) *ma* ‘and’

Two clauses can be apposed to one another and an argument in the second clause is marked with the additive conjunction *ma* to emphasise the additiveness of the coordination. The phrase marked by *ma* is not a comitative phrase nor the second conjunct of a coordinated noun phrase, since in (10) *wāwā* ‘taro’ is not husked so cannot be considered to be a deleted element of the second clause and in (11) the phrase marked by *ma* is co-referential with a singular referent, *Welea*, in the first clause.

- (10) [Tope mai nā wāwā mai te uwi], [yoka mai **ma nā yakali** akalolo ai].
 dig Dir A taro from A garden husk Dir and A dry.coconut add.cream Pro
[I] dug some taro from the garden for us and husked some coconuts to add coconut cream [to the taro dish].
- (11) [Iki loa ia Welea i tona vaka ki tai], [kake **ma ana** ki lungā], [woe ai iāna i tona vaka].
 carry Int A Welea Acc his canoe G sea climb and he G on paddle Pro he Acc his canoe.
Welea carried his canoe to the water and he climbed on board, then he paddled out. (LW1:2)

The argument marked by *ma* in the second clause can be the subject of an intransitive verb (11, 12) or a noun phrase denoting the patient of a transitive clause, typically the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern as in (10, 12, 13). This type of construction is usually found in narrative action clauses, in which the ‘passive’ pattern is not found (7.5.3). In (13) there are two modifiers in the clause, *oki* and *ma*, which both emphasise additiveness.

- (12) [Yau te āngi], [tuki **ma te matangi**]. [Yīyinga te wī wuti], [yīyinga **ma nā toe niu**]. [Talitali oki māua
 come A blow beat and A wind R-fall A all banana R-fall and A other coconut RR-carry also we.2
 i a mātou niu ki ngāuta]. [Talitali nā taume lā muli o tō mātou wale], [talitali **ma nā moa**].
 Acc P we coconut G shore RR-carry A spathe via back P P we house RR-carry and A chicken
The wind blew and beat [the houses and trees]. All the banana trees fell down and so did some of the coconut trees. We carried our coconuts [further] inland, carried the coconut spathes [for lighting fires] from behind our house and carried the chickens. (UU4:1)
- (13) [Tū oki ia Maua ki lungā], [tau **ma nā muna**], “Ia koe i te akatīngā mīmiti.
 stand also A Maua G up swear and A word A you Prd caus-pain head
 [Ko yaele], [ko tau oki **ma nā muna a Nga** kiai].
 T walk T swear also and A word P Nga G-her
And Maua stood up and was swearing, saying “You’re a pain in the neck”. And as she was walking Nga too was also swearing at her. (PP2:6:4)

Noun phrases in other grammatical roles cannot be marked with *ma*. For example in (14), *ma* cannot replace the preposition *i* ‘at’ which marks a temporal phrase *te ao* ‘the day’. The possible meaning of the ungrammatical construction in (14) seems to indicate that the phrase marked by *ma* typically denotes a subject. Verbal agreement with the plurality of the noun phrase marked by *ma* also supports this view (see 7.7.1).

- (14) [Moe iāna i te pō], [moe oki iāna i te ao]. * [Moe iāna i te pō], [moe oki **ma te ao**].
 sleep he L A night sleep also he L A day sleep he L A night sleep also and A day
He slept in the night and he also slept in the day. (He slept in the night and the day slept.)

In most of the above examples, the coordinated clauses are structurally parallel expressions in which either the noun phrase marked by *ma* is contrasted with a noun phrase in the same role in the previous clause, or the verb of the second clause is contrasted with the verb of the first clause. Unlike ‘double additive’ coordination in Tuvaluan (Besnier 2000:171-173), the noun phrase marked with the additive conjunction is not necessarily contrasted with a noun phrase in the previous clause. In (10) the clauses are structurally parallel, yet both the noun phrases and the verbs are contrasted. This type of coordination is sometimes a very weak type of coordination as the clause may be loosely connected to a clause much earlier in the discourse. For instance in (15), the subject of *akaweweu* ‘darken’ is marked by *ma*, but *tawa* ‘edge of the sky’ does not relate to a phrase in the previous clause. The link seems to be with an earlier mention of the storm arising (*akatūlangilangi*) several clauses previously.

- (15) [I te taimē lāi ia, koa **akatūlangilangi** mai te langi]... Mea ai ia Limapēni, “Ka tele tātou ki ngāuta...
 L A time Int Af T caus-stand-RR-sky Dir A sky say Pro A Limapēni T sail we G shore
 E kino loa oki ke nōnō tātou i tai, ko te pupuyi mai, palia atu ai tātou ki Niu Kāletonia mā.”
 T bad Int also C R-stay we L sea lest R-blow Dir drift-Cia Dir Pro we G New Caledonia etc
 Ēia. [Akatele mai ai ia Lima ia mātou], [koa **akaweweu** mai **ma te tawā**].
 so caus-sail Dir Pro A Lima Acc-A we T caus-black Dir and A side-Da
At that very time, the sky was clouding up... Limapēni said, “Let’s sail to shore... It would be bad for us to stay at sea lest [the wind] blows up and we are blown out to New Caledonia or somewhere. So, Lima drove us [in the boat], as the edge of the sky was starting to darken. (PS:3:9)

(d) *ē* ‘until, durative’

Ē is used in coordination and is found typically in narrative discourse where it emphasises the relative time lapse between the action denoted by two clauses which are coordinated by juxtaposition. The initial clause or its verb phrase may be repeated two or three times before *ē* conjoins the next clause, which often denotes a resultant action or state. The vowel can be varied in length to emphasise the action continuing over a period of time. *Ē* can best be glossed as ‘and then’, ‘after a while’ or ‘until’.

- (16) [Wawao mai loa iāna ē], [ngalo mai ki Motu Kotawa].
 R-jump Dir Int he Dur disappear Dir G Motu Kotawa.
He jumped and jumped until he disappeared to Motu Kotawa. (U:5)
- (17) Ko tana toli niu oki, [wano ki tawa o te niu], [lūlū], [lūlū ē], [mākukulu nā niu ki lalo].
 Top his pick nut also go G beside P A nut shake shake Dur R-fall A nut G down.
His way of picking nuts was to go beside the tree and shake and shake it and after a while the nuts dropped down. (U:6)
- (18) [Patu loa e Tēnana i tana patunga ia Tawiti ē], [akatele ai tō lātou vaka].
 kill Int Ag Tēnana L his kill-Nom Acc-A Tawiti Dur caus-sail Pro P they.Pl canoe
Tēnana killed [many people of] Tahiti on his killing [spreed] and then they set sail. (MT2:3)

However, *ē* is not a conjunction since it does not always appear between two clauses. It can also occur in clause final or in clause initial position as an adverbial particle denoting durative aspect (see 5.1.5.3, 3.11.2) and it can introduce complements of verbs of communication. However, it occasionally occurs

between two clauses where there is no time lapse involved, and in these instances it appears to be very like a coordinating conjunction.

- (19) [Pātaītai ē] [ka mate loa e ono a mātou ika].
 pity conj T dead Int Prd six P we.Pl fish
It's such a pity [that the other fish got away because] then we would have caught six fish. (PS3:7)

2. Coordination by conjunctions

Subordinate clauses may be conjoined by the conjunction *ma te* (*ma* 'and' followed by the specific singular article *te*). Clauses which are subordinated by means of the subordinators *e te* (20) and *ke* (21) (see 10.3) can be conjoined in this way as well as clauses subordinated by juxtaposition to motion verbs (22) and nominalisations (23).

- (20) ...ke maua ake lātou [e te nōnō] [**ma te** wetū].
 C able Dir they C R-sit and Pl-stand
...so that they might be able to sit and stand upright. (BB:977)
- (21) E yē tuleina tō manako mālama [ke tautulu] [**ma te** wakayako i nā konga takayala ka au ' kitea].
 T Neg prohibit-Cia your thought clear C help and caus-right Acc A place wrong T you see-Cia
Your insightful ideas are not restricted in helping and correcting the faults that you find. (TA:E2)
- (22) Tū loa ia Wutu ki lunga, wano [wuli kaipea] [**ma te** ulu ke yī ana kīnaki].
 stand Int A Wutu G up go turn crab and search C exist his.Pl complement
Wutu stood up and went to hunt crabs and to look for something to eat with them. (WF2:6:6)
- (23) Me e tayi ō manako nō [te tautulu] [**ma te** wakayako i nā konga e tūngayala]...
 if T exist P thought for A help and A caus-right Acc A place T wrong
If you've got any ideas for helping and correcting those places that are wrong... (TA:E1)

Main clauses are not typically coordinated by *ma te*. However, adverbial clauses of manner can be subordinated by *ma te* and clauses introduced by *ma te* can also denote simultaneous action with that of the main clause (10.7.2) so that the distinction between a subordinated manner clause and a coordinated structure is sometimes blurred.

- (24) Ko tū wua nei au [**ma te** makalili] [**ma te** manatu wua ia Lima na ngalo oki].
 T stand just here I with A cold with A think just Acc-A Lima T lost also
I was standing here [feeling] cold and/while thinking about Lima who was lost. (PS7:4)

10.1.1.2 Adversative Coordination

Adversative coordination can also be achieved either by simply juxtaposing the clauses to each other. This strategy is formally indistinct from additive coordination. Contrast is emphasised by the use of various modifiers of the second clause. Two clauses can also be conjoined by an adversative conjunction (see (2) further below).

1. Coordination by juxtaposition

- (a) Adversative clauses may be just simply juxtaposed to each other with no conjunction:

- (25) [E tayi oku wāti], [ko yē wainia].
 T exist.Sg my watch T Neg wind-Cia
I have a watch [but] it's not wound.

(b) *lā* 'but'

The modifier *lā* 'but', 'on the other hand' (5.1.4.3) may be postposed to the verb of the second clause thereby emphasising contrast between the clauses.

- (26) [E tayi oku wāti], [ko yē angaanga lā].
 T exist.Sg my watch T Neg RR-work but
I have a watch but it doesn't work.

(c) *lāoki* 'but', 'however' [lit. 'but also']

Lāoki 'but', 'however' can modify the second clause to emphasise contrastiveness. It modifies the first major constituent of the clause (see 5.1.5.6).

- (27) [Pī lava na yau lā kinei, ka kite au ke onono au i te tupu], [ko pōuli lā oki oku mata].
 if indeed T come via here T know I C look I Acc A face T dark but my.Pl eye
If only [he] had come across here, I would recognise [him] if I looked at his face, but my eyes are dim.

2. Coordination by conjunctions

There are two conjunctions which express adversative relations: *yaulā* and *no kiai* both meaning 'but'.

(a) *yaulā* 'but', 'on the other hand' can be used as a conjunction which contrasts two clauses. The contrast may be between the predicates or the arguments, or both.

- (28) [Ko ngaengaea], [**yaulā** ko yē wano moe].
 T RR-tired-Cia but T Neg go sleep
[He] is tired, but he doesn't go to sleep. (U:C3)

- (29) [Wānau loa lua tama a Tina], [**yaulā** e kiai na wānau ia Yilata].
 give.birth Int two child P Tina but T Neg T give.birth A Yilata
Tina gave birth to two children, on the other hand Yilata had no children. (ML1:3)

- (30) [Nā makimaki iāna i te vāia makalili], [**yaulā** i te vāia nei koa wano ki te maloyi].
 T RR-sick he L A time cold but L A time here T go G A strong
He was poorly in the wintertime, but now he is getting stronger. (TL1:5)

Yaulā can also occur sentence initially introducing two contrastive clauses and can function as a discourse marker contrasting the topic of the discourse (5.2.1).

(b) *nōkiai* 'however', 'but' may conjoin two contrastive clauses. It also commonly introduces subordinate clauses of result or reason (see 10.7.5).

- (31) [Nā i kinei oki au i te vāiā], [**nō kiai** tupu loa toku makimaki].
 T L here also I L A time-Da but grow Int my RR-sick
I was here before, however, I got sick [in the intervening time]... (P:S4:2)

- (32) [Ko winangalo mātou i te yanga nei], [nō kiai e yē maua wua oki lā mātou e te yanga ma te onge tautulu].
 T want we.Pl L A work here but T Neg able just also but we.Pl C work with none help
We want to do this work, but we can't do it without any help. (P:S1:11)

10.1.1.3 Alternative Coordination

Alternative clause coordination is marked by one of two conjunctions *mēpē* meaning 'or' or *mēkole* meaning 'or not'.

1. *mēpē* 'or'

Alternative questions are coordinated by means of the conjunction *mē* or its variant, slightly archaic form *pē* meaning 'or'. Alternative indirect questions (9.1.6) mark both alternatives in this way.

- (33) E kiai au na onono wakalelei [pē ko makeke te kōanga] [pē na papala].
 T Neg I T look properly whether T strong A climbing.rope whether T rotten
I didn't look properly [to see] whether the climbing rope was still strong or whether it was rotten.
- (34) Yaulā kāe ninitā na oko mai, [mē na kukula], [mē na kai e kōtou], ko lelei wua.
 but Neg.exist pawpaw T arrive Dir whether T R-red whether T eat Ag you.Pl T good just
But not a single pawpaw arrived back, whether there were any ripe or whether you ate them, that's all right.
- (35) Nō lātou [mē na takiwā tāpati] [me takiwea tāpati i te loa o te nōnōnga].
 P they whether T each-four week or each-how.many week L A long P A RR-stay-Nom
It's up to them whether they had four weeks each or how many weeks each staying [on the reserve]. (ML3:68)

Alternative direct questions (9.1.3) usually mark only the second alternative with *mē* or (much less commonly) *pē*:

- (36) [Ko lelei wua kōtou] [mē ko kino]?
 T good just you.Pl or T bad
Are you well or sick?
- (37) [Ko lātou na taumamaya], [mē ko te toe kau wua]?
 Prd they T R-eat or Prd A other people just
Was it they who ate or was it just the others? (PP2:13:4)

2. *mēkole* 'or not'

Alternative declarative clauses are conjoined by *mēkole*, literally meaning 'or not'.

- (38) [Ka wō tātou kalo pāyua], [mē kole ka wō tātou pai kupenga].
 T go.Pl we collect clams or not T go.Pl we net net
We'll go and collect clams or else we'll go net fishing.
- (39) Kāe tangata ka tutu i te mōlī, [nanā loa], [mē kole tuku loa lā lalo o te uwi].
 Neg-exist person T light Acc A lamp hide Int or not put Int under P A cover
No one would light a lamp and then hide it, or put it under a cover. (KM:LK11:2:1)
- (40) [Ko Tai] [mē kole ko Unu ka yau].
 Prd Tai or not Prd Unu T come
It will be Tai or else Unu who will come.

Alternative clauses may be reduced, in which case the verb phrase of the second clause can be optionally deleted if it is identical with the verb phrase of the first clause (41, 42) and if the verb phrase is deleted, then other elements which are identical in form are also deleted. For instance in (43) part of a complex noun phrase is deleted leaving only the possessive modifier of the noun.

- (41) [Ka kali ki loto o Āpelila], [mē kole ki te tāpati mua o Āpelila].
 T wait G middle P April or not G A week front P April
It will wait until the middle of April or else until the first week of April.
- (42) [Akamolemole lā ki te pāla], [mē kole ki te senipēpa].
 caus-RR-smooth Int Ins A knife or not Ins A sandpaper
Smooth it off with a knife or else with sandpaper. (MU:C2)
- (43) [I tā mātou manatunga ka oti i te openga o te matawiti nei] [mē kole o te mua matawiti lā mua nei].
 L P we.PI think-Nom T finish L A end P A year this or not P A front year through front here
We think it will be finished at the end of this year or else the beginning of next year. (LTM:2:6)

The second alternative clause may be entirely deleted, in which case *mē kole* functions as a proform for the full clause.²

- (44) Ko yē aku iloa [mē na wakaao] [mē kole].
 T Neg I know-Cia whether T marry or not
I don't know whether [they] are married or not. (PP1:1)
- (45) Ko yē maua au e te manatu [mē na tātā atu au kia koe] [mē kole].
 T Neg able I C remember whether T write Dir I G-A you or not
I can't remember whether I wrote to you or not.

Mē kole is freely interchangeable with *mē kāle*, but the latter is readily identifiable by native speakers as a borrowing from Cook Islands Māori. *Mē kāle* commonly occurs in discourse styles which borrow heavily from CIM as well as in discourse which is predominantly Pukapukan, such as the following:

- (46) ...ke tai tangata vave, maloyi, [na lilo iāna wai aliki], [mē kāle wai wola].
 C exist person brave strong T become he like king or not like oldest.person
...so there was a brave, strong person, he became their king, or a respected leader. (U1:5)

Clauses which are coordinated with *mēpē* do not have to be semantically exclusive alternatives. The second alternative can be a rewording or synonym of the first alternative.

- (47) Wano onoono i tō wale [mē ko mā] [mē ko kanomalie].
 go look Acc your house whether T clean or T beautiful
[Lit. Go and look at your house [to see] whether it is clean or beautiful.]
Go and make sure your house is clean and tidy. (V690:2:1)

The coordinator *mē* (or much less commonly *pē*) is sometimes found clause initially introducing a yes-no question. These sentences presuppose an alternative. The alternative clause or a proform can be made explicit using *mē kole*, or it may be absent entirely.

- (48) Mē ko mālama ia koe i te yeke (mē kole)?
 whether T clear By-A you L A canoe.seat or not
Do you know what a yeke is?

The forms *mē* and *pē* are also used to subordinate conditional clauses and to introduce complements of verbs of asking, saying and knowing (cf. 10.3.3, 10.4.2, 10.5.6). Crosslinguistically, there is often a formal similarity between markers of yes-no questions, markers of indirect questions and ‘if clauses’ of conditionals (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:183, 186).

10.1.2 COORDINATION OF PHRASES AND WORDS

The same strategies that are used to coordinate clauses are also used to coordinate phrases and words. Phrases and words can be coordinated by means of juxtaposition, and the coordinator *ma* ‘and’ is frequently used at the phrase and word level. It can coordinate noun phrases, predicates and modifiers. Alternative and adversative coordination use the same strategies at all syntactic levels.

10.1.2.1 Additive Coordination

Phrases and words can be coordinated by juxtaposition or by the use of conjunctions.

1. Noun phrases can be simply juxtaposed to each other:

- (49) Ka wai [ni olo], [ni tātā], [ni mawu], [ni moa], ko i ai atu nā toe kai.
 T make A taro.pudding A pounded.taro A taro.pudding A chicken T L Pro Dir A other food
*[They] will make some grated taro pudding, pounded taro [with coconut cream], some mawu pudding
 [and] some chicken, and there are also other types of food. (V12:2)*

A case marker or preposition is repeated in each successive phrase:

- (50) Wāngai loa lātou ē [ki te niu], [ki te uto], [ki te wāwā], te wī kai loa malie a Wale.
 feed Int they Dur G A coconut G A sprouting.coconut G A taro A all food Int sweet P Home
*They fed them up on drinking nuts, on sprouting coconuts, [and] on taro, every delicious food belonging
 to Pukapuka. (MKS5:5)*

Predicates can be coordinated by juxtaposition (see also 10.1.1.1).

- (51) [Na kaikai (lātou)] [inuinu atu ai mai te awiawi].
 T RR-eat they RR-drink Dir Pro from A afternoon
They ate and drank all evening.

2. Coordination by conjunctions:

(a) *ma te*

Ma ‘and’ followed by the specific singular article *te* can coordinate verbs in tensed verbal predicates. The conjunction replaces the tense-aspect marker and the coordinated verb is a nominalised construction:

- (52) Na ula [ma te imene] te loanga o te pō.
 T dance and sing A long-Nom P A night
[They] sang and danced the whole night long.

(53) Na kaikai [ma te inuinu] i te awiawi.
T RR-eat and RR-drink L A afternoon
[They] ate and drank all evening.

(54) E poto [ma te mōmona] iāna.
T short and fat he
He is short and fat.

Attributive predicates marked by *i te* (7.1.5) can be coordinated by *ma te* which replaces the whole predicate marker.

(55) Kamuloa nā kaipeá [i te mōmomona] [ma te yene].
really A crab-Da Prd R-fat and sweet
The crabs were really juicy and sweet. (PP2:14:3)

(56) Te tūtū o taku tamá [i te lelei] [ma te mālamalama].
A photo P my child-Da Prd good and clear
That photo of my child is nice and clear.

Ma te conjoins modifiers of a noun (4.7.1). The modifiers may be verbal (57), nominal (58) or a mixture of the two (59, 60).

(57) E tama [wai lāvenga] [ma te tangitangi].
Prd child demanding and RR-cry
[He] is a child who is really demanding and grizzling.

(58) E manu te liona [ulu vavana] [ma te wuluwulu loloa].
Prd animal A lion head R-frizzy and fur R-long
The lion is an animal [with a] frizzy mane and long fur.

(59) E atua [loa] [ma te tino nui].
Prd god long and A body big.
He was a tall god with a big body.

(60) Kāle ai te yanga nei te yanga [māyangiyangi wua] [ma te puapingakole].
Neg Pro A work here A work RR-light just and A importance-no
This work isn't just easy work and of no importance. (PS6:2)

(b) *ma* 'and'

Ma conjoins numeral phrases inside a numeral, whether the numeral functions as a noun (61), an attributive modifier of a noun (62) or as a predicate (63).

(61) ...oko ki [te laungaulu] [ma iva] o te kawa
arrive G A ten and nine P A strip
...right up to the nineteenth strip

(62) ...mai te kawa [laungaulu] [ma tayi]
from A strip ten and one
...from the eleventh strip

(63) Te moni o toku pātete e [luangaulu] [ma wā] paunu.
A money P my fare Prd twenty and four pound
The money for my fare was twenty four pounds.

Several numerals can be conjoined by means of *ma*:

- (64) Patu loa ia Ngake taumua [e lualau] [ma lauiva] [ma wā].
hit Int A Ngake first Prd 200 and ninety and four
Ngake batted first [the score was] 294 runs.

Noun phrases are coordinated by *ma*. The coordinated noun phrases may function as an argument of a verb (65), the head of a nonverbal predicate (66, 67) or as the possessive modifier of a noun (68):

- (65) Mea ai ia Lupena ka tua [nā wāwā patupatu] [ma nā ika].
say Pro A Lupena T divide A taro RR-hit and A fish
Lupena said to divide the taro and the fish. (KU2:15)
- (66) Ko lua toa oki a Tawiti ia [ko Tepalo][ma Yukui].
Top two warrior also P Tahiti Af Prd Tepalo and Yukui
Those two warriors of Tahiti were [called] Tepalo and Yukui. (MT1:5)
- (67) Ko i [te ōpeti] [ma te kāinga] aku apinga.
T L A office and A home my.Pl thing
My things are at home and in the office.
- (68) te tala o [te weke] [ma te kiole]
A story P A octopus and A rat
the story of the octopus and the rat

The coordinator *ma* occasionally indicates an inclusory relationship rather than coordination:

- (69) Makeke te tau, lēilo loa te kau tokatolu [ma Pōuli ma Pilipa ma te kupenga].
strong A anchor get.down Int A group cls-three including Pōuli and Pilipa with A net
The anchor was secure, and the three of them hopped off [the boat] including Pōuli and Pilipa with the net [as well as Vigo]. (MN1:5)

This is particularly common when the first element in a sequence of noun phrases linked by *ma* is a personal pronoun or a noun phrase marked by a possessive pronoun. Inclusory constructions of this sort are discussed in 10.1.3.

Coordinated noun phrases can be marked for case by a single case marker or preposition. The case marker or preposition is not repeated in the second conjunct; instead it is replaced by *ma*.

- (70) Ko taku tala ia o tō mātou pukeanga e [te matangi] [ma te uwa].
Prd my story Af P P we catch-Cia-Nom Ag A wind and A rain
[This] is my story of how we were caught by the wind and the rain. (LS2:48)
- (71) Kai ai lāua, kīnaki ki [te niu] [ma te uto].
eat Pro they.2 accompany G A drinking.coconut and A sprouting.coconut
They ate [the fish] complemented with a drinking nut and a sprouting coconut.
- (72) Ka tala au i te tala o [te akulā] [ma te wai].
T tell I Acc A story P A swordfish and A stingray
I am going to tell [you] the story of the swordfish and the stingray. (KS6:1)

The second of two semantically indefinite noun phrases in a coordinated construction is typically marked with the definite article (see 4.1.2):

- (73) Wānau loa e lua a lāua tama, [e tamatāne] [ma te tamāwine].
 give.birth Int Prd two P they.2 child Prd son and A daughter
They had two children, a son and a daughter. (KS2:4)
- (74) Auyē kave [ni kai] [ma nā moni].
 Neg.Imp.T take A food and A money
Don't take any food or money.

10.1.3 COORDINATION, ACCOMPANIMENT AND INCLUSORY CONSTRUCTIONS

The coordinator of noun phrases (10.1.2.1), the comitative case marker (6.2.11) and the marker of inclusory constructions (4.5.2.1) all have the same form *ma*, which often results in ambiguity in structure. In the following sentence the noun phrase marked with *ma* can be interpreted as either a noun phrase coordinated to the first noun phrase or as a comitative phrase denoting accompaniment or association.

- (75) Lōmamai atu lā te wualua [ma te matua tāne], na ngalo ia Leiakunavai.
 Pl.come Dir but A twin with/and A parent man T lost A Leiakunavai
But when the twins and their father came home, Leiakunavai had disappeared.
But when the twins came home with their father, Leiakunavai had disappeared. (F4:3:6)

However, the three constructions are distinct at least some of the time. The following excerpt illustrates all three types of construction:

- (76) Tū loa ia Pāvai ula. **Ko lāua ma Waiva** na ula. Yau oki ia Kālito ula **ma Pāvai**,
 stand Int A Pāvai dance T they.2 incl Waiva T dance come.Sg also A Kālito dance with Pāvai
 kamuloa te wī tangata ngālelepe e te kākata i [nā ulanga a Pāvai ma Kālito].
 really A all people RR-break C R-laugh L A dance-Nom P Pāvai and Kālito
*Pāvai stood up to dance. **The two of them including Waiva** danced. Then Kālito came along too and danced **with Pāvai**, and everyone cracked up laughing at the way **Pāvai and Kālito** were dancing.* (F3S2:5)

The first phrase (bolded) is an inclusory construction. There are only two people dancing, *Pāvai* and *Waiva*, and the total number of participants is encoded in the inclusory pronoun *lāua* 'they DU'. The second bolded phrase, *ma Pāvai*, is a comitative expression. It is not coordinated to the previous noun phrase, *ia Kālito*, since it is separated from it by another verb, *ula* 'dance'. Moreover, agreement of the verb *yau* 'come' in the previous clause shows that its subject is singular and not a coordinated phrase which would trigger plural agreement. The third phrase, *Pāvai ma Kālito*, is a coordinated construction since the plural article (*nā*) in the nominalisation *nā ulanga a Pāvai ma Kālito* 'the dancing of Pāvai and Kālito' indicates that the subject of the nominalised clause is plural.

This passage illustrates that verbal agreement and contiguity of the noun phrases are two of the key indicators that distinguish coordination of noun phrases in subject position from comitative expressions. Inclusory constructions are distinguished from additive coordination and comitative expressions partly on semantic grounds by the total number of participants encoded by the initial pronoun. Inclusory constructions are possibly the easiest to distinguish since there are many verbs which do not exhibit agreement and therefore ambiguity often arises between coordination and comitative expressions. Inclusory constructions will be discussed firstly, followed by coordination and comitative expressions.

Inclusory constructions consist of an initial noun phrase, usually a pronoun, which denotes the total number of participants in the phrase, followed by a lexical noun phrase which identifies a subset (4.5.2.1). In a sequence of noun phrases where the first noun phrase is a pronoun and the second is marked by *ma*, the number of persons is not calculated additively. The number of the inclusory pronoun will be such as to include the person(s) mentioned in the following noun phrase.

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|---|
| (77) | lāua ma Ivitai they.2 including Ivitai <i>Ivitai and he</i> | māua ma Levi we.2 including Levi <i>Levi and I</i> | lātou ma Unu they including Unu <i>Unu and at least two others.</i> |
|------|---|--|---|

In analyses of other languages, this type of construction has often been considered to be either a type of coordinated construction (Bauer 1993, Besnier 2000, Schwartz 1988) or a type of comitative construction (Aissen 1989) because the same form is often used as a marker. Lichtenberk (2000a) argues that in To‘aba‘ita these constructions are distinct and that inclusory constructions are neither coordinate nor comitative, but a head-modifier type of construction in which the lexical noun phrase modifies the inclusory pronoun that is the head of the phrase. Whereas in To‘aba‘ita there is no overt marking of the relation between the inclusory pronominal and the included noun phrase, in Pukapukan as in many other Polynesian languages, the relation is marked explicitly.

In Pukapukan, the inclusory construction (78) is significantly different from coordinate (79) and comitative (80) constructions although the same marker *ma* is used for all three. A pronoun in a coordinate or a comitative structure does not include the referent of the other conjunct. It can be a singular pronoun form, which is not possible in an inclusory construction. Verbal agreement in clauses containing coordinate and comitative constructions is dependent on contiguity of the lexical noun phrase with the pronoun. A singular pronoun in subject position coordinated to a lexical noun phrase allows a plural (but not a singular) form of the verb (79), but if the lexical noun phrase is separated from the subject pronoun by the verb, the construction must be analysed as a comitative one since only the singular form of the verb is permitted (80).

- (78) Ko mātou [ma aku tama] ka wō.
Top we.Pl including my.Pl child T go.Pl
I and my kids will go.
[Lit. We including my kids will go.]
- (79) Ko oku [ma aku tama] ka wō / (*wano).
Top I and my.Pl child T go.Pl / go.Sg
I and my kids will go.
- (80) Ko oku ka wano / (*wō) [ma aku tama].
Top I T go.Sg go.Pl with my.Pl child
I will go with my kids.

In subject position, the inclusory pronoun controls agreement, so that a dual or plural pronoun takes the plural form of the verb.

- (81) E yē lōmamai kōlua [ma Tao]?
T Neg come.Pl you.2 including Tao
Why don't you (Sg) and Tao come?

The lexical noun phrase modifies the pronoun. It can be deleted without any change to the number of participants which are encoded by the construction (82). The inclusory pronoun is therefore the head of the noun phrase. The lexical noun phrase more clearly delimits the reference of the pronoun, but it can be omitted with no change in verbal agreement or substantial change in meaning. The included noun phrase is therefore a modifier of the inclusory pronoun, as Lichtenberk (2000a) proposed is also the case in To‘aba‘ita.

- (82) E yē lōmamai kōlua?
 T Neg come.Pl you.2
Why don't you both come?

The order of the inclusory phrase is always head initial (83). The included noun phrase cannot precede an inclusory pronoun. A lexical noun phrase preceding a pronoun marked by *ma* is not an inclusory construction but a coordinated one in which the number of individuals is calculated additively (84).

- (83) [Ko māua [ma Tao]] ka wō.
 Top we.2 incl Tao T go.Pl
Tao and I will go.

- (84) [Ko Tao] [ma māua] ka wō.
 Top Tao and we.2 T go.Pl
Tao and we two will go.

Inclusory constructions function as a phrase. When fronted or focused, the whole construction is fronted or focused together as in (85). The included noun phrase names an individual which is included in the reference of the pronoun, not added to it. On the other hand, a pronoun which is focused leaving a lexical noun phrase behind denotes a different number of total participants from that of an inclusory construction. The individual(s) named in a comitative lexical noun phrase are added to the referents denoted by the pronoun (86):

- (85) [Ko māua [ma taku manú]] ka wō.
 Top we.2 incl my bird-Da T go.Pl
I and my bird will go. [One person and the bird will go.]
- (86) [Ko māua] ka wō [ma taku manú].
 Top we.2 T go.Pl with my bird-Da
The two of us will go with my bird. [Two people and the bird will go.]

An inclusory construction can occur in positions other than in subject position, for instance in object (87), goal (88) and possessor positions (89, 90).

- (87) Mē yau koe lā toku walé, moto loa au [ia kōlua ma Henry] mamate.
 if come you via my house-Da punch Int I Acc-A you.2 incl Henry R-dead
If you (Sg) come round my house, I'll punch the living daylight out of you (Sg) and Henry! (PP2:6)
- (88) Yau loa ia Yeutu [kia māua ma Teta].
 come Int A Yeutu G-A we.2 incl Teta
Yeutu came to Teta and I. (PP2:4:1)

- (89) te kauliki [a māua **ma** toku pāpā]
 A children P we.2 incl my father
the children of my father and I (V12:1)
- (90) Te tūtū [o kōlua **ma** Tao] amuloa i te mānea.
 A photo P you.2 incl Tao really Prd nice
The photo of you (Sg) and Tao is very nice.

However, a possessive inclusory pronoun in preposed position is always separated from the lexical noun phrase by the possessum:

- (91) Iko loa [a māua] kati [**ma** Tāvita], akatele ai ia Limapēni.
 wind Int P we.2 gut incl Tāvita caus-sail Pro A Limapēni
Tāvita and I wound out our fishing lines, while Limapēni drove the boat. (PS2:8)
- (92) * a māua ma Tāvita kati
 P we.2 incl Tāvita gut
Tāvita's and my fishing lines

A postposed particle can also intervene between an inclusory pronoun as the head of a possessive predicate and its included lexical noun phrase:

- (93) [Nā māua **lāi** [ma Tutoka]] nā niu nei na toli ai.
 P we.2 Int incl Tutoka A coconut here T climb Pro
These coconuts which had been harvested definitely were Tutoka's and mine.

These facts indicate that the inclusory pronoun and the lexical noun phrase are not always a grammatical phrase but can be split. When split, the construction is formally very similar to a comitative construction. However, the number of total participants is still determined from the number of the pronoun and not by an additive calculation. For instance, in (94) there are only two participants, the man and his wife. The sentence does not mean 'We (DU) spent seven years there with my wife'.

- (94) E witu [o māua] matawiti [**ma** taku vale] i ai.
 T seven P we.2 year incl my wife L there
My wife and I spent seven years there.

There can be meaning differences between an inclusory construction and a comitative construction apart from the total number of participants which are encoded by them. In (95), a possessive inclusory construction denotes that all the participants encoded by the inclusory construction are possessors of the possessum and in subject position they are all included in the scope of the predicate, whereas (96) illustrates that the participants encoded by a comitative construction are not necessarily included in the scope of the predicate and are distinct semantically from the possessor of the noun phrase in subject position:

- (95) [Tō kōlua tūtū [**ma** Tao]] i te mānea.
 P you.2 photo incl Tao Prd nice
The photo of you (Sg) and Tao is nice. [The whole picture of the two of you looks nice.]
- (96) [Tō tūtū] [**ma** Tao] i te mānea.
 your photo with Tao Prd nice
Your (Sg) photo alongside Tao is nice. [It's a good picture of you in the photo with Tao]

There can also be differences of salience between inclusory constructions and comitative ones. There are three participants in both (97) and (98), the speaker, the addressee and *Tao*, although (97) may also include some other unspecified persons in the reference of the inclusory pronoun *tāiōu* ‘we PL’. In the inclusory construction (97), *Tao* is included in the reference of the pronoun and may be included in the group of people talking, whereas in the comitative construction (98), *Tao* is excluded from the discussion, likely to be distant from the two people talking and less salient to the discourse.

(97) Yau ke nōnō tātou **ma** Tao.
 come.Sg C R-sit we.Pl including Tao
Come here, we’re all going to sit together with Tao.

(98) Yau ke nōnō tāua **ma** Tao.
 come.Sg C R-sit we.2 with Tao
Come here, you and I will sit with Tao.

The differences between coordinated and comitative constructions will now be discussed. *Ma* can function as a conjunction. It conjoins two or more noun phrases meaning ‘and’ (99, 100). It can also conjoin numerals and in association with the definite singular article *te* it conjoins modifiers and predicates (see 10.1.2.1).

(99) Ko weolo wua [te vela] [**ma** te kakava].
 T same just A heat and A bitterness
Heat and bitterness are the same thing [in curry].

(100) Pū loa au i te imu ke tao ai [a mātou puaka] [**ma** nā moa] [**ma** te olo wāwā].
 light Int I Acc A oven C cook Pro P we pig and A chicken and A pudding taro
I lit the oven in which to cook our pigs and the chickens and the olo taro pudding. (PP2:5:1)

Ma never co-occurs with other case markers or with the personal article.

(101) Tāpena loa lātou i a lātou kawa **ma** (*i) a lātou kau ma te kawa poto ma te kau wakāliaia.
 prepare Int they Acc P their line and (*Acc) P their hook and A line short and A hook horrible
They got ready their lines and their hooks and a short line and a wretched hook. (BB:9)

(102) Tauvalo ai au ki toku tēfī **ma** (*ki) te toe kauliki ke lōmamai taumamaya.
 call Pro I G my daddy and (*G) A other children C come.Pl R-eat
I called to my father and the other children to come and eat. (PP2:2:3)

(103) Ka wō ia Tū **ma** (*ia) Tele ki tai.
 T go.Pl A Tū and (*A) Tele G sea
Tū and Tele will go to sea.

However, the two conjuncts may be separated and the phrase marked by *ma* can occur in a clause by itself. Such noun phrases are commonly of a comitative nature and are marked by the preposition *ma*. In other words, there are two homonymous morphemes, one a conjunction and the other a case marker.

(104) Na ala nā toe tūpele, tamaki ai **ma** te wī lōpā.
 T wake A other men fight Pro with A all youth
Some of the old men arose and fought together with the youths.

(105) Totolo loa ia Lū ki lolotonu o te langi, totolo **ma** lua ona yoa i tawa o Lū.
 R-crawl Int A Lū G middle P A sky R-crawl with two his.Pl friend L side P Lū
Lū crawled to the centre of the sky and his two friends crawled at his side. (BB:978)

Further evidence in support of *ma* as a case marker is that the noun phrase marked by *ma* and the unmarked noun phrase to which it is related may have different semantic roles in the clause. The unmarked noun phrase is commonly animate and doing some action while the noun phrase marked by *ma* is often an inanimate confective.

- (106) Ka yau toku māmī **ma te pupui**, patu ia aku ke mate.
 T come my mother with A gun hit Acc-A I C dead
My mother will come with a gun and hit me till I'm dead. (AT:C1)

- (107) Wō loa lātou **ma tā lātou kumete**.
 go.Pl Int they with A their basket
They went with their basket. (PK:W1)

Syntactic case may be clearly differentiated between the two noun phrases. It is clear in (108) that *vaka* ‘canoe’ is not the subject of the verb *kakau* ‘swim’, since canoes do not swim.

- (108) Tō lātou mawulianga ia, kakau mai loa lātou mai te moana ki ngāuta **ma te vaka**.
 P they capsized-Nom Af swim Dir Int they from A ocean G shore with A canoe
Having overturned, they swam from the ocean towards shore with their canoe.

Additional evidence for the distinctiveness of *ma* as a conjunction and as a case marker is to be found in verbal agreement (see 7.7.1). Coordinated noun phrases in subject position trigger plural agreement in the verb (109), while a singular noun phrase in subject position accompanied by a comitative phrase does not (110, 111).

- (109) Mea loa i te toe pō, wō loa **ia Tāupeloa ma Tōkaipole** onoono i te tini o Yayake.
 do Int L A other night go.Pl Int A Tāupeloa and Tōkaipole look Acc A warriors P Yayake
It happened on one night that Tāupeloa and Tōkaipole went to check out the warriors of Yayake. (W1:P5:5:9)

- (110) **Yau** (*Iōmamai) loa **ia Eleta ma tana matila**.
 come.Sg (*come.Pl) Int A Eleta with her fishing.rod
Eleta came with her fishing rod. (PP2:11:2)

- (111) Momotu loa iāna i te lāui, **wano** (*wō) loa **iāna ma tona pupu** ki Motu Kotawa.
 R-break Int he Acc A prohibition go.Sg (*go.Pl) Int he with his group G Motu Kotawa
He broke the prohibition [on going to the reserve] and went there with his men to Motu Kotawa. (U1:6)

However, a complication to this distinction is that comitative phrases may allow plural agreement in the verb if both the subject noun phrase and the comitative noun phrase refer to animate/human actors and if the (singular) subject has been omitted under rules of anaphoric deletion. Proximity to the verb seems to be an influential factor.

- (112) Yau loa ia Lū, wōmamai loa **ma lua ona yoa**, ko Pīngao ma Yāloa.
 come.Sg Int A Lū come.Pl Int with two his.Pl friend Prd Pīngao and Yāloa
Lū came, and his two friends, Pīngao and Yāloa came with him. (BB:978)

- (113) Na tele ia Yīpōuli ki Yāmoa. Wō loa **ma te kau tāina ōna pau**.
 T sail A Yīpōuli G Samoa go.Pl Int with A people brothers P-he.Pl finish
Yīpōuli sailed to Samoa. [He] went with all his brothers. (ML2:38)

An alternative analysis of the above sentences is that the verb agrees in number with the subject of the clause which is marked by *ma* to emphasise the additiveness of two clauses which are conjoined by

juxtaposition (see 10.1.1.1). The ambiguity of structure in such sentences illustrates that the distinction between the functions of coordinator and comitative case marker is not always clear-cut. So that although there are differences between inclusory constructions, coordinated constructions and comitative constructions, there is some degree of overlap between them. The following sentence is structurally ambiguous between all three alternatives, although the presence of the full resumptive pronoun copy of the subject in the relative clause (*lāou* ‘they’) suggests that the structure is a coordinated or inclusory one, since the deletion strategy would normally apply in relativisation of a subject.

- (114) Ko ai te kau na wō **lāou ma** **Yīpōuli** i tana tele?
 Prd who A people T go.Pl they incl/and/with Yīpōuli L his tour
Who are the people who went with Yīpōuli on his trip?

Verbal agreement is often no help in distinguishing between the structures if the noun phrases are contiguous to each other. For instance in (115), the noun phrase marked by *ma* could be a coordinated or a comitative phrase. The inclusory construction is only excluded on semantic grounds, not grammatical grounds, since the total number of participants is greater than the number of the pronoun.

- (115) Na nōnō wua māua **ma** **lua tama nei**.
 T R-stay just we.2 and/with two child here
We and our two children just stayed [there].
We both just stayed with [our] two children. (LS2:52)

Although there is often structural ambiguity when the noun phrases are contiguous to each other, the proximity of a pronoun to the verb triggers agreement and therefore determines the structure. An inclusory pronoun always triggers agreement with a plural form of the verb (116). But in (117), the singular pronoun next to the verb triggers agreement with the verb, which means that a coordinated structure is eliminated and the structure must be a comitative one.

- (116) Ka lōmamai [**kōlua** ma Tao] ālu ia māua?
 T come.Pl you.2 incl Tao follow Acc-A we.2
Why don't you (Sg) and Tao come with us both?
- (117) Ka yau [**koe** ma Tao] ālu ia māua?
 T come.Sg you with Tao follow Acc-A we.2
Why don't you and Tao come with us both?

On the other hand when the conjoined phrases are fronted, the pronoun is not contiguous to the verb and the coordinated structure triggers plural agreement:

- (118) [Ko **koe** ma Tao] ka lōmamai.
 Top you and Tao T come.Pl
You and Tao will come.

In practical terms, noun phrases are conjoined in a coordinated structure if their heads are common nouns (119) or proper nouns (120), whereas if one of the elements is a pronoun, the most usual and idiomatic expression is an inclusory construction (121), not a coordinated construction (122).

- (119) Ko toku tungāne **ma** toku tuakana ka wō.
 Top my brother and my older.sister T go.Pl
My brother and older sister will go.

- (120) Ko Tao **ma** Mele ka wō.
 Top Tao and Mele T go.Pl
Tao and Mele will go.
- (121) Ko māua **ma** Tao ka wō.
 Top we.2 incl Tao T go.Pl
Tao and I will go.
- (122) Ko oku **ma** Tao ka wō.
 Top I and Tao T go.Pl
Tao and I will go.

The order of conjoined noun phrases in a coordinated construction is not normally significant since the construction is double-headed. However when one of the elements is a pronoun, the preferred order is for the pronoun to be first as in (122). The reversed order with the pronoun as the second conjunct is dispreferred (123).

- (123) Ko Tao **ma** aku ka wō.
 Top Tao and I T go.Pl
Tao and I will go.

Conjoined numerals begin with the largest numeral adding successively smaller numerals (see 10.1.2.1).

In summary, inclusory constructions, coordinated constructions and comitative expressions are distinct at least some of the time, but there are many situations of structural ambiguity, especially between coordinated and comitative constructions. Verbal agreement and proximity to the verb are two factors which help to distinguish the structures, but gaps in the possibilities seem to indicate a degree of merging.

10.2 AUXILIARY VERBS

Auxiliaries commonly express tense, aspect, mood, voice or the polarity of the verb with which they are associated (Schachter 1985:41) and in some languages they are inflected for number, person or gender agreement. In Pukapukan, several sentence-initial modal particles have the following syntactic properties in common. They allow postverbal particles to modify them and allow an optional rule that raises the subject from a subordinate clause in which the tense-aspect marker may, or may not, remain intact. However, they do not require an immediately preceding tense-aspect marker like other verbs. Unlike most other verbs they cannot be nominalised. These forms can be labelled as auxiliary verbs which form complex sentence structures as follows:

S → Aux (particles) Subject Predicate ...

This class includes the negative verbs: *kiai* 'negative past tense' and the negative imperatives (8.2), as well as the following modal particles: *auwā* 'probably', *pī* 'if only', *kamuloa* 'really' and *toitoi* 'almost'.

The auxiliary verbs do not generally occur with a single argument in a simple clause; they are usually found in association with another predicate, and its subject is optionally attracted to a position immediately

following the auxiliary verb. That this is raising and not merely a leftwards movement is attested by the marking of a pronoun when it is moved to this position. When a pronoun is merely moved to the left in a clause to a position preceding the tense-aspect marker, it is marked either by the personal article *ia*, or by the topic marker *ko*, and the base form of the pronoun changes:

- (124) Ka nui **au** wakawōu. **Ia** **aku** kai nui wakawōu.
 T pregnant I again **Ko** **oku** kai nui wakawōu
 I'll get pregnant again * **au** kai nui wakawou
 Top/A I T pregnant again
 As for me, I might get pregnant again.

But when the subject pronoun is moved to a position immediately following an auxiliary verb it retains its postverbal nominative form. This is evidence of raising and a two clause structure to the sentence.

- (125) Auwā **au** ka nui wakawōu.
 probably I T pregnant again
I will probably get pregnant again.

Raising applies only to nominative and absolutive noun phrases (10.4.2). The rule most often applies to the subject of an intransitive verb (125), but a nominative subject of a transitive verb of the 'accusative' pattern (126) and a nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the 'passive' (127) or 'ergative' pattern (128, 129) can also be raised. Raising applies to pronouns (125), personal nouns (130) and common nouns (126-129).

- (126) Kamuloa lā **te kau** **ia** ūmele i tā mātou yalinga tikava ia.
 really Int A people Af surprise Acc P we scoop-Nom fish.sp Af
Those people were really amazed at how many tikava we had caught. (F4:S:1:3)
- (127) Pī **nā ika nei** na uwiuwia, e yē papala pā.
 if.only A fish here T RR-cover-Cia T Neg rotten probably
If only these fish had been covered, they probably wouldn't have gone rotten.
- (128) Oti ai te manako, auwā **tō tātou pule openga** ka kali loa ki te akaotinga o tā tātou angaanga.
 finish Pro A thought probably P we prayer final T wait Int G A finish-Nom P P we work
That ends the speeches, maybe we will delay our closing prayer until the end of our [village] work.
 (TU:13:3)
- (129) Pī **tō poti nā** na pēni, auwā te malu.
 if.only your boat there T paint probably A waterproof
If only your boat had been painted, it probably wouldn't leak.
- (130) Kamuloa **ia Lina** valea i te vāia nei...
 really A Lina happy L A time here
Lina is really happy at the moment... (KM:C2)

10.2.1 Auwā 'probably'

Auwā occurs clause initially, may be followed by postposed particles and allows an optional rule of subject raising from the following clause whose tense-aspect marker remains intact. It is an epistemic modal which expresses a possibility that the proposition of the main predicate may occur.

The subject of the clause may be raised to a position following the auxiliary:

- (131) Auwā mō **ko** ka nui wakawōu.
probably maybe you T pregnant again
You might get pregnant again. (AT:C3)
- (132) Auwā pā **te payī** kai yē yau.
probably probably A ship T Neg come
The ship probably might not come.

or the subject may remain in the lower clause:

- (133) Auwā mō na mate **te awi**.
probably maybe T dead A fire
The fire might be out.
- (134) Te langi nei i te uli. Auwā mō ka tō **te uwa**.
A sky here Prd black probably maybe T fall A rain
The sky is black. The rain might fall.
- (135) Auwā na pau ai **nā talatala**.
probably T finish Pro A talking
That's probably all to say. (V:1)

The predicate of the lower clause may be verbal (as above) or nominal:

- (136) Auwā mō **ko te wakayawe** tēnei ā tātou muna lā loto o te lātio o te malama nei.
probably maybe Prd A caus-finish this P-P we word through in P A radio P A month here
This is [lit. probably] the end of our few words on the radio this month. (AR3:1)

Apart from expressing a possibility, the particle *auwā* may be used to express hope or an assumption:

- (137) **Auwā** ko lelei wua kōtou i Wale nā.
probably T good just you.PI L Wale there
I hope you are all well in Pukapuka. (WT:L1:1)
- (138) **Auwā** mō tā tātou nōnōnga i nā ayo nei i te tauyala wua.
probably maybe P we RR-stay-Nom L A day here Prd fine just
I hope our stay together in these next days will be excellent. (PS:3:4)
- (139) **Auwā** mō te niu nei i te yua leka.
probably maybe A coconut here Prd water nice
This coconut looks as if it will be sweet to drink.

It is used for estimates:

- (140) E yē loa pā, **auwā** e laungaulu wua miniti.
T Neg long probably probably T ten just minute
It won't take long, probably only ten minutes. (KM:PP2:1)

It may also express politeness in bringing a discourse to a close, or in modifying opinions and propositions which are not necessarily uncertain:

- (141) *Āuwā* mō ko yē lelei te manatunga ia.
probably maybe T Neg good A think-Nom Af
That [lit. probably] isn't a very good idea at all. (KM:KY:1:3)
- (142) Ko yē aku iloa lā mē ni wea a kōtou manatunga, mē ko mina kōtou, *auwā* mō ko yē mina kōtou.
T Neg I know-Cia but C A what P you think-Nom C T like you probably maybe T Neg like you
*But I don't know what your opinions are, whether you like [my idea], probably you don't
[but I hope you do like it].* (SL1:6)
- (143) Oti ai te manako, *auwā* tō tātou pule openga ka kali loa ki te akaotinga o tā tātou angaanga.
finish Pro A thought probably P we prayer final T wait Int G A finish-Nom P P we work
That ends the speeches, we will [lit. probably] delay our closing prayer until the end of our [village] work.
(TU:13:3)

10.2.2 *Pī* 'if only'

Pī typically occurs in the initial clause of hypothetical and counterfactual complex sentences of the condition-consequence type. It usually occurs sentence initially in complex sentences and therefore could be considered to be a conjunction or a subordinator. However, it may be followed by postposed particles and is immediately followed by the subject of the following clause, which seems to indicate that it too acts as a higher verb governing a raising rule. *Pī* is like *auwā* in that the following clause retains its tense-aspect marker.

- (144) *Pī* te kau lōpā nā na wō, na nīniko mai pā.
if.only A group youth there T go.PI T R-return Dir probably
If only those youths had gone, they would have returned by now.
- (145) *Pī* nā ika nei na uwiuwia, e yē papala pā.
if.only A fish here T RR-cover-Cia T Neg rotten probably
If only these fish had been covered, they probably wouldn't have gone rotten.
- (146) *Pī* aku wua nei na tanuina, na tutupu pā.
if.only my.PI seed here T plant-Cia T R-grow probably
If only I had planted these seeds, they would probably have grown by now.
- (147) *Pī* tō poti nā na pēni, *auwā* te malu.
if.only your boat there T paint probably A waterproof
If only your boat had been painted, it probably wouldn't leak.

The consequence clause may infrequently precede the hypothetical statement:

- (148) Ka wō tāua yī ika, *pī* lā ke yī maunu.
T go.PI we.2 catch fish if.only Int T exist bait
We would go fishing if only we had some bait.

Subject raising is optional and only occurs with verbal predicates, as may be seen from comparing examples (144-147) with the following examples:

- (149) *Pī* e tai *aku vāyanga*, na avatu wua au mā au.
if.only T exist my.PI piece T give just I for you
If only I had a piece, I would have given it to you.

(150) Pī nō mātou te wale nei, na wakamānea wua ēku.
if.only P we.Pl A house here T caus-pretty just Ag-I
If only this house was ours, I would have made it nice.

(151) Pī kāle ai au, kāe au yanga e maua.
if.only Neg Pro I Neg-exist your work T get
If it wasn't [for] me, you wouldn't have any work to do.

(KM:YK:3:5)

Furthermore, the clause immediately following *pī* may be introduced by the tense-aspect marker *e* and the complementiser *ke*, which normally introduce only subordinate clauses. This provides further evidence for the verbal nature of *pī*.

(152) Pī lava koe e wano ki Lalotonga kai mōmona loa koe.
if.only Int you T go G Rarotonga T fat Int you
If you were to go to Rarotonga you might get fat.

(153) Pī pē e tuku mai kia aku, e kai loa pau.
if.only Def T give Dir G-A I T eat Int finish
If only [the food] would be given to me, I would eat it all.

(154) Pī lā te tamá ke penupenu lelei.
if.only Int A child-Da T act well
I wish that child would behave.

Additionally the subject of *pī* may be a participant not mentioned in the main predicate:

(155) Ia koe i te onge, pī pē mō ake koe ke yī aku kai, e yē pā loa atu au.
A you Prd selfish if.only def maybe Dir you C exist.Pl my.Pl food T Neg agree Int Dir I
You are so selfish, if only you [were in my shoes] [and] if I had some food, I wouldn't agree [to give it] to you.

and occasionally there is no overt main clause:

(156) Pī lā mō koe.
if.only Int maybe you
If only [it was] you. [A warning of impending revenge.]

Both of these factors give additional support to the view that *pī* acts as a verb. *Pī* also occurs with a number of postverbal particles, including *lā*, *lava*, *pē*, *mō* and *pā*.

(157) Pī lā ko te Ālai o Palaoa, ka maua nā ika.
if.only Int Prd A reef P Palaoa T get A fish
If only [this] was the Ālai of Palaoa [a place] we would get some fish.

(158) Pī lava na wano mea i ona nio i Lalotonga, kaikainga lelei iāna.
if.only Int T go do Acc his.Pl tooth L Rarotonga RR-eat-Nom good he
He should have gone to Rarotonga to get some teeth to help him eating.

(159) Pī mō ko oku nā i loto, ka lē ia Ngake.
if.only maybe Top I T L within T win A Ngake
If only I had been included, Ngake would have won, don't you think? (KM:C2)

(160) Pī pā koe na wano peia.
if.only probably you T go like-this
Perhaps you should have gone likewise.

Various combinations of postposed particles appear following *pī* which modify its meaning:

- (161) Pī pē mō au e tangata moni, wano loa au ki Malike.
if.only definitely maybe I Prd person money go Int I G America
If I was wealthy, I would go to America.
- (162) Pī lā mō taku tamá ke moe.
if.only Int maybe my child-Da T sleep
I hope my child is asleep.
- (163) Pī lā wua ake au ke wano yāeleele i te ngutuala.
if.only Int just Dir I T go RR-walk L A street
I just wish I could go for a walk in the street [but I can't].

Condition-consequence sentences introduced by *pī* may be interpreted as an indirect speech act with a putative function, warning of a likely consequence:

- (164) Pī lā mō koe e titiko ake, e vayi loa koe.
if.only Int maybe you T defecate Dir T hit Int you
If you soil yourself, I'll hit you. [Don't soil yourself.]

Several other lexemes appear to function like *auwā* and *pī*. These include *wua mua* 'be careful', *kiai* 'negative past tense', *auwē* 'negative imperative', and *ngali* 'be an advantage, seem'. These all allow optional subject raising with retention of the tense-aspect marker in the subordinate clause, and they also allow postposed particles to modify them. None of them allow a full range of tense-aspect markers to precede them; *kiai* optionally allows only *e* (8.2.1), which is also the tense-aspect marker preceding *ngali* (3.1.3), negative imperatives have no tense-aspect marker (8.2.2.2; 9.2.2), and, like *auwā* and *pī*, there is no tense-aspect marker preceding *wua mua* 'be careful' (5.1.5.5).

10.2.3 *Kamuloa* ~ *Amuloa* 'really'

Kamuloa and *amuloa* are two freely interchangeable variants of this auxiliary verb. *Kamuloa* is more formal and is probably the older form. *Amuloa* is used frequently in colloquial speech.

Kamuloa is a clause-initial auxiliary verb which exhibits some verbal qualities. Semantically, it intensifies the action or state denoted by the predicate. Compare sentence (165a) with (165b), in which the auxiliary is present and the subject of the intransitive predicate has been raised to subject of *kamuloa*.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (165) a. Na vivili au i te matakū. T shake I By A fear <i>I was shaking with fear.</i> | b. Kamuloa au vivili i te matakū. really I shake By A fear <i>I was really shaking with fear!</i> |
|--|--|

The predicate of the first sentence is intensified by the addition of *kamuloa* sentence initially, the subject is raised to a position immediately following *kamuloa* and the tense-aspect marker of the main predicate is deleted. *Kamuloa* differs from the previous two auxiliary verbs, *auwā* and *pī*, in that the tense-aspect marker of the following clause is usually deleted, but there are one or two sentences in the corpus (containing 300 tokens) in which the tense-aspect marker of the clause remains intact:

(166) Kamuloa ko tutuli oku talinga.
 really T deaf my.Pl ear
I am really deaf. (MM:C5:14)

(167) Kamuloa koe e yē wiakaia.
 really you T Neg hungry
You wouldn't get hungry [there]. (F3:S3:7)

There are also one or two sentences in which *kamuloa* itself is marked for tense, but this is very rare.

(168) E kovi loa ko lili ai au ia ana, ko kamuloa au pau oku lili ke kave ēna te kauliki nei.
 Prd matter Int T angry Pro I Acc-A he T really I finish my.Pl anger C take Ag-he A children here
It is something I get angry with him over, I really get angry when he takes the children [to sea]. (MN3:13)

Apart from its ability to sometimes take a tense-aspect marker, *kamuloa* has a number of other verbal qualities:

1. It allows a raising rule, whereby the subject of the subordinate clause is raised to a position immediately following *kamuloa*.

(169) Kamuloa au tatalaala na angatu ai au.
 really I regret T come Pro I
I'm really sorry I came to you.

(170) Kamuloa ia Lina valea i te vāia nei...
 really A Lina happy L A time here
Lina is really happy at the moment... (KM:C2)

(171) Kamuloa te wī tāngata ngālelepe e te kākata.
 really A all people R-break C R-laugh
Everyone really cracked up laughing. (F3S:10:2)

(172) Oko atu loa toku māmā ki ai, kamuloa te walemaki kī i te tangata.
 arrive Dir Int my mother G Pro really A hospital full By A people
When my mother arrived there, the hospital was really full of people. (F4:S4:4)

Subject raising is optional; the subject may remain in the subordinate clause although this is not as frequent as raising.

(173) Amuloa valea au i te imukai ia.
 really enjoy I L A feast Af
I really enjoyed myself at the feast.

(174) Kamuloa ūtutua te tikava i kiai.
 really abundant A fish.sp L there
The tikava fish are really abundant there. (F4:S4:4)

But some intransitive verbs such as *wainga* 'many' do not allow subject raising:

(175) Amuloa wainga te yītolo.
 really many A ghost
There were very many ghosts. (PK:W1)

Sentences occur in which there is no overt subject, where its reference is to known information, or with weather verbs which do not have explicit subjects.

(176) Amuloa i te viti.
really Prd good
That's really neat!

(177) Amuloa i te uwa.
really Prd rainy
It's raining heavily!

2. The noun phrase following *kamuloa* does not necessarily occur as a syntactic argument in the subordinate clause. This is common when the subject of the subordinate clause and the noun phrase immediately following *kamuloa* are related in a part-whole relationship. The genitive phrase may be raised to become the subject of *kamuloa*. This type of raising is the subject of recent discussion for other languages and has been called 'possessor raising' or 'external possession' (Payne and Barshi 2000). As a result of this process, *kamuloa* appears to have a different syntactic subject from that of the subordinate clause.

(178) Kamuloa ia Eleta pana te ate i te ūmele.
really A Eleta bounce A liver By A surprise
Eleta was really surprised [lit. her liver jumped]. (F4:S4:4)

(179)cf. Pana te ate o Eleta i te ūmele.
bounce A liver P Eleta By A surprise
Lit. Eleta's liver jumped in surprise.

Occasionally there is a noun phrase following *kamuloa* but no subordinate clause, in which case *kamuloa* must be interpreted as verbal:³

(180) Ko onoono wua au ia lalo, kamuloa te kalukalu moana.
T look just I L-A down really A jellyfish
When I looked down, [there were] very many jellyfish. (PS:2:5)

(181) Te walá, kamuloa ia lalo te lauwala.
A pandanus-Da really A down A pandanus.leaf
That pandanus tree has a lot of leaves underneath it.

3. Postposed particles may follow *kamuloa*, further indicating its verbal nature.

(182) Amuloa lā lātou mātatau.
really Int they R-fear
They are very afraid.

(183) Kamuloa oki yekeyeke wua te toto.
really also RR-flow just A blood
The blood was really pouring out as well. (PP2:14:2)

(184) Kamuloa lā te kau ia ūmele i tā mātou yalinga tikava ia.
really Int A people Af surprise Acc P we scoop-Nom fish.sp Af
Those people were really amazed at how many tikava we had caught. (F4:S:1:3)

4. The very morphology of the auxiliary (*k*)*amuloa* suggests that it may have originally been two morphemes; the second being the postposed particle *loa* ‘intensifier’ (5.1.3) which became incorporated into the form. The fact that *kamuloa* does not co-occur with *loa* synchronically supports this view. However, there is no relevant extant lexeme *kamu* as the first morph of such a compound; the verb *kamu* meaning ‘throw’ is a “long shot” semantically.

Although it normally occurs sentence initially, *kamuloa* allows various fronting and focusing rules to apply to the subject:

- (185) **Te ulanga a te kauliki ia, kamuloa i te lelei.**
A dance-Nom P A children Af really Prd good
The children’s dancing was very good indeed.
- (186) **Ko mātou i kinei, kamuloa tauyala wua.**
Top we.Pl L here really good just
As for us here, we’re very well. (P:W2:3)
- (187) **Aku kakalonga lā ki lunga o te wenua, nā niu kamuloa pipiko...amuloa nā pola watiwati.**
my.Pl look-Nom but G on P A land A coconut really R-bent really A coconut.fronD RR-break
But when I looked onto the land, [I saw that] the coconuts were really bent over...many fronds were breaking off. (P:S6:2)

Kamuloa may occur clause initially in complex sentences.

- (188) **Mē yē akalepongia te wāwā, kamuloa liliki wua.**
if Neg fertilise-Cia A taro really R-small just
If the taro isn’t fertilised, [it] will just be really small. (MU:E2)
- (189) **I te kite mainga o te māmā i te kaú, kamuloa vēvēia.**
L A see Dir-Nom P A mother Acc A people-Da really happy
When the mother saw the [visitors], [she] was very happy. (KM:ET:2:5)

Although the verb in the subordinate clause is usually intransitive, a clause in the ‘passive’ pattern is also permitted. The raised noun phrase is the nominative/absolutive noun phrase.

- (190) **Amuloa koe mālililingia.**
really you give.goosebumps-Cia
[That] really gives you goose bumps.
- (191) **Kamuloa lā toku māmā talatalangia e te wī tāngata nō tana meanga i te vailanga o Ngā ia.**
really Int my mother RR-talk-Cia Ag A all people because her do-Nom Acc A womb P Ngā Af
Everyone really talked about my mother because of what she did for Ngā’s prolapse. (F4:S:4:6)

10.2.4 *Toitōi* ‘nearly, almost’

Toitōi ‘nearly, almost’ is another sentence-initial auxiliary verb that functions in a similar manner to *kamuloa* in that it allows an optional subject raising rule, there is no overt tense-aspect marker in the subordinate clause, and it may be followed by postposed particles.

- (192) **Toitōi te tama ū i lunga o te ngutualā.**
nearly A child hit L on P A road-Da
The child was nearly hit on the road.

- (193) Toitōi loa te ika ia mate.
 nearly Int A fish Af dead
The fish was nearly dead.
- (194) Toitōi loa tā mātou ola kī i te ika.
 nearly Int P we fishing.basket full By A fish
Our basket was nearly full of fish. (PP:2:8:2)
- (195) Toitōi loa pau te pāni tātā i te kauliki.
 nearly Int finish A pan taro.dish By A children
The saucepan of tātā was nearly finished off by the children.

The construction allows a clause of the ‘passive’ pattern as the subordinate clause; the raised subject is the nominative/absolutive noun phrase:

- (196) Toitōi loa au tokia e te yakali i te ayó.
 nearly Int I hit-Cia Ag A dry.nut L A day-Da
I was nearly hit [on the head] yesterday by a falling nut.

10.3 TYPES OF SUBORDINATION

This section discusses the different types of subordination associated with noun clauses and adverbial clauses. There do not appear to be any features which are shared by all types of subordinate clause, although the verb-initial word order is required by several subtypes. Some types of subordinate clause always follow the superordinate clause, whereas others may occur either preceding or following the superordinate clause. The choice of the subordinate construction for noun clauses is mainly determined by the verb in the main clause and in cases where the verb of the main clause allows more than one type of subordinate clause, there are different meanings or connotations associated with each type. The subordinator, if there is one, generally replaces the tense-aspect marker of the clause, but not in all cases. In relative clauses there are some restrictions on tense-aspect so that *e* ‘non-specific’ primarily occurs in subordinate clauses and is a signal of subordination. It is notable that the four main subordinators of noun and adverbial clauses contain the vowel *e*: two of the subordinators, *mē* and *pē*, merge with the tense-aspect marker *e*; another, *ke*, replaces the tense-aspect marker of the clause and its vowel is phonetically long in almost all environments (2.6.2) which suggests a possible merging with *e* historically; and the fourth, *e te*, also occurs only in nonfinite clauses. The strategies in which the subordinator replaces the tense-aspect marker will be discussed first, followed by those that allow tense-aspect marking, and thus have independent time reference from the superordinate clause. Only verbal clauses are discussed in this section. Nominalisations of clauses can occur as complements or as adjuncts to a verb and are discussed in section 10.8.

10.3.1 *e te* SUBORDINATION

E te never occurs in main clauses but always introduces complements, replacing the tense-aspect marker of the clause and producing sentences of the form:

Predicate NP *e te* VP (...)

- (197) Ko valenga nei ia Wutu e te moe.
T engrossed Dir A Wutu C sleep.Sg
Wutu was engrossed in sleeping. (PK:W1)
- (198) Ko lapu māua e te wō.
T hurry we.2 C go.Pl
We are hurrying to go.
- (199) Ko winangalo au e te niko vave atu.
T want I C return quickly Dir
I want to return [to you] quickly. (PP:LI)
- (200) Ko winangalo ia Tao e te aloalo i tona poti ki te moana.
T want A Tao C RR-paddle Acc his boat G A ocean
Tao wants to paddle his boat to the ocean.

The complementiser *e te* appears to be formed historically from a case marker or preposition and the specific singular article *te* followed by an unsuffixed nominalisation of a verb, so that superficially it has some nonverbal characteristics. The substitution of *e te* by *ma te* in conjoined complements is evidence that the elements are still somewhat discrete since *ma* denotes the comitative case.

- (201) ...ke maua ake lātou e te nōnō ma te wetū
C able Dir they C R-sit and Pl-stand
...so that they might be able to sit and stand upright (BB:977)

However, the complementiser cannot be synchronically viewed as a case marker plus specific article since there are many verbs which allow this type of complementation but whose arguments are not marked by the agentive case marker *e*. Moreover, the constructions which *e te* introduces are verbal; a nominal entity cannot occur in the same slot, nor do the constructions have any other nominal characteristics. The head cannot be modified by nominal modifiers, such as genitive adjuncts, the demonstrative particle *ia* 'aforementioned', or the definitive accent, but maintains other verbal qualities such as agreement with the plurality of the subject (197-198), postmodification by adverbial particles (199) and the ability to take arguments and adjuncts of the clause (200). However, it is unmarked for tense-aspect and the subordinate clause is non-finite in that respect. The subordinate clause is always verb-initial, and *e te* cannot be followed by a noun phrase, so that nominal predicates (7.1) do not occur in this type of subordinate clause.

A variant form of this complementiser is *i te*:

- (202) Na akamata tona kili i te pupū.
T start her skin C erupt.
Her skin is starting to break out [in a rash].
- (203) Ko te wī tū lākau e tano i te māni ukalele.
T A all type tree T right C make ukulele.
All types of tree are suitable for making ukuleles. (MU:E1)
- (204) Kamata loa lātou i te yī.
start Int they C fish.
They started fishing. (BB:9)

The form of the complementiser is not conditioned by either the verb of the superordinate clause or the verb in the complement or by other factors in its syntactic environment. Sociolinguistic factors influence the choice of form of the complementiser: *i te* occurs in less than a quarter of textual examples and it is noticeable that most recorded uses of *i te* as complementiser are from spontaneous speech or conversation. Impressionistically, it seems to be mainly used by young people or those older people who are well-versed in Cook Islands Māori. The use of *i te* in narrating folk tales, a traditional genre, is not so prevalent as its use in conversation. When questioned about variation, most native speakers prefer *e te*, but not all clearly attribute the use of *i te* to influence from Cook Islands Māori. The occasional use of the variant *i te* is attested in the Beagleholes' manuscript (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d., a) from the 1930s (204). Neither can this variant be analysed as a case marker plus article since some verbs which take these complements do not mark either of their core arguments with the case marker *i*, for instance *iloa* 'know'.

The verbs which take *e te* complementation are a wide-ranging group including verbs of completion (*oti* 'complete', *pau* 'finish'), inception (*wakamata* 'start'), manner (*viviki* 'quick', *lapu* 'hurry', *peia* 'act in such a manner'), perception and ability (*iloa* 'know how to', *lima papala* 'have no skill at hand work', *mālei* 'wise') and attitude (*mina* 'like', *winangalo* 'want', *kavangia* 'sick of', *valenga* 'enjoy') and verbs of evaluation (*ngali* 'be better', *kino* 'bad', *lelei* 'good') among others. Motion verbs such as *wano* 'go' and *yau* 'come' do not take this type of subordination (see 10.7.3.1).

The neuter verbs including the verbs of completion are generally not permitted in complements marked by *e te*.⁴ This restriction may be explained semantically. The subject of the complement must be co-referential with an argument in the role of actor in the superordinate clause, which cannot be the case for complements containing a neuter verb, since the subject is in the role of patient. Nominal predicates (7.1) and tensed nonverbal predicates (7.2) do not occur in this type of complement.

Some of the predicates that allow *e te* complementation require that Equi-deletion take place in the subordinate clause (10.4.2), while others trigger noun phrase raising (10.4.1). These two sub-types of complementation by *e te* are discussed in 10.3.1.1 and 10.3.1.2 respectively, followed by a section on complements of verbs of completion (10.3.1.3).

10.3.1.1 Verbs that require Equi-deletion

Certain verbs have a requirement that the subject of the complement clause must be coreferential with a noun phrase in the superordinate clause in the role of actor and the subject of the complement is always deleted under identity with the coreferential noun phrase in the superordinate clause. The usual pattern is that the subjects of the two clauses are in the role of actor and are coreferential (205) (for other patterns see 10.4.2 Equi-deletion). It is not possible to have a different subject in the complement to that of the superordinate clause (206). Instead, a subordinate clause with a different subject must be introduced by the subordinator *ke* (10.3.2). Verbs which occur in superordinate predicates of this type are therefore those which take as their subjects noun phrases denoting actors and experiencers, and include most of the verbs listed above, but not verbs of completion or verbs of evaluation which take sentential subjects and allow raising of the subject of the subordinate clause.

- (205) Ko winangalo ia Tao **e te wano ki Kō**.
 T want A Tao C go G Kō
Tao wants to go to Kā
- (206) * Ko winangalo ia Tao **e te wano ia Mele ki Kō**.
 Ko winangalo ia Tao **ke** wano ia Mele ki Kō.
 T want A Tao C go A Mele G Kō
Tao wants Mele to go to Kā

E te usually introduces complements which are intransitive or which have incorporated the object:

- (207) E yē winangalo loa koe **e te wano ki vao nō te anu**.
 T Neg want Int you C go G out because A cold.
You wouldn't want to go outside because of the cold. (PP:L1)
- (208) Ia Walemate e tangata mālei **e te wai wanewane**.
 A Walemate Prd person wise C make magic.
Walemate was a man learned in practising magic. (BB:991)
- (209) Te tamaliki na kikio **e te aumai pola ki te āpii**.
 A children T fed.up C bring roof.thatch G A school
The children are fed up with bringing roof thatching to school.

Although there is no overt subject in the complement, there may be other arguments and adjuncts of the clause. Transitive clauses are always in the 'accusative' pattern:

- (210) Valenga lā au **e te wakiwaki i taku kaipea openga...**
 engross but I C RR-break Acc my crab last
But I was so engrossed in breaking [off the legs of] my last crab... (WK1:9)

The 'passive' pattern is not permissible, nor is the 'ergative' pattern:

- (211) Ko winangalo ia Tao [e te kave i ana mea ki Kō]. 'accusative' pattern
 * Ko winangalo ia Tao [e te kāvea ana mea ki Kō]. 'passive' pattern
 * Ko winangalo ia Tao [e te kave ana mea ki Kō]. 'ergative' pattern
 T want A Tao C take Acc his.Pl thing G Kō
Tao wants to take his things to Kā

The noun phrase in the role of patient in the 'passive' and 'ergative' patterns cannot be deleted under identity with the subject of the 'accusative' pattern, even though both are in the nominative/absolute case. Instead, the complementiser *ke* must be used, and the nominative/absolute noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern in the subordinate clause is optional.

- (212) * Ko winangalo ia Tao [e te kāvea (iāna) ki Kō]. 'passive' pattern
 * Ko winangalo ia Tao [e te kave (iāna) ki Kō].⁵ 'ergative' pattern
 Ko winangalo ia Tao [ke kāvea (iāna) ki Kō].
 T want A Tao C take-Cia he G Kō
Tao wants to be taken to Kā

10.3.1.2 Verbs that allow subject raising

A few verbs have sentential subjects, from which the subject of the complement can be raised to become the subject of the main predicate. These verbs include verbs of evaluation such as: *kino* ‘bad’, *lelei* ‘good’, *ngali* ‘better’. This type of sentence often occurs with no overt actor, since the whole subordinate clause is the subject of the main predicate and the subject of the subordinate clause is frequently not specified (213). However, the subject of the subordinate clause may be overt, in which case it usually occurs immediately following the main predicate (214).

(213) E kino [e te kai i nā iká]?
 T bad C eat Acc A fish-Da
Would it be bad to eat the fish?

(214) E kino tātou [e te kai i nā iká]?
 T bad we C eat Acc A fish-Da
Would it be bad for us to eat the fish?

That this is in fact a raising process and not Equi-deletion is attested by several facts. Firstly, the main predicate semantically relates to the whole subordinate clause and not to the subject noun phrase; it is not the actor of the subordinate clause that is evaluated as ‘good’ or ‘bad’, but the activity or state they are engaged in. Secondly, the raised subject does not trigger verbal agreement in the main clause (215), but does trigger agreement in the subordinate clause (216, 217). Thirdly, the subject noun phrase can occur in the subordinate clause and not in the superordinate clause (218), which is not possible with Equi-deletion.

(215) * E kikino tātou [e te kai i nā iká]?
 T bad.Pl we C eat Acc A fish-Da
(Would it be bad for us to eat the fish?)

(216) E yē lelei (koe) [e te nō wua].
 T Neg good you.Sg C stay.Sg just.
It would be no good for you to stay [here]. (PK:M3)

(217) E ngali ake koe [e te moe ki loto o te ana i te moe ki te tulanga].
 T better Dir you.Sg C sleep.Sg G inside P A net C sleep.Sg G A open.air.
It is better for you to sleep in a mosquito net than to sleep in the open air.

(218) E kino [e te kai tātou i nā iká]?
 T bad.Pl C eat we Acc A fish-Da
Would it be bad for us to eat the fish?

A transitive subordinate clause for this group of verbs is configured according to the ‘accusative’ pattern, like the verbs which require Equi-deletion:

(219) E kino [e te oko mai i lua kālani, pule ai i nā pō]?
 T bad C buy Dir A two gallon pray Pro L A night
Would it be bad to buy a couple of gallons [of kerosene] with which [we could have light] to pray at night? (UC:3)

10.3.1.3 Verbs of Completion

There are two patterns for complements of verbs of completion, the first is that the complement is introduced by *e te*, but an older pattern, similar to that found in other Polynesian languages, existed in which there were two unmarked arguments in the clause: a raised argument and a nominalised verb. A few other verbs apart from verbs of completion also follow the first pattern.

1. Verbs of completion follow the raising pattern; they are verbs with sentential subjects, from which the subject of the subordinate clause is optionally raised to become the subject of the verb of completion. However, they are different from the first set of raising verbs in at least two respects: firstly, it is the patient of a transitive clause that is raised, not the actor, and secondly, a transitive subordinate clause is not configured in the ‘accusative’ pattern.

Intransitive verbs in the subordinate clause, including verbs with incorporated objects, allow raising of the the actor which is in the nominative/absolutive case. The subject remains in the same case after raising and the intransitive verb agrees in number with the raised subject.

(220) Na pau **lātou** [e te wō ki tō lātou vaka].
 T finish they C go.PI G P they canoe
They had all gone to their canoe.

(221) Na oti **koe** [e te palupalu meki]?
 T finish you C RR-wash dish
Have you finished washing the dishes?

For transitive clauses in the subordinate clause, the case marking patterns are different from those of the first two patterns of *e te* complements. Verbs of completion do not allow accusatively marked direct objects in their complements. Instead, the ‘ergative’ pattern of casemarking is usually found in the subordinate clause. The raised subject of the verb of completion is in the absolutive case and corresponds to the absolutive noun phrase (the patient) of the subordinate clause (222, 223). Raising is optional; sometimes the absolutive noun phrase is found in the subordinate clause (224).

(222) Na pau **nā tiale** [e te koto].
 T finish A flower C pick
The flowers have all been picked.

(223) E kili tō wua ke pau **nā yua** [i te ngaungau].
 Prd skin cane only C finish A water C RR-chew
It is only skin of the sugar cane when the juice is finished being chewed.

(224) Oti loa [e te kave **nā kaingākai** ki vao ma na lauwuti]...
 Finish Int C take A table G outside with A leaf-banana
When [they] had finished taking the tables and banana leaves [tablecloths] outside.. (F3S2:3)

As is common for clauses of the ‘ergative’ pattern, the agent of the subordinate clause can be encoded as a possessor of the raised patient:

(225) Na oti **te vaka o Lata** [e te tā].
 T complete A canoe P Lata C hew
Lata finished making his canoe.

(MM:L2)

- (226) Na pau aku vae kaveu [e te kai].
 T finish my.Pl leg coconut.crab C eat
I've finished eating all my coconut crab legs [on my plate].

The agent is frequently not overt (222, 223); alternatively, the agent may remain in the complement in the agentive case. The clause may be in the 'ergative' pattern (227) or the 'passive' pattern (228, 325):

- (227) Na oti nā popoa [e te tunu e Mele].
 T finish A food C cook Ag Mele
Mele has finished cooking the food.

- (228) Na pau nā tiale mātatala [e te kotoa e te wui tamāwine].
 T finish A flower open C cut-Cia Ag A all girl
All the open flowers had been picked by the young girls. (BB:551)

The raised argument may not be the agentive noun phrase of the 'accusative', 'passive' or 'ergative' pattern, although there is some evidence to suggest that raising of the subject of the 'accusative' pattern is becoming acceptable for some speakers with certain verbs as there are several examples in the corpus of this type (230).

- (229) * Na oti au [e te tunu i nā popoa]. 'accusative' pattern
 * Na oti au [e te tunua nā popoa]. 'passive' pattern
 * Na oti au [e te tunu nā popoa]. 'ergative' pattern
 T finish I C cook Acc A food
(I have finished cooking the food.)

- (230) E pito oti au [e te wakayakoyako i te wī takayala].
 T recently finish I C caus-RR-correct Acc A all mistake
I've just finished correcting all the mistakes. (ML1:5)

Thus for verbs of completion, the raised subject must be in the nominative/absolutive case in the subordinate clause and it remains in the same case after raising. The raising process affects only the subjects of intransitive verbs and the nominative/absolutive arguments of the 'passive' and 'ergative' patterns, unifying them in a category and is evidence of syntactic ergativity.

2. In other Polynesian languages, the complements of verbs of completion sometimes contain two unmarked noun phrases. On the basis of examples from Māori, Tokelauan and Tongan, Hooper (1984b:18) reconstructs a complement sentence structure for PPn (C-Comp) in which the surface structure contains no overt case marking on either the subject noun phrase or on the nominalised verb. Raising of an argument in the complement to the main predicate targets only intransitive actors and transitive objects in these languages (Hooper 2000:165). It is interesting, therefore, to note that in the Beaglehole manuscripts (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d.,a), verbs of completion are commonly followed by two unmarked noun phrases; the subject noun phrase and the verbal noun (in bold below), and that the same arguments (intransitive actors and the absolutive argument of the 'ergative' pattern) are targetted for raising. Native speakers today regularly replace *te* with *e te* to introduce the complement.

- (231) Oti ake lātou **te wakapono**, totolo loa te atua kia Lū.
 Finish Dir they A arrange R-crawl Int A god G-A Lū
When they had finished the arranging, the god crawled to Lū (BB:977)

- (232) Na oti tona kili **te pani** ki te pua wau.
T finish his skin A smear G A scent tree.sp
His skin was finished being smeared with wau scent. (BB:554)
- (233) Ke pau tō vaka **te tā ma te wowou**, yau loa koe kia māua nei.
C finish P canoe A cut and A build come Int you G-A we.2 here
When your canoe is finished being cut and built, you come to us here. (BB:1056)
- (234) Pau te kakai **te ue**.
finish A people A chase
The people were all chased. (BB:1118)

There is one further pattern for complements of verbs of completion; a nominalisation can function as the subject of the verb of completion. That these are true nominalisations is attested by their ability to encode their agents and patients as genitive adjuncts of the nominalisation, as well as their ability to be modified by the definitive accent (see 10.6).

- (235) Oti [te māni a **Limutaemoa** i nā kai]_{NP}, yau ai iāna ki te akau.
finish A make P Limutaemoa Acc A food-Da come Pro she G A reef
When Limutaemoa had finished making the food, she came to the reef. (KS7:6)
- (236) Oti loa [te akatapu **o te wale pule o Ngake i Kō**]_{NP}, kaikai ai te tangata i nā wale.
finish Int A caus-sacred P A house pray P Ngake L Kō RR-eat Pro A people L A house
After the dedication of Ngake village's church on [the island of]Kō, everyone ate [a feast] in their houses.

3. Other verbs which follow the paradigm of the verbs of completion.

Maua 'able to' is a neuter verb which marks its patient in the nominative/absolutive case and its agent/cause by *i* in an oblique case. It allows raising of the nominative/absolutive noun phrase which is the patient of a transitive subordinate clause, to subject position. The actor of the subordinate clause can be encoded as a possessor of the raised patient noun phrase (237, 238). Thus, *maua* follows the paradigm of neuter verbs including the verbs of completion.

- (237) Ko taku tama nei ko maua **tana kapu** [e te liko].
Top my child here T able her cup C hold
My child is able to hold her own cup.
- (238) Koa yē maua a **tātou popoa** [e te oko].
T Neg able P we food C buy
We almost can't buy any food. (KM1:4)

However, unlike verbs of completion, it also allows an accusatively marked subordinate clause:

- (239) Ekole, e yē maua au [e te kave ia **kōtou**], e lewu au.
no, T Neg able I C take Acc-A you.Pl T small I
No, I wouldn't be able to take you, I am too small. (MKS1:6)
- (240) Mē ko maua ia **kōtou** [e te liko mai ni lua manu]...
if T able By-A you.Pl C hold Dir A two bird
If you are able to catch a couple of birds...

This verb is unusual in the marking of its raised arguments. The raised argument, in the role of actor, is sometimes unmarked in the nominative/absolutive case as it would be in the subordinate clause (239, 241),

and at other times *maua* allows the actor to be marked by *i*, like the oblique argument of a neuter verb (240, 242).

(241) Ko yē maua au [e te ula].
T Neg able I C dance
I can't dance.

(242) Ka maua wua ia aku [e te uwi ki te kau i Wale].
T able just By-A I C ask G A people L Home
I'll be able to ask the people on Pukapuka.

The fact that *maua* sometimes allows its raised argument to retain the case marking it would have in the subordinate clause is evidence of the raising process. Another neuter verb which has flexible casemarking for its actor subject is *ngalopoina* 'forget'.

Further evidence that Raising is at work rather than Equi-deletion is that the absolutive noun phrase can appear in the subordinate clause in an unraised position. This is not possible for subordinate clauses that undergo Equi-deletion; the subject noun phrase is never overt in the subordinate clause.

(243) Na yē maua [e te yuyuke te ngutupā]?
T Neg able C R-open A door
Can't that door be opened?

Moreover, not only can the absolutive noun phrase of a transitive clause be raised to become the subject of the main predicate (244), but on occasion the verb *maua* raises both arguments of the subordinate clause, leaving the patient in the absolutive case and marking the actor in the oblique case (245). Both raised arguments cannot appear in the absolutive case.

(244) Ko yē maua te ngutupā [e te yuyuke mai mai vao].
T Neg able A door C R-open Dir from out
[You/one] can't open the door from outside.

(245) Ko yē maua ia aku te ngutupā [e te yuyuke mai mai vao].
*au
T Neg able By-A I A door C R-open Dir from out
I can't open the door from the outside.

10.3.2 *ke* SUBORDINATION

Ke is used as a subordinator of noun clauses (10.5), conditional clauses (10.7.6) and adverbial clauses of time (10.7.1) and purpose (10.7.3). It is also a subjunctive marker in main clauses (3.1.8). A subordinate clause introduced by *ke* may precede or follow the main clause, depending on its function. It is nonfinite in that *ke* replaces the tense-aspect marker of the clause, but an intransitive verb in the subordinate clause agrees in number with its subject (246, 247). The subject of the subordinate clause need not be coreferential with that of the main clause (247), but it can be deleted under identity (246).

(246) Ko winangalo au [ke moe].
e te
T want I C sleep.Sg
I want to go to sleep.

There are also contrastive pairs that vary semantically in terms of presupposition. Note the following pairs of examples:

(260) E kino koe **e te** kai i nā ika?
 T bad you C eat Acc A fish
Don't you like eating the fish?

(261) E kino koe **ke** kai i nā ika?
 T bad you C eat Acc A fish
Why don't you want to eat the fish!

While (260) does not express implicit expectations of the speaker, (261) implies that the speaker objected to the fish not being eaten. Perhaps, for instance, too much pork, which the speaker wished to save, was being eaten in preference to the fish.

(262) Ko yē winangalo lā koe **e te** wano ki vao?
 T Neg want Int you C go G out
Don't you want to go outside?

(263) Ko yē winangalo lā koe **ke** wano ki vao?
 T Neg want Int you C go G out
Don't you want to go outside!

Again, the first example (262) does not express a judgement or expectation, but (263) might imply, for instance, that the speaker has certain expectations which must be fulfilled before the addressee would be allowed to go outside. The complementiser *e te* is therefore more neutral or polite. Complements introduced by *ke* may infer that the speaker has certain expectations.

Unlike the complementiser *e te*, *ke* permits overt expression of the subject and therefore allows a different subject in the subordinate clause to that of the main clause.

(264) Ko winangalo **au** ia Kali ke wō **māua** yī ika.
 T want I Acc-A Kali C go.Pl we.2 catch fish
I want to go fishing with Kali. (AP:N2)

Because the subject of the subordinate clause does not have to be co-referential with an argument in the main clause, a wider range of case marking patterns can be found in subordinate clauses introduced by *ke* than in *e te* complements. Clauses of the 'accusative', 'passive' and 'ergative' patterns are found (265-267), but there are certain restrictions for semitransitive verbs (268) which show that the 'passive' pattern is the most acceptable.

(265) Ko winangalo ia Mele [ke patu i tana puaká nō te imukai]. 'accusative' pattern
 T want A Mele C kill Acc her pig-Da for A feast
 Mele wants to kill her pig for the feast.

(266) Ko winangalo ia Mele [ke ana patua te puaká]. 'passive' pattern
 T want A Mele C she kill-Cia A pig-Da
 Mele wants to kill the pig herself.

- (267) Ko winangalo ia Mele [ke patu e Tao te puaká]. 'ergative' pattern
 T want A Mele C kill Ag Tao A pig-Da
Mele wants Tao [not anyone else] to kill the pig.
- (268) Ko winangalo au [ke aku kitea te pōlongá]. 'passive' pattern
 ? Ko winangalo au [ke kite i te pōlongá]. ? 'accusative' pattern ('sounds Rarotongan')
 * Ko winangalo au [ke kite te pōlongá]. * 'ergative' pattern
 T want I C I see-Cia A ball-Nom-Da
I want to see the cricket.

The nominative subject of an intransitive subordinate clause, or of a transitive clause of the 'accusative' pattern, can be co-referential with that of the main clause and deleted under anaphora, but the agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' or 'ergative' pattern cannot be deleted under coreference with an argument in the main clause (see 10.4.2). Thus a non-overt agent in the 'passive' pattern cannot be co-referential with the subject of the main clause (269). This explains the need for an overt preverbal pronoun in the 'passive' pattern which is co-referential with the subject of the main clause in (266, 268).

- (269) Ko winangalo au [ke kāvea taku tamá ki vao]. 'passive' pattern
 T want I C take-Cia my child-Da G out
*I want my child to be taken outside [by someone/*me]*

Raising is an optional process controlled by some verbs which have subordinate clauses introduced by *ke*. It targets the nominative subject of an intransitive clause or a transitive clause of the 'accusative' pattern or the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern which can be raised to the superordinate clause and marked as a direct object (see 10.4.1 for further discussion).

10.3.3 *mē* / *pē* SUBORDINATION

The subordinator *mē* is used to introduce a variety of noun clauses and adverbial clauses as discussed in 10.5 and 10.7. It has an alternative form *pē*, which is slightly archaic and more formal in usage than *mē*. *Pē* is used much less frequently than *mē* and seldom occurs sentence initially. Subordinate clauses of this type can precede or follow the superordinate clause, depending on their function.

This subordinator generally introduces a subordinate clause whose tense-aspect marker remains overt.

- (270) Ko yē aku iloa [mē ko tika ana talatalanga ia].
 T Neg I know-Cia whether T true his.PI talk-Nom Af
I don't know whether what he's saying is true.
- (271) Ko yē pāpū loa ia aku [mē na a lātou iloloa au].
 T Neg sure Int By-A I whether T they.PI R-know-Cia I
I'm not sure whether they knew me.
- (272) Nō kiai na wakavale atu ai mātou [pē ka maua ia koe e te tautulu mai].
 P why T ask Dir Pro we.PI whether T able By-A you C help Dir
That's why we are asking you whether you can assist us.

It combines phonologically with the tense-aspect marker *e*, without noticeable lengthening of the vowel.

- (273) [Mē tai au wānonga], koyikoyi ki te pēpa, tuku mai kia mātou.
if-T exist.Sg your.Pl story RR-write G A paper put Dir G-A we.Pl
If you have a story, write [it] on paper and send it to us. (V:80:4:6)

- (274) [Mē nī takayala ko i lotó], akakolomaki ake kōtou.
if-T exist.Pl mistake T L inside-Da caus-patient Dir you.Pl
If there are any mistakes inside, please be patient. (TM2:6)

Mē also occurs with no tense-aspect marker in some clauses denoting a hypothetical generic situation. While it is possible to analyse these clauses as containing the tense-aspect marker *e*, which merges with *mē*, *e* is not permitted in equivalent main clauses without the subordinator. There are two possible analyses: (a) the subordinator replaces the tense-aspect marker in these clauses; (b) the tense-aspect marker merges with the subordinator and there is an associated restriction on the tense-aspect marking in the subordinate clause.

- (275) * E kite kōlua e kainga.
[Mē kite kōlua e kainga], patu kōlua.
if-?T see you.2 A rubbish hit you.2
If you [ever] see a piece of rubbish, hit [it]. (W2:F2:7:7)

There is a difference in meaning between clauses in which *mē* replaces the tense-aspect marker and those in which it co-occurs with the tense-aspect marker. Clauses marked by *ko* ‘present’ denote possible situations which may already pertain at the present time, those marked by *ka* ‘future’ denote hypothetical situations which do not pertain at the present but may in the future. Clauses with a tense-aspect marker imply a greater likelihood of the possibility occurring and often denote a specific possible event, while clauses with no tense marker refer to general possibilities and commonly occur in warnings or imperatives.

- (276) [Mē ko mina koe ke tai ō kākau], līngi mai.
if T like you C exist P clothes ring Dir
If you want to have a uniform, ring [me]. (A:S:1:6)
- (277) [Mē ka vātata au ki te moana, ki te kongā e wawati ai nā ngalú], ka maka au i te poti.
if T close I G A ocean G A place TR-break Pro A wave-Da T leave I Acc A boat
[I had decided that] if I were to get close to the ocean, to the place where the waves break, I would abandon the boat. (LS:2:30)
- (278) [Mē tālolo koe ki te lolo], wu!, kamuloa koe valea.
if-T add-coconut.cream you G A coconut.cream Interj really you enjoy
If you [cook it with] coconut cream, yum, it's delicious. (MM:TN3:6)
- (279) [Mē oko te pilipili nei ki te uwi], e yē meitaki o kōtou lima, e te kau wawine.
if-?T reach A weed here G A garden T Neg good P you hand Voc A people woman
If this weed should [ever] reach the taro gardens, it won't be good for your hands [lit. your hands will not be good], women. (UU:49:3)

The subordinate clause introduced by *mē* is usually verb-initial. If *mē* combines with or replaces the tense-aspect marker it can be directly followed by preverbal modifiers such as a preverbal pronoun or negative particle.

(280) [Mē aku kitea e tamaiti pēia wakawōu], mākalokalo tona kili.
 if-?T I see-Cia A child like-so again pre-RR-sting his skin
If I [ever] see a child doing that again, he will get a hiding [lit. his skin will sting].

(281) [Mē yē maua ia kōtou], ko lelei wua.
 if-?T Neg able By-A you.Pl T good just
If you are not able to, that's okay.

Alternatively, *mē* allows a fronted subject noun phrase to precede the verb:

(282) [Mē nā mātutua ko yē āpii a lātou tamaliki], ko yē akalongo nā tamaliki i nā mātutua.
 if A parent.Pl T Neg teach P they children T Neg listen A children Acc A parent.Pl
If the parents don't teach their children, the children won't listen to the parents.

(283) [Mē kōtou ko winangalo ke kite kōtou ko ai te kau ka wō i lunga o te tele nei],
 if you.Pl T want C see you Prd Pro A people T go.Pl L on P A tour here
 ka aku maua e te tatau atu kia kōtou.
 T I able C read Dir G-A you
If you would like to know the people who are going on this tour, I could read [their names] out to you. (PS:1:2)

(284) Tuku loa tana pēpa ki Lalotonga [mē tona pāpā ko yē winangalo e te yau].
 send Int his paper G Rarotonga Q his father T Neg want C come
He sent a letter to Rarotonga [to ask] whether his father would like to come.

Mē can be followed by postposed particles, but not the directional particles:

(285) [Mē lāi iāna ka kayā], ka niko mai lāi iāna.
 if indeed he T get.nothing T return Dir still he
If indeed he gets nothing, he will still return. (MO:W1)

(286) [Mē lā ko lelei], ke tāwi wua mai peia te lelei.
 if but T good T remain just Dir like-so A good
But if [you] are well, may [you] continue to remain so. (MM:L3:3)

(287) [Mē wua ake ka maua mai au mō manatunga nō nā āiteanga o nā toe muna], ...
 if just please T able Dir your.Pl few thought P A meaning P A other word
[We were wondering] if you might be able [to help us] a little by thinking of some meanings of words...

Mē can introduce a nominal predicate or tensed nonverbal predicate as well as verbal clauses:

(288) [Mē lā ē ko kōlua wua], ka lelei.
 if Int Dur Prd you.Pl just T good
But if it's just the two of you, that will be okay.

(289) Uwi atu koe ki taku vale [pē ko ia ana taku puka].
 ask Dir you G my spouse whether T L-A he my book
Ask my spouse whether my book is with him.

The subordinator *mē* and its variant form *pē* can also function as coordinators of alternative clauses (10.1.1.3), both declarative and interrogative (9.1.3).

10.3.4 SUBORDINATION BY JUXTAPOSITION

The final general type of subordination strategy is that a subordinate clause, in which the tense-aspect marker remains overt, may simply be juxtaposed to the superordinate clause. Thus the superordinate clause and the subordinate clause have independent time reference. This type of subordination occurs with certain aspectual verbs in the superordinate clause (290, 291) and in complements of negative verbs (292). These are typically paratactic constructions since there is no overt subject in the subordinate clause.

- (290) Ko mea au [ka wano ki te toa].
 T do I T go G A shop
I am about to go to the shop.
- (291) Ko vave wua [ka Kilitimeti].
 T near just T Christmas
It's nearly Christmas.
- (292) E kiai ake nā moa ia [na maoa]?
 T Neg Dir A chicken Af T cooked
Aren't those chicken [pieces] cooked yet?

Purpose clauses can be subordinated to motion verbs by juxtaposition, but there is normally no tense-aspect marker in the subordinate clause, so that the clauses have dependent time reference (see 10.7.3.1, 10.4.2):

- (293) Ka wano au ulu ia Limapēni.
 T go I search Acc-A Limapēni
I will go and look for Limapēni. (PS6:3)

In addition, there are a range of other verbs which allow subordination without any overt subordinator. The superordinate clause may denote propositional attitudes (294), commentative verbs (295), indirect statements (296) and some indirect questions (297). These are not paratactic constructions since the subordinate verb allows a different subject from the superordinate clause (Noonan 1985:78). However, there is no overt subordinator and the clauses are simply juxtaposed to one another.

- (294) Na manatu au [na wō kōtou ki te motu].
 T think I T go.Pl you.Pl G A reserve
I thought you had gone to the reserve island.
- (295) Ko vēvēia au [ko yē angaanga tāua].
 T happy I T Neg work we.2
I'm happy that we're not working.
- (296) Na mea iāna [ko winangalo iāna e te nō].
 T say he T want he C stay
He said he wanted to stay.
- (297) Na uwi au kiai [e wea iāna na wano ai ki wale].
 T ask I G-Pro Prd what he T go Pro G house
I asked him why he went home.

A juxtaposed type of construction also typically occurs when the subordinate clause contains an existential verb or a nominal predicate.

- (298) Ko aku langona [e tai mea ko totolo i toku vae].
 T I feel T exist.Sg thing T crawl L my leg
I can feel there is something crawling on my leg.

10.3.5 SUBORDINATORS OF ‘LEST’ CLAUSES

Two subordinators that differ in pragmatic force have a specialised function to introduce ‘lest’ clauses. These are *kāe* and *ko te* which replace the tense-aspect marker of the clause. ‘Lest’ clauses denote an untoward action or state and are typically complements of imperatives or negative imperatives, complements of verbs of fearing, or apprehensionals, all of which have precautionary meaning (Lichtenberk 1995). ‘Lest’ clauses may also be juxtaposed to the superordinate clause and introduced by a tense-aspect-modal marker such as *ka* ‘future’ (3.1.1), *kai* ‘might’ (3.1.10) or the subordinator *ke* (10.3.2). See 10.5.9, 10.7.4 for further discussion.

- (299) E kiai iāna na wāngai tika ke yau te kōpelu, eia nō te kau ia kāe yā.
 T Neg he T feed truly C come A fish.sp so because A people Af lest fish-Cia
He didn’t feed the fish properly so that [many] came because of those people, lest they catch them. (PS1:3)
- (300) Na matakū au [ko te topa au lā te konga i te keonga i Tuāpuka].
 T fear I lest left I via A place L A point L Tuāpuka
I was afraid lest I should be carried [by the current] through the place [where waves crash together] at the point at Tuāpuka. (LS2:26)

10.3.6 NOUN COMPLEMENTS

The structure of noun complements differs from other types of complementation in that the complement taking predicate is a noun and not a verb or an adjective (Noonan 1985:135). Most heads of noun complement constructions have verbal counterparts. The heads of noun complements can be suffixed or unsuffixed nominalisations, for example: *manatunga* (*manatu*) ‘thought, decision, belief’ (‘think, decide, believe’), *talanga* (*tala*) ‘command (‘tell’); *winangalo* ‘desire’, (‘want’). The same strategies are used for noun complements as for verbal complements; see the following pairs of examples in which the first of the pair is a noun complement and the second is the equivalent verbal complement:

- (301) a. Ana manatunga tēia [ke yē pōlo tātou].
 his.Pl think-Nom this C Neg ball we.Pl
This was his decision that we shouldn’t play cricket.
- b. Na manatu iāna [ke yē pōlo tātou].
 T think he C Neg ball we.Pl
He decided that we shouldn’t play cricket.
- (302) a. Ko aku iloa oki tō winangalo [e te ulu pango i nā muna nei...]
 T I know-Cia also your desire C search diligently Acc A word this
I know your desire to search diligently for these words...
- b. Ko aku iloa ko winangalo koe [e te ulu pango i nā muna nei...]
 T I know-Cia T want you C search diligently Acc A word this
I know that you want to search diligently for these words...

These pairs of sentences (301, 302) illustrate the strategies of complementation with *ke* and *e te* as subordinators. The strategies using *mē* and subordination by juxtaposition are also possible with noun complements respectively:

- (303) Aku manatunga tēia [mē ka vātata au ki te moana ka maka au i te poti].
 my.PI think-Nom this if T close I G A ocean T leave I Acc A boat
These were my thoughts, that if I got near to the ocean [the edge of the reef], I would leave the boat.
- (304) Ko tana manatunga [ka wano iāna akatū e wale mo ona].
 Top his think-Nom T go he caus-stand A house for him
His decision was that he would go and build himself a house.

10.4 PROCESSES APPLYING TO SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

There are two processes that apply to several types of subordinate clause. These are noun phrase raising and Equi-deletion. Actor-possessor raising applies only to relative clauses and is discussed in 10.6.1. These processes are relevant to the identification of subject, which is discussed in 7.8. Noun phrase raising and Equi-deletion are not mutually exclusive processes. Some verbs, for instance *tāmata* ‘try’, require Equi-deletion of the subject in the subordinate clause, but also allow raising of the object to take place. Some verbs, for instance *winangalo* ‘want’, require Equi-deletion of the subject to take place in a complement subordinated by *e te*, but trigger raising of a noun phrase from a subordinate clause introduced by *ke*.

10.4.1 NOUN PHRASE RAISING

Noun phrase raising is an optional process affecting several types of subordinate clauses; clauses subordinated by *e te*, *ke* or by juxtaposition. The first example in each of the following pairs shows the construction before raising, and the second after raising.

e te subordinated clauses:

- (305) Na loa [e te nōnō te lau a Uyo i kinei].
 T long C stay.PI A men P Uyo L here
Uyo’s men had been a long time staying here.
- (306) Na loa te lau a Uyo [e te nōnō i kinei].
 T long A men P Uyo C stay.PI L here.
Uyo’s men had been a long time staying here. (U:7)

ke subordinated clauses:

- (307) Ko winangalo au [ke kave taku tama i ana mea ki vao].
 T want I C take my child Acc his.PI thing G outside
I want my child to take his things outside.
- (308) Ko winangalo au i taku tamá [ke kave i ana mea ki vao].
 T want I Acc my child-Da C take Acc his.PI thing G outside
I want my child to take his things outside.

clauses subordinated by juxtaposition:

(309) E wea te mea [na wō ai tātou?]
Prd what T thing T go.Pl Pro we
Why did we go?

(310) E wea tātou [na wō ai?]
Prd what we T go.Pl Pro
Why did we go?

The main evidence that this is a raising process, and not merely fronting, is that the argument in question is syntactically part of the superordinate clause and is marked for case as an argument of that clause. The argument may acquire different case marking than it had in the subordinate clause, which shows it to be an argument in the superordinate clause and no longer in the subordinate clause. For instance, the subject of *tautulu* ‘help’ in the base sentence, *au* ‘I’, is in the nominative case (311). In raised position (312), it has acquired the marking of an oblique noun phrase encoding the actor of a neuter verb.

(311) Ka tautulu **au** ia kōtou.
T help I Acc-a you
I will help you.

(312) Ka maua **ia aku** e te tautulu ia kōtou.
T able By-A I C help Acc-A you
I can help you.

Definite proof that raising has occurred is when the subject of a subordinate clause has been raised to object position and acquires object case marking (Noonan 1985:70). This is the case in (313):

(313) Ko winangalo ia Tao **ia aku** ke tautulu ia kōtou.
T want A Tao Acc-A I C help Acc-a you
Tao wants me to help you.

Evidence that the process is raising, and not Equi-deletion, is that the process is optional. The argument can remain in the subordinate clause, which is not possible for Equi-deletion.

(314) Kiai ake na wō **mātou** ki te pule.
Neg Dir T go.Pl we G A church
We haven't gone to church yet.

(315) Kiai ake **mātou** na wō ki te pule.
Neg Dir we T go.Pl G A church
We haven't gone to church yet.

However, the raised argument still relates semantically to the subordinate clause and not to the proposition denoted by the superordinate clause. In (306), for instance, it is not the actor of the subordinate clause that is ‘long’, but the activity denoted in the subordinate clause, and in (315) the negative polarity does not relate semantically to the subject *mātou* ‘we’ but to the whole proposition denoted by the subordinate clause. Another factor that shows that the argument in question is still somehow related to the subordinate clause is that it does not trigger verbal agreement in the main clause (316), but does trigger agreement in the subordinate clause (306, 310, 315).

- (316) * Na loloa **te lau a Uyo** [e te nō i kinei].
 T long.Pl A men P Uyo C stay.Sg L here.
(Uyo's men had been a long time staying here.)

Raising is controlled by a restricted number of verbs: some aspectual verbs (*oti* 'finish', *pau* 'be finished, consumed', (*w*)*akamata* 'begin', *kamata* 'begin', *loa* 'be a long time'; *vave* 'be close to'); some modal verbs (*maua* 'able to, be possible'); some verbs denoting attitudes and mental processes (*tāmata* 'try', *ngalopoina* 'forget'); some verbs denoting evaluation (*lelei* 'good', *ngali* 'be an advantage', *kino* 'bad'); some verbs denoting manner (*peia* 'be like so') and some interrogative and negative verbs (*wea* 'why?, what?', *kiai* 'negative past tense', *auwē* 'negative imperative').

Some verbs allow raising to take place across another clause:

- (317) E **kiai** [na maua **ia Unu** [e te māni wakawōu i te uāti]].
 T Neg T able By-A Unu C fix again Acc A watch
Unu couldn't fix the watch.
- (318) E **kiai ia Unu** [na maua [e te māni wakawōu i te uāti]].
 T Neg A Unu T able C fix again Acc A watch
Unu couldn't fix the watch.
- (319) E **wea koe** [e **kiai ai** [na wano ki te pule?]]
 Prd what you T Neg Pro T go G A pray
Why didn't you go to church?

10.4.1.1 Targets of Raising

Raising primarily targets either the nominative category and/or the absolutive category depending on what type of verb is in the superordinate clause. In most languages, raising only affects subjects and direct objects (Noonan 1985:68-73), and this is also generally the case in Pukapukan. With transitive verbs, raising can target the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern. Raising cannot generally target an oblique noun phrase, but actors encoded in an oblique case can be raised for certain verbs. The agent of the 'ergative' pattern is raised in some restricted situations, which provides evidence for some subject-like properties of this argument. However, it is normally not raised to subject position, but to become the possessor of another argument (see 10.6.1). The agent of the 'passive' pattern is never raised.

1. Nominative targets

In clauses which are sentential subjects of verbs of evaluation and some aspectual verbs subordinated by *e te* (10.3.1), raising targets nominative subjects of intransitive and transitive clauses of the 'accusative' pattern:

- (320) E **yē lelei koe** [e te nō wua].
 T Neg good you C stay.Sg just.
It would be no good for you to stay [here]. (PK:M3)
- (321) E **kino tātou** [e te kai i nā iká?]
 T bad.Pl we C eat Acc A fish-Da
Would it be bad for us to eat the fish?

- (322) Ko vave loa au [e te tuki i nā watu talinga o koe].
 T almost Int I C hit Acc A stone ear P you
I'm very close to giving you a slap on the ears.

Possessive predicates also allow raising of the subject of an intransitive subordinate clause or a transitive clause of the 'accusative' pattern (see 9.5.1.2). For these predicates, raising targets only the nominative category and is evidence of syntactic accusativity in the grammar.

2. Nominative/Absolute targets

In complements of verbs of completion (see 10.3.1.3), raising targets the subject of some intransitive verbs (323) and the nominative/absolute argument of transitive verbs of the 'ergative' (324) or the 'passive' patterns (325):

- (323) Oti loa māua [e te tākele].
 finish Int we.2 C bathe
We finished bathing.
- (324) Pau ia Niue [e te patu e lāua].
 finish A Niue C kill Ag they.2
[Lit. Niue was finished being killed by them.]
The two of them killed all the Niue warriors. (MT2:4)
- (325) Na pau nā tiale mātatala [e te kotoa e te wui tamāwine].
 T finish A flower open C cut-Cia Ag A all girl
All the open flowers had been picked by the young girls. (BB:551)

For complements of these verbs, the raised argument may not be the agent noun phrase of the 'accusative', 'passive' or 'ergative' patterns. Thus for complements of verbs of completion, raising targets only the nominative/absolute category, and is evidence of syntactic ergativity in the grammar.

3. Direct Object targets

When both the superordinate clause and the subordinate clause have a co-referential subject which is an actor, raising can target the patient of the subordinate clause, which is the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern.

- (326) Ko tāmata wua au i te poti nei [e te tāpūpū].
 T try just I Acc A boat here C turn.around
I [was] trying to turn the boat around. (LS2:30)
- (327) Ko tāmata wua au [e te tāpūpū i te poti nei].
 T try just I C turn.around Acc A boat here
I [was] trying to turn the boat around.

4. Oblique Cases

Raising sometimes targets the oblique actor of a neuter verb (see 'Mixed Targets' below), but it never targets other oblique cases.

- (328) * Ko tāmata wua au i te wawine nei [e te talatala].
 T try just I Acc A woman here C talk
(I am trying to talk to this woman.)

5. Agentive case

Agentive noun phrases of the ‘ergative’ and ‘passive’ patterns cannot be raised to subject position for most verbs, including verbs of completion (see 10.3.1.3). But the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern can be raised to become the possessor of the head of a relative clause (see 9.5.1.2; 9.5.3; 10.6.1).

For *kiai*, the ‘negative past tense’ verb, raising sometimes targets the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern, although this is considered marginal, but it never targets the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern (see 8.2.1).

- (329) Kāi koe ka wītoki āi, kiai au [na vayi ake taku tama], ko koe loa ka vayia.
 Interj you T cheeky Pro Neg I T hit Dir my child Prd you Int T hit-Cia
Gosh you're cheeky, I've never hit my child but you come along and would give her a hiding!

6. Mixed Targets

(a) *Wea* ‘what?, why?’ targets the nominative/absolutive categories for all case marking patterns as well as some other actors. The subject of an intransitive verb or a transitive verb of the ‘accusative’ pattern as well as the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of both the ‘passive’ and the ‘ergative’ patterns can be raised (see 9.5.1.2). The target of raising cannot be the agentive noun phrase of either the ‘passive’ or the ‘ergative’ patterns, nor the direct object of the ‘accusative’ pattern. However, the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern can be raised to become a possessor of the raised patient. Although no other oblique noun phrase can be raised, the actor of a neuter verb can also be raised to subject position.

- (330) E wea koe [ka kata ai?]
 Prd what you T laugh Pro
Why on earth are you laughing [for nothing]!

- (331) E wea te wai [na patu ai i te tao o te akulā?]
 Prd what A stingray T hit Pro Acc A spear P A swordfish
Why did the stingray hit the bill of the swordfish? (WI:P5:3:6)

- (332) E wea ia Tele [na vayia ai e te kauliki?]
 Prd what A Tele T hit-Cia Pro Ag A children-Da
Why was Tele given a hiding by those children?

(b) The negative past tense verb *kiai* targets a range of noun phrases which are partly role-determined and partly case-determined. It targets a wider range of noun phrases than those in the nominative/absolutive case, but it does not target all types of noun phrase, and nor does it target all nominative/absolutives. It targets actors or subjects which are in the nominative/absolutive case, as well as some actors which are not in the nominative/absolutive case.

Kiai controls raising of the subject of an intransitive clause (333) or a transitive clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern (334) as well as the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern (335). It does not

allow raising of the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern, nor raising of the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern (see 8.2.1). Raising of the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern is sometimes acceptable for some speakers. Raising to *kiai* can also target either the patient (336) or the actor of a neuter verb (337). Although the actor is marked in an oblique case in the subordinate clause, it acquires nominative case marking in the superordinate clause.

- (333) E *kiai loa au* [na wano].
 T Neg Int I T go
I definitely didn't go.
- (334) *Kiai oki iāna* [na maka i te taula].
 Neg also he T leave Acc A rope
He didn't let go of the [anchor] rope.
- (335) E *kiai te wonu* [na kitea e Uyo].
 T Neg A turtle T see-Cia Ag Uyo
Uyo didn't find the turtle.
- (336) E *kiai tā mātou īmene nei* [na mau lelei ia aku].
 T Neg P we song here T know well By-A me
I don't know our song very well.
- (337) E *kiai au* [ke mau lelei tā mātou īmene nei].
 T Neg I C know well P we song here
I don't know our song very well yet.

Thus raising targets the nominative/absolutive category except the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern, and also sometimes the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern. The fact that the agentive phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern is sometimes eligible for raising, but the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern is not, indicates that the agentive noun phrase is more subject-like than the patient.

(c) For focused questions on the identity of a person, the target of raising can only be the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern which is raised to subject position to fill the empty head of a relative clause (see 9.1.5.3).

- (338) Ko ai *koe* [na tautea?]
 Prd Pro you T look.after-Cia
Who looked after you?

In addition, the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern can be raised to become a possessor of the head of the relative clause, but it cannot be raised to subject position.

- (339) Ko ai *tau tangata* [na kimí?]
 Prd Pro your person T choose-Da
Who did you choose?

(d) For negative imperative verbs such as *auwē* (8.2.2.2), the target of raising can be the subject of an intransitive clause or of a transitive clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern. It can also be the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern. It cannot be the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern or of the ‘ergative’ pattern, although a non overt addressee in the superordinate clause can be coreferential with either of these agents in the subordinate clause. Thus, a negative imperative verb controls raising of a noun phrase in the nominative/absolutive category.

7. Two Targets at once

A few verbs control raising of both the actor and the patient. *Maua* ‘able to’ is one such verb. *Maua* is like verbs of completion in that it controls raising of the subject of an intransitive clause (340) or of an absolutive noun phrase of a transitive clause of the ‘ergative’ pattern (341, 342). The raised argument is normally marked as an oblique noun phrase after raising if it is an actor and as a nominative/absolutive argument if it is a patient:

- (340) E yē maua ia koe [e te kakau mai?]
 T Neg able By-A you C swim Dir
Can't you swim to me?
- (341) Na yē maua [e te yuyuke mai te ngutupā?]
 T Neg able C R-open Dir A door
Can't that door be opened?
- (342) Ko yē maua te ngutupā [e te yuyuke mai mai vao].
 T Neg able A door C R-open Dir from out
[One] can't open the door from the outside.

Both the agent and the patient of the subordinate clause can be raised into the superordinate clause:

- (343) Ko yē maua ia aku te ngutupā [e te yuyuke mai mai vao].
 T Neg able By-A I A door C R-open Dir from out
I couldn't open that door from the outside

10.4.1.2 Case marking of the raised noun phrase

The raised noun phrase can be assigned a variety of case markers in the superordinate clause, depending on the verb in the superordinate clause.

1. Nominative/absolutive case marking

Subject to subject raising is the most common. Many examples have been given above where a nominative/absolutive noun phrase has been raised to subject position in the superordinate clause. An oblique noun phrase in the role of actor can also be raised to subject position (337).

The absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern can be raised to become the subject of a neuter verb:

- (344) Ngalopoaina loa nā lau puapua [e te wakiwaki mai awī ai tā lātou loloi].
 forget Int A leaf tree.sp C RR-pluck Dir cover Pro P they baked.taro
[They] had forgotten to pick some Guettardia leaves with which to cover their taro [in the oven]. (MK1:2)

2. Accusative case marking

Subject to object raising is possible. The target of raising can be the subject of an intransitive clause (345) or of a transitive clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern (346) or the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the

'passive' pattern (347). The argument can be raised to the superordinate clause and marked as a direct object in the 'accusative' pattern. The agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern cannot be raised (346).

- (345) Ko winangalo au i **taku tama** [ke wano moe].
 T want I Acc my child C go sleep
I want my child to go to sleep.
- (346) Ko winangalo au i **taku tamá** [ke kave i ana mea ki vao]. 'accusative' pattern
 * Ko winangalo au i **taku tamá** [ke kāvea ana mea ki vao] 'passive' pattern
 T want I Acc my child-Da C take Acc his.Pl thing G outside
I want my child to take his things outside.
- (347) Ko winangalo au i **taku tamá** [ke kāvea ki vao (e Mala)]. 'passive' pattern
 T want I Acc my child-Da C take-Cia G outside Ag Mala
I want my child to be taken outside (by Mala).

Object to object raising is also possible with the 'accusative' pattern:

- (348) Ko tāmata wua au i **te poti nei** [e te tāpūpū].
 T try just I Acc A boat here C turn.around
I [was] trying to turn the boat around. (LS2:30)

3. Oblique case marking of the raised noun phrase

Neuter verbs mark a raised argument denoting an actor in an oblique case:

- (349) Yaulā na maua **ia** **kōlua** [e te maka ki muli].
 but T able By-A you C leave G behind
But you were able to put [it] behind you.

Actors of the 'accusative' and 'ergative' patterns, but not of the 'passive' pattern, may be raised to become a possessive modifier of the head of a relative clause (see 10.6.1):

- (350) Ko te wenua **a lātou** [nā winangalo ai ke wō lātou]ia, ko te wenua o Tinilau.
 Top A land P they T want Pro C go.Pl they Af Prd A land P Tinilau
The land that they wanted to go to was the land of Tinilau. (MKS1:3)
- (351) Ko **a kōtou** lautai likiliki wua [nā tokitokí]
 Top P you leaf-one RR-small just T RR-plant-Da
your small taro shoots that [you] were planting out (UI49:2)
- (352) E wea **tau** mea [na yē kave ai?]
 Prd what your thing T Neg take Pro
Why haven't you taken your thing?

In a few instances, the superordinate clause contains a raised argument, but there is also an overt subject in the subordinate clause. The subject of the subordinate clause may contain a pronoun that is inclusive of the entity denoted by the raised argument:

- (353) Ko winangalo au **ia** **Kali** [ke wō māua yī ika].
 T want I Acc-A Kali C go.Pl we.2 catch fish
I want to go fishing with Kali. (AP:N2)

The raised subject may be a possessor of the subject of the subordinate clause when there is a part-whole relationship between the possessum and the possessor (see 9.1.5.1.2):

- (354) E wea te kau nei [na vili ai nā ate?]
 Prd what A people here T shake Pro A liver
 [Lit. Why these people did [their]livers shake?]
 Why did these people get a shock? (PP2:13:5)

10.4.2 EQUI-DELETION

A deletion strategy affecting a noun phrase of an embedded clause which is coreferential with a noun phrase in a superordinate clause has been identified as a subject-referring rule in many Polynesian languages (Chung 1978:108). Equi-deletion affects all types of subordinate clauses, but clauses which are subordinated by juxtaposition, and clauses which are subordinated by the subordinators *e te* and *ke* are the most common. These will be discussed separately. The details of Chung's findings in Pukapukan are discussed in the notes and her conclusions are summarised in a final paragraph in section (1) comparing them with my own. She examined only clauses which are subordinated to motion verbs and she did not give any examples of what she called 'Equi' with clauses subordinated by *e te*.

1. Clauses subordinated by juxtaposition

Equi-deletion commonly applies in purpose clauses which are subordinated to motion verbs: *wano* 'go' (and its plural forms *wō*, *wōmamai*), *yau* 'come' (and its plural form *lōmamai*) (10.7.3.1). The tense-aspect marker in the subordinate clause is typically, but not always absent (see below), and the clauses are subordinated by juxtaposition.⁶ The noun phrase which is deleted under identity with the subject in the superordinate clause can be the subject of an intransitive clause (355), including an intransitive clause in which there is an incorporated object (356), the nominative subject of a transitive clause of the 'accusative' pattern (357, 358), or less commonly, the agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern (359, 360):⁷

- (355) Wano loa iāna tākele.
 go Int he wash
 He went and showered. (PP2:10:7)
- (356) Wō loa mātou yī kakai.
 go.Pl Int we fish tuna
 We went tuna fishing.
- (357) Wano loa au teletele i aku wāwā ia.
 go Int I RR-peel Acc my.Pl taro Af
 I went and peeled my taro.
- (358) Yau loa ia Metua vayi ia aku ke wano au kia Atalia tunu wāwā.
 come Int A Metua hit Acc-A I C go I G-A Atalia cook taro
 Metua came and scolded me so I would go to Atalia and cook some taro. (F3S2:4)
- (359) Wō ai mātou pule ai te pule.
 go.Pl Pro we pray Pro A prayer
 We went and said a prayer. (F4:S2:3)

- (360) ...lōmamai te Ngake ki kinei **tatau te titi, tatau te tāne, tatau te wawine**, tua.
 ...come.Pl A Ngake G here count A skirt count A men count A woman divide
 ...[for] Ngake to come here to count the skirts, count the men and the women and divide [them up]. (TU:N6:1)

There are semantic restrictions on the usage of the ‘ergative’ pattern (see 7.5.2). It is not used with a specific individuated object and the focus of the clause is on accomplishment of the action, rather than on what the object itself is. The ‘accusative’ pattern and the ‘ergative’ pattern are therefore not interchangeable and there are many clauses for which the ‘ergative’ pattern is not acceptable. For instance, the accusative object pronoun in (358) cannot be replaced by an absolutive pronoun. In narrative sequences these are the only case marking patterns, as clauses of the ‘passive’ pattern are not found in narrative clauses, but only in backgrounding clauses or clauses denoting irrealis events (see 7.5.3).⁸ Equi-deletion cannot target the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern:

- (361) * Wo loa lātou **patuina te kau ia**.
 go.Pl Int they kill-Cia A people Af
 (They went and killed the people.)

Where both clauses encode past events there is no tense-aspect marker in the main clause or the subordinate clause. For unrealised events, the main clause can be marked with the future tense marker *ka* and the subordinate clause has no tense-aspect marker (362), or the superordinate clause may be in the past tense and the subordinate clause can be marked with the future tense marker *ka* to denote that the action of the subordinate clause is not yet realised at that point in the narrative (363). Thus the tense-aspect marker in the subordinate clause is not always deleted and there can be independent time reference in the two clauses.

- (362) Ka wō lā tāua wuli kaipea i wea?
 T go.Pl Int we.2 turn crab L where
 Where shall we go hunting for crabs? (PP2:10:7)
- (363) Wō atu lāi ia Witi **ka** patu ia lātou.
 go.Pl Dir Int A Witi T kill Acc-A they
 The Fijians went with the intention of killing them. (ML2:11)

In imperative constructions, clauses of all three case marking patterns (‘accusative’ (364), ‘passive’ (365) and ‘ergative’ (366)) are found in clauses subordinated by juxtaposition to motion verbs, although an overt subject in the superordinate clause restricts the case marking of the subordinate clause to the ‘accusative’ and ‘passive’ patterns (see 9.2.1).⁹ The actor of the subordinate clause (which is coreferential with the addressee) is omitted for all three patterns:

- (364) Wano ake koe **kave** ake i te niu nei kia Māmā.
 go Dir you take Dir Acc A coconut here G-A Māmā
 Please go and take this coconut to Grandma.
- (365) Wano ake **kaveina** te niu nei kia Māmā.
 go Dir take-Cia A coconut here G-A Māmā
 Please go and take this coconut to Grandma.
- (366) Wano ake **kave** ake te niu nei kia Māmā.
 go Dir take Dir A coconut here G-A Māmā
 Please go and take this coconut to Grandma.

Although Chung (1978:346, 348) used examples of imperative constructions to illustrate ‘Equi’, I do not believe that imperative constructions containing subordinate clauses in the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns delete the agentive noun phrase under Equi-deletion, but rather the addressee of imperatives does not have to be overt and can be optionally deleted under rules of anaphora. The fact that the addressee of the ‘accusative’ pattern can occur in the subordinate clause but not in the superordinate clause supports this view, since for Equi-deletion the subject can never appear in the subordinate clause.

- (367) Wano ake kave ake **koe** i te niu nei kia Māmā.
 go Dir take Dir you Acc A coconut here G-A Māmā
Please go and take this coconut to Grandma.

Moreover, the patterns of deletion are very different from that of Equi-deletion, and are role-determined rather than case-determined (see 7.8.1.1-2; 9.2.1; 10.7.3.1).

The nominative/absolute arguments of the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns cannot be deleted under identity with the subject of the superordinate clause because the rule ‘deletes only targets that are both subjects and semantic agents’ (Chung 1978:327):

- (368) * Wano loa au vayia e Māmā.
 * Wano loa au vayi e Māmā.
 go Int I hit-Cia Ag Māmā
(I went and was punished by Māmā)

Nor does the rule delete direct objects of the ‘accusative’ pattern:¹⁰

- (369) * Wano loa au liko (ai) te tāne.
 go Int I hold Pro A man
(I went and the man picked me up.)

Equi-deletion is therefore a subject-referring rule in which the actor in a superordinate clause can trigger deletion of a nominative/absolute noun phrase in the role of actor in a subordinate clause. In addition, the rule can sometimes target the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern, but never the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern.

In imperative clauses, a role-related deletion strategy occurs whereby the addressee corresponding to the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns, or to the nominative subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern can be deleted. However, this deletion strategy is not the same as Equi-deletion.

Chung found that subjects of intransitive clauses and subjects of transitive clauses in the ‘accusative’ pattern can be deleted under identity with a subject which is a semantic agent in a superordinate clause. Her findings with the agentive noun phrases of the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns are somewhat different to mine. She attested that the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern ‘can occasionally serve as the target of Equi’ and that the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern is ‘rarely, if ever able to serve as the target for Equi’. Her findings were confused by the fact that she included examples of imperative clauses to illustrate ‘Equi’ and that some of her illustrations were ungrammatical when she labelled them marginal. She disregarded the evidence from the Beagleholes’ manuscript (n.d., a) that demonstrates that the agentive noun

phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern does in fact serve as the target for ‘Equi’ with some regularity (1978:378-379), although she did not use any examples from the manuscript in her illustrations. She tried to justify this evidence in a footnote by postulating a possible ‘concealed’ accusative marker for verbs ending in *-i*, so that her overall conclusion would be justified that nominative/absolute noun phrases are more subject-like than ergative noun phrases (cf. Clark 1981b:204). Although she also found evidence from the Beagleholes’ manuscript that the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern can also serve as the target for ‘Equi’, the only example she cites is an imperative clause which does not have an overt expression of the addressee.

2. Clauses subordinated by *e te*

Equi-deletion applies in clauses subordinated by *e te* that are not complements of raising verbs (see 10.3.1). Verbs which can trigger Equi-deletion are most commonly those which take as their subjects noun phrases denoting actors. The nominative subject of a subordinate clause is obligatorily deleted under identity with an argument of the superordinate clause, most commonly the subject. Equi-deletion can be controlled by the subject of an intransitive (370, 371) or transitive superordinate clause (372, 373) and can target the subject of an intransitive clause (370, 372), or a transitive clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern (371, 373). The controller and the target are both actors.

- (370) Ko lapu **māua** e te wō.
 T hurry we.2 C go.Pl
We are hurrying to go.
- (371) Ko yanga nei **mātou** e te patu i te pōlo
 T try here we C hit Acc A ball
We are trying to hit the ball.
- (372) Ko winangalo **lātou** e te lōmamai.
 T want they C come.Pl
They want to come.
- (373) Ko winangalo **iāna** e te tautulu ia tātou.
 T want he C help Acc-A we
He wants to help us.

Equi-deletion cannot target the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ or the ‘ergative’ patterns, but only the actor of the ‘accusative’ pattern, which is in the nominative case:

- (374) Ko winangalo au e te tuku i te tango o toku wale. ‘accusative’ pattern
 * Ko winangalo au e te tukua te tango o toku wale. * ‘passive’ pattern
 * Ko winangalo au e te tuku te tango o toku wale. * ‘ergative’ pattern
 T want I C put-(Cia) Acc A foundation P my house
I want to lay the foundation of my house.

Thus, the controller is an actor in the nominative case and the target is the nominative subject of a subordinate clause in the ‘accusative’ pattern, but not the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ or ‘ergative’ patterns.

The actor need not be in the nominative case in the main clause, since some verbs of experience are configured in clauses of the ‘passive’ pattern and optionally take preverbal pronouns (375, 376) and other

verbs have their actors marked in an oblique case (377). Both these types of actors allow deletion of a coreferential nominative subject in the subordinate clause:

- (375) Ko a koe iloa e te yī ika?
 T you know-Cia C catch fish
Do you know how to fish?
- (376) Ko iloa e Tao e te māni i toku matīni?
 T know-Cia Ag Tao C fix Acc my machine
Does Tao know how to fix my outboard motor?
- (377) Ko mau ia koe e te ula?
 T know By-A you C dance
Do you know how to dance?

Equi-deletion cannot target a patient if the controller is an actor, even though both are in the nominative/absolute case.

- (378) * Ko winangalo ia Tao [e te kāvea ki Kō]. 'passive' pattern
 * Ko winangalo ia Tao [e te kave ki Kō]. 'ergative' pattern
 T want A Tao C take-Cia G Kō
(Tao wants to be taken to Kō)

In summary, an actor in the superordinate clause marked in any case, whether nominative or oblique, can control deletion of the nominative subject in the subordinate clause, providing it too is in the role of actor, and not that of patient.

For stative verbs in the superordinate clause, the nominative subject of the subordinate clause is deleted under coreference with that of the superordinate clause; the role of actor is not a necessary requirement:

- (379) Ko te niu kātea ka tano [e te wāngai puaka].
 Top A nut mature T right C feed pig
Mature nuts are suitable for feeding pigs. (KM:C3)
- (380) Ko lima papala au [e te wai pānga].
 T hand rotten I C make mat
I'm no good [lit. rotten-handed] at making mats.
- (381) Kamuloa te wī tāngata ngāvavayi e te kākata.
 really A all people R-break C R-laugh
All the people really cracked up laughing. (F3:S10:7)

The subject does not need to be overt in the superordinate clause in order for Equi-deletion to occur in the subordinate clause. This is true when the subject is known information in the discourse and has already been deleted under anaphora (382). Sometimes the subject of the main predicate is in a part-whole relationship with the grammatical subject of the subordinate clause (for example (383), in which sentence the actor is encoded as a possessor of the direct object in the subordinate clause):

- (382) Auwā lā ko winangalo [i te inu kapu tī].
 probably Int T want C drink cup tea
Perhaps [he] would like a cup of tea.

- (383) Kamuloa piko *te tua* [e te yanga i *ana* kākau ke oti vave].
 really bent A back C work L her.Pl clothes C finish quickly
[She] is really working hard on [washing] her clothes to finish them quickly.
[Lit. The back is really bent over working on her clothes to finish quickly.]

In clauses subordinated by *e te*, Equi-deletion targets only nominative subjects, but not absolutes.

3. Clauses subordinated by *ke*

Clauses subordinated by *ke* allow a different subject than that of the superordinate clause (see 10.3.2) so that there is a greater range of case marking possibilities allowed than for clauses subordinated by *e te*. Equi-deletion can be controlled by a nominative subject of an intransitive or a transitive clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern and can target a nominative subject in the role of actor. The target can be the nominative subject of an intransitive clause (384), or of a transitive clause in the ‘accusative’ pattern (385), but it cannot be the agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ or ‘passive’ patterns (385, 386). Thus, a non-overt actor in the ‘passive’ pattern cannot be coreferential with the subject of the superordinate clause (386).

- (384) Ko yanga au [ke moe].
 T try I C sleep
I am trying to sleep.
- (385) Ko winangalo au [ke kave i taku tamá ki vao]. ‘accusative’ pattern
 * Ko winangalo au ke kave taku tamá ki vao * ‘ergative’ pattern
 T want I C take Acc my child-Da G outside
I want to take my child outside.
- (386) Ko winangalo au [ke kávea taku tamá ki vao]. ‘passive’ pattern
 T want I C take-Cia my child G out
*I want my child to be taken outside [by someone/*by me].*

Unlike Equi-deletion in *e te* complements, the target may also be the nominative/absolute noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern, which is coreferential with the nominative actor in the superordinate clause, but it cannot be the absolute noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern. Thus, the controller is an actor, but the target is a patient and both are in the nominative/absolute case.

- (387) Ko winangalo te pēpē [ke likoa]. ‘passive’ pattern
 * Ko winangalo te pēpē [ke liko] ‘ergative’ pattern
 T want A baby C hold-Cia
The baby wants to be held.

The direct object of the accusative pattern cannot be deleted under coreference with the nominative subject of the superordinate clause:

- (388) Ko winangalo te pēpē ke liko au ia ana /*(ia ana).
 * Ko winangalo te pēpē ke liko ai au.
 T want A baby C hold Pro I Acc-A he
The baby wants me to hold him.

The direct object of the ‘accusative’ pattern can also control the Equi-deletion of the nominative subject of an intransitive subordinate clause or the nominative/absolute noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern:

- (389) Wakaau koe i te konga nei [ke onge namu].
 caus-smoke you Acc A place here C scarce mosquito
Make this place smoky so there will be no mosquitoes.
- (390) Kau koe ia pēpē ki te kau pāleu [ke māyana].
 cover you Acc-A baby Ins A blanket floral.cotton.material C warm
Cover baby with the sheet so he is warm.
- (391) Ulu koe i tau pēni na ngalo nā, [ke kitea].
 search you Acc your pen T lost near.you C find-Cia
Search for your pen that is lost until [you] find [it].

An oblique noun phrase can control Equi-deletion of the nominative subject of an intransitive clause or a transitive clause of the ‘accusative’ pattern:

- (392) Tauvalo ai au kia Tamangalo [ke yau].
 call Pro I Acc-A Tamangalo C come
I called Tamangalo to come. (LS2:31)
- (393) Na maka wua lāi māua kia Tāvita [ke wuti i tana ika].
 T leave just Int we.2 G-A Tāvita C pull.in Acc his fish
We left [it] to Tāvita [for him] to pull in his own fish. (PS3:2)
- (394) Mea ai ia Levi kia Tupupua [ke liko i te toe kaokao].
 say Pro A Levi G-A Tupupua C hold Acc A other side
Levi asked Tupupua to hold the other side. (PP2:8:1)

In summary, for clauses subordinated by *ke*, the targets of Equi-deletion are always nominative/absolutive noun phrases: the subject of an intransitive verb, the subject of a transitive verb of the ‘accusative’ pattern, or the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern. The condition of the target being an actor is not necessary for this type of subordinate clause. Nor is it a necessary condition that the controller be an actor or in the nominative/absolutive case.

In imperative sentences with subordinate clauses introduced by *ke*, the pattern is different from declarative clauses and is similar to that of imperative clauses subordinated by juxtaposition, except that the ‘accusative’ pattern is not preferred. Instead, the ‘passive’ or ‘ergative’ patterns are used primarily. The addressee, corresponding to the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern, can be deleted from the subordinate clause whether or not the addressee is present in the superordinate clause (395, 396). The addressee can also correspond to the nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern (397). However, the fact that deletion of the addressee in the subordinate clause is not obligatory with nominative/absolutive noun phrases (397) and that the addressee of the superordinate clause may not necessarily be coreferential with the actor(s) in the subordinate clause (396) indicates that Equi-deletion is not at work.

- (395) Yau koe ke kitea tikāi te tika. agent of ‘passive’ pattern
 come you C see-Cia truly A truth
Come and see the real truth.
- (396) Yau ke uluina e weke mā tāua. agent of ‘passive’ pattern
 come C search-Cia A octopus for we.2
Come and [let’s] find an octopus for ourselves.

- (397) Yau koe ke kitea e Māmā. patient of 'passive' pattern
 Yau ke kitea koe e Māmā.
 come you C see-Cia Ag Māmā
Come and let Māmā find you.

The agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern may be deleted from the subordinate clause, but only if there is no overt pronoun addressee in the superordinate clause (398). The patient of the 'ergative' pattern may not be coreferential with the addressee (399).

- (398) Yau ake ke ulu ake te poti. agent of 'ergative' pattern
 * Yau koe ke ulu te poti * agent of 'ergative' pattern with overt addressee
 come Dir you C search Dir A cat
Come and hunt for the cat.
- (399) * Yau (koe) ke ulu e Māmā. * patient of 'ergative' pattern
 come you C search Ag Māmā
Come and let Māmā find you.

Other types of subordinate clauses, for instance subordinate clauses introduced by *mē*, also allow Equi-deletion to target a nominative subject in the role of actor. The controller must be an actor but does not need to be in the nominative case:

- (400) Ko yē pāpū loa ia ana mē kā wano.
 T Neg sure Int By-A he whether T go
He is not sure whether to go.

The nominative/absolutive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern, in the role of patient, cannot be deleted under identity with an actor in the superordinate clause:

- (401) Ko yē pāpū loa ia aku mē na a lātou iloloa *(au).
 T Neg sure Int By-A I whether T they.PI R-know-Cia I
I'm not sure whether they knew me.

Some verbs can trigger either Equi-deletion or noun phrase raising. It is often difficult to tell which pattern they follow: whether the subject is deleted in the complement or raised into the main verb. The verb (*w*)*akamata* 'begin, start' is one such verb:

- (402) Na akamata tona kili [e te pupū].
 T begin her skin C erupt
Her skin is beginning to erupt.

When its subject is a volitional actor, it allows objects of the complement to be accusatively marked, like the verbs which require Equi-deletion:

- (403) Ko akamata au [e te kauwi i aku tala nei].
 T start I C tell Acc my.PI story here
I'm going to start telling my stories now.
- (404) Ko akamata iāna [i te takapini i te wenua ia].
 T start he C encircle Acc A land Af
He was beginning to go around the island.

(PK:M3)

But like verbs of completion, *akamata* allows the ‘ergative’ or ‘passive’ pattern in the complement, when its subject is the nominative/absolutive noun phrase, the patient of the subordinate clause. The nominative/absolutive noun phrase appears to have been raised, following the pattern for verbs of completion.

- (405) I te Mōnitē, wakamata loa te uwi i Angatonu [e te kotikoti].
 L A Monday-Da start Int A garden L Angatonu C RR-cut
Last Monday [they] started to divide up the taro swamp at Angatonu.
- (406) Koa wakamata tō tātou leo [e te wiwiina e te leo Lalotonga].
 T begin P we language C mix-Cia Ag A language Rarotonga
Our language is beginning to become mixed with Rarotonga.

Akamata also follows the pattern of verbs of completion in allowing a nominalisation to act as its subject:

- (407) I te Mōnitē, akamata loa te kotikoti i te Wūnui, na oko ki te kawa laungaulu, oti ai te kotikoti i te ayo ia.
 L A Monday-Da start Int A RR-cut Acc A Wūnui T arrive G A strip ten finish Pro A RR-cut L A day Af
Last Monday, the dividing of the [taro swamp] Wūnui started, [it] got to the tenth strip and then the dividing finished for the day.

10.5 NOUN CLAUSES

This section discusses noun clauses in semantic categories, basically following the typological classes of complement-taking predicates outlined in Noonan (1985:110-133), except that his category of ‘utterance predicates’ is covered by the discussion of indirect statements, questions and commands which are described first, as each of these functional categories primarily takes only one subordinating strategy. Different verbs or categories of verbs can take different complement types. The choice of subordinating strategy is frequently lexically determined by the verb in the superordinate clause. There is only one marker of noun clauses that distinguishes noun clauses from adverbial clauses: the complementiser *e te*, which is associated exclusively with noun clauses. All of the subordinating strategies discussed in 10.3 can be used for at least one type of noun clause.

10.5.1 INDIRECT STATEMENTS

Indirect statements are subordinated by the juxtaposition strategy:

- (408) Na mea iāna [ko winangalo iāna e te nō].
 T say he T want he C stay
He said that he wanted to stay.
- (409) Na tala mai ia Tao [kāyi ana ika na maua].
 T tell Dir A Tao Neg.exist his.Pl fish T got
Tao told me that he didn’t catch any fish.
- (410) Na mea ia Tala kia Tao [ko te tamá na kaiāngia te moa].
 T say A Tala G-A Tao Prd A child-Da T steal-Cia A chicken
Tala told Tao that the boy stole the chicken.

- (411) Na akakite iāna [ko ai na lē].
 T caus-know he Prd Pro T win
He announced who had won.

10.5.2 INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Indirect questions, including alternative questions, are typically introduced by the subordinator *mē* or *pē* (see 9.1.6).

- (412) Na uwi iāna kia Tao [mē ka wano iāna lā wea ki wale].
 T ask he G-A Tao Q T go he via where G home
He asked Tao how [by what means] he was going home.
- (413) Ko ai ko iloa [mē ni wea lātou, mē ni Malike mē ni wea].
 Prd Pro T know-Cia Q A what they Q A American or A what
Who knows what they are, whether they are Americans or what [nationality].
- (414) Mea loa ia Tupou ke wō mātou onoono ia Langi [pē na wānau].
 say Int A Tupou C go.Pl we look Acc-A Langi Q T give.birth
Tupou told us to go and see whether Langi had given birth. (F3:S9:1)

The juxtaposition strategy can also be used:

- (415) Na ūmele au [e wea nā ika nei na papala ai].
 T surprise I Prd what A fish this T rotten Pro
I am surprised at why these fish went rotten.
- (416) Ko yē aku iloa [ko nō iāna i wea].
 T Neg I know-Cia T stay he L where
I don't know where he lives.

10.5.3 INDIRECT COMMANDS

Indirect commands are introduced by the subordinator *ke* which replaces the tense-aspect marker of the subordinate clause:

- (417) Na mea iāna [ke yau koe].
 T say she C come you
She said you should come.
- (418) Uwipānga loa te wenua, talatala loa lātou [ke wō ake onoono ake te lau ia koa loa].
 meeting Int A land told Int they C go.Pl please look please A group Af T long
The island held a meeting and told [them] to please go and look at [why] the group were a long time.
- (419) Unga loa ia Wiwitea ia Yina [ke wano ki te vao wakiwaki mai ni lau puapua].
 send Int A Wiwitea Acc-A Yina C go G A out RR-pick Dir A leaf tree.sp
Wiwitea sent Yina to go off into the bush and pick some Guettardia leaves.

The same politeness particle, *ake*, that is used in imperatives can also be used in indirect commands (418). Subordinated requests take the same form as indirect questions and are introduced by *mē* or *pē* (420, 421). The request is often framed in the negative to express politeness (421).

- (420) Nō kiai na wakavale atu ai mātou [pē ka maua ia koe e te tautulu mai].
P that T request Dir Pro we.Pl whether T able By-A you C help Dir
That's why we are requesting whether you might be able to help us.
- (421) Tuku loa tana pēpa ki Lalotonga [mē tona pāpā ko yē winangalo e te yau].
send Int his paper G Rarotonga Q his father T Neg want C come
He sent a letter to Rarotonga [to request] whether his father would like to come.

10.5.4 PROPOSITIONAL ATTITUDE PREDICATES

These verbs express an attitude towards the truth of the proposition expressed in the complement. They include verbs such as: *manatu* 'believe, think', *manako* 'think', *ilinaki* 'trust', *pāpū* 'be sure'. The juxtaposition strategy is used. Positive propositional attitudes are therefore grouped with assertions and reports of assertions (indirect statements).

- (422) Na manatu au [na wō kōtou ki te motu].
T think I T go.Pl you.Pl G A reserve
I thought you had gone to the reserve islet.
- (423) Wolo te tangata ko manatu [ko ōla lāi nā vaelua].
many A people T believe T alive still A spirit
Many people believe that spirits are still alive [after people die].
- (424) Na pāpū ia lātou [na ngalo au ma te poti].
T sure By-A they T lost I with A boat
They were sure that I had been lost together with the boat. (LS2:34)

Negative propositional attitudes frequently appear in the form of indirect questions, using the complementiser *mē*.

- (425) Ko yē pāpū loa ia aku [mē ka yau iāna].
T Neg sure Int By-A I whether T come he
I'm not sure whether he will come.

10.5.5 PRETENCE PREDICATES

Verbs which are used in pretence predicates include: *kanga* 'fool', *akataulili* 'tease, fool', *vati* 'deceive, mislead', *pikikā* 'lie'. When the subordinate clause denotes an unrealis situation, it is introduced by the complementiser *ke*.

- (426) Ia koe koa vati loa i te tangata nā [ke vale ki tō ngutu].
A you T mislead Int Acc A person there C believe G your mouth
You are [trying to] mislead that person into believing you. (PED:114)

If the pretence predicate is in the past tense, then the juxtaposition strategy can apply.

- (427) Na akataulili au kia Tao [na ngalo au].
T tease I G-A Tao T lost I
I tricked Tao into thinking I was lost.
- (428) Na manatu au [ko i Wale au].
T think I T L Wale I
I imagined that I was on Wale.

- (429) Tala pikikā te toe kau ē, [ni tamaliki loa kikino te kau pūāpii].
 tell lies A other people Dur A children Int R-bad A people teacher
Some people told lies that the teachers were bad people.

10.5.6 COMMENTATIVE PREDICATES

These verbs provide a comment on the complement proposition and may denote an emotional reaction or personal judgement. They include: *vēvēia* ‘happy’, *pekapeka* ‘sad’, *veliveli* ‘dislike’, *waingāwie* ‘easy’, *waingatā* ‘difficult’, *tano* ‘right’, *kino* ‘bad’, *lelei* ‘good’, *takayala* ‘make a mistake’. These verbs can take subordination by *e te*, *ke* or *mē*, as well as subordination by juxtaposition.

- (430) Ke vevēia oki te kauliki [e te tatau i a lātou puka ia].
 T happy also A children C read Acc P they book Af
[I hope] the children will be happy to read their books.
- (431) Auwā mō kōtou kai vevēia [ke oti te yanga nei].
 probably probably you.PI T happy C finish A work this
You will probably be happy to finish this work.
- (432) Ko vevēia au [mē ka yau iāna].
 T happy I if T come he
I'm happy if he comes.
- (433) Ko vevēia au [ko yē angaanga tāua].
 T happy I T Neg RR-work we.2
I am happy that we're not working.

10.5.7 PREDICATES OF KNOWLEDGE AND ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE

Verbs in this category allow a number of the subordination strategies: subordination by juxtaposition, by *ke* and *mē*. They include *iloa* ‘know’, *kite(a)* ‘know’, *longo* ‘hear (of)’, *manatu(a)* ‘remember’, *ngalopoaina* ‘forget’.

Iloa ‘know’ has unique properties. It allows three of the subordinating strategies (subordination by juxtaposition, *ke* and *mē*) to denote a state of knowledge or acquisition of knowledge, whereas complements introduced by *e te* denote an achievement predicate (10.5.8).

- (434) Ko aku iloa [na yau iāna].
 T I know-Cia T come he
I know that he came.
- (435) Ko aku iloa wua [ke yau iāna], nō tēlā na pau nā kai i te pilitā.
 T I know-Cia just C come he because T finish A food L A fridge-Da
I always know when he comes because the food in the fridge is gone.
- (436) Ko aku iloa [mē yau iāna ka oti te yanga nei].
 T I know-Cia if come he T finish A work this
I know that if he were to come, this work would get finished.

Longo ‘hear [of a rumour]’ allows only two of the subordinating strategies: subordination by *mē* and by juxtaposition:

- (437) E kiai loa au na longo [mē na yau ia Solomona].
T neg Int I T hear whether T come A Solomona
I haven't heard whether Solomona has come.
- (438) Na longo mō koe ia Mua [na tō mai lunga o te niu]?
T hear Q you A Mua T fall from up P A coconut
Have you heard that Mua fell out of a coconut tree?
- (439) Na longo au [ka yau ia Solomona].
T hear I T come A Solomona
I heard that Solomona is coming.

Other verbs, for instance, *manatu* ‘remember’ allow subordination by *e te*, *ke*, *mē* and subordination by juxtaposition.

- (440) Manatu loa au [e te aumai i te pālá].
remember Int I C bring Acc A knife-Da
I remembered to bring the knife.
- (441) Akamanatu koe [ke aumai i te pālá].
caus-remember you C bring Acc A knife-Da
Remember to bring the knife.
- (442) Ko manatu mō koe [mē ka yau ia Solomona i te Luilúá].
T remember Q you whether T come A Solomona L A Tuesday-Da
Do you remember whether Solomona is coming on Tuesday?
- (443) Manatu koe [ka welāvei tāua tāyao].
remember you T meet we.2 tomorrow
Remember that we are meeting tomorrow.

Typically, complements of these predicates are encoded as indicative complements, but when negated or questioned they may be used to express negative propositional attitude towards the complement proposition, in which case they often appear in the subjunctive (Noonan 1985:119). In Pukapukan, complements of these predicates when negated can be subordinated by *me* or sometimes by juxtaposition.

- (444) Ko yē aku iloa [mē na yau iāna].
T Neg I know-Cia whether T come he
I don't know whether he has come.
- (445) Kei atu ia Motu Kotawa [mē ko pēwea].
Neg.know Dir A Motu Kotawa whether T how
I don't know how Motu Kotawa is. (U14:1)
- (446) E kiai na kitea e te matua ōku [nā nō ai au i Motu Kotawa].
T Neg T know-Cia Ag A father P-I T stay Pro I L Motu Kotawa
My father didn't know that I had stayed on Motu Kotawa.
- (447) Ko ye aku manatua [ko ai te tama na lē].
T Neg I remember-Cia Prd who A child T win
I don't remember which child won.

10.5.8 ACHIEVEMENT PREDICATES

Verbs denoting positive achievements include *iloa* ‘know [how to]’, *akamau* ‘learn’, *manatu* ‘remember to’, *maua* ‘get’. *Iloa* ‘know [how to]’ takes the complementiser *e te*; other verbs take *e te*, *ke* and *mē* complements.

- (448) Ko aku iloa [e te ula].
T I know-Cia C dance
I know how to dance.
- (449) Na manatu au [e te tala atu kia koe na līngi mai ia Tao].
T remember I C tell Dir G-A you T ring Dir A Tao
I remembered to tell you that Tao rang for you.
- (450) Na manatu au [ke oko e aloa lānauanga nā toku māmā].
T remember I C buy A gift birthday for my mother
I remembered to buy a birthday present for my mother.
- (451) ...nōnō oki, kali ke kitea mai [mē na ngalo oki].
R-stay also wait C see-Cia Dir whether T lost also
... also they stayed and waited to see [find out] whether [he] was lost. (MN3:2)
- (452) ...ke kite mātou ē [pē ko pēwea tō tūlanga i kinā].
C know we.Pl Dur Q T how your space L there
...to find out how you are over there. (PS2:4)

Negative achievements include *ngalopoaina* ‘forget to’, *yanga* ‘try to’, *takayala* ‘make a mistake’. They take the same subordinating strategies as positive achievement predicates.

- (453) Ngalopoaina loa nā lau puapua [e te wakiwaki mai].
forget Int A leaf tree.sp C RR-pick Dir
[They] forgot to pick the Guettardia leaves.
- (454) E kovi loa iāna kite kole [e te talatala].
Prd person Int he know nothing C speak
He’s a person who doesn’t know how to speak [well].
- (455) Kiai loa oki na ngalopoaina ia aku [ke tieni ia Tāvita].
Neg Int also T forget By-A I C change Acc-A Tāvita
I didn’t forget to change Tāvita.
- (456) Na ngalo ia aku [ko ai te tama na lē].
T lost By-A I Prd Pro A child T win
I have forgotten which child won

10.5.9 PREDICATES OF FEARING

Verbs such as *mataku* ‘fear, be afraid’, *ngalangala* ‘worry’ are used in these predicates. The complement can have independent time reference, so that subordination by juxtaposition is allowed for some verbs as well as the strategies of subordination by *e te*, *ke* and *mē*.

- (457) Ko ngalangala au [ka tō te uwa].
T worry I T fall A rain
I am worried that it will rain.

- (458) Ko matakau au [e te wānau].
 T fear I C birth
I am afraid of giving birth.
- (459) Ko matakau au [e te wano ki te pō].
 T fear I C go G A cemetery
I am afraid to go to the cemetery.
- (460) Ko matakau au [ke mawuli te vaka].
 T fear I C capsize A canoe
I am afraid that the canoe will tip over.
- (461) Ko matakau au [mē ka mawuli te vaka].
 T fear I whether T capsize A canoe
I am afraid that the canoe might tip over [thinking about a future event].

Complements of verbs of fearing have similarities to predicates of precautioning and apprehensionals (Lichtenberk 1995), all of which can be introduced by *ko te* ‘lest’, *kāe* ‘lest’ or the modal marker *kai* ‘might’ (10.3.5).

- (462) Ko matakau au [ko te mawuli te vaka].
 T fear I lest capsize A canoe
I am afraid that the canoe might tip over.
- (463) Ko matakau au [kāe mawuli te vaka].
 T fear I lest capsize A canoe
I am afraid in case the canoe tips over.
- (464) Ko matakau au [kai mawuli te vaka].
 T fear I T capsize A canoe
I am afraid because the canoe might tip over.
- (465) Na matakau au [ko te topa au lā te konga i te keonga i Tuāpuka].
 T fear I lest left I via A place L A point L Tuāpuka
I was afraid that I would be carried [by the current] through the place [where waves crash together] at the point at Tuāpuka. (LS2:26)

10.5.10 DESIDERATIVE PREDICATES

There are two usage classes of desiderative predicates. A distinction is made between the ‘wish’/‘hope’ class and the ‘want’ class (cf. Noonan 1985:121-125).

1. The auxiliary verb *pī* ‘if only’ is used to express both wishing and hoping. The subordinating strategies can be juxtaposition or subordination by *ke*. The complement has independent time reference with the juxtaposition strategy and complements with past time reference have a contrafactive interpretation. Subordination by the subjunctive marker *ke* is used with complements which have future reference.

- (466) Pī mō ia Tao [e yau i te ayo nei].
 if.only maybe A Tao T come L A day here
I hope Tao comes today.
- (467) Pī lā mō ia Tao [na yau i te ayo nei].
 if.only Int maybe A Tao T come L A day here
I wish that Tao had come today [but he didn’t].

- (468) Pī mō koe [ke pāti tau tālēlē].
if.only maybe you C pass your exam
I hope you pass your exam.
- (469) Pī mō taku tamāwine [ke wano āpii peia].
if.only maybe my daughter C go school like-so
I wish my daughter would go and learn like that.

(MC:3:2)

Alternatively ‘hoping’ can be expressed by a clause introduced by *mē* ‘if’:

- (470) Mē ia Tau na yau.
if A Tau T come
I hope Tau has come.
I wonder whether Tau has come.

2. Verbs in the ‘want’ class all take complements introduced by *e te* and *ke*. Desiderative verbs include *winangalo* ‘desire’, *mina* ‘like’, *manako* ‘want’, *mea* ‘want’, *pā* ‘agree to’, *āliki* ‘agree to’. Some verbs, for instance *manako* ‘want, think’, *mea* ‘want, decide’, do double duty as a propositional attitude predicate and as a desiderative. The complements of ‘want’ class predicates have dependent temporal reference and are always future to the time frame denoted by the main clause. Cross-linguistically, they are often reduced complements, typically subjunctives or infinitives. An infinitive type of complement is frequently used when an equi-relation exists between subjects and a subjunctive complement is used when no equi-relation exists (Noonan 1985:123). This distinction is made in Pukapukan. The subordinator is *e te* when the subject of the complement is coreferential to that of the desiderative predicate and *ke* when no equi-relation exists.

- (471) Ko winangalo ia Mele [e te akalongo].
T want A Mele C listen
Mele wants to listen.
- (472) Ko te wenua a te matua tāne na winangalo ai [ke wō lātou ia], ko te wenua o Tinilau.
Top A land P A parent man T want Pro C go.Pl they Af Prd A land P Tinilau
The land that the father wanted them to go to was the land of Tinilau.
- (473) Ko winangalo au [ke ākono koe i te tamaiti nei].
T want I C look.after you Acc A child this
I want you to look after this child.

Complements in which an equi-relation exists can also be introduced by *ke*. *Ke* is particularly frequent in complements of desiderative predicates which denote unrealised or hypothetical situations.

- (474) Ēnei taku konga na winangalo au [ke talatala atu]...
here my place T want I C tell Dir
This is what I wanted to tell you...
- (475) Mē koe ka winangalo [ke pepeke], ka wakataupulepule loa koe pe ēku nei.
if you T want C fly T caus-pre-RR-spotted Int you like I here
If you [ever] want to fly, you will have to be spotted like me.
- (476) Mē mina a tātou tamaliki [ke tele ki lunga]...
if like P we.Pl children C sail G up
If our children want to get ahead..

Complementation by *mē* is also possible but rare; *winangalo* means ‘hope’, rather than ‘want’ in this context.

- (477) Ka winangalo au [mē tai a tātou tāpati], mē kāle, ko lelei wua.
 T want I C exist P we.Pl week or not T good just
I am hoping for a week, but if not, that's all right.

10.5.11 MANIPULATIVE PREDICATES

Verbs that can be used in manipulative predicates are all verbs with a causative prefix (*w*)*aka-*: *akakōkō* ‘coax, persuade’, *akavalevale* ‘persuade by sweet talk’, *akamāloiloi* ‘support, persuade’, *akaoyoyo* ‘force, push’. These verbs allow *ke* complements. Some illocutionary verbs also encode manipulative situations, for example, *wakavale* ‘ask’, *talikai* ‘beg, request’, *tala* ‘tell’, order, request’. Indirect commands are also introduced by *ke* (10.5.3).

- (478) Na akamāloiloi ia Mea [ke lilo ia Matā wai mayor].
 T persuade A Mea C become A Matā as mayor
Mea persuaded Matā to run for mayor.
- (479) Na wakavale atu au ki ai [ke aumai iāna i te mea ia].
 T persuade Dir I G Pro C bring he Acc A thing Af
I persuaded him to give it.

10.5.12 PERCEPTION PREDICATES

Verbs of immediate perception include *kite(a)* ‘see’, *onoono* ‘look, watch’, *longo*, *langona* ‘hear, feel’, *wakalongo* ‘listen’, *yongi* ‘smell’, *tongi* ‘taste’. There is no syntactic difference between perception predicates and the same verbs which are used as acquisition of knowledge predicates. Perception predicates most commonly take nominal or nominalised arguments, rather than verbal complements. All of the subordinating strategies are allowed: *e te*, *ke*, *mē* and juxtaposition.

- (480) ...mē ka a lātou kitea [e te ālu i te poti na palia ai ia Kāti ia].
 whether T they.Pl see-Cia C follow Acc A boat T drift-Cia Pro A Kāti Af
...whether they could see to follow the boat in which Kāti had drifted off. (MN1:9)
- (481) Ko onoono iāna ki te kilitai ke ana kitea [mē e wea te mea e vilivili i lunga o taku kati ia].
 T look he G A skin-water C he see-Cia Q Prd what A thing T RR-shining L on P my line Af
He was looking at the surface of the water to see what was shining on my fishing line. (LPL1:8)
- (482) ...ālu ai lātou ē, kite atu ai lātou [ko panapana te poti i tai loa].
 follow Pro they Dur see Dir Pro they T RR-bounce A boat L sea Int
...they followed [it] for ages, then they saw that the boat was bobbing along far out to sea. (MN2:11)
- (483) Onoono atu lā toku māmā [ko moe ia Nga i lunga o te loki].
 look Dir but my mother T sleep A Nga L on P A bed
My mother saw that Nga was asleep on the bed. (F44:4)

10.4.13 VERBS OF MANNER

Verbs of manner, likewise, tend to take nominalisations or nominal arguments instead of verbal complements, or otherwise the verb of manner appears as a modifier of a verb (3.7). Complements of verbs of manner are subordinated by *ke*.

- (484) E āpii tika tēlā nō lātou ka pēwea [ke ato i te wale].
 Prd lesson true that for they T how C roof Acc A house
It's a big lesson for them, as to how to roof a house. (U14:1)

10.5.14 MODAL PREDICATES

Modal verbs which express epistemic or deontic meanings include *pēnei* 'maybe [lit. 'like this']', *tautā* 'must, strive' and *maua* 'be able to'.

Pēnei takes the juxtaposition strategy, while *tautā* takes subordinate clauses introduced by *ke*.

- (485) Pēnei ake [ko kite tātou ē ko wuka te veo o te payī ko yau].
 maybe Dir T see we.Pl dur T foam A bow P A ship T come
Maybe we already know that the ship is on its way [lit. that the bow of the ship which is coming is foaming].
- (486) Pēnei ake [ko wolo tau yanga].
 maybe Dir T big your work
Perhaps you have a lot of work to do. (PS2:2)
- (487) Pēnei [na langona pā e Tāvita taku meanga ki ai], kei, kiai au na kite.
 maybe T hear-Cia probably Ag David my say-Nom G Pro don't.know Neg I T see
Maybe David heard what I said to him, I don't know, I couldn't tell. (LS2:30)
- (488) Ka tautā au [ke maua toku laisene i te Kilitimeti nei].
 T strive I C get my licence L A Christmas here
I must get my licence this Christmas.
- (489) Na tautā loa toku ngākau [ke maua toku pona wōu nō te Kilitimeti nei].
 T strive Int my heart C get my dress new for A Christmas here
I must get a new dress for Christmas.

Maua can have both epistemic meaning (concerned with degree of certainty of knowledge) or deontic meaning (concerned with moral obligation or permission). It most frequently takes subordinate clauses introduced by *e te*, but also allows clauses introduced by *ke*. Clauses introduced by *ke* are commonly polite requests for something to be actioned in the future, or denote a hypothetical situation in the future.

- (490) E yē maua mō koe [ke tuku ake te pia ia ki lunga o te payī ke kave ki Wale ma Nātau]?
 T Neg able maybe you C send please A box Af G on P A ship C send to Wale and Nassau
You wouldn't be able to send this box on the ship to take it to Pukapuka and Nassau, would you? (T3:6)
- (491) E yē maua oki koe [ke mea koe, 'aulaka e wano ki tai...']
 T Neg able also you C say you Neg.Imp T go G sea
You couldn't [ever] say to him, 'Don't go to sea...' (MKS5:100)

Clauses introduced by *e te* encode situations with dependent time reference to that of the main clause, the time of speech or narrative reference time.

- (492) Kai loa, kai loa, pupute nā manava, e yē maua [e te wō].
eat Int eat Int R-swollen A stomach T Neg able C go.PI
They ate and ate until their stomachs were full and they couldn't move.
- (493) Koa māwutu iāna, koa maua [e te tātā mea].
T clever he T able C write thing
He was getting clever and beginning to be able to write things down.
- (494) Ka maua ia koe [e te tala i tau wānonga]?
T able By-A you C tell Acc your story
Can you tell [us] a story [now]?
- (495) Ka maua ia koe [e te kake ki lunga o te payī ke yau]?
T able By-A you C climb G on P A ship C come
Are you able to [would you mind] climbing on board the ship when it comes?

A lack of certainty can be denoted by modal particles such as *mō* 'maybe', *pā* 'probably' (496) (5.1.5), by the auxiliary verbs *auwā* 'maybe' or *pī* 'if only' (497) (10.2.2), or by preceding the clause with *mē*, which otherwise functions as a subordinator (498) (10.3.3). Modal predicates are often used as markers of politeness (e.g. 490).

- (496) Ka maua pā [e te tautulutulu wua]...
T able probably C RR-help just
[They] would probably be able to help...
- (497) Auwā na tō te uwa.
probably T fall A rain
It's probably raining.
- (498) Mē ka maua ia tātou [e te kake ki lunga o te payī ke yau].
if T able By-A we.PI C climb G on P A ship C come
[I wonder] whether we will be able [be allowed to] to climb on board the ship when it comes.

10.5.15 ASPECTUAL PREDICATES

This category includes verbs that denote aspect or aspect-like notions, such as *vave* 'almost, about to', *mea* 'about to, intend to', *loa* 'be a long time', *tuma* 'slow', *viviki* 'quick'. *Loa*, *tuma* and *viviki* normally take nominal or nominalised arguments (10.8) rather than clausal complements, but *vave* and *mea* frequently take clausal complements. When *vave* takes nominal arguments, it commonly means 'fast' rather than 'almost'. Complements of aspectual predicates can be subordinated by the juxtaposition strategy (499, 500) or by *e te* (501).

- (499) Ko vave wua [ka Kilitimeti].
T almost just T Christmas
It's almost Christmas.
- (500) Ko mea au [ka wano ki te toa].
T about.to I T go G A store
I'm about to go to the store.
- (501) Ko vave loa au [e te tuki i nā watu talinga o koe].
T almost Int I C hit Acc A stone ear P you
I'm very close to giving you a slap on the ears.

A number of aspectual verbs denoting phasal notions (Longacre 1976), such as the inception or termination of an act or state, normally take only subordinate clauses introduced by *e te*. These verbs include verbs of inception: *akamata*, *kamata*, *tāmata* ‘begin’ (502), and verbs of completion: *oti* ‘finish’, *pau* ‘be depleted, finished, *akamutu* ‘stop’ (10.3.1.3) (503). As Noonan (1985:129) points out, these predicates often have reduced complements since the time reference of the event must be the same as the phase denoted by the main clause. Continuation is indicated by reduplication rather than by a phasal predicate (see 3.5.4).

(502) Ka akamata au [e te kauwi i aku tala nei].
 T start I C recount Acc my.Pl story here
I'll start to tell my stories [now].

(503) Na oti nā tātua [e te lalanga].
 T finish A belt C weave
The belts are finished being woven.

10.5.16 NEGATIVE PREDICATES

The negative verbs which take complement clauses are *kiai* ‘negative past tense’ (8.2.1) and the negative imperative verbs *aulaka*, *auwe*, *auwae* and *auye* (8.2.2). Complements of the negative verbs are primarily subordinated by the juxtaposition strategy. However, they have dependent time reference since the time reference of a proposition must be the same as its negation (Noonan 1985:132). For both types of negative predicate, one of the tense-aspect markers in the complex clause is *e* ‘nonspecific’. In negated past tense predicates, the tense-aspect marker *e* which precedes the negator *kiai* is commonly deleted in colloquial speech (504), and for negative imperative predicates, the tense-aspect marker *e*, which introduces the complement, merges with the negator when they are adjacent to each other (505). The tense-aspect marker is overt only when the subject of the negated predicate is raised to become the subject of the negator (506). Thus, although the clauses are juxtaposed to each other, the tense-aspect marking is reduced in many cases.

(504) (E) *kiai* [nā langona toku leo e Lima].
 T Neg T hear-Cia my voice Ag Lima
Lima didn't hear my voice. (PS4:3)

(505) *Auwae* [mataku].
 Neg.Imp-T fear
Don't be afraid.

(506) *Auwe* tātou [e nōnō i lunga o te wenua nei].
 Neg.Imp we.Pl T R-stay L on P A land here
Let's not stay on this island. (MKS1:3)

In addition to the juxtaposition strategy, complements of negative predicates can be introduced by *ke*. While the juxtaposition strategy negates a past event, subordination of the complement by *ke* often implies that a process is continuing at the time of speech and that the end point has not been reached. Thus, there is an aspectual difference between the two types of subordinating strategy.

(507) E *kiai* au [na lalanga wakalelei].
 T Neg I T weave well
I didn't weave [that mat] very well.

- (508) E kiai au [ke lalanga wakalelei].
 T Neg I C weave well
I can't weave very well [yet].

Below are two other examples illustrating that the action or state denoted by the subordinate clause is still in progress (509, 510).

- (509) E kiai ia Tao [ke lelei loa mai tona makinga, nō kiai na yē wano ai yī ika].
 T Neg A Tao C good Int from his sick-Nom P why T Neg go Pro fish fish
Tao isn't completely better yet from his sickness, that's why he hasn't gone fishing.
- (510) Nō tēlā oki ko yē ana iloa loa, e kiai [ke mau lelei].
 P that also T Neg he know-Cia Int T Neg C learn well
Because he didn't know [how to], he hadn't learned it well enough [yet]. (MN4:1)

This strategy can also be used with dynamic event type verbs to express duration:

- (511) E kiai ia Tao [ke patu wakalelei i tana puaká], nō kiai te puaka e takawitiwiti ai.
 T Neg A Tao C kill properly Acc his pig-Da P that A pig T RR-squirm Pro
Tao didn't kill the pig properly [and is still trying to], that's why it is still struggling.

At other times *ke* carries an optative modal meaning expressing an expectation, wish or hope that the action should happen (512, 513):

- (512) E kiai au [ke amo wakalelei i te nōanga, ēia na tō ai ki lalo].
 T Neg I C carry properly Acc A chair so T fall Pro G down
I didn't carry the chair properly [but should have], that's why it fell down.
- (513) E kiai au [ke āpii wakalelei i te kaulikí e te tataui].
 T Neg I C teach well Acc A children-Da C read
I haven't taught the children to read very well [but I should have and want to].

Negative imperatives can also sometimes be introduced by *ke*:

- (514) Aulaka [ke mea peia].
 Neg.Imp C do like-so
Don't do that.

Complements of negative predicates may not be introduced by *e te* or by *mē*.

10.5.17 NOMINALISED COMPLEMENTS

Three of the subordinating strategies discussed in section 10.3, *e te* and *ke* and subordination by juxtaposition, can be used to subordinate nonfinite noun clauses. The subordinator replaces the tense-aspect marker so that the clauses they introduce are nonfinite in that respect, but an intransitive subordinate verb agrees in number with the subject. For clauses subordinated by *e te* and by juxtaposition, the verb cannot be of the 'passive' pattern, but is always the verbal stem, and the subject of the subordinate clause is deleted under identity. However, subordinate clauses introduced by *ke* allow 'passive' morphology and an overt subject.

Several noun clause types can be made nonfinite by a process of nominalisation, whereby the tense-aspect marker of the clause is deleted and one of the arguments of the clause can become a genitive adjunct of the

nominalised verb. The whole construction functions as an argument of the verb in the superordinate clause. The following pair of sentences illustrate a noun clause introduced by *e te* and its corresponding nominalisation:

- (515)a. Na oti a mātou wāwā [e te oloolo].
 T finish P we.Pl taro C RR-grate
We've finished grating the taro.
- b. Na oti te oloolonga o a mātou wāwā.
 T finish A RR-grate-Nom P P we.Pl taro
We've finished the grating of the taro.

Subordinate clauses introduced by *ke* can be nominalised:

- (516)a. Ko yē winangalo au [ke lōmamai lātou].
 T Neg want I C come.Pl they
I don't want them to come.
- b. Ko yē winangalo au i tā lātou lōmamainga.
 T Neg want I Acc P they come.Pl-Nom
I don't want them to come.

Juxtaposed clauses can be nominalised:

- (517) a. Na manatu au [na wō kōtou ki te motu].
 T think I T go.Pl you.Pl G A reserve
I thought you had gone to the reserve island.
- b. Na manatu au i tā kōtou wōnga ki te motu.
 T think I Acc P you.Pl go.Pl-Nom G A reserve
I thought of your going to the reserve island.

However, not all clauses of these types can be nominalised. The ability to be nominalised seems to be determined by characteristics of the superordinate verb as well as the verb in the subordinate clause. Certain verbs can be nominalised while others cannot and cases of nominalisations exist where the verbal clause is not acceptable (518). Moreover, the meaning of some verbs changes when nominalised (519).

- (518)a. Na loa te māninga o tona wale.
 T long A make-Nom P his house
It took him a long time to build his house.

- b.* Na loa iāna e te māni i tona wale.
 T long he C make Acc his house
 (It took him a long time to build his house.)

- (519)a. Na loa wua iāna [e te wano ki te walemaki], yaulā e kiai na puapinga.
 T long just he C go G A hospital but T Neg T worthwhile
He has been going to the hospital for a long time [many visits], but to no avail [he is still sick].

- b. Na loa tana wanonga ki te walemaki.
 T long his go-Nom G A hospital
His [one] visit to the hospital took a long time.

Nominalised noun clauses are no different from other nominalisations which are discussed in detail in 10.8.

10.6 RELATIVE CLAUSES

A relative clause follows its head. The fact that a relative clause is part of a noun phrase constituent is demonstrated by the fact that it may be bounded by the postposed positional particles *nei* ‘here’, *nā* ‘there’, and *ia* ‘aforementioned’, or the definitive accent. While the first two of these particles may also occur as postmodifiers in a verbal phrase, *ia* and the definitive accent occur only in noun phrases. Since referential topicalised subject noun phrases are always bounded by one of the demonstrative particles, the placement of the definitive accent or other demonstrative can be used as a diagnostic test to establish the boundary of the relative clause (see 4.7.2.1; 5.1.4). The following examples clearly illustrate that the relative clause is a part of the noun phrase.

- (520) [Te tamaiti [na iē tai]_S ia]_{NP} na lekaleka iāna.
 A child T win first Af T RR-happy he
The child who came first was happy. (AT:S3)
- (521) [Ko te kete [na tuku ai au ki te kovi lewū]_S]_{NP} na ngalepe.
 Top A basket T give Pro I G A person small-Da T broken
The basket that I gave to that child is broken.

Apart from the positional particles, which can follow the relative clause and bound the entire noun phrase, most other modifiers of the head noun precede the relative clause (522). However, a genitive phrase can sometimes follow the relative clause (523):

- (522) [Ko a kōtou lautai likiliki wua [nā tokitokí]], ke mā, akalepolepo ai.
 Top P you leaf-one RR-small just T RR-plant-Da if clean caus-RR-dirt Pro
As for your small taro shoots that [you] were planting out, when they are clean, then fertilise them. (UI49:2)
- (523) Ko lua tawa [na mau] o te yanga ia, e ononga mano tālā.
 Top two dollars T got P A work Af Prd six-nga thousand dollar
The money that was raised from doing that [lit. of that work], was \$6,000. (PU93:13:3)

More than one relative clause can modify a noun, although this is very infrequent:

- (524) Ko te toe puka mātolú, e mea [na wulingia mai te leo Papaa], [nā Akaola a Lavaluá].
 Top A other book fat-Da Prd thing T turn-Cia Dir A language English P Akaola P Lavalua-Da
The thick book is something that was translated from English, [it is] Akaola's [work], [the daughter] of Lavalua. (IL4:4)

Relativisation can apply to an argument of a nominalised verb:

- (525) Te māninga a Ngutu i te vaka [na kave ki Lalotonga] i te mōtoilele.
 A make-Nom P Ngutu Acc A canoe T take G Rarotonga-Da Prd excellent
The way that Ngutu made the canoe that was taken to Rarotonga, was excellent.

A relative clause usually modifies a noun, but headless relative clauses are found particularly in focused constructions and interrogative word questions (7.7.4; 9.1.5.1.2; 9.1.5.3).

- (526) Ko lātou [na aumaia te moni tautulu i te kotikotinga o te puka nei].
 Prd they T give-Cia A money help Acc A RR-cut-Nom P A book here
 [It] was they who gave the money to assist with the printing of this book.

Relative clauses are always verb initial so that they maintain the basic word order (see 7.3). They are finite; they are marked for tense, aspect and mood as is an independent clause. Verbal agreement with the plurality of the subject is maintained when the subject (the element triggering agreement) has been relativised.

(527) Ko aku iloa te wawine [na wano ki Lalotonga].
 T I know-Cia A woman T go.Sg G Rarotonga
I know the woman who went to Rarotonga.

(528) Ko aku iloa te kau [na wō ki Lalotonga].
 T I know-Cia A people T go.Pl G Rarotonga
I know the people who went to Rarotonga.

A noun from a subordinate clause can be relativised. The choice of relativisation strategy is determined by the role the relativised noun plays in the subordinate clause.

(529) Ko te kaipea e mea loa [ko mina ai te wī tangata o te wenua ia [e te kai]].
 Top A crab Prd thing Int T like Pro A all person P A land Af C eat
The crab is something that everyone from that land really likes to eat. (WK1:2)

There are two main strategies used in the formation of relative clauses: a deletion strategy, in which the relativised element is deleted, and a pronominalisation strategy, in which it is replaced by a pronoun (see 10.6.2, 10.6.3). Before these are discussed in detail, a raising rule that affects the subject of the relative clause will be introduced.

10.6.1 ACTOR-POSSESSOR RAISING

The subject of the relative clause, in the role of actor or experiencer, may be raised to the main clause in a genitive construction modifying the head of the relative clause. This process, which applies only to relative clauses, has been noted for a few other Polynesian languages including Niuean (Seiter 1980:97-99) and Tuvaluan (Besnier 2000:77-80).

Actor-possessor raising most commonly affects pronominal subjects, but is not restricted to them. The following pairs of sentences are related but the second of each pair is more idiomatic than the first, which is highly marked. The agent is encoded as a possessor of the head of the relative clause instead of as an overtly marked postverbal agent in the agentive case.

(530)a. E wea te mea [na koti e koé?]
 Prd what T thing T cut Ag you-Da
What did you cut?

b. E wea tau mea [na koti?]
 Prd what your thing T cut-Da
What did you cut?

(531) a. Ko te mea [na tunu e **te kau wāwiné**], i pāni laiti.
 Top A thing T cook Ag A people women-Da Prd pan rice
[Lit. The thing that the women cooked, was pans of rice.]
What the women had cooked was pans of rice.

b. Ko te mea **a te kau wāwine** [na tunú], i pāni laiti.
 Top A thing P A people women T cook-Da Prd pan rice
What the women had cooked was pans of rice.

Actor-possessor raising is sometimes still possible if there is another possessive modifier of the head noun, although two possessors are not often found in naturally occurring discourse. The true possessor must be a preposed pronoun and the agent must be postposed to the head; both cannot be in postposed position:

(532) Ko **toku** pona wōu **a toku māmā** [na tuí], na ngāyae. * Ko te pona **o Te Lua a toku māmā** [na tuí]...
 Top my dress new P my mother T sew-Da T torn Top A dress P Te Lua P my mother T sew-Da
My new dress that my mother sewed, is torn. (Te Lua's dress that my mother made...)

Actor-possessor raising is permissible if the head is a personal noun, but it places contrastive emphasis on the personal noun, implying that there are several people with the same name:

(533) Ko Mele **a toku māmā** [na ākonó], na wano, na maua tana tāne.
 Top Mele P my mother T look.after-Da T go T got her man
The Mele that my mother looked after has gone, she's got a husband.

However, it is not possible when a personal pronoun is the head of the relative clause (compare (534) with (535) whose head is a common noun):

(534) * Ko lātou **a toku māmā** [na ākonó]...
 Top they P my mother T look.after-Da
(They, who my mother looked after...)

(535) Ko te kauliki **a toku māmā** [na ākonó], na wowolo.
 Top A children P my mother T look.after-Da T R-big
The children that my mother looked after have grown up.

As Cook (1999) points out, there is a tendency in Samoan for agents to be encoded as possessors and it is not a necessary requirement that there be a relative clause out of which a possessor would ascend. Pukapukan also has a tendency to encode subjects as possessors to make the agent of the clause less prominent, so that subjects can be encoded as possessors in main clauses as well as subordinate clauses (see 7.4.2.3). For relative clauses, it is not always clear whether the agent of the relative clause has been raised into the main clause in a genitive construction on the head or whether a true possessor relationship has been encoded and the subject of the relative clause has been deleted. Thus actor-possessor raising often results in structures that are potentially ambiguous between two readings, but a third possibility that the agent of the relative clause is someone other than the possessor is not permissible:

(536) Ko nā kālena **a kōtou** [na tuku maí], kiai na tukuina mai kia aku.
 Top A calendar P you.Pl T send Dir-Da Neg T send-Cia Dir G-A me
The calendars that you sent, didn't reach me.
Your calendars that [you] sent [me], didn't reach me.
 * (Your calendars that someone else sent...)

However, some situations are more clearcut. The possessive relationship that results from actor-possessor raising is normally marked by *a* ‘of’, indicating ‘alienable’ possession or an ‘active’ relationship between possessor and possessum. Sentences illustrating contrastive possession may be found, as in (537), in which the possessor marked by *a* must have originated in the relative clause, since a true possessor of the head noun (*wenua* ‘land’) is marked by *o* because the possessor is not in a relationship of control over the possessum and is subordinate to it (see 6.2.8).

- (537) Ko te wenua **a** lātou [nā winangalo ai ke wō lātou]ia, ko te wenua **o** Tinilau.
 Top A land P they T want Pro C go.PI they Af Prd A land P Tinilau
The land that they wanted to go to was the land of Tinilau. (MKS1:3)

In some cases, a true possessive relationship between the head noun and its possessively marked modifier is either odd semantically or impossible; therefore, the possessor must correspond to the actor in the relative clause:

- (538) Ka talapaya lava au ia kōtou ki nā wī tangata āku [ka welāvei].
 T praise Int I Acc-A you.PI G A all person P-I T meet
I will praise you to everyone that I meet [lit. to my every person that [I] meet].

The relationship between the possessor and the possessum is not necessarily one of true possession even in sentences where that appears to be a possible interpretation, but the possessor of the head is interpreted as the agent of the relative clause:

- (539) Te tama **a** toku māmā [na winangalo ai e te tuku ki Lalotongá], ko Tai te ingoa.
 A boy P my mother T want Pro C send G Rarotonga-Da Prd Tai A name
The boy that my mother wanted to send to Rarotonga, his name is Tai.
 *(My mother’s son that [she] wanted to send to Rarotonga...)

The possessive relationship between the raised agent and the head noun of the relative clause is normally marked by *a* possession (as in all the previous examples), but when the head of the relative clause denotes a temporal phrase which corresponds to an oblique noun phrase in the relative clause, it is marked with *o*-possession:

- (540) Ko te tolu tēnei o tō lātou vāia [na wakatai ai].
 Prd A three this P P they time T together Pro
This was the third time they had met together.

Temporal elements which are patients/themes, rather than obliques, allow an agent to be marked with *a*-possession:

- (541) Ko lua ayo āku [na manatú]; Luitolu koa wō, Palapalau koa nīniko.
 Prd two day P-I T think Wednesday T go.PI Thursday T R-return
[These] are the two days I’ve thought of: Wednesday to go on and Thursday to come back. (U2:1)

For nouns denoting entities that are usually inalienably possessed, pairs of sentences can be found in which the raised agent can be marked with either *o* or *a*, yet neither interpretation has as its primary reading a relationship of true possession. Both alternatives of the possessive phrase are interpreted to be the agent of the relative clause:

- (542) Ko te wale o lātou [nā momoe ai], ko te wale o Lima.
 Ko te wale a lātou [nā momoe ai], ko te wale o Lima
 Top A house P they T R-sleep Pro-Da Prd A house P Lima
The house in which they were sleeping belonged to Lima.

For a relative clause whose head is a nominal predicate, the possessively marked noun phrase is separated from the head by the subject of the nominal predicate (540, 543). A split possessive construction also occurs for nominal predicates with possessive attributes (see 7.3.4), and in complex locative predicates (see 4.8.1).

- (543) **Ko te taime** teia o Uyo [ko wawao mai ai].
 Prd A time this P Uyo T R-jump Dir Pro
That's the time when Uyo started jumping here. (U:5)

The possessor phrase resulting from actor-possessor raising behaves in many ways like a modifier of the head noun, except that it cannot be relativised. If it is a pronoun it can occur as a preposed possessive pronoun (522, 530b.). For transitive and semitransitive verbs in the relative clause there seems to be a tendency for the possessor to be a postmodifier of the head even if it is a pronoun (536, 537, 538, 541), but this is not always the case. Existential main clauses and numeral predicates prefer preposed possessive pronouns:

- (544) E nī a kōtou ika [na maua]?
 T exist.Pl P you fish T get
Have you caught any fish? [Lit. Do your fish exist that [you] caught?]
- (545) E lua a mātou lēkōti [na kokoti i te pae o te yī ika...]
 T two P we record T R-cut L A area P A fish fish
*We broke two records in fishing [competitions]...
 [Lit. There are two of our records that [we] broke in fishing]*

The agent as possessor can be questioned using the pronominal interrogative *ai* 'who?' in its normal position in the sentence (for instance, in echo questions), or by using a possessive predicate in focus (cf. sentence (536) above):

- (546) Ko nā kālena āi na tuku māi?
 Top A calendar P-Pro T send Dir-Da
*[Lit. The calendars of whom that [they] sent?]
 The calendars that who sent?*
- (547) Na ai nā kālena na tuku māi?
 P Pro A calendar T send Dir-Da
*[Lit. Whose were the calendars that [they] sent?]
 Who sent the calendars?*

For some possessively modified heads a pronominal copy of the subject may optionally remain in its normal position in the relative clause. The complexity of the subordinate clause or the presence of other constituents following the verb phrase may condition retention of the pronoun copy. The pronominal trace is never in the agentive case in a clause of the 'ergative' pattern, but can be a nominative/absolutive noun phrase in an intransitive clause or a transitive clause of the 'accusative' pattern.

- (548) Ko te wenua **a lātou** [nā winangalo ai ke wō **lātou** ia], ko te wenua o Tinilau.
 Top A land P they T want Pro C go.Pl they Af Prd A land P Tinilau
The land that they wanted to go to was the land of Tinilau. (MKS1:3)
- (549) E wea **tau** tumu [na maka ai **koe** i tō māmā]?
 Prd what your reason T leave Pro you Acc your mother
Why did you leave your mother?
- (550) Yaulā ēnei **taku** leo [nā mea ai **au** ke āpii].
 but this my language T do Pro I C learn
But this is the language that I wanted to learn.

Actor-possessor raising applies to subjects of intransitive and transitive clauses. The arguments which can undergo actor-possessor raising are discussed in turn. Subjects of intransitive clauses can be promoted to become a possessor of the head of the relative clause (548, 551):

- (551) Ko te taime teia **o Uyo** [ko wawao mai ai].
 Prd A time this P Uyo T R-jump Dir Pro
That's the time when Uyo started jumping here. (U:5)

Agents of the 'accusative' pattern (549, 550) and the 'ergative' pattern can undergo actor-possessor raising, but these two patterns are potentially structurally ambiguous when there are no overt arguments in the relative clause. Since only the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern leaves a pronominal trace *ai* in the relative clause, the absence of the trace indicates the 'ergative' pattern:

- (552) E loloi te mea **a Wiwitea** [ka tao].
 Prd taro.dish A thing P Wiwitea T bake
The thing Wiwitea is going to cook is a taro dish [baked with coconut cream].
- (553) Ko te wale **a lātou** [na wakatū], e wale loa tongi.
 Top A house P they T caus-stand-Da Prd house Int big
The house they built was a very big one.
- (554) Te tama **a te pūāpii** [na vayi], e tama loa totoko.
 A child P A teacher T hit-Da Prd child Int stubborn
The boy who the teacher smacked was a very stubborn child.

Agents of the 'passive' pattern cannot undergo actor-possessor raising. Only a true possessive relationship is permissible as an interpretation of a possessive modifier of the head of the relative clause:

- (555) te tama **a te pūāpii** [na vayia]...
 A child P A teacher T hit-Cia
the teacher's child who was hit
 * (the child whom the teacher hit)

Further evidence that the agent of the 'passive' pattern cannot undergo actor-possessor raising is that the possessive marking for inalienably possessed nouns does not allow marking by *a* instead, and that an agent different from the referent of the possessor is permissible postverbally (compare (556) with (553) in which actor-possessor raising applies from a relative clause in the 'ergative' pattern):

- (556) Ko te wale **o lātou** [na wakatūa (e Limapēni mā)]...
 ***a lātou** [na wakatūa]
 Top A house P they T caus-stand-Cia Ag Limapēni etc
their house that Limapēni and the others built...
 * (the house they built)

Instead of actor-possessor raising (which would have been blocked by the postposed possessive phrase on the head of the relative clause in the following sentence), the agent of the ‘passive’ pattern can be moved to a preverbal position in the relative clause (see 3.3).

- (557) Ko nā tala i lotó, ko nā tala a te kauliki [na au tukua mai i loto o Okotopa].
 Top A story L inside-Da Prd A story P A children T you send-Cia Dir L inside P October
The stories inside are the children’s stories that you sent us in October.

Patients of the ‘accusative’, ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns cannot undergo actor-possessor raising. The only possible interpretation of the following clauses is that the raised argument is the agent and the clause is grammatical only in the ‘ergative’ pattern:

- (558) * Ko te pūāpii a lātou [na vayi ai]... ‘accusative’ pattern
 * Ko te pūāpii a lātou [na vayia] ‘passive’ pattern
 Ko te pūāpii a lātou [na vayí] ‘ergative’ pattern
 Top A teacher P they T hit Pro
 * *(the teacher that smacked them)*
the teacher that they smacked

The agent of a neuter verb, which is in an oblique case in postverbal position, can be raised to become a possessive modifier of the nominative/absolutive noun phrase and a full pronominal copy is optional in the relative clause:

- (559) E wolo aku vae kaveu na pau (ia aku).
 Prd many my.Pl leg coconut.crab T finish By-A I
I finished [eating] many coconut crab legs.
- (560) E wea au ika na maua?
 Prd how.many your fish T get
How many fish did you catch?

Thus the types of argument that can undergo actor-possessor raising are determined by the semantic criterion of agency and not by their grammatical function in the sentence. Actor-possessor raising is a role related phenomenon which applies to actors, experiencers or agents in intransitive clauses, or in transitive clauses of the ‘accusative’ and ‘ergative’ patterns, but not to the ‘passive’ pattern.

Actor-possessor raising is sensitive to the grammatical function of the relativised noun. It can apply when the relativised noun corresponds to a patient or to most types of oblique noun phrase in the relative clause. Most of the previous examples have illustrated the relativised noun in the role of patient in a transitive clause, which is the most frequent function found in the corpus. When the relativised noun is in this role and there are no other arguments following the verb, there is structural ambiguity as to whether the relativised noun corresponds to the direct object in the ‘accusative’ pattern or to the absolutive noun phrase in the ‘ergative’ pattern. Since there is no anaphoric trace *ai* left in the relative clause, the most likely scenario is that it corresponds to the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern. Furthermore, actor-possessor raising occurs only for the ‘ergative’ pattern and never for the ‘accusative’ pattern in interrogative structures (9.1.5.1.2; 9.1.5.3). A third argument that the head of the relative clause corresponds to the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern in this type of construction is that relative clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern are mainly restricted to those clauses containing semitransitive

verbs, whereas this type of relative clause is not restricted at all and can contain canonical transitive verbs as well as semitransitive verbs.

- (561) Ēnei **taku** yanga [nā yanga].
 here my work T work
Here is my work that I did.
- (562) Kāe a **lātou** tule [ko akatapu].
 Neg.exist P they rule T hold.sacred
There isn't a single rule that they respect.
- (563) E loloi te mea a **Wiwitea** [ka tao].
 Prd taro.dish A thing P Wiwitea T bake
The thing Wiwitea is going to cook is a taro dish [baked with coconut cream].

However, there may be a nominative/absolutive pronominal copy of the subject in the relative clause (564), and an anaphoric pronominal trace *ai* in postverbal position, in which case the head of the relative clause is clearly the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern. Actor-possessor raising can, therefore, apply when the head of the relative clause is a direct object of the 'accusative' pattern.

- (564) Yaulā ēnei **taku** leo [nā mea ai au ke āpii].
 but this my language T do Pro I C learn
But this is the language that I wanted to learn.

For some relative clauses containing semitransitive verbs, there is an anaphoric pronoun *ai* in postverbal position, but no copy of the subject. These clauses must also be analysed as being of the 'accusative' pattern.

- (565) **Tau** manini [nā ulu aī], na patua e te kau.
 your fish.sp T search Pro-Da T kill-Cia Ag A people
Your manini fish that you were looking for has been killed by those people.
- (566) Ko mānea atu iāna i te tamāwine a **Lima** [e mina aī].
 T beautiful Dir she comp A girl P Lima T like Pro-Da
She is more beautiful than the girl that Lima likes.

Thus the normal strategy for relativisation of a noun phrase denoting a patient of a transitive clause is the deletion strategy for canonical transitive verbs and pronominalisation by the anaphor *ai* for semitransitive verbs (see 10.6.3), but actor-possessor raising can trigger optional pronominalisation by *ai* for semitransitive verbs.

- (567) Ia Lima, ēnei **tana** mea [ko ākono (aī)], ko te tama nei.
 A Lima this his thing T look.after (Pro-Da) Prd A child this
As for Lima, the thing he is looking after is this, [it's] this child.

When the relativised noun corresponds to an oblique noun phrase in the relative clause, there is a trace *ai* left in postverbal position in the relative clause. However, not all oblique noun phrases allow actor-possessor raising to take place. Promotion of the subject of the relative clause to become a possessor of the head can apply when the relativised noun is an oblique noun phrase in the following cases, which are all marked by the prepositions *i* or *ki*:

1. Locative:

- (568) Ko te wenua **a lātou** [nā winangalo ai ke wō lātou ia], ko te wenua o Tinilau.
 Top A land P they T want Pro C go.Pl they Af Prd A land P Tinilau
The land that they wanted to go to was the land of Tinilau. (MKS1:3)
- (569) Na wakamata iāna mai Wale, mai Utupoa lā, **tana** kongā [na waowao mai ai iāna].
 T begin he from Home from Utupoa there his place T RR-jump Dir Pro he
He began from the main island, Wale, from Utupoa there, [from] his place that he [began] to jump here from. (U:5)
- (570) Na mea te kau pūāpīi ke wō te wī tamaliki ki wale, wutiwuti vayavaya i nā pō **o lātou** [ka tanu ai].
 T say A group teacher C go.Pl A all children G home RR-pull.out grass L A cemetery P they T bury Pro.
The teachers said for the children to go home and weed the cemeteries where they are to be buried. (PU 93:13:14)

2. Temporal:

- (571) Ko te taimē teia **o Uyo** [ko wawao mai ai].
 Prd A time this P Uyo T R-jump Dir Pro
That's the time when Uyo started jumping here. (U:5)
- (572) Ko tō lātou pō [na wakamata ai], e pō Luilua.
 Top P they night T start Pro-Da Prd night Tuesday
The night they started on was a Tuesday.

3. Goal:

- (573) Ko ai **tau** tangata [na wano ai]?
 Prd Pro your person T go Pro
Who was the person you went to?

In addition, actor-possessor raising can apply if the relativised noun corresponds to a noun phrase denoting reason or cause, which is normally marked by *nō*:

- (574) Ko te tumu teia **āna** [na winangalo ai...]
 Prd A reason this his T want Pro
This is the reason why he wanted to...

It can sometimes apply if the relativised noun is benefactive, but a pronominal copy is required in the relative clause (575).

- (575) Ko te wawine **āku** [na oko mai ai au i nā tiale nei]...
 Top A woman P-I T buy Dir Pro I Acc A flower here
the woman who I bought these flowers for...

Actor-possessor raising is often disallowed if the relativised noun is benefactive (576), and it cannot apply if the relativised noun corresponds to a possessive or the object of comparison.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (576) | te wawine [nō ona te pānga e lalanga e Malā] A woman for her A mat T weave Ag Mala-Da <i>the woman for whom Mala is weaving the mat</i> | *te wawine [a Mala e lalanga ai te pāngā] A woman P Mala T weave Pro mat-Da <i>(the woman Mala is weaving the mat for)</i> |
|-------|---|--|

Thus actor-possessor raising is allowed for oblique noun phrases, but not for possessives or objects of comparison which are lower on the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977, 1979).

10.6.2 DELETION

The deletion strategy for relativisation simply deletes the relativised noun phrase (together with its case marker) under co-reference with the head of the relative clause. In general, this strategy is not available if the relativisation process strands a preposition. Thus the deletion strategy is available for core arguments and not to oblique noun phrases. It is principally available to relative nouns which are nominative/absolute noun phrases in the relative clause. The arguments which can be relativised by the deletion strategy are discussed in turn. The details of Chung's findings (1978) are discussed in the notes for the arguments of each case marking pattern, and her conclusions summarised after the main discussion of the pronominalisation strategy (10.6.3).

1. Subjects of intransitive predicates:

The subject of an intransitive verb is relativised using the deletion strategy. This is true for actor-subjects (577, 578) as well as patient-subjects of intransitive or neuter verbs (579, 580):¹¹

- (577) Ke alu ake au i te kau [na wō].
C follow Dir I Acc A people T go.Pl
...so I can follow the people who have gone.
- (578) Ēnei aku lua tama [e wetū nei].
this my.Pl two child T Pl-stand here
These are my two children standing here.
- (579) Ko nā niu [na wetō mai ki tona ulú], na ngālepelepe.
Top A nut T Pl-fall Dir G his head-Da T broken.to.pieces
Those nuts which fell on his head were broken to pieces.
- (580) Ko te moni [na pau i te tukunga o nā popoá], e tolu ngalau tālā.
Prd A money T finish By A send-Nom P A food-Da Prd three pre-100 dollar
The money that was used in sending the food was \$300. (V80:1:3)

Subjects of transitive verbs which have undergone direct object incorporation and have thereby become intransitive, are also relativised by the deletion strategy:

- (581) te kau [na wuli kaveu i te pō Luilua]...
A people T turn coconut.crab L A night Tuesday-Da
the people who were catching coconut crabs on Tuesday night...

Subjects of numeral predicates and nominal predicates can be relativised using the deletion strategy:

- (582) Wānau loa a lāua tama [e tolu].
born Int P they.2 child T three
[Lit. Their children were born, which were three.]
They gave birth to three children.
- (583) Na oko mai tona tautulu [e weke].
T arrive Dir his help Prd octopus
His help arrived which was an octopus. (MK2:34)

- (584) E tala te mea nei [nō oku].
Prd story A thing here P I
This is a story about me.

2. Subjects of canonical transitive clauses in the ‘accusative’ pattern are not often relativised; the most common case marking pattern is that of the ‘passive’ pattern (585), (see 4. below). The subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern can be relativised in clauses containing semitransitive verbs (586), in complex relative clauses such as in complements of motion verbs (587), or in situations when there is only partial affectedness of the patient so that the case marking is potentially ambiguous between a locative and an accusative case (587).¹²

- (585) Ko aku iloa te wawine [na lalanga i te pānga nei]. ‘accusative’ pattern
Ko aku iloa te wawine [na lalangangia te pānga nei]. ‘passive’ pattern
T I know-Cia A woman T weave-Cia Acc A mat here
I know the woman who wove this mat.

- (586) Ko ai te kau [na līlīlī i te nōnga o Wutu i Kō]?
Prd Pro A people T R-angry Acc/L A stay-Nom P Wutu L Kō
Who were the people who were angry at Wutu staying on Kō? (W2:F2:13)

- (587) Ko ai te ika mua [na totolo wuwuti i nā yika o te tavake]?
Prd Pro A fish first T crawl R-pull Acc/L A tail P A tropic.bird
Who was the first fish to come along and pull out/on the tail feathers of the tropicbird? (W1:P5:2:8)

There are temporal and aspectual differences between the ‘accusative’ and ‘passive’ patterns. When the relative clause denotes events in the past, the ‘accusative’ pattern is used to encode more immediate events than those of the ‘passive’ pattern, which denote events more distant in the past.

- (588) Te wawine [na patu i te pōlō], e titi kula tona mea.
A woman T hit Acc A ball-Da Prd skirt red her thing
The woman who hit the ball [just now and is still playing at the moment], has a red skirt on.

- (589) Te wawine [na patua te pōlō], e titi kula tona mea.
A woman T hit-Cia A ball-Da Prd skirt red her thing
*The woman who hit the ball [that we’re talking about, but didn’t see hit], has/had a red skirt on.
[maybe she was caught out, or maybe the game happened a while before the time of speech].*

3. Noun phrases denoting the patient of the ‘passive’ pattern are commonly relativised by deletion.¹³ The ‘passive’ pattern usually denotes completed action. Relative clauses denoting irrealis situations are encoded in the ‘accusative’ pattern, not the ‘passive’ pattern (594):

- (590) ...ki lunga o te au lā o te tamanu [na kōtia e Lata].
G on P A all branch P A tree.sp T cut-Cia Ag Lata.
...on to all the branches of the tamanu tree that Lata had cut down.

- (591) E tai tiale [na wākia].
T exist flower T pick-Cia
There is a flower which has been picked.

- (592) E mea [yā e Māui Pōtiki].
Prd thing fish-Cia Ag Māui Pōtiki
[It] was a thing fished up by Māui Pōtiki.

(593) Ko nā tala i lotó, ko nā tala a te kauliki [na au tukua mai i loto o Okotopa].
 Top A story L inside-Da Prd A story P A children T you send-Cia Dir L inside P October
The stories inside are the children's stories that you sent us in October.

(594) * te lākau [ka yemua ēku]... 'passive' pattern
 te lākau [ka yemu ai au]... 'accusative' pattern
 A tree T cut.down Ag-I/Pro I
the tree I am going to cut down...

4. Agentive noun phrases of clauses in the 'passive' pattern are also freely relativised using the deletion strategy. The 'passive' pattern is the most common case marking configuration for a relative clause whose head is the agent of a transitive verb.¹⁴

(595) Ko ona te pūāpīi [ko tiakingia nā mea māneanea a te tamaliki āpīi].
 Prd he A teacher T look.after-Cia A thing sports P A children school
He is the teacher who looks after the sports activities of the children.

(596) Wakameitaki oki lātou i te matiku [na kāvea lātou ki te wenua o Tinilau].
 caus-thank also they Acc A heron T take-Cia they G A land P Tinilau
They thanked the heron that had taken them to the land of Tinilau.

5. The patient noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern can be relativised using the deletion strategy; normally the agent is a possessor of the head noun (597, 598) or is not overt (599, 600). The agent is very rarely marked agentively in postverbal position.¹⁵

(597) Ēnā nā tūtū āku [na tuku atu], ni mea wakamayala ke onono ai te wī tamaliki.
 there A photo P-I T give Dir Prd thing caus-remember T look Pro A all children
There are the photos that I've sent, they are things that will remind the children as they look at them.

(598) Te lua o te tukunga, ko a tātou kai [na akaputu].
 A two P A put-Nom Prd P we food T caus-gather
The second thing to present is the food that we have collected.

(599) Ko te pēpa nā, [na avatu i loto o taku tikilō], e mea wakamayalanga nā mātou i kinei.
 Top A paper there T give L inside P my envelope Prd thing caus-remember P we L here
That paper [you have], which [I] have given [you] in my envelope, is a tribute from us here. (IL:1:4)

(600) Ko i ai oki nā toe puka [nā tuku atu kia Walewaoá].
 T L Pro also A other book T send Dir G-A Walewaoa-Da
There are also some other books that [we] sent to Walewaoa. (T2:5)

For semitransitive verbs in the relative clause, the 'ergative' pattern occurs with the actor/experiencer raised to become a possessor of the patient, or with no overt actor/experiencer. The actor/experiencer never occurs postverbally in the agentive case.

(601) Ko te toe muna wua teia āku [na winangalo ke talatala]. 'ergative' raised experiencer
 * Ko te toe muna wua teia [na winangalo eku ke talatala]. * 'ergative' postverbal experiencer
 Ko te toe muna wua teia [na winangalo ai au ke talatala]. 'accusative' postverbal experiencer
 Prd A other word just this P-me T want Pro I C tell
This is the other thing I wanted to say.

6. The agentive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern cannot undergo the deletion strategy of relativisation.¹⁶

- (602) * Ko aku iloa te ingoa o te wawine [na kave taku tamāwine ki te āpi].
 T I know-Cia A name P A woman T take my daughter G A school
(I know the name of the woman who took my daughter to school.)

7. The agentive noun phrase of a neuter verb cannot be relativised using the deletion strategy; instead, the pronominalisation strategy must be used:¹⁷

- (603) Ko aku iloa te tama [na kino *(ai) te pōlongá].
 T I know-Cia A child T bad Pro A cricket-Da
I know the child who spoiled the cricket game.

- (604) te tama [na pau *(ai) te walaoá]
 A child T finish Pro A bread-Da
the child who finished the bread

However, the agentive noun phrase of a neuter verb can undergo actor-possessor raising, in which case there is no trace left in the relative clause:

- (605) E wolo aku vae kaveu [na pau e te kai].
 Prd many my.Pl leg coconut.crab T finish C eat
[Lit. My coconut crab legs that have been finished eating are many.]
I've finished eating many coconut crab legs.

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| c.f. | Na pau nā vae kaveu ia aku. T finish A leg coconut.crab By-A I <i>I finished all those coconut crab legs off.</i> <i>[no one else had any]</i> | Na pau aku vae kaveu e te kai. T finish my.Pl leg coconut.crab C eat <i>I've finished eating all my coconut crab legs</i> <i>[please give me some more].</i> |
|------|--|--|

8. The deletion strategy does not apply to the direct object of a transitive verb in the ‘accusative’ pattern (606).¹⁸ Instead, the ‘ergative’ or ‘passive’ pattern must be used (607), or otherwise the pronominalisation strategy (10.6.3).

- (606) * Na kai au i te yakali [na aumai koe]. ‘accusative’ pattern
 Na kai au i te yakali [na aumai ai koe].
 T eat I Acc A coconut T bring Pro you
I ate the coconut that you brought.

- (607) Na kai au i te yakali [na aumai e koé]. ‘ergative’ pattern
 T eat I Acc A coconut T bring Ag you-Da
 Na kai au i te yakali [na au aumaiá]. ‘passive’ pattern
 T eat I Acc A coconut T you bring-Cia-Da
I ate the coconut that you brought [me].

The deletion strategy does not affect subjects of possessive predicates or oblique noun phrases which must use the second strategy, pronominalisation.

10.6.3 PRONOMINALISATION

There are three types of pronominalisation. A personal pronoun may appear in the position of the relativised element. The second type requires a possessive pronoun copy within the relative clause. The final option is to pronominalise the relative noun leaving the anaphoric pronoun *ai* following the verb.

10.6.3.1 Personal Pronoun Strategy

In some instances, there is a full pronoun copy of the relative noun in the relative clause. When a personal pronoun is in the relative slot, it agrees with the head noun in number, person and inclusiveness/exclusiveness. A pronominal copy of the subject of the relative clause is optionally found in intransitive clauses or transitive clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern from which actor-possessor raising has raised the subject to become a possessor of the head (see p.621) (608, 609). A pronominal copy of the agent of a neuter verb is also optionally found in the relative clause after actor-possessor raising (610).

(608) **taku** konga [na wano ai **au**
my place T go Pro I
the place where I went

(609) **tana** tama [nā ulu ai **iāna**
her child T search Pro she
the child she was looking for

(610) Ope te leka **au** īmene [na mau **ia** **koe**].
really A nice your.Pl song T know By-A you
The songs you know are really nice.

When an oblique noun phrase is relativised, a pronominal copy is also optionally found in the relativised slot in the relative clause. The pronominal copy of an oblique is in addition to the third pronominalisation strategy which leaves the anaphoric pronoun *ai* in postverbal position. If the referent of the head noun is animate, the copy can be a personal pronoun (611), whereas for an inanimate noun, a copy of the pronoun *ai* ‘it’ may optionally occur in the relativised slot (612) (see 10.6.3.3).

(611) Ko nā tangata teia [na tautulu ai au (**kia lātou**)].
Prd A people this T help Pro I (G-A they)
These are the people whom I helped.

(612) Ko nā wenua [na kave ai nā pupu o Pukapuka nei (**ki ai**)].
Prd A land T take Pro A group P Pukapuka here G Pro
It was [people from] those lands which took the Pukapukan groups there.

10.6.3.2 Possessive Pronoun Strategy

Relativisation of a possessively marked noun phrase requires possessive pronominalisation, except when relativised noun phrase is possessively marked as part of a complex locative predicate or a complex locative phrase. In this case it may be pronominalised by *ai* (see p.633).

1. For relative clauses containing possessive predicates, the emphatic series of possessive pronoun cannot be deleted.

- (613) Ko Yinata te tangata [nō **ona** te lākau ia].
 * Ko Yinata te tangata [nō Ø te lākau ia].
 Prd Yinata A person P he A tree Af
The person who owned the tree was Yinata.
- (614) Ko te tangata [nā **ana** nā moni na kaiāina], na mate i te ū.
 Top A person P he T money T steal-Cia T die By A hit
The person whose money was stolen, died as a result of an accident. (V90:2:1)

2. Relativisation on a possessive noun requires a possessive pronoun copy in the relative clause:

- (615) Ko te tangata tēnei [na yau **tana** tama].
 Prd A person this T come his child
This is the man whose son came.
- (616) Ko pekapeka te tāne [na mate **tana** vale].
 T RR-sad A man T die his spouse
The man whose wife has died is upset.
- (617) Ko aku iloa te pūāpīi [ko Tao **tona** ingoa].
 T I know-Cia A teacher Prd Tao his name
I know the teacher whose name is Tao.
- (618) Ko te kau [ka aumai i **a lātou** talá], ka avatu mātou ni mea a mātou ...
 Top A people T bring Acc P they story-Da T give we A thing P we
The people who bring stories, we will give [them] something from us... (AR3:7)

For part-whole relationships the possessive pronoun is not necessary:

- (619) te tāne [na wati te vae]...
 A man T break A leg
the man whose leg was broken

10.6.3.3 Anaphoric Pronoun Strategy

Relativisation of obliquely marked noun phrases leaves an anaphoric pronoun trace *ai* which is postposed to the verb. Normally the pronominalisation strategy reduces the whole obliquely marked noun phrase, including the case marker, to the anaphoric pronoun *ai* following the verb and there is no copy of the relativised noun in the relative clause. A second option, available for relative clauses on locative and goal noun phrases, may optionally also leave a reduced form of the obliquely marked noun phrase in its normal position in the relative clause. The pronominal form in the reduced phrase may be *ai*, *kiai* or a personal pronoun form.

- (620) Te konga teia [na āpīi **ai** au (i ai)].
 A place this T learn Pro I (L Pro)
 This is the place where I learned.
- (621) Kī ma te pū [na wō **ai** lātou (lā **kiai**)].
 full with A hole T go.Pl Pro they via Pro
Even the door through which they went was full. (MM:L3)
- (622) Ko nā wenua [na kave **ai** nā pupu o Pukapuka nei **ki ai**].
 Prd A land T take Pro A group P Pukapuka here G Pro
It was [people from] those lands that took the Pukapukan groups there.

- (623) Ko nā tangata teia [na tautulu ai au (kia lātou)].
 Prd A people this T help Pro I (G-A they)
These are the people whom I helped.

The possessor noun in a complex locative noun phrase can be relativised, leaving the preposition and the head in their normal position in the relative clause and a trace *ai* following the verb. In the following sentence, *ki lunga o te lakau* ‘up into the tree’ is reduced to the head of the locative phrase *ki lunga*.

- (624) E wea te ingoa o te lākau [na wakapepeke ai ia Wutu ki lunga]?
 Prd what A name P A tree T caus-R-fly Pro A Wutu G up
What was the name of the tree which Wutu flew up into? (W1:4)

Obliquely marked noun phrases in the following cases may be relativised by the pronominalisation strategy:

1. Locative

Locative noun phrases are always relativised by pronominalisation by *ai*. The pronominalised phrase may be a locative phrase marked by *i*. Only seldom is an additional copy of the obliquely marked phrase left in its normal position in the clause (see above).

- (625) Yau oki iāna ma tana koyo lākau ki te konga [e kangakanga ai lua tamaliki].
 come also he with his husking stick G A place T RR-play Pro two children-Da
He came with his husking stick to the place where the two children were playing. (KK:U6:7)
- (626) Kāvea loa e Witi ki te wale o lātou [e patu ai o lātou tāngata].
 take-Cia Int Ag Fiji G A house P they T kill Pro P they people
The Fijians took them to their house where they kill people.
- (627) te konga [na ngalo ai i ona mata]
 A place T lost Pro L his.Pl eye
the place where he lost sight of it

A locative phrase marked by *lā* ‘via, through’ is pronominalised by *ai* and may also optionally leave a copy of the obliquely marked phrase following the verb phrase:

- (628) Ko Uyo lā oki, kiai iāna na yau lā te konga [na lōmamai ai te kau (lā lunga o te pā)].
 Top Uyo but Neg he T come via A place T come.Pl Pro A people via on P A wall
As for Uyo, he didn't come the same way as the others came by way of the wall. (U:5)
- (629) Kī ma te pū [na wō ai lātou (lā kiai)].
 full with A hole T go.Pl Pro they via Pro
Even the door through which they went was full. (MM:L3)

Locative phrases marked by *mai* are likewise pronominalised by *ai* and commonly occur with verbs modified by the directional particle *mai*. A reduced form of the locative phrase may also occur in its normal position in the clause.

- (630) Na wakamata iāna mai Wale, mai Utupoa lā, tana konga [na waowao mai ai iāna].
 T begin he from Home from Utupoa there his place T RR-jump Dir Pro he
He began from Wale, from Utupoa there, [from] his place that he [began] to jump here from. (U:5)

- (631) Wano koe tanutanua **te konga** [na totolo mai ai te wonu] ke yē mailonga tona ala...
 go you RR-bury-Cia A place T R-crawl Dir Pro A turtle C Neg sign his path
Go and cover the place from which the turtle crawled here so that his path won't be seen... (LW:W2:4)
- (632) ...mai **te konga** [na lōmamai ai lātou].
 from A place T come.Pl Pro they
...from the place where they came here from.
- (633) I te wale ka ūlu ai kōtou, nōnō kōtou i ai, oko wua atu ki **te vāia** [e maka ai kōtou mai ai].
 L A house T enter Pro you RR-stay you L Pro reach just Dir G A time T leave Pro you Dir Pro
In the house which you enter, stay there until the time when you leave from there. (KM:LK9:1)

Relative clauses containing tensed locative predicates substitute the anaphoric pronoun *ai* for the nucleus of the predicate.

- (634) Yau ai ia Uyo ia ki **te konga** [e i ai tana lau].
 come Pro A Uyo Af G A place T L Pro his men
Uyo then came to the place where his men were.
- (635) Ko te tokatolu lā **kilā** [e i ai te niú].
 Prd A cls-three over there T L Pro A coconut-Da
[It's] those three over there, where that coconut tree is.

Relative clauses may be formed on the possessive noun phrase of a complex locative predicate or of a complex locative phrase. The whole complex locative phrase may be reduced to *ai*, or less frequently the locative noun may be retained and the possessive phrase reduced to *ai*. For relative clauses containing locative predicates, the locative noun is required in the nucleus of the predicate.

Locative predicate:

- (636) Yaulā ko **te wāoa oki o Tēnana**, [nā i lunga ai te tangata matua], na pau e te patua.
 but Top A crew also P Tēnana T L on Pro A person old T finish C kill-Cia
But the crew of Tēnana, which the old man was part of, were all killed.

cf. **Nā i lunga** te tangata matua **o te wāoa o Tēnana**.
 T L on A person old P A crew P Tēnana
The old man was on the crew of Tēnana.

- (637) Kakati loa te manini nei i **te puaka ia**, [nā i loto ai te akavae a te wī Tetea].
 R-bite Int A fish.sp here Acc A pig Af T L inside Pro A hook P A all Tetea
The manini fish bit the pig which had the hook of the Tetea people inside it.

- (638) Ulu ai te akulā ia lā lalo o **te watu** [e i lalo ai te wai].
 enter Pro A swordfish Af via under P A stone T L under Pro A stingray
The swordfish went under the stone where the stingray was. (W1:P5:3:4)

For complex locative phrases, the locative phrase (bracketted) seldom occurs on the surface.

- (639) Mē ka a lātou kitea e te ālu i **te poti** [na palia ai ia Kati (i loto) ia].
 if T they see-Cia C follow Acc A boat T drift-Cia Pro A Kati L inside Af
If they could see to follow the boat in which Kati had drifted out.

cf. **Ia Kati na palia i loto o te poti ia**.
 A Kati T drift-Cia L inside P A boat Af
Kati drifted inside the boat.

(640) Eia **te pānga** [akamomoe **ai** (**ki lungā**) te kauliki].
 here A mat caus-R-sleep Pro G on A children
Here is a mat on which to put the children to sleep.

cf. Akamomoe te kauliki **ki lungā o te pānga**.
 caus-R-sleep A children G on P A mat
Put the children to sleep on the mat.

2. Goal

Noun phrases normally marked by *ki* ‘goal’ are pronominalised by reduction to *ai*. This applies to goals of motion verbs as well as dative goals of verbs of giving and communication. A reduced form of the goal phrase may also occur in its normal position in the clause.

(641) Ko Witi oki **te wenua** [ka wō **ai** lātou].
 Prd Fiji also A land T go.Pl Pro they
The land they were going to was Fiji.

(MM:L2)

(642) Nā onoono wua lā iāna i **te kongā** [na palia **ai**].
 T look just Int he Acc A place T drift-Cia Pro
He was just looking at the place where [the boat] had drifted to.

(643) Ko te waleāuli **te kongā** [na kave **ai** nā akavā ia ana **ki ai**].
 Top A jail A place T take Pro A police Acc-A he G Pro
The jail was the place where the police took him to.

(644) Wō i leila lātou ki te atua wolo o Wale nei, kia **Taua, mea** [e pulepule **ai** lātou]
 go.Pl L then they G A god big P Home here G-A Taua thing T RR-pray Pro they
 ke akamālulūina te lau a Uyo.
 C caus-R-weak-Cia A men P Uyo
They then went to the great god of Pukapuka, to Taua, who was one to whom they prayed to make Uyo’s men weak.

(U:7)

The case marking pattern for relative clauses on locative and goal noun phrases is usually the ‘accusative’ pattern for canonical transitive clauses (643, 645). The ‘ergative’ pattern is also allowed (e.g. 640, 645), but the passive pattern is restricted when both core arguments are in the relative clause (645). However, sentences (639, 642) show that the ‘passive’ pattern is allowed in some situations.

(645) Ko aku iloa **te kongā** [na kave atu **ai** ia Mele i te puka kulá]. ‘accusative’ pattern (+ *ai*)
 * Ko aku iloa **te kongā** [na kāvea **ai** e Mele te puka kulá]. * ‘passive’ pattern
 Ko aku iloa **te kongā** [na kave **ai** e Mele te puka kulá]. ‘ergative’ pattern (+ *ai*)
 T I know-Cia A place T take Dir Pro Ag Mele A book red-Da
I know the place where Mele took that red book.

Relative clauses on an indirect object or recipient are likewise restricted in the case marking patterns that can apply. The ‘accusative’ and ‘ergative’ patterns are permissible, but not the ‘passive’ pattern.

(646) Ko aku iloa **te tangata** [na kave **ai** ia Mele i te puka kulá]. ‘accusative’ pattern (+ *ai*)
 * Ko aku iloa **te tangata** [na kāvea (**ai**) e Mele te puka kulá]. * ‘passive’ pattern
 Ko aku iloa **te tangata** [na kave **ai** e Mele te puka kulá]. ‘ergative’ pattern (+ *ai*)
 T I know-Cia A person T take Pro Ag Mele A book red-Da
I know the person to whom Mele took that red book.

3. Temporal

Temporal noun phrases are relativised by the pronominalisation strategy.

- (647) Ēnei te pō [akamata ai nā mako].
 this A night start Pro A chant
This is the night on which to start the chants.
- (648) Nō te vāia wea lāua [na wō ai]?
 P A time what they-2 T go.PI Pro
How long have they been gone? [Lit. Since what time have they been gone?] (KM:C2)
- (649) I te taime lāi [na kakā ai te wenua 'Manava Pukapuka'], mimia loa lā te lau a Uyo.
 L A time very T shout Pro A land stomach Pukapuka flee-Cia Int Int A 100 P Uyo
At the very time that the island shouted 'Manava Pukapuka', Uyo's men fled. (U:10)

In modern colloquial speech, pronominalisation is sometimes optional for temporal noun phrases, especially when the temporal noun phrase is in sentence initial position.

- (650) Te taime lā [koa vave mai (ai) te ika nei ki lungā], onoono...
 A time Int T close Dir Pro A fish here G up look
When the fish was really close to the surface, [he] looked.. (PK:M1)
- (651) I te taime [na ālanga mai te wenua ki lungā]...
 L A time T surface Dir A land G up
When the land surfaced... (PK:M1)

Relative clauses on the temporal noun in a predicate containing an aspectual verb, such as *oko* 'arrive', and relative clauses on the temporal noun in an equational interrogative also allow the deletion strategy in colloquial speech.

- (652) Oko ki te taime [ka wō (atu ai) ki te toe lulu],
 reach G A time T go.PI (Dir Pro) G A other village
The time came to go to the next village,
- (653) E wea te vāia [ka oko (ai) koe ki ai]?
 Prd what A time T arrive (Pro) you G Pro
What time will you go there?

A semantic distinction is made between clauses relativised with *ai* and those without. The presence of *ai* in sentence (652) implies that the time has been organised in advance and the 'going' was according to schedule, while the absence of *ai* implies that the decision regarding when to leave was a spontaneous one. Relative clauses containing *ai* often imply that the action has been planned in advance, that the actor is determined in his action, or otherwise identify a specific time as relevant to the action. They are thus high in volitionality or specificity and are more likely to be realis. Those unmarked by *ai* are more likely to be in the future tense, irrealis, or spontaneous events, without forethought and less volitional on the part of the actor.

Time phrases with a high degree of specificity or precision about time require the pronominalisation strategy. Likewise, nominal predicates (apart from interrogatives) make definite assertions, by virtue of being equational or possessive, and do not allow relativisation by deletion.

- (654) Ko te matawiti [na wānau ai ia Kati ma Kaiwole mā].
Prd A year T born Pro A Kati and Kaiwole etc
It was the year in which Kati and Kaiwole were born.
- (655) E Luitolu te ayo [ka wō ai tātou].
Prd Wednesday A day T go.Pl Pro we
It will be a Wednesday when we go.

Adverbials such as *i muli* ‘after’, *i mua* ‘before’ do not allow the deletion strategy:

- (656) I mua ake [ka pō ai te pō], wō loa lātou.
L front Dir T night Pro A night go.Pl Int they
Before night fell, they went.
- (657) I muli ake [na akaao ai lāua],
L behind Dir T marry Pro they.2
After they were married,

The case marking patterns for relative clauses on a temporal head are not restricted.

- (658) Ko aku iloa te ayo [na kave ai ia Mele i te puka kulá]. ‘accusative’ pattern (+ai)
Ko aku iloa te ayo [na kāvea ai e Mele te puka kulá]. ‘passive’ pattern (+ai)
Ko aku iloa te ayo [na kave ai e Mele te puka kulá]. ‘ergative’ pattern (+ai)
T I know-Cia A day T take Pro Ag Mele A book red-Da
I know the day on which Mele took that red book.

4. Instrumental

A noun phrase specifying the role of instrument may be relativised by the pronominalisation strategy.

- (659) E pāla te mea nā [ko tētē ai aku wāwā].
Prd knife A thing that T peel Pro my.Pl taro
That is a knife with which I peel taro.
- (660) Ko lua vae mātutua [e kakati ai koe].
Prd two leg R-parent T R-bite Pro you
They’re the two big pincers with which [the crab] bites you.
- (661) E puaka te mea [nā maunu ai].
Prd pig A thing T bait Pro
It was a pig that was used to bait [the hook].

Tenseless instrumental relative clauses occur.

- (662) Wano ke tai a lātou niu, [akatolo ai o lātou kōpū].
go C exist P they nut wash.down Pro P they throat
[He] went and got a coconut for [each] of them with which to quench their thirst.
- (663) Kāni yua oki i kinei [palu ai].
Neg.exist water also L here wash Pro
There is no water here with which to wash [them].

These tenseless clauses pose some degree of ambiguity between instrumental relative clauses and complements of purpose, since the subordinate clause may be optionally introduced by the complementiser *ke*, which introduces a purpose complement (see 10.3.2).

- (671) I wea **au mea** [kakalo **ai** koe ki te ngutualá]?
 Prd what your thing look Pro you G A road-Da
Why are you looking at the road?
- (672) Nō **te kanga o te wī tamaliki** [na kino **ai**].
 P A play P A all children T bad Pro
It was because of the children's playing that it was broken.
- (673) **te puaka** [na patua **ai** te kaulikí]
 A pig T hit-Cia Pro A children-Da
the pig that was the reason why the children got a hiding

Relative clauses on noun phrases encoding reason are not restricted in the case marking patterns that can apply in transitive clauses.

- (674) Ko aku iloa **te tumu** [na kave **ai** ia Mele i te puka kulá]. 'accusative' pattern (+*ai*)
 Ko aku iloa **te tumu** [na kāvea **ai** e Mele te puka kulá]. 'passive' pattern (+*ai*)
 Ko aku iloa **te tumu** [na kave **ai** e Mele te puka kulá]. 'ergative' pattern (+*ai*)
 T I know-Cia A reason T take Pro Ag Mele A book red-Da
I know the reason why Mele took that red book.

6. Causal

The agent or cause of a neuter verb or an intransitive verb, which is normally oblique and marked by *i*, may be relativised by the pronominalisation strategy.

- (675) **Ko te lākau** [ko mamala **ai** tona kili].
 Prd A tree T sting Pro her skin
[It's] the tree which is causing her skin to sting.
- (676) **Yi yanga** na mea nei [ko ngālepelepe **ai** o mātou lolo].
 A work A thing here T RR-break Pro P we brain
This is work that racks [lit. breaks] our brains.
- (677) Kai ngangalo **lua tangata** [e mau **ai** ia], ngalo atu ai ma te mako ia.
 T R-lost two person T know Pro Af lost Dir Pro with A chant Af
Those two people who know [it] might die, and be lost together with the chant.

7. Accusative

Relative clauses on noun phrases denoting patients are most commonly formed using the deletion strategy in clauses of the 'passive' pattern. However, the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern may be relativised using the pronominalisation strategy. Chapin (1974:265), using the same data as Chung, suggests that this is a recent borrowing from Rarotongan and that it occurs for transitive verbs that cannot be marked ergatively in Pukapukan (op. cit.:267). In the main, this seems to be supported by my own data, since verbs such as *mina* 'like', *winangalo* 'want', and *kai(kai)* 'eat' may occur in relative clauses on the patient noun phrase of the 'accusative' pattern.

- (678) E wea **tau māneanea** [ko mina **ai** koe]?
 Prd what your sport T like Pro you
Which sport do you like?

(KM:C1)

But there are also examples in the corpus of canonical transitive verbs which do likewise:

- (679) Tū ki ai tā lātou ana [nā keli ai].
 reach G Pro P they tunnel T dig Pro
The tunnel that they had dug reached there. (MM:L3)
- (680) Nō ona te motokā [na akaolo ai au].
 P her A car T drive Pro I
The car that I drove was hers.
- (681) Ko te kete [na tuku ai au ki te kovi lewú], na ngalepe.
 Top A basket T give Pro I G A person small-Da T broken
The basket that I gave to that child is broken.

However, other canonical transitive verbs do not allow the ‘accusative’ pattern for relative clauses on a noun phrase in the role of patient. The ‘passive’ or ‘ergative’ pattern is required instead.

- (682) * Ko aku iloa te puaka [na patu ai te kauliki]. * ‘accusative’ pattern
 Ko aku iloa te puaka [na patua e te kauliki]. ‘passive’ pattern
 Ko aku iloa te puaka [na patu e te kauliki]. ‘ergative’ pattern
 T I know-Cia A pig T kill-Cia Pro Ag A children-Da
I know the pig that the children killed.

Many semitransitive verbs allow all three patterns of case marking in the relative clause.

- (683) te puka [na tatau ai ia Melé] ‘accusative’ pattern
 te puka [na tatauina e Melé] ‘passive’ pattern
 te puka [na tatau e Melé] ‘ergative’ pattern
 A book T read-Cia Pro A/Ag Mele-Da
the book that Mele has read
- (684) Ko aku iloa te amu [na imene ai te kaú]. ‘accusative’ pattern
 Ko aku iloa te amu [na imenea e te kaú]. ‘passive’ pattern
 Ko aku iloa te amu [na imene e te kaú]. ‘ergative’ pattern
 T I know-Cia A song T sing Pro Ag A people-Da
I know the song that those people sang.

Others do not allow the ‘ergative’ pattern with a postposed actor/experiencer, but the ‘accusative’ and ‘passive’ patterns are acceptable and the ‘ergative’ pattern is allowed with actor-possessor raising.

- (685) te tūtū [na kite ai au] ‘accusative’ pattern
 te tūtū [na aku kitea] ‘passive’ pattern preverbal pronoun
 te tūtū [na kitea ēku] ‘passive’ pattern
 * te tūtū [na kite ēku] * ‘ergative’ pattern postposed actor
 te tūtū āku [na kite] ‘ergative’ pattern actor-possessor
 A photo P-I T I see Pro I/Ag-I
the photo I saw/found

Pronominalisation by *ai* is required for the ‘accusative’ pattern if the subject is overt within the relative clause itself. Otherwise, the pronoun *ai* is optional, especially in clause final position.

- (686) Tau manini [e ulu ai koe nā], na patua e te kaú.
 your fish.sp T search Pro you there T kill-Cia Ag A people-Da
Your manini fish that you are looking for, has been killed by those people.

- (687) Tau manini [nā ulu (ai)], na patua e te kau.
 your fish.sp T search Pro-Da T kill-Cia Ag A people
Your manini fish that you were looking for has been killed by those people.
- (688) E wea te wolo o te yakali [ka vayi Ø i te ayo nei]?
 Prd what A big P A coconut T break L A day here
How many dry coconuts will [we] break today?
- (689) Na longo oki au i te mea [nā mea ai koe nā].
 Na longo oki au i te mea [nā mea ai ia].
 Na longo oki au i tau mea [nā meā].
 T hear also I Acc A thing T say Pro you dem-/Da
I heard what you were saying.

The subject and object of a relative clause may both occur in the main clause if actor-possessor raising has applied (see 10.6.1), in which case the condition for optional pronominalisation is fulfilled and the deletion strategy may apply. This is the preferred relativisation strategy for patients of canonical transitive verbs with pronominal subjects.

For clauses in which pronominalisation is optional under the above constraint, the anaphor *ai* may indicate higher volitionality and purposefulness, intensity of the action, or increased emotion. It may even indicate increased politeness for choices.

- (690) E ponga tana mea [na tili mai (ai) ki Wale nei].
 Prd dud.coconut his thing T throw Dir (Pro) G Wale here
It was a ponga that he threw here to Wale [the main island].
[ai: intentional, premeditated action, purposeful aim.
Ø: spontaneous action, perhaps thrown in haste]
- (691) Tū ki ai tā lātou ana [nā keli (ai)].
 stand G Pro P they tunnel T dig Pro
The tunnel that they had been digging reached there. [ai: duration, purpose, effort implied] (MM:L3)
- (692) Ko tō kōlua konga [na wiliwili (ai)], e konga loa ko i ai nā yītolo.
 Top P you place T RR-choose (Pro) Prd place Int T L Pro A ghost
The place which you chose [ai: stronger desire], was a place where ghosts were.
- (693) E wea tau puaka [ko winangalo (ai)]?
 Prd what your pig T want (Pro)
Which pig do you want? [ai: more polite]

Summary:

The arguments of a transitive clause that can be relativised by the deletion and the pronominalisation strategies are summarised in Table 31 and by the following contrastive examples:

Agents:

- (694) Ko aku iloa te wawine ka kave i taku tamāwine ki te āpii. 'accusative' agent
 Ko aku iloa te wawine na kāvea taku tamāwine ki te āpii. 'passive' agent
 * Ko aku iloa te wawine na kave taku tamāwine ki te āpii. * 'ergative' agent
 T I know-Cia A woman T take my daughter G A school
I know the name of the woman who took/will take my daughter to school.

Patients (of canonical transitive verbs):

- (695) * Ko aku iloa te puka na kave ai ia Mala kia Melé. * ‘accusative’ patient
 Ko aku iloa te puka na kâvea e Mala kia Melé. ‘passive’ patient
 Ko aku iloa te puka na kave e Mala kia Melé. ‘ergative’ patient
 T I know-Cia A book T take Ag Mala G-A Mele-Da
I know the book which Mala took to Mele.

TABLE 32 : Arguments that can be relativised by deletion and pronominalisation.

| | Actor / Agent | Patient | Recipient | Location/Time/Reason |
|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Intransitive | ∅ | ∅ | - | + ai |
| ‘Accusative’ | ∅ | x / +ai | + ai | + ai |
| ‘Passive’ | ∅ | ∅ | x | x/ + ai |
| ‘Ergative’ | x | ∅ [+actor possessor] | + ai | + ai |
| Neuter | + ai | ∅ | - | + ai |

‘Subjects are always relativisable, but not all subjects are equally relativisable’ (Keenan 1985:159). All nominative/absolutive noun phrases, as well as the agentive noun phrase of the ‘passive’ pattern, can be relativised using the deletion strategy, although there are some restrictions for the subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern and the absolutive noun phrase of the ‘ergative’ pattern. When the latter is relativised, the agent is often promoted to become the possessor of the head or otherwise is not overt. It is rarely found in postverbal position as an agentively marked noun phrase. The subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern cannot be freely relativised; instead, agents of transitive verbs are most commonly relativised in the ‘passive’ pattern.

Chung (1978:335-351) finds that nominative/absolutive noun phrases (the subjects of intransitive verbs and transitive verbs of the ‘accusative’ pattern, as well as the ‘unmarked’ noun phrases of the ‘passive’ and ‘ergative’ patterns) are those which always undergo relativisation using the deletion strategy. She is surprised to find that the agentive noun phrase or the ‘passive’ pattern also does so and marks one of her examples with only ‘near perfect’ acceptability when it is in fact grammatical. Perhaps because the ‘passive’ pattern allows the deletion strategy for relativisation of the agentive noun phrase, she claims that the ‘ergative’ pattern sometimes does as well, when in fact the agentive noun phrase does not allow relativisation. Some of her examples omitted crucial vowel length which impinged on the analysis of the case marking.

Oblique noun phrases are relativised by the pronominalisation strategy which leaves a trace *ai* immediately after the verb. The direct object of a transitive verb in the ‘accusative’ pattern also leaves a trace.

10.6.4 TENSE MARKING RESTRICTION

In relative clauses, the tense marker *e* is commonly used as a subordinator of clauses, replacing *ko* ‘present tense’ for main clauses (see 3.1.2; 3.1.3). It regularly replaces *ko* for relative clauses on subjects, objects and oblique cases, but *ko* is also acceptable in relative clauses containing certain stative verbs or semitransitive verbs of emotion and perception. The option of the tense marker *ko* is most common for relative clauses on objects or locative cases. For those verbs which allow either tense marker the difference is often one of generic versus actual present emotion or perception.

1. Subjects:

- (696) Ia aku oki [e/*ko tū atu nei], e tautulu akavānui au.
 A I also T stand Dir here Prd help judge-big I
As for me standing here, I am an assistant to the C.A.O. [administrative officer].
- (697) Onoono lā te kau nei i te kau [e/*ko welele mai].
 look Int A people here Acc A people T Pl-run Dir.
These people looked at the people who were running towards them. (U:1)
- (698) Ko ai tēnei [e/*ko wakia nā lau puapua]?
 Prd Pro this T pluck-Cia A leaf tree.sp
Who is this who is picking Guettardia leaves?
- (699) Ka tuku ki te kau [e/ko winangalo e te kotikoti muna].
 T give G A people T want C RR-cut word
[We] will give [them] to the people who want to write words.

2. Objects:

- (700) Ko taku māneanea lāi [e mina ai aú, e tēniti].
 Ko taku māneanea lāi [ko mina ai au, e tēniti].
 Top my sport really T like Pro I (-Da) Prd tennis
The sport that I like most is tennis. (KM:C3)
- (701) Ka wano au yī ika i toku tau [e manaki ai aú].
 T go I fish fish L my anchorage T trust Pro I-Da
I'm going fishing at my anchorage that I can always depend on.
- (702) Uwi mai koe i tau mea [ko manatu / e manatú].
 ask Dir you Acc your thing T think / T think-Da
Ask me whatever you think of / what you are thinking of now.

3. Oblique noun phrases:

Goal:

- (703) Wō loa lātou kia Taua [e/*ko pulepule ai lātou]...
 go.Pl Int they G-A Taua T RR-pray Pro they
They went to Taua whom they prayed to... (U:7)

Locative:

- (704) Ko te popounga oki ēnei, i te kongā [e/*ko akatō mai ai nā vaka].
 Top A channel also here L A place T enter Dir Pro A canoe
The channel is here, at the place where the canoes enter through. (U:9)

- (705) ...ki te konga [e kotikoti uwi ai].
G A place T RR-cut garden Pro
...to the place where [they] were dividing the taro swamps.
- (706) ...ki te konga [e mātau ai tātou e te lulululu].
...ki te konga [ko mātau wua ai tātou e te lulululu].
G A place T used just Pro we C RR-gather
...to the place where we are used to meeting.
- (707) ...ki te konga [e/ko palāni ai a mātou wī yanga].
G A place T plan Pro P we all work
...to the place where we plan all our activities.

Instrument:

- (708) Uluulu i te wī lāvenga [e lelei ai tō tātou wenua].
RR-look Acc A all method T good Pro P we land
Looking for ways to improve our country. (PS:7:1)

Reason:

- (709) Ke ana iloa tika e wea te pōvī nei [e/*ko kata ai].
C he know-Cia truly Prd what A old.person here T laugh Pro
So that he knew why this old man was laughing. (KM:ET3:2)

Tense marking by *e* is excluded as an option for relative clauses on the head of an indefinite nominal predicate and an existential predicate. These are marked by *ko* regardless of the case of the relativised noun and the class of the verb in the relative clause.

- (710) E tangata [ko/*e mina ai au].
Prd person T like Pro I
[He] is a person whom I like.
- (711) E wea tau puaka [ko/*e winangalo ai]?
Prd what your pig T want Pro
Which pig do you want?
- (712) Te tao o te akulā, e mea [ko/*e yoka ai iāna i te kakai].
A spear P A swordfish Prd thing T pierce Pro he Acc A tuna
The swordfish's bill was a thing that he used for spearing tuna.
- (713) E yī lā tangata [ko/(*)e nōnō i kinei]?
T exist Int person T R-stay L here
Are there any people who live here?
- (714) E tai oku yoa i Akalāna nei, [ko/*e yanga i lunga o te payī e wano ki Lalotonga].
T exist my.Pl friend L Auckland here T work L on P A ship T go G Rarotonga
I have a friend in Auckland who works on the ship that goes to Rarotonga.

The tense marking restrictions, together with the appearance of phrase final demonstratives, can be used as diagnostic tools for identifying a relative clause. Incomplete action or persistent states in narratives may be expressed by a clause marked by the tense-aspect marker *ko*. When directly adjacent to a noun phrase in a previous clause, the clause marked by *ko* may have the appearance of being a relative clause, but it must be analysed as a main clause (with a deleted subject under anaphora) for the following reasons:

1. At least some of the initial clauses have their final noun phrases bounded by the demonstrative *ia*, which occurs immediately before the tense marker *ko* of the next clause. The tense marker *e* which marks present tense in relative clauses is not permitted unless the final demonstrative in the previous clause is deleted. The demonstrative, therefore, indicates the end of the noun phrase and diagnoses the following clause as a main clause, not a relative clause.

- (715) Onoono atu mātou i te puto manini ia, ko welele nei.
 * Onoono atu mātou i te puto manini ia e welele nei.
 look Dir we Acc A school fish.sp Af T Pl-run here
When we saw the school of manini, [they] were swimming away from us.
 * *We saw the school of manini fish which was swimming past.*
- (716) Onoono atu mātou i te puto manini e welele nei.
 look Dir we Acc A school fish.sp T Pl-run here
We saw the school of manini that was swimming past.

2. For noun phrases not bounded by final demonstrative pronouns, replacing the tense marker *ko* with *e* triggers a definitive accent (or other demonstrative) to mark the end of the phrase. Moreover the sentence thereby becomes incomplete, requiring a further predicate.

- (717) Onoono atu au ia Tokolua ko liko ngongo.
 look Dir I Acc-A Tokolua T hold bird.sp
When I saw Tokolua, [he] was catching boobies.
- (718) Onoono atu au ia Tokolua e liko ngongó, kamuloa poaina.
 look Dir I Acc-A Tokolua T hold bird.sp-Da really plentiful
When I saw Tokolua who was catching boobies, [he] had many of them.

10.7 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses are dependent clauses which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions. Following Thompson and Longacre (1985:177-203), they are discussed here according to semantic criteria. In addition, notions that are typically expressed by adverbial clauses in other languages, but by different means in Pukapukan, are also mentioned briefly and cross-referenced to discussion elsewhere in the grammar.

There are several devices used to subordinate adverbial clauses. Subordinating morphemes can be purely grammatical in their function, such as *ke* and *mē* (10.3.2-3), or they can be words or phrases with lexical content, such as *i mua ake* 'before' (*mua* 'front') and *ke oti* 'after' (*oti* 'finish'). Verb forms such as the auxiliary verbs (e.g. *pī* 'if only') (10.2.2), play a role in the formation of adverbial clauses, and specific word order is also associated with certain types of adverbial clause. The position of certain types of adverbial clause is fixed; the adverbial clause follows the main clause, whereas other types have a flexible order and can either precede or follow the superordinate clause (e.g. temporal clauses).

10.7.1 TEMPORAL CLAUSES

Temporal clauses commonly occur sentence initially and may be either coordinated or subordinated to the main clause.

1. Coordination

Firstly, temporal relationships between clauses may be expressed by a sequence of independent clauses which are simply apposed to each other. The order of the clauses typically reflects the order of events or situations. This strategy therefore involves neither adverbial clauses nor subordination. Tense-aspect markers, postposed modifiers and aspectual verbs can be used to convey distinctions of meaning in the temporal sequencing of events.

(a) A number of sequentially ordered clauses can be apposed to one another to denote a temporal sequence of events (719, 720).

(719) [Tāpeka au i te taula], [tili loa au i te tau], [akamaheke ai au ē], [makeke], [yele ki lunga o te poti],
 tie I Acc A rope throw Int I Acc A anchor caus-strong Pro I Dur strong tie G on P A boat
I tied the rope [onto the anchor], threw the anchor, made it fast [on the reef] until it was secure and tied [it] onto the boat... (PS3:9)

(720) [Mea ia Lima i te kati a Tāvita], [tuku ki tai], [tuku kia Tāvita], [liko te kati a Tāvita].
 do A Lima Acc A line P Tāvita put G sea give G-A Tāvita hold A line P Tāvita
Lima did Tāvita's line [for him], [he] put [it] in the sea, gave [it] to Tāvita and Tāvita held onto it. (PS2:6)

Aspectual verbs such as *oko* 'arrive', *oti* 'finish' are commonly used to indicate temporal sequencing.

(721) [Oko oki ki te toe pō], [wāinganga oki lāua].
 arrive also G A next night compete also they.2
When the next night arrived, they competed again. (BB:1010)

Clauses of completion with a nominalised clause as subject denote that the action is completed before that of the following clause is begun.

(722) [Oti loa tana tākele], [wano loa tāpena].
 finish Int his bathe go Int prepare
When he finished washing, he went and got ready. (PP2:2:3)

(723) [Oti loa te kaikai], [nīniko ai ki Wale].
 finish Int A RR-eat R-return Pro G Home
After eating [they] went back to Wale, the main island. (PP2:5:4)

Complex clauses containing verbs of completion and a complement marked by *e te* also denote action preceding that of the subsequent clause.

(724) [Oti loa māua e te tākele], [wō ai māua momoe].
 finish Int we.2 C bathe go.Pl Pro we.2 R-sleep
When we had finished washing, we went to sleep. (F3S8:6)

- (725) [Oti loa te kupenga e te tatala], [wawao oki mātou ki te moana].
finish Int A net C untie R-jump also we.Pl G A ocean
When the net was untied, we jumped into the sea. (PP2:4:3)
- (726) [Oti ia Yātō e te ula], [wō ai te tele kaikai i loto o te wale āpii Tāpati].
finish A Yātō C dance go.Pl Pro A tour.party RR-eat L inside P A house school Sunday
When Yātō village had finished dancing, the visiting group went to eat inside the Sunday School hall.
- (b) Clauses that are coordinated by apposition can also express simultaneous action:
- (727) [Amuloa nā pola watiwati], [nā wūniu wetō ki lalo].
really A coconut.branch RR-break A trunk-coconut Pl.fall G down
[Many] coconut branches were breaking off, and coconut trees were falling down. (PS6:2)
- (728) [Nōnō māua ma Tāvita i lunga o te poti], [kai tana wuti], [kai aku ipiipi].
R-sit we.2 with Tāvita L on P A boat eat his banana eat my.Pl coconut.flesh
I was sitting in the boat with Tāvita, he was eating a banana and I was eating some coconut flesh. (PS3:8)
- (729) [Wetū wua ai māua i lunga o te akau], [wetangi wua ai māua tokalua wua]. [Tangi au], [tangi ia Tāvita].
Pl.stand just Pro we.2 L on P A reef Pl.cry just Pro we.2 cls-two just cry I cry A Tāvita
The two of us stood on the reef crying by ourselves. I was crying and Tāvita was crying. (PS5:8)

(c) In sentences containing two coordinated action clauses, *loa*, meaning ‘immediately’, ‘as soon as’, ‘at very point at which’, may be postposed to the verb of the first clause to denote an immediate result: ‘as soon as the first clause occurred, the second happened’.

- (730) [Na tō loa te mōina lā lunga o te taua], [ngawā].
T fall Int A bottle L top P A floor broke
Immediately the bottle fell on the floor, it broke.
- (731) [Na patu loa au i te pōlo], [ili i lunga o te niu].
T hit Int I Acc A ball stuck L up P A coconut
When I hit the ball, it became lodged in the coconut tree.

(d) In narrative discourse, narrative clauses following the normal pattern of zero tense-aspect marking may be apposed to background clauses marked by a tense-aspect marker as a device expressing a temporal relationship between the clauses. These clauses are not necessarily ordered iconically in the same order as the sequence of events since the background clause is marked with a tense-aspect marker to specify relative time.

- (732) [Yau atu ia Yinata], [na tō ki lalo tona tamanu nei]...
come Dir A Yinata T fall G down his tree.sp here
When Yinata came, his tamanu tree had fallen down... (MM:L1)
- (733) [Angatu atu au ki tō lātou wale], [ko momoe].
go Dir I G P their house T R-sleep
When I arrived at their house, they were asleep.
- (734) [Yaele mai ia Tāvita lā te kaokaó], [ko tuki nei te matangi, te uwa, te ngalu].
walk Dir A Tāvita via A side-Da T hit here A wind A rain A wave
Tāvita walked on that side while the wind and the rain were raging and the waves [were crashing]. (PS6:2)

2. Subordination

There are various means of subordinating temporal adverbial clauses. The subordinate clause may be signalled by a tense-aspect marker which typifies a subordinate rather than a main clause, it may be introduced by a temporal preposition, by a lexical word or phrase which has a temporal meaning, or it may be subordinated by a subordinator such as *ke* 'when'. Clauses which are embedded within a prepositional phrase are typically nominalisations or relative clauses rather than adverbial clauses *per se*.

(a) A subordinate clause may be introduced by the relative present tense marker *e* indicating simultaneous action to that of the main clause. While the structure of these sentences appears to be superficially similar to that of two coordinated clauses, this tense-aspect marker introduces only a limited range of predicates in main clauses (3.1.3), and is typical of subordinate clauses for most verbs (see 10.6.relcl). Thus temporal clauses are one type of subordinate clause which are introduced by *e*.

- (735) [E wō oki], ko lewu ia Kāti.
 T go.Pl also T small A Kāti.
When they went, Kāti was small. (MU:C3)

(b) The second strategy used to encode temporal sequencing of situations is by means of suffixed nominalisations. Temporal adverbial nominalised clauses (see 10.8.4) may be introduced by the temporal/locative preposition *i* 'in, at'. The temporal clause usually occurs sentence initially (736), but may follow the main clause (737).

- (736) [I te māvetenga o te āpii], wano loa au ki te uwi.
 L A finish-Nom P A school go Int I G A garden
When school had finished, I went to the garden.
- (737) E wea te mea na tupu i te pō [i tā lāua momoenga]?
 Prd what A thing T happen L A night L P they.2 R-sleep-Nom
What happened during the night while they were asleep? (PP2:13:14)

For temporal clauses in sentence initial position, the preposition is often omitted during casual or colloquial speech.

- (738) [Taku kitenga], tulituli mai au i te mea nei ma te tangi.
 my see-Nom RR-chase Dir I Acc A thing here with A cry
When I saw [it], I chased it, crying [all the while]. (LS2:32)
- (739) [Tā lāua kaiānga i te wonu a Lotó], e kavekave.
 P they.2 steal-Nom Acc A turtle P Loto-Da Prd fishing.competition
[At the time] they stole the turtle [from] Loto's [reserve], it was a fishing competition.

There are several meaning distinctions of temporal sequencing which can be encoded by a nominalised temporal clause. Simultaneous action with that of the main clause may be denoted:

- (740) [I te lelenga lāi], na yayano loa au wati te kapakapa, tipi mai ki lalo.
 L A run-Nom Int T hit Int I break A wing fall Dir G down
As I was running, I hit [the bird], broke its wing, and it fell down. (F3:S7:4)

- (741) [I te lōmamainga lāi ki te tukutai], i te taimē lāi ko talatala, ko kaikai te lau a Uyo nei.
L A come.Pl-Dir-Nom very G A beach L A time very T RR-talk T RR-eat A men P Uyo here
When they came to the beach, at the very time they were talking, Uyo's men were eating. (U:7)
- (742) Kamulōa te yua pīpī wua [i a māua yaelenga].
really A water RR-spit just L P we.2 walk-Nom
The rain was just spitting while we were walking.

Or the onset of the action in the main clause may be concurrent with the end of the action in the adverbial clause.

- (743) [I te tū mainga lā oki o Matāliki], talatala lāua.
L A stand Dir-Nom however P Matāliki RR-talk they.2
When Matāliki stood up however, they talked together. (PK:M2)
- (744) [I te ūlunga lāi a nā memea ki loto o te kupenga], popō oki māua i te kupenga, tāki ki lungā.
L A enter.Pl-Nom Int P A fish.sp G inside P A net R-close also we.2 Acc A net lift G up
When/as the goatfish entered the net, we closed the edges and lifted it up. (PP2:11:3)
- (745) ...ke vēvēia te wenua ma te kau pūāpii [i te okonga atu].
C happy A land and A group teacher L A arrive-Nom Dir
...so the [whole] island and the teachers will be happy when it arrives there. (IL4:7)

There is often a causal relationship between the action contained in the temporal clause and its effect in the main clause. The action of the main clause is resultant to the action of the temporal clause.

- (746) [I te motunga o te kōanga], payeke loa ma ona lima i te tino o te niu.
L A break-Nom P A climbing.twine slip Int with his.Pl hand L A body P A coconut
When the climbing rope snapped, his hands slipped on the trunk of the coconut tree. (KM:WK5:4)
- (747) Kākata nā manu [i te tōnga o te matua tāne nei].
R-laugh A bird L A fall-Nom P A parent man here
The birds laughed when the father fell down. (MKS1:7)
- (748) Kai vili mō o kōtou ate [i te kitenga ko oku tēnei].
T shake maybe P you.Pl liver L A see-Nom Prd I this
You might get a shock when you see that this is me. (T2:2)

Temporal clauses with verbs of completion (e.g. *oti* 'finish') as the nominalised verb, denote simultaneous action at the completion point of some action encoded in the complement of the verb of completion. They may also have a role in discourse coherence and can mean 'after that' or 'when all was said and done...'. .

- (749) [I te otinga lāi o a mātou ika e te tuaki], wawao loa ki loto o te ola.
L A finish-Nom Int P P we.Pl fish C gut R-throw Int G inside P A basket
As soon as we had finished gutting our fish, [we] threw them into the basket. (PP2:8:3)
- (750) [I te otinga lā o te mea], vavayi loa lātou i te tangata nei.
L A finish-Nom Int P A thing R-split Int they Acc A person here
After that, they split open this person. (U:10)

(c) The third means of subordination of a temporal clause is similar structurally to the structure just described, but does not involve nominalisation or an adverbial clause. A temporal noun phrase whose head is a generic temporal noun such as *vāia* 'time', *taime* 'time', or a temporal noun denoting a unit of time such as *ayo* 'day', *matawiti* 'year', is marked with a preposition such as *i* 'at, when', *ki* 'until' or

mai ‘since’ and the temporal noun is modified by a relative clause. The construction is a prepositional modifier of the main clause.

(751) [I te taime [ko ulīa]], wō loa te tiniu o Ngake langa mai i a lātou wāwā.
L A time T hurricane go.Pl Int A women P Ngake pull.up Dir Acc P they taro
While the hurricane was [raging], the women of Ngake went to pull up their taro.

(752) ...oko wua atu [ki te vāia [na pōvī ai ia Poepālau]].
arrive just Dir G A time T old Pro A Poepālau
...right up until the time when Poepālau was an old lady.

(753) Ko mayala oki lāua [mai te taime [nā lewu ai au i Wale nei]].
T remember also they.2 since A time T small Pro I L Home here
And they can remember since the time when I was small on Pukapuka. (RL1:4)

Prepositional complements introduced by *i* ‘in, at, while’ indicate a period of time during which the action of the main clause took place (751, 754, 755), or a point of time at which an action occurred which precipitated the action in the main clause (756).

(754) [I te vāia [ko ētene ia Wale nei]], tupu loa te manako o Welea, ka wano iāna ulu wawine.
L A time T heathen A Home here grow Int A thought P Welea T go he search woman
In the era when Pukapuka was heathen, Welea had an idea to go and search for women. (LW:1:1)

(755) [I te vāia [nā i kinei ia Pāpā Ravarua]], na welāvei mātou i te kongā o Pāpā Waleeu mā.
L A time T L here A Pāpā Ravarua T meet we.Pl L A place P Pāpā Waleeu etc
At the time when Pāpā Ravarua was here, we met at Pāpā Waleeu’s place. (TW:1:7)

(756) [I te taime lāi [na kakā ai te wenua ‘Manava Pukapuka’]], mimia loa te lau a Uyo i te taime ia.
L A time very T shout Pro A land Stomach Pukapuka fled Int A men P Uyo L A time Af
At the very time when the people shouted ‘Manava Pukapuka’, [war cry] Uyo’s men immediately fled at that time. (U:7)

A simultaneous state or situation can be encoded in this way:

(757) [I te taime [nā lewu ai au]], na kena oku lauulu.
L A time T small Pro I T white my.Pl hair
When I was small, my hair was blonde.

When the relative clause contains a verb of completion, it denotes an event that is completed before the onset of the main clause.

(758) I taku nikonga, niko loa au ulu i lua kovi nei [i te taime [na oti ai toku poti
L my return-Nom return Int I search Acc two person here L A time T finish Pro my boat
e te wakawota mai ki ngāuta]].
C caus-run.aground Dir G shore
On my return [journey], I returned searching for these two people after my boat had run aground. (LS2:34)

(d) The subordinator *ke* ‘when, while’ may introduce subordinate clauses to denote temporal sequencing. *Ke* also introduces conditional clauses and there is sometimes a hazy distinction between the two (see 10.7.6). Purpose clauses introduced by *ke* are discussed in 10.7.3. *Ke* can introduce subordinate temporal clauses denoting simultaneous action to that of the main clause:

- (759) [Ke kakau māua ki te toká], aka mai loa ia Tao i oku uma.
 C R-swim we.2 G A rock-da kick Dir Int A Tao Acc my chest
While we were swimming to that rock, Tao kicked my chest.
- (760) Nōnō wua kōtou i kinei [ke wano au topea mai i lua mata wāwā nā tātou].
 R-stay just you.Pl L here C go I dig-Cia Dir A two cls- taro P we.Pl
You stay here while I go and dig a few taro for us. (F3S4:1)

Subordinate clauses introduced by *ke* can also denote situations that must occur before the onset of the situation denoted in the main clause.

- (761) [Ke māvete te āpii], ka wō tātou lā ngāuta ki Kō.
 C finish A school T go.Pl we.Pl via shore G Kō
When school is over, let's go along the reef to Kō (PP2:5:1)

However, it is clear that it is the tense-aspect marking of the main clause which indicates the temporal sequencing of the clauses, since the opposite can be true. The onset of the action or state denoted by the main clause can be prior in time to that of the subordinate clause introduced by *ke*:

- (762) [Ke tū mai lā iāna], na ngalo te wenua.
 C stand Dir Int he T lost A land
When he stood up, the land had disappeared. (KS5:4)
- (763) [Ke oko au ki ai], na oko mai te tele mai Mangele.
 C arrive I G Pro T arrive Dir A tour.party from Mangere
When I arrive there, the tour party from Mangere will have already arrived [by then]. (KI12:1)

Clauses containing verbs of completion or other aspectual verbs such as *oko* 'reach' typically denote action that must be completed before that of the main clause (764), or that a state denoted by the main clause is present at the time when the action denoted by the adverbial clause is completed (765, 766).

- (764) [Ke oko loa tātou ki te tuelo], koa akaoti ai tā tātou tala.
 C reach Int we.Pl G A twelve T caus-finish Pro P we.Pl story
When it gets to midnight we will finish our story [telling]. (MK2:1)
- (765) [Ke oko mai lā lātou], ko wetangi nei te wui atua.
 C arrive Dir Int they T Pl-cry here A all god
When they arrived, the gods were crying out. (BB:978)
- (766) [Ko ona ke oko ki Uta], mate oki te puaka.
 Top he C arrive G Uta die also A pig
When he arrived at Uta the pig was dead.

Temporal clauses introduced by *ke* are usually sentence initial (761-766), but not always:

- (767) Ka wō tātou toli niu [ke māvete te āpii].
 T go.Pl we.Pl pick nut C finish A school
We'll go and pick nuts when school is over.

Subordinated temporal clauses introduced by *ke oti* often mean 'after that'.

- (768) [Ke oti te pule], ka wano ai au moe.
 C finish A prayer T go Pro I sleep
When the service is finished, I will go and have a sleep. (V:90:9:1)

- (769) [Ke oti wua ake], ko manatu ake au mē ka wō, mē kole.
C finish just Dir T think Dir I Q T go.Pl or not
When [I've] finished, I'm deciding whether to go or not.

(KM:C3)

Clauses subordinated by *ke* can have the meaning 'until'. This meaning is common with aspectual verbs in the subordinate clause (770-772) or when the main clause denotes an imperative (771-773). The situation or action in the main clause continues until the action or state denoted by the subordinate clause begins or is reached.

- (770) Aloalo atu ki ngāuta, ki te lulu, [ke oko tātou ki lunga o te akau], tili e tau mō tātou...
RR-paddle Dir G shore G A shelter C arrive we.Pl G on P A reef throw A anchor for we.Pl
[We] paddled shorewards, to the shelter [of land], until we reached the reef and threw an anchor...

- (771) Kali loa koe [ke pau te ono matawiti].
wait Int you C finish A six year
Wait until six years are up.

(MKS5:60)

- (772) Nō koe [ke oti tō manamanatā], ka wano au.
stay you C finish your trouble T go I
Stay [here] until you have finished your business, I will go.

(MKS5:45)

- (773) Ēia nā moa ma nā wāwā, kai [ke yāngia koe].
here A chicken and A taro eat C satisfy-Cia you
Here are the chicken and taro, eat until you're full.

(MK4:2)

(e) Certain lexicalised phrases can be used to denote temporal sequencing. These include *i mua* (*ake*) 'before' (*mua* 'front') and *i muli* (*wua*) (*ake*) 'after' (*muli* 'behind'). *Ke oti* 'after that' (*oti* 'finish') is another common expression which has already been discussed. The temporal clause introduced by the lexicalised phrase occurs in the normal position in the clause for a temporal element.

- (774) Na yanga mātou e te akaoti nā puka nei [i mua ake ka wano atu te payī ki Wale].
T work we.Pl C finish A book this L front Dir T go Dir A ship G Home
We worked on finishing these books before the boat left for Pukapuka.

- (775) [I mua ake ka pō ai te pō], wō loa lāua mea i nā launiu wai lama mā lāua.
L front Dir T night Pro A night go.Pl Int they.2 do Acc A leaf-coconut make torch for they.2
Before night fell they went off to collect coconut leaves to make torches for themselves.

As with other temporal clauses described in (b) and (c) above, a nominalisation or nominal element can occur instead of a subordinated clausal structure. The nominalisation or nominal can be the head of the possessive element in a complex locative phrase which refers to a point in time relative to that of the main clause.

- (776) Na wakamata ia Poepalau i te yanga nei i Honolulu [i muli wua ake o tā lāua nīniko mainga mai Wale].
R caus-start A Poepalau Acc A work this L Honolulu L behind just Dir P P they.2 R-return Dir-Nom from Home
Poepalau started this work in Honolulu after they both returned from Pukapuka.

- (777) Na oko atu ai iāna mai Niu Tileni i loto o Tiunu [i muli o te akaaonga o tana tama].
T arrive Dir Pro he from New Zealand L inside P June L behind P A wedding P his son
He arrived from New Zealand in the middle of June, after his son's wedding.

(f) Temporal subordinate sentences may be introduced by *mea loa* (*lā*) 'it happened as' (*mea* 'do'). They are often complex subordinate clauses and are associated with the inceptive tense-aspect marker *koa*. They

denote progression of a time period or progressive action during which the action of the main clause occurs.

- (778) [Mea loa koa awiawi], niko mai loa ia Palaoa ki Wale.
do Int T evening return Dir Int A Palaoa G Home
As it was getting towards evening, Palaoa returned to the main island. (KK:U6:11)
- (779) [Mea loa i te Palapalau ia], wō loa māua ma Ane ki te uwi tope wāwā.
do Int L A Thursday Af go.PI Int we.2 with Ane G A garden dig taro
It happened that on a certain Thursday, Ane and I went to the garden to harvest taro. (F3:S3:1)
- (780) [Mea loa koa oti te toe kau e te kaikai], wō loa ki vao.
do Int T finish A other people C RR-eat go.PI Int G out
As some people finished eating they went outside. (F3:S2:3)
- (781) [Mea loa lā koa vave ka lē], akakinokino lā ia Loto.
do Int Int T strong T win caus-RR-bad Int A Loto
Just when we were becoming sure to win, Loto [started] causing trouble.

(g) Temporal subordinate clauses may also be introduced by *eia (loa) (lā)* which indicates that something was on the verge of happening but did not eventuate. Both *mea loa* and *eia loa* commonly occur subordinating clauses marked by the tense aspect marker *koa* (see 3.1.4). The clause introduced by *eia loa* usually occurs sentence initially, but not always.

- (782) [Eia loa au koa pukea], lele oki au ki te wale o Pati ma Tialé.
here Int I T catch-Cia run also I G A house P Pati and Charles-Da
Just as I was about to be caught, I ran to Pati and Charles' house.
- (783) [Eia lā ia Takitini koa ulu ki loto], yoka loa e Kūluea i te kaokao, mate.
here Int A Takitini T enter G inside pierce Int Ag Kūluea L A side dead
Just as Takitini was about to enter, Kūluea stabbed [him] in the side and [he] died.
- (784) Kake loa au ngalo ki lolotonu, akavāvā loa ia aku, [eia loa au koa tō ki lalo].
climb Int I as.far.as G middle criticise Int Acc-A I here Int I T fall G down
I climbed up as far as half-way, he criticised me and I almost fell down.

10.7.2 MANNER CLAUSES

1. Manner clauses are introduced by the expression *pe te mea* 'as, like [lit. like the thing]'. The structure of the subordinate clause could be analysed as a relative clause with *mea* 'thing' as the head noun. However, since the subordinating phrase is a lexicalised expression it could also be analysed as a phrasal subordinator which introduces an adverbial clause.

- (785) Talatala wua koe [pe te mea na talatala wua atu au kia koe].
RR-talk just you like A thing T RR-talk just Dir I G-A you
Carry on talking as I told you.
- (786) Ko talatala iāna [pe te mea na makia].
T RR-talk he like A thing T sick-Cia
He is talking like he is sick.

(787) Ka mea mai te tangata ia [pe te mea ka lili mai].
 T do Dir A person Af like A thing T angry Dir
That person is acting like she is getting angry at me. (MKS5:8)

(788) Yaulā tana yaelenga [pe te mea koa ngawingawi].
 but his walk-Nom like A thing T RR-tired
But he was walking as if he was tired out. (PW2:22)

The demonstrative adverbs *pēnei* ‘like this’, *pēnā* ‘like that [by you]’, *pēā* ‘like that [over there]’, *peia* ‘like so [being demonstrated]’ do not introduce adverbial clauses of manner in Pukapukan. They can modify a predicate, function as verbs, denote modality, introduce direct or indirect speech or stand as a proform for a prepositional phrase. One of the paradigm, *peia* ‘like so’, functions as a verb which means ‘carry on in like manner’ to the action or state described in a previous clause. However, the structure is not one of an adverbial clause subordinated to a main clause, but clauses which are juxtaposed to one another.

(789) [Nō kiai kake loa iāna i te niu mua], [kake i te lua], [pēia wua ai], [oko ki te niu openga].
 P that climb Int he Acc A coconut first climb Acc A second like-so just Pro arrive G A coconut last
So he climbed the first coconut, climbed the second, and carried on like that [until he] got to the last coconut.

2. Adverbial clauses of manner can also be introduced by *ma* ‘with’. The adverbial clause is a nominalised clause, which is typically just the article *te* and the head, a nominalised verb as in (790-792). The adverbial clause denotes the manner or the circumstance in which the action denoted by the main clause takes place.

(790) Ko yaele mai nei te lōpā ia [ma te kona].
 T walk Dir here A youth Af with A drunken
The young man was walking towards me in a drunken state. (F3:S9:2)

(791) Wano ai au lā ngauta ki Wale [ma te tangi].
 go Pro I via shore G Home with A cry
I went [home] along the reef to the main island [Wale] crying. (PP2:5:5)

(792) Wō ai mātou ki wale [ma te īmenemene].
 go.PI Pro we G home with A RR-sing
We went home happy [lit. with singing]. (PP2:12:8)

There may also be arguments and adjuncts in the nominalised clause. The nominalised clause typically denotes an ongoing state, activity or process which is simultaneous with an ongoing state, activity or process denoted in the main clause.

(793) Ko tū wua nei au [ma te makalili] [ma te manatu wua ia Lima na ngalo oki].
 T stand just here I with A cold with A think just Acc-A Lima T lost also
I was standing here [feeling] cold and thinking about Lima who was lost.

(794) Wuwuti loa ia Māui Pōtiki [ma te uwi kia Māui Loto ma Māui Mua],
 R-pull.up Int A Māui Pōtiki with A ask G-A Māui Loto and Māui Mua
Māui Pōtiki pulled [the line] up [while] asking Māui Loto and Māui Mua, (PK:M1)

(795) Ko tangi, ko ulu māua [ma te tangi ōku nō te tama nei].
 T cry T search we.2 with A cry P-I for A child here
[We] were crying, we were searching while I was crying for this person. (LS2:31)

The action of the nominalised clause can also be simultaneous with a punctual event, so that the endpoints of two activities or events meet simultaneously.

- (796) Eia, wano ai toku māmā kake ki lungā o te motokā, tano mai loa [ma te yaele mainga a Maua].
 so go Pro my mother climb G on P A car right Dir Int with A walk Dir-Nom P Maua
So, my mother climbed into the car right [at the moment] when Maua came walking up to us. (F4S4:4)

The verb *wai* ‘do, make’ marks its complements in this way, meaning: ‘doing the action in the main clause in such a manner’, or ‘doing something else at the same time’.

- (797) Wō loa ki lungā o te taula, liko loa i te taula, wai [ma te akalongo i te kakānga a Woetai].
 go.Pl Int G on P A rope hold Int Acc A rope do with A listen Acc A call-Nom P Woetai
*[They] went to the rope and picked it up, as [they] did so, listening for Woetai to call out
 [for the tug-of-war to begin].*

The state depicted may be a negative state or a lack:

- (798) Ko tangi wua [ma te kākole].
 T cry just with A nothing
[She’s] just crying for nothing.
- (799) Leilo mai loa ia Telēta ki lalo [ma te lili], nīniko ai māua ki wale [ma te onge ngongo].
 climb.down Dir Int A Telēta G down with A anger R-return Pro we.2 G home with A lack booby
Telēta climbed down angry and we went home without any booby birds. (F3:S7:9)
- (800) E kino oki ke yanga wua mātou i te yanga nei [ma te yē a lātou iloloa].
 T bad also C work just we Acc A work here with A Neg they R-know-Cia
It would be bad for us to work on this job without them knowing. (PS:5:2)

3. Clauses subordinated by *ke* can be used to denote manner:

- (801) Ka kai au [ke wolo], ke toka toku wiakai.
 T eat I C big C satisfy my hunger
I will eat a lot to satisfy my hunger.
- (802) Oku tupu, na tolo loa e Mata [ke ongo].
 my.Pl face T poke Int Ag Mata C hard
Mata struck me hard in the face.

10.7.3 PURPOSE CLAUSES

Purpose clauses, precautionary clauses and reason clauses are distinct in Pukapukan. Purpose clauses are marked with *ke*. The same means of subordination is shared with some temporal (10.7.1 (2d)) and conditional clauses (10.7.6). Unlike temporal and conditional clauses, purpose clauses always follow the superordinate clause. When used to subordinate purpose clauses, *ke* implies that the situation denoted by the subordinate clause is in some way contingent on the situation or events of the superordinate clause and that the main purpose of the superordinate clause is to bring about the situation denoted by the subordinate clause.

- (803) Wakaau koe i te kongā nei [ke onge namu].
 caus-smoke you Acc A place here C scarce mosquito
Make this place smoky so there will be no mosquitoes.

- (804) Onoono atu au ki lalo mē tai pū [ke tili ai te watu [ke makeke te taula]].
look Dir I G down if exist hole C throw Pro A stone C strong A anchor
*I looked down [to see] whether there was a hole into which I could throw the stone
so that the anchor would be secure.* (PS4:10)
- (805) Akalongo kōtou akalelei, akamau kōtou [ke a kōtou iloa] [ke ni a kōtou tala], [ke wowolo kōtou,]
caus-hear you.PI well caus.learn you C you.PI know-Cia C exist P you.PI story C R-big you.PI
tala atu kōtou ki a kōtou tamaliki [ke yē ngangalo nā tala a tātou a te vāiā].
tell Dir you.PI G P you.PI children C Neg R-lost A story P we.PI P A time-Da
*Listen well, learn [these stories] so that you know [them], so that you have some stories and when you
are older, tell them to your children so that our traditional tales of the past will not be lost.*

The superordinate clause is often imperative:

- (806) E Lima e, maka te poti, kakau mai tō tino [ke ola wua koe].
Voc Lima Voc leave A boat swim Dir your body C live just you
Lima, leave the boat and swim to shore to save yourself. (PS4:11)
- (807) Tala koe ki lunga [ke langona mai e te kaú].
talk you G up C hear-Cia Dir Ag A people-Da
Talk louder so the people over there can hear. (KS4:3)

Clauses introduced by *ke* can be ambiguous in meaning between purpose clauses and ‘until’ clauses (see 10.7.1(2d)), since the notion of contingency is inherent in both.

- (808) Ulu koe i tau pēni na ngalo nā, [ke kitea].
search you Acc your pen T lost near.you C find-Cia
Search for your pen that is lost so that/until [you] find [it].
- (809) Wāngai a tātou puaka nā [ke mōmōmona].
feed P we.PI pig there C R-fat
We’ll feed our pigs over there so that/until they become fat. (ML2:10)
- (810) Ngaungau ki te ngutu ngālepelepe, [ke ngālepelepe oki mō nā kōpelu], [ke likiliki te kainga o nā kōpelu].
RR-chew Ins A mouth Pre-RR-broken C Pre-RR-broken also for A fish.sp C tiny A eat-Nom P A fish.sp
*[He] chewed [the coconut] with his mouth [until] it was broken to pieces/so that it would be broken up
[into tiny pieces] for the mackerel scad [to eat], so that the mackerel scad would eat tiny pieces.* (PS1:2)

The meanings of purpose and ‘until’ also overlap in clauses used to introduce measurements which are often found in association with the verb *lava* ‘enough’.

- (811) Ango koe [ke lava te tolu iāti i te opa kākau nei].
measure you C enough A three yard L A bolt cloth here
Measure off [lit. until/so that there are] three yards from this bolt of cloth.
- (812) Ka wō tātou i nā yakali a Matatiā, [ke lava te mano].
T go.PI we L A dry.coconut P Matatia-Da C enough A 1000
Let’s go and [collect] 1000 of Matatia’s nuts [for him] [lit. until there are 1000].

A superordinate clause often denotes a situation in which one of the arguments functions as an instrument in the subordinate clause.

- (813) Pāti e, aumai nā fītia [ke onooina te watu nei mē yī memea].
Pāti Voc bring A glasses C look-Cia A stone here if exist.PI fish.cp
Pāti, bring the goggles [with which] to look at this stone [to see] whether there are any goatfish there.

- (814) Manatu oki iāna ke wano [ke tai a lāua pilipili weke, [ke maunu ai]].
 think also he C go C exist.Sg P they.2 tentacle octopus C bait Pro
He thought of going to get an octopus for them to use as bait. (KM:YK3:3)

In subordinate clauses of purpose, the subordinator *ke* is optional if there is a noun phrase in a superordinate clause which is in an instrumental role in the subordinate clause. When the subordinator is not present, there is structural ambiguity between purpose clauses and instrumental relative clauses (see 10.5.3).¹⁹

- (815) Ko winangalo mātou [e te māni ni puka [(ke) tautulu (ai) te wī tamaliki o te Ulu o te Watu]].
 T want we C make A book (C) help (Pro) A all children P A Head P A Stone
We want to make some books so that [by using them] we can help the youth of Pukapuka.

These clauses also allow an optional pronominal *ai* (3.11.1). For clauses introduced by *ke*, as in (815), *ai* is optional when the main clause includes an action verb necessary for the accomplishment of the purpose in the complement clause. For subordinate clauses in which there is no complementiser as in (816), *ai* is only optional when the verb in the subordinate clause is followed by other postposed particles.

- (816) Ke aumai koe i tau keké Ø keke ai aku lākau.
 Ø keke ake (ai) aku lākau.
 C bring you Acc your saw-Da C saw Dir Pro my.Pl wood
Please bring your saw for me to saw my wood.

10.7.3.1 Purpose clauses subordinated to motion verbs

Motion verbs form a separate subcategory and allow two different strategies for subordinating purpose clauses: subordination by juxtaposition and subordination by *ke*. They do not allow subordination by *e te*.

1. Strategies of subordination:

(a) A common pattern for purpose clauses is that the main clause contains a motion verb such as *wano* ‘go’ (*wō*, *wōmamai* Pl) or *yau* ‘come’ (*lōmamai* Pl), and the subordinate clause is juxtaposed to the main clause without any overt means of subordination. Other verbs apart from motion verbs do not allow a purpose clause to be apposed to the main clause in this manner without any means of subordination. The tense-aspect marker of the subordinate clause is typically, but not always, absent and the subject of the subordinate clause is deleted under coreference with that of the main clause (see 10.4.2).

- (817) Wano ai ia Palaoa [kalo pāyua], wano atu ai [māni i tona ālai].
 go Pro A Palaoa scoop clam go Dir Pro make Acc his reef
Palaoa went to collect clams and then he went to make his reef path. (KU:6:4)

- (818) Yau ai iāna, [pū i te imu].
 come Pro he light Acc A oven.
He came then and lit the oven. (U:6)

The subject of the motion clause may be deleted under anaphora or extraposed, which may result in two verbs occurring adjacently to one another.

- (819) Yaulā ko yē wano [moe].
 but T Neg go sleep
But [he] doesn't go and lie down.

(U:C3)

(b) Alternatively, the purpose of the motion can be made explicit by subordinating the purpose clause by *ke*, which replaces the tense-aspect marker of the subordinate clause. This strategy makes the notion of contingency explicit (820). Subordination by *ke* is required when the subordinate clause contains an existential verb (821) or when the subject of the subordinate clause is different from that of the main clause (822).

- (820) Ko winangalo au e te wano ki te āpii [ke talatala ake au ki tona pūāpii].
 T want I C go G A school C RR-talk Dir I G his teacher
I want to go to school to talk with his teacher.

(V:90:9:1)

- (821) Wano ake lā koe [ke nī lau puapua [ke awī ai a tātou kai nei]].
 go please Int you C exist.Pl leaf tree.sp C cover Pro P we.Pl food here
Please go and get some Guettardia leaves with which we can cover our food. (KS3:4)
 [Lit. Please go so that there will be some Guettardia leaves...]

- (822) Tauvalo ai au ia Tamangalo [ke yau oki [ke totoi māua i te poti ki ngāuta]].
 call Pro I Acc-A Tamangalo C come also C drag we.2 Acc A boat G shore
I called Tamangalo to come so that we could drag the boat to shore. (LS2:31)

2. Case marking constraints:

Transitive clauses subordinated to motion verbs are subject to syntactic constraints on the case marking of their arguments. The choice of case marking depends on mood criteria (indicative vs imperative) as well as on which arguments are overt. Declarative subordinate clauses prefer 'accusative' case marking, while imperatives usually follow the 'passive' pattern.

(a) Declarative sentences:

In declarative sentences, transitive clauses follow the 'accusative' pattern of case marking.

- (823) Wano loa ia Lata [kokoti loa i te wetau o te tangata nei, o Yinata].
 go Int A Lata R-cut Int Acc A tree.sp P A person here P Yinata
Lata went and cut down the tree belonging to this person, of Yinata's. (TL1:1)

- (824) Wano loa ia Teta kia Tolu lewu [ke kave i te matīni ki lunga o te poti].
 go Int A Teta G-A Tolu small C take Acc A machine G on P A boat
Teta went to Tolu Junior to take the outboard motor onto the boat. (PP2:4:1)

Where the object of the subordinate clause is not highly individuated, the 'ergative' pattern is permitted. The 'passive' pattern is not permitted in clauses that are subordinated by juxtaposition (825), but is found in clauses which are subordinated by *ke* (826), especially clauses denoting irrealis situations.

- (825) Wō ai mātou [pule ai te pule].
 * Wō ai mātou [pulea te pule]
 go.Pl Pro we pray Pro A prayer
We went and said a prayer.

(F4:S2:3)

- (826) Ka wō tāua lā te tuāwenua [ke a tāua pukea te wonu].
 T go.Pl we.2 via A back-land C we.2 catch-Cia A turtle
Let's go around the back of the island to catch the turtle. (LW2:3)

(b) Imperative sentences:

On the other hand, in imperative sentences, purpose clauses which are subordinated to motion verbs are often marked according to the 'passive' pattern:

- (827) Wano [kaina tau wuti].
 go eat-Cia your banana
Go and eat your banana.
- (828) Yau ake [vākulea ake toku ulu ia].
 come please delice-Cia please my head Af
Please come and search my head for nits.
- (829) Yau [ke uluina e weke mā tāua [ke maunu ai tāua]].
 come C search-Cia A octopus for we.2 C bait Pro we.2
Come with me to search for an octopus so we can use it for bait. (PP2:71)

'Lest' clauses which are subordinated to imperative motion verbs also follow the 'passive' pattern:

- (830) Wano ki vao, [ka tokia koe e te niu].
 go G out T hit-Cia you Ag A coconut
Go out [from under the coconut tree] or you will be hit by a [falling] coconut. (KK:U4:5)

If a pronoun referring to the addressee is overt in the imperative motion clause, both the 'accusative' and the 'passive' patterns of case marking are acceptable for clauses subordinated by juxtaposition, but clauses subordinated by *ke* prefer the 'passive' pattern:

- (831) Wano koe [aumaiina te uwilapa o Lewu mā], wano oki koe [aumai i te kōanga
 go you bring-Cia A wheelbarrow P Lewu etc go also you bring Acc A climbing.rope
 i loto o tō tātou imú].
 L inside P P we cookhouse-Da
*Go and bring the wheelbarrow belonging to Lewu and the others, and go and bring
 the climbing rope from inside our cookhouse.* (U:4:2)
- (832) Yau koe [ke kitea te tika].
 come you C see-Cia A right
Come and find out the truth. (F3:S11:5)

If there is no overt pronoun referring to the addressee, the 'ergative' pattern is acceptable. This pattern of case marking is very common when the politeness marker *ake* is present in both clauses. The 'ergative' pattern is not acceptable if there is a pronoun expressing the addressee in the main clause.

- (833) Wano ake [ūwi ake aku ipiipi].
 go please cover please my.Pl copra-Da
Please go and cover my copra. (KM:PP1:6)
- (834) Yau ake [kave ake mātou ki te wenua o Tinilaú].
 come please take please we G A land P Tinilau-Da
Please come and take us to the land of Tinilau. (MK:S1:4)

- (835) Lōmamai ake [ke lalanga ake taku pānga].
 come.Pl please C weave please my mat
Come [and help me] weave my mat.

For interrogatives, the same constraint holds as for declarative sentences in that if the subject pronoun occurs in the motion clause, the object of the subordinate clause is marked accusatively:

- (836) E yē wano ai koe [tutu i te mōlī o Pēpē]?
 T Neg go Pro you light Acc A lamp P baby
Wouldn't you mind going and lighting Baby's lamp? (M:C4:17)

10.7.4 PRECAUTIONARY CLAUSES

Precautionary clauses (Lichtenberk 1995) or negative purpose clauses include avertive clauses and 'in case' clauses. Avertive clauses ('lest' clauses) denote potential results that can be avoided by taking precautionary measures or following the advice of an imperative, while 'in case' clauses denote a likely negative outcome for which preparation should be made. These types of clauses are commonly introduced by similar particles to those which introduce complements of verbs of fearing (see 10.5.9). They may also stand alone to mark main clauses denoting a negative possibility to which Lichtenberk (ibid.) gives the name 'apprehensional epistemic'. The modal marker *kai* is used with this function since it may mark main clauses denoting a negative potential outcome, as well as negative imperative clauses and 'lest' complements.

Precautionary clauses may be introduced in a variety of ways which are presented in decreasing order of pragmatic strength; clauses introduced by the subordinator *ke* and *ka* 'future tense' imply a greater possibility for the misfortune to occur while those introduced by *kāē* and *ko te* 'lest' are often less likely hypothetical possibilities. *Kai... (io)* may also include the pragmatic force of a mild negative imperative. Precautionary clauses always follow the superordinate clause.

1. Clauses denoting negative purpose can be subordinated by *ke*, which is the same subordinator used for other purpose clauses (10.3.2), and the clause is negated by *yē*. Since subordinate clauses introduced by *ke* are irrealis, and *ke* replaces the tense-aspect marker of the clause, the clause can not be negated by *kiai* which is associated with the past tense (8.2.1).

- (837) Wano koe ke tanutanua te konga na totolo mai ai te wonu [ke yē mailonga tona ala na kake mai ai].
 go you C RR-bury-Cia A place T R-crawl Dir Pro A turtle C Neg notice its track T climb Dir Pro
*Go and bury the place where the turtle crawled [up the beach] so that its track where it climbed
 ashore won't be noticed.* (LW2:4)
- (838) Ēia wua ka akaila tātou i nā muna nei [ke yē nenu tātou i te tatau].
 here just T caus-mark we Acc A word here C Neg confused we C read
So we have marked these words so that we don't get confused when reading [them]. (KU1:4)
- (839) Ka lilo wai tautulu i a kōtou tamaliki ma te wī lōpā [ke yē ngalo tā lātou talatala Wale].
 T become like help Acc P you children and A all youth C Neg lose P they RR-speak Home
It will be a help to your children and the young people so that they don't forget how to speak Pukapukan. (PS5:4)

2. *Ka*, the future tense marker, introduces ‘lest’ clauses following imperative clauses, negative imperative clauses, negative past tense clauses and after subjunctive clauses. Transitive ‘lest’ clauses are commonly marked in the ‘passive’ pattern.

- (840) Limalima [ka pōina tātou].
hurry T night-Cia we
Hurry lest night fall on us.
- (841) Auwē wō tātou, [ka pukea tātou e te wua a Witi].
Neg.Imp-T go.Pl we T catch-Cia we Ag A fleet P Fiji
Let's not go, lest we be caught by the fleet of Fiji. (MM:L4)
- (842) E kiai lā oki na tamaki, [ka vayia e te pūāpii].
T Neg but T fight T hit-Cia Ag A teacher
But they didn't really fight or else the teacher would have hit them. (AT:S1)
- (843) Ke onono wakalelei, [ka pōina e te ngalu].
T look carefully T sweep.away-Cia Ag A wave
[They] should watch out lest [they] be swept away by the waves. (U:C1)

3. *Kai* is a modal marker expressing possibility (3.1.10). It can introduce main clauses as well as subordinate clauses expressing an adversative possibility or misfortune and means ‘lest, in case’. It is often associated with the particle *io* (846) which primarily denotes misfortune, but which is historically part of the directional particle paradigm (5.1.2).

- (844) Tunu pā e toe moa, wua mua tātou [kai yē lava].
cook probably A other hen careful we T Neg enough
Maybe [you'd] better cook another chicken in case we might not have enough.
- (845) Wakalongo mai lā koe ki tā māua wakawitinga kia koe nei, [kai wano koe wakatakayala].
caus-hear Dir Int you G P we.2l advice G-A you here T go you caus-mistake
Listen to our advice to you here, so that you don't go and make a mistake. (BB:1055)
- (846) Wano lā tā koe wakalelei, [kai wati io toku toki].
go Int cut you carefully T break Dir my adze
Go and cut carefully, lest you break my adze. (BB:1056)

As an apprehensional epistemic, *kai* can introduce main clauses warning of a negative potential outcome or it can function as a mild imperative:

- (847) **Kai** ngangalo loa nā tangata e mau ai ia, ngalo atu ai ma te mako ia.
T R-lost Int A person T know Pro Af lost Dir Pro with A chant Af
The people who know [it] might die, and the chant with them [so learn it].
- (848) **Kai** wano koe tala i te mea nei ki te tangata.
T go you tell Acc A thing this G A person
You might go and tell someone [but don't].

4. *Kāe* as a subordinator of ‘lest’ clauses,²⁰ typically follows warnings or imperatives. The subordinate clauses are commonly intransitive with patient subjects as the following examples show (849-851). Transitive verbs are configured according to the ‘passive’ case marking pattern (852). *Kāe* ‘lest’ does not introduce main clauses.

- (849) Ke pākoti au i tō ulu, aulaka tō ulu e tipa, [kāe motu koe].
C Pre-cut I Acc your head Neg.Imp your head T move lest cut you
When I cut your hair, don't move your head in case you're cut.
- (850) Onoono koe wakalelei,...[kāe mawuli tau wata].
look you carefully ... lest tip.over your drying-rack
Look out lest your drying rack be tipped over. (U:C1)
- (851) Tolo ake te taume nā ke mate, [kāe mumula loa te wale].
stub please A coconut.spathe.torch there C dead lest burn Int A house
Stub out that torch until it's dead, lest the house burn down.
- (852) Ēia te mea ka peia ai koe ia māua... [kae kitea māua e o tāina waiwai kikino nā].
here A thing T like-so Pro you Acc-A we.2 ... lest see-Cia we.2 Ag P brother RR-do R-bad there
This is the reason you will act thus with us... so that we shall not be seen by your evil doing brothers. (BB:1056)

Kāe also introduces complements of verbs of fearing and apprehensionals (10.5.9):

- (853) Ko matakū au, [kāe tō au ki lalo].
T fear I lest fall I G down
I am scared of falling down. (KM:WK5:1)
- (854) E matakū au, [kāe patua oki au e Waletiale].
T fear I lest kill-Cia also I Ag Waletiale
I am fearful lest Waletiale kills me. (BB:1055)
- (855) ...ka lōmamai tātou ki Wale, angaanga i a tātou titi ia, no te payii [kae oko mai], ka kave a tātou titi.
T come.Pl we G Home RR-work Acc-A P we skirt Af because A ship lest arrive Dir T take P we skirt
[We have decided that] we will return to Wale and work on our skirts because of the ship, lest it arrive to take the skirts. (TU2:2)

5. *Ko te*, which also marks definite nominal predicates (7.1.1), introduces 'lest' clauses consisting of unsuffixed nominalised verbs.

- (856) Unga loa ia Wiwitea ia Yina ke wano ki te vao wakiwaki mai, mea oki ke limalima [ko te mate tā lātou imu].
send Int A Wiwitea Acc-A Yina C go G A forest RR-pick Dir say also C hurry lest die P they.Pl oven
Wiwitea sent Yina to go to the forest and pick [leaves] and [they] also told [her] to hurry in case their oven fire died [while she was gone]. (TM1:2)
- (857) E kino loa oki ke nōnō tātou i tai, [ko te pupuyi mai], palia atu ai tātou ki Niu Kāletonia mā.
T bad Int also C R-stay we L sea lest blow Dir drift-Cia Dir Pro we G New Caledonia etc
[It] wouldn't be good for us to stay out at sea [fishing] in case the wind sprang up and we drifted off to New Caledonia or somewhere else. (P:S3:9)
- (858) ...ke liko oki lātou ia koe ki o lātou lima, [ko te tukia wua atu loa o vae ki te watu].
C hold also they Acc-A you G P they hand lest stub-Cia just Dir Int your.Pl leg G A stone
...for them to support you with their arms lest you kick your feet against a stone. (KM:LK2:10)

10.7.5 REASON CLAUSES

Clauses of reason, cause and intent or motivation are not distinguished as separate categories. They are subordinated by *nō*, which introduces a nominalised clause, or *nō* may be part of a larger phrasal element which introduces the reason clause.

1. *Nō* commonly introduces a nominalised reason clause in the form of an oblique noun phrase. These may be suffixed or unsuffixed nominalisations.

Unsuffixed nominalisations typically refer to general states or habits as causes:

- (859) E yē wai te imukai i te taeyao [nō te ngalungalu].
 T Neg make A feast L A tomorrow because A RR-wave
[We] won't be holding the feast tomorrow because of the rough weather. (U:C1)
- (860) Ko ūmele te wenua nei i lua pēpē [nō te kekena o nā ulu].
 T surprise A land here Acc two baby because A R-white P A head
The island is surprised at two children because of the fairness of [their] hair.
- (861) Ko lewu wua lā tō yuāwū [nō au kaikai].
 T small just Int your water-of-breast because your.PI RR-eat
Your milk supply is low because of your eating habits.

Suffixed nominalisations refer to particular events as causes:

- (862) Kamuloa toku ao popoto [nō taku lelenga].
 really my breath R-short because my run-Nom
I am really short of breath because I have been running.
- (863) Kamuloa koe yeke wua i te tāyao [nō tau kainga i te wala].
 really you diarrhoea just L A tomorrow because your eat-Nom Acc A pandanus
You will really have diarrhoea tomorrow because of eating the pandanus nut.

2. Clauses of intent or purpose may be introduced by *nō*:

- (864) Atawai [nō te tūtaki mainga te toe ayo].
 thanks for A pay Dir-Nom A other day
Thanks for paying [me] the other day.
- (865) Ko penapena lātou [nō te welāveinga].
 T RR-prepare they P A greet-Nom
They were preparing for meeting [the visitors]. (KK:U5:3)
- (866) Ka tuku atu au i lua mea mā au [nō tau yaelenga ki tō wale].
 T leave Dir I Acc two thing for you for your walk-Nom G P house
I would leave a couple of [dollars] for your journey home. (AP:C1)

3. *Nō* also introduces nominalisations as oblique noun phrases meaning 'concerning, about' or 'for'.

- (867) [Nō te wōnga ki Kō nei], ēnā oki te manako āku na avatu mua kia tātoú.
 P A go.PI-Nom G Kō here there also A thought P-me T give first G-A we-Da
Concerning [the village] going to Kō [that we are discussing], this is what I think, which I have already said before. (UU:49:2)
- (868) E puka te tala nei [nō te matenga ma te tū wakawōunga o Ietu].
 Prd book A story here P A die-Nom and A stand again-Nom P Jesus
This story is a book about the death and resurrection of Jesus. (TM:2:4)
- (869) Mē kiai ake koe na lētitaina [nō te voutinga nei], ēnā te pēpa, akakī...
 if-T Neg Dir you T register-Cia P A vote-Nom here there A paper caus-fill
If you haven't yet registered for these elections, there [you have] a form, fill [it in]... (E:1:8)

- (870) Tū loa te wakayaele, maka mai ana mō muna [nō te māvaenga ma te yaelenga o te kakai ki nā wale].
stand Int A leader throw Dir his.Pl few word P A separate-Nom and A walk-Nom P A people G A house
The leader stood up and said a few [closing] remarks about the people dispersing and going home.

4. There are several other subordinators associated with reason clauses all of which have *nō* as the initial element. *Nō tēā* and *nō te mea* also introduce reason clauses which are clausal rather than nominalisations, while *nōkiai* and *nōleila* introduce result clauses which are preceded by reason clauses. *Nōte mea* and *nōleila* are considered to be CIM borrowings. The tense-aspect marker of the subordinate clause is obligatory following *nōkiai*²¹ and *nōleila*, but sometimes absent following *nōte mea* and *nōtēā*. *Nōtēā*, *nōkiai* and *nōleila* allow optional subject fronting and may be followed by postposed particles.

(a) *Nōtēā* [lit. ‘for that’] introduces reason clauses. The reason clause usually follows a sentence initial result clause.

- (871) Wano ai au lā ngāuta ki Wale ma te tangi, [nō tēā na makaina au e toku pāpā mā].
go Pro I via shore G Home with A cry P that T leave-Cia I Ag my father etc
I went home to the main island along the reef crying, because I had been left behind by my father and the others. (PP2:5:5)
- (872) Amuloa ia Tengele lili tikāi [nō tēā na mate tana puaka].
really A Tengele angry very P that T die his pig
Tengele was really angry because his pig had died. (F4:S3:4)
- (873) E kiai na ana iloa ē ko tona māmā teia, [nō tēā oki ko yē ana iloa te tūtū o tona māmā].
T Neg T he know-Cia C Prd his mother here P that also T Neg he know-Cia A picture P his mother
He didn’t know that this was his mother because he didn’t know what his mother looked like. (AR:TM1:2)

The reason clause introduced by *nōtēā* may be sentence initial, followed by the result clause:

- (874) [Nō tēā loa na wati toku matila], na yau vave ai au.
P that Int T break my rod T come quick Pro I
Because I broke my fishing rod, I came [home] early.
- (875) [Nō tēā au totoko e te mea ka tala ia ana], tulituli mai loa ia aku.
P that I stubborn C say T tell Acc-A her RR-chase Dir Int Acc-A me
Because I was persistent in saying I would tell on her, she chased me. (PP2:12:3)

(b) *Nōte mea* [lit. ‘for the thing’] introduces a reason clause which is usually preceded by a result clause.

- (876) Kamuloa mātou vevēia [nō te mea wolo tau mea na yanga nō tātou].
really we.Pl happy P A thing big your thing T work P we.Pl
We are very happy because you have done a lot for us. (IL:4:2)
- (877) E yē talatala au wakawōu [nō te mea koa lipīti loa].
T Neg RR-talk I again P A thing T repeat Int
I won’t talk again because [it’s] getting to be repetitive. (UU:1:1)

(c) *Nōkiai* [lit. ‘for that’] ‘that’s why, because of this’ differs from the previous two subordinators in that it introduces a result clause which follows an initial reason clause. The reason clause usually denotes abstract concepts, perceptions or states. *Nōkiai* may be modified by certain postposed particles. It allows optional fronting of the subject of the subordinate clause.

- (878) Ko angaanga wakatai mātou mai te vāiá, [nō kiai, ko vēvēia toku manako i te yanga wōu ka mea nei].
T RR-work together we from A time-Da P that T happy my thought L A work new T do here
We have worked together from the past, that's why I am happy at this new thing we are about to do.
- (879) Na maua tā mātou preschool, [nō kiai ko manatu mātou e te tātā ni puka tala].
T get P we preschool P that T think we C write A book story
We have [started] our preschool, that's why we thought of writing some story books. (P:S4:6)
- (880) Koa pili ki te konga i te keonga, ngalu totongí. Eia, [nō kiai māua na tilia mai ai ki ngāuta].
T near G A place L A point wave R-big-Da Here P that we.2 T throw-Cia Dir Pro G shore
We were getting close to the place at the point where those big waves are. Well, that's why we were thrown ashore [onto the reef]. (P:S5:8)
- (881) Vavayi atu lā lāua, onono atu, e valu watumana, [nō kiai pē nā pepeke ai te toa ia].
R-split Dir but they.2 look Dir T eight heart P that definitely T fly Pro A warrior Af
But they then split [him open] and looked, there were eight hearts, that was definitely why this warrior could fly. (WIP5:5:13)

While it usually refers anaphorically to a preceding reason clause, *nō kiai* may also refer to what follows. It may introduce a reason clause when the preceding clause denotes a future possibility, not a result:

- (882) E ye ngalopoaina māua ia koe, [nō kiai, na loa te taime nā nōnō wakatai ai tātou].
T Neg forget we.2 Acc-A you P that T long A time T RR-stay together Pro we
We won't forget you for the reason that we lived together for such a long time. (MM:L1:5)

Nō kiai does not always subordinate reason or result clauses. It may mean 'however' and conjoin two contrastive clauses (see 9.2.2).

(d) Like *nō kiai*, *nō leila* subordinates a result clause to a preceding reason clause.

- (883) Na yau iāna [nō leila na lekaleka ai mātou].
T come he P that T happy Pro we.PI
He came, that's why we were happy.
- (884) Nā loa au i lunga o te akau, [nō leila te tangata na mea ai ia aku na ngalo].
T long I L on P A reef P that A person T say Pro Acc-A I T lost
I was a long time on the reef, that's why people assumed that I had been lost. (LS2:34)
- (885) Na ngalo loa te tangata i Yātō, [nō leila kōtou na lē ai]. [Nō leila kōtou na lē ai],
T lost Int A person LYātō P that you.PI T win Pro P that you.PI T win Pro

nō tēlā na ngalo te tangata i Yātō.
P that T lost A person L Yātō.
The person at Yātō [the leader] was absent, that's why you won. That's why you won, because of [the fact] he was absent. (KK7:7)

The reason clause may be additionally marked by a subordinator indicating reason:

- (886) [Nō te āngi lā oki], nō leila te palia vave, [nō te ongo o te matangi].
P A blow but P that A drift-Cia quickly P A hard P A wind
Because of the blowing [of the wind], that's why [he] drifted quickly, because of the strength of the wind. (MN1:5)

The result clause introduced by *nō leila* may occur sentence initially so that it is followed by the reason clause:

- (887) [Nō leila au na maka ai toku māmā], na alu au ki te wale o toku tāne.
 P that I T leave Pro my mother T follow I G A house P my husband
That's why I left my mother because I joined my husband's house.

Nō kiai and *nō leila* both allow unsuffixed nominalisations to occur as their subjects.²² Although this nominal predicative use is the least common, it may be the primary usage from which the connective function subsequently developed.

- (888) [Nō kiai te loa, te yē oti vave o tā tātou yanga].
 P that A long A Neg finish quickly P P we work
That's why it is taking a long time, why our work hasn't been finished quickly. (PS:4:2)

- (889) ...[nō leila te palia vave].
 P that A drift-Cia quickly
...that's why [he] drifted quickly. (MN:1:5)

- (890) ...[nō leila te wolo].
 P that A big
...that's why [he caught] so many. (PS:2:5)

5. There is one other subordinator of reason clauses: *nō tei*.²³ The result clause is usually sentence initial and the reason clause has no tense-aspect marking. *Nō tei* does not allow fronting of the subject of the subordinate clause.

Reason clauses introduced by *nō tei* commonly express a dynamic cause which has an immediate effect or result. The cause is often accidental or a natural phenomenon, but volitional causes are also possible. The result may be a dynamic action or a volitional reaction or emotional state.

- (891) Na pupua wua te mōina o Tuli [nō tei tō ki lunga o te watu].
 T break just A bottle P Tuli-Da because fall G on P A stone
Tuli's bottle was broken to pieces when/because it fell on the stone.
- (892) Na ngalepe taku pia ānani [nō tei toli au ki lalo].
 T broken my box orange because throw I G down
My box of oranges broke apart when/because I threw it down [heavily] [but I didn't mean to break it.]
- (893) E mea loa au wolea i te welele [nō tei tūpoupou au i te okonga ki te lē].
 Prd thing Int I lose L A Pl-run because lose.balance I L A reach-Nom G A win
I was beaten in the running race because I lost my balance just before I got to the finishing line.
- (894) Na lili te tangata ngākau kino ia aku [nō tei tolia ēku i te pōpoko].
 T angry A person intestine bad Acc-A I because throw-Cia Ag-me L A wrestle
The bad tempered person got angry with me because I threw him down in wrestling [and defeated him].
- (895) Ia aku na taopakapaka loa e toku taeaké [nō tei kave au i tana tae ma te yē akailo].
 A I T RR-swear.at Int Ag my friend-Da because take I Acc his net C Neg indicate
My friend swore at me when I took his flyingfish net without asking.

Future possible results from recent dynamic causes may eventuate:

- (896) Ka wolau te tāné [nō tei makaina iāna e tana vale].
 T commit.suicide A man-Da because leave-Cia he Ag his spouse
That man is going to commit suicide because his wife has [just] left him.

Nō tei does not permit an existential clause as its reason clause. This is likely to be because of the tense marking restriction on the clause introduced by *nō tei*. Negative existential clauses are portmanteau forms incorporating tense-aspect in their morphology.

- (897) * [nō tei kāni aku ika].
 because Neg.exist my.Pl fish
because I don't have any fish

Although there seem to be a large number of subordinators of reason clauses in Pukapukan, they have slightly different roles and semantic niches.

Reason clauses marked by *nō tei* seem to be more closely associated in time with the resulting action or state than nominalised reason clauses marked by *nō te*.

- (898) Lekaleka mātou [nō tei maua lua ika].
 RR-happy we because get two fish
We were happy because/when we got a couple of fish. (PS:3:8)

- (899) Lekaleka mātou [nō te mauanga o a mātou ika].
 RR-happy we P A get-Nom P P we fish
We were happy because of the fact that we caught some fish [when we thought we would not get any].

Marking by *nō tei* is common with dynamic causes, regardless of positive-negative polarity, while *nō tēlā* commonly introduces stative causes.

- (900) [Nō tei yē wano au ki wale], patu loa oku ngutu e toku māmā.
 because Neg go I G home hit Int my.Pl mouth Ag my mother
Because I didn't go home, my mother gave me a hiding [immediately on my return].

- (901) * Nō tei
 [Nō tēlā au nā i wale], na yē aku kitea i te tālēlē.
 P there I T L Home T Neg I see-Cia Acc A competition
Because I was in Pukapuka, I didn't see the Constitutional Celebrations [in Rarotonga].

Reason clauses introduced by *nō tei* imply more immediacy in the relationship between cause and effect than those introduced by *nō tēlā*. Most sentences containing causes marked by *nō tei* denote simultaneous or immediate results. Sentences in which there is a slight time delay between the reason clause and the result allow the option of either subordinator. The following sentences show the time difference possible:

- (902) Ka wolau te tāné [nō tei makaina iāna e tana vale].
 T commit.suicide A man-Da because leave-Cia he Ag his spouse
That man is going to commit suicide because his wife has [just] left him.

- (903) ...[no tēlā na makaina e tana vale].
 P that T leave-Cia Ag his spouse
...because his wife has left him [implies that the wife left quite a while ago].

- (904) Koa yongeyonge te kai o te wenua nei, [nō tei onge payī].
 T RR-scarce A food P A land here because scarce ship
Food is becoming scarce on the island because of the lack of shipping [because a ship hasn't come].

- (905) ...[nō tēlā na onge payī].
 P that A scarce ship
...because there have been no ships [for a long time].

The temporal difference between the two reason clause subordinators is clearly illustrated by a situation in which someone has been working for a period of time and is asked whether (s)he would like a drink. An appropriate answer would be:

- (906) E kole, [nō tēlā kamuloa toku kōpū kī].
 no T that really my stomach full
No thank you, because I am [still] full [e.g. from breakfast].

Replacing the subordinator with *nōtei* would not be appropriate in that situation, but would be appropriate in a situation where a drink is offered just after the completion of a meal while the participants are still sitting in front of the table.

- (907) E kole, [nō tei kī toku kōpū].
 No because full my stomach
No thank you, because I am [now] full [from having just eaten].

Nōtēā is possibly more formal than *nōtei* and there may be other fine semantic distinctions between these subordinators.

10.7.6 CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

Conditional clauses are introduced by the subordinator *mē* preceding the tense-aspect marker (10.3.3) or by the auxiliary verb *pī* (10.2.2). The conditional clause is subordinated to a main clause of consequence which usually follows. Reality conditionals referring to ‘real’ present, ‘habitual’ (or ‘generic’) or past situations are subordinated by *mē*.

- (908) [Mē ko āngi], aulaka e wō.
 if T windy Neg.Imp T go.Pl
If it's windy, don't go.
- (909) [Mē ko wai pū], ka tangi.
 if T make hole T sound
If you make a hole, it will sound. (MU:C2)
- (910) [Mē na tika ia tātou], ko lelei wua.
 if T agree By-A we.Pl T good just
If we have all agreed that's fine. (UU:58:3)

Hypothetical and predictive conditional clauses can be subordinated in this way:

- (911) [Mē koe ka winangalo ke pepeke], ka wakataupulepule loa koe pe ēku nei.
 if you T want C fly T caus-RR-spot Int you like me here
If you want to fly, you will have to be spotted like me. (TL:4:1)
- (912) [Mē oko te pilipili nei ki te uwi], e yē meitaki o kōtou lima, e te kau wawine.
 if-T reach A weed here G A garden T Neg good P you hand Voc A people woman
If this weed should [ever] reach the taro gardens, it won't be good for your hands [lit. your hands will not be good], women. (UU:49:3)

Hypothetical and predictive conditional clauses can also be subordinated by the auxiliary verb *pī* 'if only' (see 10.2.2):

(913) [Pī pē mō au e tangata moni], wano loa au ki Malike.
if-only def maybe I Prd person money go Int I G America
If I was wealthy, I would go to America.

(914) [Pī lava koe e wano ki Lalotonga], kai mōmona loa koe.
if-only Int you T go G Rarotonga T fat Int you
If you were to go to Rarotonga you might get fat.

Counterfactual conditional clauses are subordinated by the auxiliary verb *pī*.

(915) [Pī nā ika nei na uwiuwia], e yē papala pā.
if-only A fish here T RR-cover-Cia T Neg rotten probably
If only these fish had been covered, they probably wouldn't have gone rotten.

There is no special morpheme to signal negative conditionals; the conditional clause is subordinated by *mē* or *pī* and a negative form such as *yē*, *kiai* or *kākole* is inserted in its normal position in the clause.

(916) [Mē yē aumai kōlua ia ana], ka vēvēia au, e yē ulu au ki loto o te pūwala.
if-T Neg bring you.2 Acc-A he T happy I T Neg enter I G inside P A trunk-pandanus
If you don't bring him, I'll be happy, I won't go inside the stump of the pandanus tree. (F4:S3:5)

(917) [Mē yē wai pū oki], e yē tangi.
if-T Neg make hole also T Neg sound
If [you] don't make a hole, it won't sound. (MU:C2)
Unless you make a hole, it won't sound.

(918) [Pī māua e kiai na nīniko vave], yē kitea te matenga o toku māmā.
if-only we.2 T Neg T R-return quickly Neg see-Cia A die-Nom P my mother
If we hadn't returned quickly, we wouldn't have seen my mother's funeral. (MKS5:45)

(919) [Pī mō kākole], na tangi te iyu.
if-only maybe nothing T sound A nose
Maybe if nothing [had been done about it], [she] would have died. (F4S4:5)

Concessive conditionals take the same form as concessive clauses (see 10.7.6).

The above examples all show a condition-consequence order for the clauses, but less commonly, the consequence clause may precede the conditional clause marked by *mē*.

(920) Ka wano au [mē yē maki au].
T go I if Neg sick I
I will go if I'm not sick. (V:90:1)

(921) I taku onoononga ka makeketū te yanga nei [mē paletua tātou].
L my look-Nom T R-strong-stand A work this if help we.Pl
In my view this work will be established if we all help [one another]. (SK1:1)

As is found in some other languages (Thompson and Longacre 1985:193), there is a degree of neutralisation between 'if'-clauses and 'when' clauses. However, because there is a tense-aspect restriction associated with the neutralisation, it is not only predictive and future time clauses that allow the

ambiguity, (a common typological situation), but also ‘generic’ or ‘habitual’ situations. *Mē* may interchange freely with *ke*²⁴ in clauses in which *ke* means ‘when/if’ and in which the tense-aspect marker is *e*. There may be a difference in meaning in such minimal pairs, with *mē* portraying slightly less certainty in the consequence, than a condition marked by *ke*.

The alternation between *ke* and *mē* is associated with the trend to extend the use of *e* to general habitual present by younger speakers (see 3.1.3), since many examples predict general consequences, but there is some degree of disagreement among speakers as to the acceptability of certain examples.

- (922) [Mē/ke āngi te matangi], ka akamata te alo e te kale.
if-T blow A wind T begin A lagoon C ripple
If the wind blows, the lagoon begins to get waves.
- (923) [Mē/ke valovalo atu koe], ‘Yau, yau’, e yē pā.
if-T RR-call Dir you come come T Neg agree
If you call ‘come, come’, [he] doesn’t come. (MP:E1)
- (924) [Mē/ke lelei te leva tāyao], ka māneanea tātou.
if-T good A weather tomorrow T play.sports we
If the weather is fine tomorrow, we’ll play sports.

This interchange between *mē* and *ke* is also seen in the alternation of the forms of the temporal adverbial clauses introduced by *mē oti/ke oti* ‘after that [lit. ‘when finished’]’. These are freely interchangeable.

- (925) [Ke oti te pōpoko a te kawa], koa pōpoko ai te tuākawa.
T finish A wrestling P A champion T wrestle Pro A tuākawa
When the champion wrestler has finished, the second-best wrestler will wrestle.
- (926) Ka wea koe [mē oti te kaikai]?
T what you if finish A RR-eat
What will you do after dinner?
- (927) [Mē oti te pule], ka uwipānga.
if finish A prayer T meeting
After church, [we’ll] have a meeting.

Conditional-consequence sentences denoting generic or habitual cause-and-effect relationships usually have subordinate clauses introduced by *ke* ‘when, if’. There is a somewhat hazy distinction between hypothetical situations and general causes and results. *Ke* is more common than *mē* for generic or habitual situations, while *mē* is more common for hypothetical situations.

- (928) [Ke katikatia koe e te namu], ka mākinikini tō kili.
T RR-bite-Cia you Ag A mosquito T pre-RR-sting your skin
When mosquitoes bite you, your skin stings.
- (929) [Ke yē akalepo], liliki wua nā wāwā.
T Neg fertilise R-small just A taro
If you don’t fertilise, the taro are just small. (MU:E2)
- (930) [Ke tongitongi koe i tau kati], ka wakai te ika, ka kai i tau maunu.
T RR-pull you Acc your line T attract-Cia A fish T eat Acc your bait
If you keep tugging on your line, it will attract the fish and they will eat your bait.

- (931) [Ke wai pōpō koe], tunu koe tau pāni ke pupū.
 T make pōpō you cook you your pan C R-boil
When you make pōpō heat your pot until it's boiling. (AT:11)

Conditional clauses marked by *ke* may be subordinated to a main clause expressing a counterfactual condition.

- (932) [Ke lē oki te tangata o Tonga], patu, ka patu te vaka o Yī.
 T win also A people P Tonga kill T kill A canoe P Yī
If the Tongan people had won, they would have killed Yī and his crew. (MM:L6)

10.7.7 CONCESSIVE CLAUSES

Concessive clauses are introduced by *nō atu* 'even though, even if', which is attested to be of CIM origin. There is no formal distinction between concessive conditional clauses and concessive clauses that are not conditionals. Concessive conditional clauses are subordinated by *nō atu*:

- (933) [Nō atu ē ka tēki te Kavamani ia aku] ka oki mai lāi au ka ākono i toku māmā.
 even.if Dur T sack A Government Acc-A I T return Dir still I T look.after Acc my mother
Even if the Government were to sack me, I would return to look after my mother. (WF2:6)
- (934) [Nō atu iāna na matala i te tangata wua nei], yaulā iāna e yē matala.
 even.if he T Pre-loose By A person just here but he T Neg Pre-loose
Even if he were to have got a divorce from this person, he still wouldn't be free. (MKS5:62)

Concessive clauses, both definite and indefinite, are subordinated by the same means as concessive conditional clauses:

- (935) [Nō atu au ka tū nō te National], ko toku manako wolo lā ke yanga au nō Māngere.
 even.though I T stand P A National Prd my thought big but C work I P Mangere
Even though I am standing for the National Party, my greatest desire is to work for Mangere. (AS1:4)
- (936) [Mē e au tikāi i loto o tō tātou pukuatu], [nō atu e wea tō tātou political party],
 if Prd peace true P inside P P we.Pl heart even.if Prd what P we.Pl political party
 [nō atu e wea tō tātou akanōanga], [nō atu e tama lewu koe], [e matua koe], e tai tātou.
 even.if Prd what P we.Pl denomination even.if Prd child small you Prd parent you T one we.Pl
If we have true peace in our hearts, no matter what our political party, no matter what our denomination, no matter whether you are a child or an adult, we are all one. (SK1:7)

Normally the tense-aspect marker of the clause remains overt, as in the previous examples (933-935). The subject of the clause is optionally fronted to a position immediately following the concessive marker (934, 935). In concessive conditional clauses relating to a generic or future situation, the tense-aspect marker may be absent:

- (937) [Nō atu lātou tūtaki i a lātou puka], e yē maua lāi ia lātou e te onoono wakalelei,
 even.if they pay Acc P they book T Neg able still By-A they C look.after well
 e yē loaina ka ngāyaeyae.
 T Neg long-Cia T Pre-RR-torn
Even if they were to pay for their books, they wouldn't be able to look after them properly, it wouldn't be long before they were ripped. (PW2:3)

10.8 NOMINALISATION

Nominalisation is a derivational process whereby a clause acquires some of the features of a noun phrase and the result is understood as referring to the event, activity or situation described by the clause (Clark 1981b). Almost all verbs can undergo nominalisation, including numerals, but the negative verbs, auxiliary verbs and most existential verbs²⁵ do not. A distinction can be made between unsuffixed nominalisations in which the nominal form is identical in form to the base form of the verb and suffixed nominalisations which are derived by attaching a nominalising suffix *-nga* to the verb (see 10.8.2). In both types of nominalisation, the tense-aspect marker preceding the verb is lost, but adverbial elements including the negator can be retained. The subject or the object of the clause can be encoded as a possessor of the head and the nominalisation can be preceded by articles (10.8.1). The entire nominalised construction, like other noun phrases, may be marked for case by case markers or prepositions to indicate its syntactic relationships within a sentence. The following sentence contains a nominalisation which is functioning as the direct object of the clause:

- (938) Ke onoono atu lā iāna i [te akamata-nga a te wī atua e te māni wakawōu i te wenua]...
 C look Dir Int he Acc A begin-Nom P A all god C make again Acc A land
When he looked at [how] the gods were beginning to recreate the land... (PK:M3)

The nominalisation of *akamata* ‘begin, start’ is related to the following sentence:

- (939) Ko akamata te wī atua e te māni²⁶ wakawōu i te wenua.
 T begin A all god C make again Acc A land
All the gods were beginning to make the land again.

In (938), the tense marker *ko* has been replaced by the specific article *te*; the subject, *te wī atua*, has been encoded as a possessor of the head; the nominalising suffix, *-nga*, has been attached to the verb and the entire construction has been marked as object of *onoono* ‘to look at’ by the ‘accusative’ case marker *i*.

Nominalisations therefore exhibit some features that are characteristic of noun phrases: case marking, the articles, possessives and demonstratives. They also share some features characteristic of verb phrases. There may be accompanying negative particles, preverbal pronouns, inflection for plurality of the subject, reduplication of the stem, ‘passive’ suffixation, directional particles, adverbials and directional phrases (940-943); all of which are typical of verb phrases. The argument of a transitive clause which is not encoded as a possessor retains its case marking (943).

- (940) ...ma te yē a lātou iloloa
 with A Neg they R-know-Cia
 ...without them knowing (PS5:2)
- (941) ...mai tā lāua nīniko mai-nga mai Wale nā.
 from P they.2 Pl-return Dir-Nom from Home there
 ...from their return from Pukapuka [where you are]. (TM1:5)
- (942) Taute loa te wī tangata i nā pō ia i te kake mai-nga wakawōu a te wonu ki ngāuta.
 look.for Int A all people L A night Af Acc A climb Dir-Nom again P A turtle G shore
 During those nights, the people all watched for the turtle to come on shore again. (LW:2:1)

- (943) Na tala mai i tō kōtou puke-a-nga e te laloao.
 T tell dir Acc P you catch-Cia-Nom Ag A storm
[He] told me of how you were caught by the storm. (LP1:3)

10.8.1 ARTICLES

The singular specific article *te* is the article most commonly found in nominalisations, and marks events which are specific and singular. With singular possessive pronouns it is realised as *t-* (4.1.2).

- (944) I te nīniko mainga a te tokalua ia, I tā lāua nīniko mainga ia,
 L A R-return Dir-Nom P A pre-two Af L P they.2 R-return Dir-Nom Af
When they both returned, When they both returned,

Other articles also appear in nominalisations. The plural definite article, *nā*, marks plural situations or habitual action (945-946). Where a preposed possessive pronoun occurs, plural situations are marked by Ø (948).

- (945) Onoono iāna ki nā angaanga a te lau a Uyo nei.
 watch he G A RR-work P A men P Uyo here
He watched the [way] Uyo's men did things [over a period of time]. (U:6)
- (946) Wano ai au onoono i nā talinga o nā apinga mai te tukutai.
 go pro I look Acc A carry-Nom P A thing from A beach
I went to watch the things being carried [in loads] from the beach. (UR:9)
- (947) Nō kiai mō lua aku tama nei e yē mina ai i te ālu ia māua
 P that maybe two my.PI child here T Neg like pro C follow Acc-A we.2
 ki nā lulululunga a te Pukapuka, nō te yē iloa te leo Wale.
 G A RR-gather-Nom P A Pukapuka P A Neg know-Cia A language Home
*That's probably why my two children don't enjoy coming with us to Pukapukan gatherings,
 because [they] don't understand the language.* (KM:E4:2)
- (948) I aku wanonga yī ika i nā pō,
 L Ø-my.PI go-Nom fish fish L A night
When I went fishing [on several occasions] at nights,

The plural marker *nā* may also indicate incomplete action at the narrative present, emphasising duration, manner or intensity of a single event, rather than specifying more than one occasion on which the action occurred.²⁷

- (949) Ko nā lelenga a toku māmā, kamuloa puku te tua i te lele.
 Top A run-Nom P my mother-Da really bent A back L A run
The way that my mother was running, her back was really bent over in [her effort to] run. (UR:6)
- (950) Kamuloa te wī tāngata mātataku i nā ānginga o nā niu.
 really A all people R-fear By A blow-Nom P A coconut
Everyone was really fearful because of the way the coconuts were blowing. (UR:4)
- (951) Kamuloa te wī tāngata ngālelepe e te kākata i nā ulanga a Pavai ma Kalito.
 really A all people R-break C R-laugh Acc A dance-Nom P Pavai and Kalito
Everyone was cracking up laughing at the way Pavai and Kalito were dancing. (F3:2:5)

- (952) Amuloa au mina i au tātānga nā.
 really I like Acc Ø-your.Pl write-Nom there
I really like the way you are writing [so neatly].

Because of this aspectual distinction, plural articles may distinguish present from past activities:

- (953) Kamuloa au vēvēia i te kite i tau atonga o te wale nei.
 really I happy C see Acc your thatch-Nom P A house here
I am really happy to see that you have thatched this house [recently].
- (954) Kamuloa au vēvēia i te onoono atu i au atonga nā.
 really I happy C look dir Acc Ø-your.Pl thatch-Nom there
I am really happy to see you are thatching [the house].

Indefinite articles mark nominalisations which are the heads of indefinite equational nominal predicates:

- (955) E wanonga nēneva taku wanonga nei, e wanonga kino.
 Prd go-Nom stupid my go-Nom here Prd go-Nom bad
My trip [that I am going on] is a stupid trip, [it will be] a bad trip. (WT:F2:3)
- (956) Ko manatu ni meanga wua nā Tepou.
 T think Prd say-Nom just P Tepou
[They] thought that [they] were just some ideas [made up] by Tepou. (U:8)

Indefinite plural articles mark lexical nominalisations which denote indefinite or nonspecific concrete or abstract nouns rather than events or activities.

- (957) Tātā mai ni pauanga mō nā uwianga nei.
 write dir A answer-Nom for A ask-Nom here
Write some answers for these questions. (PP2:13:4)
- (958) Ko i loto pā o te puka nei ni mō takayala.
 T L inside probably P A book here A few mistake
Inside this book there are probably a few mistakes. (TM:L5:9)

Indefinite articles are quite restricted in their occurrence with nominalisations and do not otherwise occur with productive nominalisations denoting events.

10.8.2 USE OF THE SUFFIX

Pukapukan has a productive nominalising suffix, *-nga*, a regular reflex of the PPn nominalising suffix **(C)(a)nga*, which is attached to the verb. A second allomorph, *-anga*, is heard fairly frequently both in formal speech making and in colloquial speech, but native speakers readily recognise it as a borrowing from Cook Islands Māori (CIM) as it occurs mainly with CIM borrowed words and where the discourse is either predominantly CIM or CIM-Pukapukan mixed language. This allomorph is not discussed further. The consonant and the vowel (*a*) is otherwise reflected in only lexical nominalisations whose meanings are not predictable from their possible roots (cf.4.6): *wolomanga* ‘oesophagus’ (*wolo* ‘to swallow’); *tauanga* ‘coconut cream wringer’ (*tatau* ‘to wring’).

Both suffixed and unsuffixed nominalisations denoting actions or states occur with the same base verbs:

| | | |
|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| te vavayi-nga | te vayi | the splitting |
| te onoono-nga | te onoono | the looking |
| te kaikai-nga | te kaikai | the eating |

- (959) Ko ulu māua ma **te tangi ōku nō te tama nei.**
 T search we.2 with A cry P-I for A child here
We were searching while I was crying because of this child.
- (960) Lele mai loa au ki vao o te pōlotiko o mātou, onoono i **nā tanginga a Maua.**
 Run Dir Int I G out P A porch P we.Pl look Acc A cry-Nom P Maua
I ran outside of our porch to look at how Maua was crying [loudly]. (F4S4:3)
- (961) ...nō leila lāua **te yē lōmamai ki toku kainga**
 that's why they.2 A Neg Pl.come G my place
...that's why they didn't come to my place (WF2:12)
- (962) Na viviki tā lāua **lōmamainga ki ngāuta.**
 T fast P they.2 Pl.come-Nom G shore
They came to shore quickly. (LS2:4)

Unsuffixed nominalisations will be discussed first, followed by suffixed nominalisations and the semantic and syntactic differences between them.

The form of verbs which have undergone nominalisation without any means of suffixation is exactly the same as that of the corresponding finite forms. Compare (961) with (963) in which same form is found in a nominalisation and a verbal clause respectively.

- (963) Na **lōmamai** lāua ki ngāuta.
 T Pl.come they.2 G shore
They came to shore.

Any lexical verbs can be nominalised in this way. Intransitive and transitive verbs, including those which are suffixed with the 'passive' suffix, can occur in unsuffixed nominalisations:

- (964) Nō **te āngi** lā oki, nō leila **te palia vave**, nō **te ongo o te matangi.**
 P A blow but that's why A drift fast P A hard P A wind
Because of the blowing [of the wind], that's why [he] drifted so fast, because of the strength of the wind.
- (965) ...wai ma **te tauvalo ia Māmoe.**
 do with A call.for Acc Māmoe
...[she] was doing [it] while [she] was calling for Māmoe. (PP2:14:1)
- (966) Ko yē maua lā nō **te yē ana iloa te leo Papā.**
 T Neg able but P A Neg he know-Cia A language European
But [he] couldn't because he didn't know English. (KM2:7)

It is often difficult to distinguish between unsuffixed nominalisations and cognate lexical nouns (deverbal nouns) because they have often have the same form and are related semantically, as illustrated below:

| <u>Form</u> | <u>Meaning of verb root</u> | <u>Meaning of cognate lexical noun</u> |
|-------------|-----------------------------|--|
| kai | eat | food |
| longo | hear | rumour |
| māneanea | play | sports |

| | | |
|-----------|---------------|---------------------|
| mate | die | funeral |
| tala | tell | story |
| talatala | talk | words, speech |
| wakalongo | listen | judge [of an event] |
| wakamalu | provide shade | shady place |
| wakayaele | lead | leader |

However, unsuffixed nominalisations are distinguished from cognate nouns in several ways. The meaning of a cognate noun is often idiosyncratically related to that of the verb, whereas the meaning of the nominalisation is predictable from that of the verb. Cognate nouns generally refer to objects or abstract notions, but unsuffixed nominalisations refer to situations or states. Thirdly, cognate nouns may allow a different marker of possession from nominalised verbs. For instance, *wakayaele* 'leader' is marked by *o*-possession, while the nominalised verb allows *a*-possession for the actor.

The nominalising suffix *-nga* can be attached to any lexical verb.

- (967) Ko langona e Niu Tileni **aku tauvalo-nga nei.**
 T hear-Cia Ag New Zealand my.PI call.out-Nom here
New Zealand would have heard my calling out. (KS7:2)

As is the case with unsuffixed nominalisations, many suffixed action nominalisations are homophonous with cognate lexical nouns which are lexical nominalisations whose meanings differ unpredictably from that of the original verb. Cognate lexical nouns differ from suffixed action nominalisations in the same ways enumerated above that they differ from unsuffixed nominalisations.

| <u>Verb form</u> | <u>Meaning of verb root</u> | <u>Cognate Lexical noun</u> | <u>Meaning of cognate lexical noun</u> |
|------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| manatu | think | manatunga | thought |
| poto | be short | potonga | piece |
| putuputu | gather | putuputunga | pile |
| tua | divide | tuanga | food share |
| tupu | grow | tupunga | descendants |

A few lexical nominalisations also exhibit lengthening of the first vowel which further distinguishes them from the equivalent suffixed action nominalisations which follow as the second of each pair:

| | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|
| amo | carry on one's shoulder | āmonga | load-bearing pole |
| | | amonga | act of carrying |
| kake | climb | kākenga | tracks of a turtle |
| | | kakenga | act of climbing |
| lalanga | weave | lālanga | style, quality of weaving |
| | | lalanganga | act of weaving |
| mate | die | mātenga | period of mourning |
| | | matenga | death [event] |
| vave | be strong | vāvenga | strength [Pl. event] |
| | | vavenga | strength exhibited on one occasion |

A number of lexical nominalisations appear with the suffix *-anga*, whereas the suffixed action nominalisation is formed with the suffix *-nga*. Cook Islands Māori, in which the regular nominalising suffix has the form *-anga*, is the source of many, but not all, of these lexical nominalisations.

| | | | |
|------|----------------|----------|----------------------------|
| nō | sit, stay | nōanga | seat, chair |
| | | nōnga | act of sitting, staying |
| pau | answer | pauanga | answer |
| | | paunga | act of answering |
| pili | be near, close | pilianga | relationship |
| | | pilinga | state of being close |
| tau | perch | tauanga | pair of copulating turtles |
| | | taunga | act of perching |
| uwi | ask | uwianga | question |
| | | uwinga | act of questioning |

10.8.3 SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC CONDITIONING OF THE SUFFIX

The appearance of the suffix is conditioned by various factors. The syntactic relations of the nominalisation within its larger context may determine whether it is suffixed or not (Clark 1981b:67). There do appear to be some syntactic constraints on suffixation of nominalisations. Time adverbials marked by *i te* and subjects of numerical predicates are always suffixed, while ‘lest’ clauses marked by *ko te* are unsuffixed, as are complements of verbs of completion (see 10.8.3.4). However, most of these syntactic constraints can be accounted for by a semantic view of nominalisations. Clark (1981b:79) suggested that ‘unsuffixed nominalisations denote activities or processes, which can be qualified as to manner or described as beginning or ceasing; whereas suffixed nominalisations denote events, which can be enumerated and located in time.’ Hooper (1996:230), describing suffixation of nominalisations in Tokelauan, expressed the semantic distinction as being:

not primarily the aspectual one between event and activity/process, but rather that between a situation envisaged as actually obtaining in some world, as opposed to a contemplation of its generic nature or potential occurrence.

She sees the difference as that between a specific instance versus an abstract type. Pukapukan nominalisations seem to reflect similar semantic differences along a continuum between real/concrete events, in which the participants are readily identifiable (encoded as suffixed nominalisations), and generic/abstract concepts in which the participants are less identifiable. These are encoded as unsuffixed nominalisations. Although Hooper uses the term ‘irrealis’ in regard to the latter end of the spectrum, Pukapukan nominalisations allow suffixation for a wide range of irrealis situations (including future, hypothetical and negative) provided the reference is to a specific contemplated occasion or event.

The following discussion proceeds from suffixed nominalisations which denote past events to the various types of situations that can be encoded by unsuffixed nominalisations. Suffixed nominalisations in irrealis situations are discussed in a third section, followed by syntactic conditioning of suffixation and the presence of the suffix in nominalisations with incorporated objects.

10.8.3.1 Suffixed Nominalisations

Suffixed nominalisations typically denote realis situations which are specific events or situations which have occurred in the past.

- (968) Ko i te kau ko tala nei i tona likoanga e te wī yītolo ia.
 T L A people T tell here Acc his hold-Cia-Nom Ag A all ghosts Af
[Wutu] was with the people, telling of his capture by the ghosts. (PK:W3)
- (969) Kamuloa koe yeke wua i te tāyao nō tau kainga i te wala.
 really you diarrhoea just L A tomorrow because your eat-Nom Acc A pandanus
You will really have diarrhoea tomorrow because of eating the pandanus fruit.
- (970) Kake ki lunga o te motokā, tano mai loa ma te yaele mainga a Maua.
 climb G on P A car right Dir Int with A walk Dir-Nom P Maua
[She] climbed into the car just at the point when Maua walked up [to her].
- (971) Te kainga a te puaka i lua ana yakalī, na lipongatai.
 A eat-Nom P A pig Acc two his.Pl dry.nut-Da T gulp.together
The way the pig ate his two coconuts, [he] just gulped them.

Stative verbs may occur in suffixed nominalisations when they refer to situations in which the state was present during a specific period of time, usually in the past.

- (972) E mea wua nō te lolokunga a te tangata.
 Prd thing just P A R-trust-Nom P A people
It was because everyone trusted/prayed. (LS:2:63)
- (973) Ko ia koe nā te leleinga o te Atua i te tiniu tākatoa.
 T L-A you there A good-Nom P A God L A women every
The goodness of God is with you out of all women [on this specific occasion]. (KM:LK1:28)

States in which there is a lack or absence of a characteristic can also be encoded by suffixed nominalisations provided they denote specific situations in the past.

- (974) Na yāyāki te yanga nei ki te kākolenga o te pūtē, ki te ngaongaonga wua o te wale.
 T begin A work here Ins A nothing-Nom P A pocket Ins A deserted-Nom just P A house
[We] began this work with nothing in [our] pockets, and with no one to help us [lit. with the desertion of the house]. (PL1:5)

10.8.3.2 Unaffixed nominalisations

Unaffixed nominalisations typically denote situations which include generic action, states, qualities, habitual situations or general qualities and skills rather than specific situations.

1. Generic action is commonly expressed by equational predicates asserting class membership. There are normally no agentive participants identified in the nominalisation, but there may generic or specific objects and other obliquely marked noun phrases.

- (975) Kāle ai oki te mea nei e tamaki; e koti wuti, e koti nīnitā. E mea kē te tamaki.
 Neg pro also A thing this Prd fight Prd cut banana Prd cut pawpaw Prd thing different A fight
This isn't fighting; it's cutting bananas, cutting pawpaws. Fighting is a different matter. (UI:32:1)

- (976) Ko te angaanga a te tokatolu nei e yī ika.
 Top A RR-work P A pre-three here Prd catch fish.
The job of these three was fishing.

(PK:M1)

Nominalisations denoting general methods or techniques are also unsuffixed:

- (977) Ko te tunu o te ika nei, ko tui wakatai ki te tuāniu, ke waingāwie te wuliwulinga.
 Prd A cook P A fish here T thread together ins A coconut.leaf.midrib C easy A RR-turn-Nom
The way to cook this [type of] fish is to thread [them] together with coconut leaflet midribs, so that it is easy to turn [them] over.

(KM:YK:1:8)

- (978) Ko te yī pātuki e wāngota ko mina ai te kau wowoló ma te kauliki e te wō.
 Top A fish fish.sp Prd fishing.method T like pro A people R-big-Da and A children C go.Pl

Ko tona tū, ka penapena koe i tau matila puapua ma tau ola,
 Prd its stand T RR-prepare you Acc your rod tree.sp and your basket
Pātuki fishing is a type of fishing that [both] adults and children enjoy doing. [This] is how to do [it] [lit. its stance]: you prepare your puapua rod and your fishing basket,

(KM:YK4:1)

2. General or present states are typically denoted by unsuffixed nominalisations.

- (979) Nōnō loa lātou ki tawa o te awi akamāyanayana ia lātou nō te makalili o te pō ia.
 R-stay Int they G side P A fire caus-RR-warm Acc-A they because A cold P A night Af
They stayed by the fire keeping themselves warm because of the coldness of the night. (KM:AM1:1)
- (980) Ke tunu takitai oki, e waingatā te otinga nō te lewu wua oki o te ika nei.
 C cook each-one also T long.time A finish-Nom P A small just also P A fish here
If [you] cook [them] one at a time, it would take a long time to finish because of the small [size] of this [species of] fish.

(KM:YK1:8)

3. Intrinsic qualities or characteristics of a person or thing are denoted by unsuffixed nominalisations:

- (981) Ke tongi ake i tona malie.
 C taste dir Acc its sweet
To taste its sweetness. (KM:PS1:1)
- (982) Atawai wolo nō tō kōtou māloyi.
 thanks big P P you strength
Thank you for your strength/support. (KM:AR1:7)
- (983) Nō tona totoko lā,
 P his stubbornness but
But because of his stubbornness, (MK:S5:62)

4. Skills and abilities (or lack of ability) are denoted by unsuffixed nominalisations:

- (984) Te wakaolo motokā a te wawine ia ko yē tūkē.
 A drive car P A woman Af T Neg different
The woman's driving is consistently good [lit. not different].
- (985) Nō tona ata-wai pānga nō leila te wī tamāwine e mina ai e te wano ki ai.
 P her good.at-make mat P that A all girl T like pro C go G pro
Because she is good at making mats, that's why the girls like going there.
- (986) Nō te ongo o tana uwi na maua ai tona longo.
 P A hard P his bowl T get pro his rumour
He is renowned for his fast bowling.

- (987) Ia koe i te yē ā-yoka, na tuki loa i te mata o toku koyó.
 A you Prd Neg good.at-husk T hit Int Acc A point P my husking-stick-Da
You aren't any good at husking [nuts], you've blunted the point of my husking stick.

5. Habits and habitual actions are denoted by unsuffixed nominalisations:

- (988) Te mea oki na lapa ai tona ingoa ia, nō te mina uwi.
 A thing also T name pro his name Af P A like ask
The reason why he was called that name was because he kept asking questions [lit. liked asking questions].
 (KM:TM2:3)
- (989) Nō tona kai puyipuyi nō kiai iāna e malemale wua ai.
 P his eat RR-smoke P that he T RR-cough just pro
Because he smokes, that's why he is always coughing.
- (990) Nō tona wano ki te āpii nō leila ai tōna ata-tatau.
 P his go G A school that's why pro his good.at-read
Because he goes to school [habitually], that's why he is good at reading.

Compare (990) with (991), in which a suffixed form of the verb denotes past event(s):

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(991) Nō tana wanonga ki te āpii. P his go-Nom G A school Because he went to school [on one occasion].</p> | <p>Nō ana wanonga ki te āpii. P his.Pl go-Nom G A school Because he went spasmodically to school [on several occasions].</p> |
|---|---|

10.8.3.3 Irrealis Situations

Nominalisations referring to future, hypothetical or negative potential activities may be suffixed or unsuffixed. The general distinction is the same as that for realis situations. Nominalisations in which specific events are envisaged are suffixed, while states or generic activities are normally encoded by unsuffixed nominalisations, although there is some degree of overlap. Pukapukan differs from Tokelauan in which absolute future time reference is incompatible with suffixed nominalisations (Hooper 1996).

1. Future specific events and contemplated events located in a hypothetical situation are denoted by suffixed nominalisations.

- (992) Ka vēvēia i tona wānaunga, i tona tō mainga.
 T happy L his born-Nom L his fall dir-Nom
[They] will be happy at this birth, at his being born. (KM:LK1:15)
- (993) Auwe kōtou e kave ni mea i tā kōtou wōnga.
 Neg.Imp you T take A thing L P you go-Nom
Don't take anything with you when you go. (KM:L9:3)
- (994) Nō te wōnga ki Kō nei, ēnā oki te manako āku na avatu mua kia tātoú.
 P A go.Pl-Nom G Kō here there also A thought P-me T give first G-A we-Da
Concerning [the village] going to Kō [in the future, that we are discussing], this is what I think, which I have already said before. (JU:49:2)

Nominalisations denoting techniques or methods may be suffixed if they refer hypothetical or to future situations, although semantically there is some overlap with generic techniques which are typically encoded by unsuffixed nominalisations (10.8.3.1)

- (995) Peia oki nō te wakayakoyako-nga ma te uluulu-nga i nā muna waingatatā, e yē taka lelei ia tātou.
 like also P A caus-RR-right-Nom and A RR-find-Nom Acc A word R-hard T Neg sure well By-A we
Similarly, concerning [how] to correct and search for [the meanings of] hard words, we're not quite sure about [how to do] it. (KM:SL1:2)
- (996) Ēnei lua aku konga ko tō pikitia ai au, ko te wakapipiki-nga i nā putunga muna loloa
 Here two my.Pl place T bit stick-Cia pro I Prd A caus-R-join-Nom Acc A pile-Nom word R-long
 ma te akanō-nga i nā vouvela.
 and A caus-sit-Nom Acc A vowel
Here are two places which I am a bit stuck on: [how to] join long compound words and the setting down of the vowels. (SL:1:4)

2. Abstract nominalisations which depict generic actions in a hypothetical situation or nonspecific irrealis actions are unsuffixed. These contrast with future specific events which are encoded by suffixed nominalisations (see (1) above). However, the difference between nonspecific and specific irrealis events is not always clear-cut.

- (997) Me e tayi ō manako nō te tautulu ma te wakayako i nā konga e tūngayala...
 if T exist P thought for A help and A cause-right Acc A place T wrong
If you've got any ideas for helping and correcting those places which are wrong... (TA:E1)

3. Negative nominalisations are usually unsuffixed whether they denote negative states or potential actions. Nominalisations denoting negative states, habits and inabilities are typically unsuffixed.

- (998) Na wano au ma te yē kaikai.
 T go I with A Neg RR-eat
I went not having eaten [in the state of not eating]. (WT:F2:12)
- (999) Pēnei lāua ko yē mataola mai, nō leila lāua te yē lomamai ki toku kāinga.
 like-this they.2 T Neg happy dir P that they.2 A Neg come.Pl G my home
Maybe they aren't happy with me, that's why they don't come to my place. (WT:F2:1)
- (1000) Nō tona yē ata-patu, kiai na ō ki loto o te tīmi.
 P his Neg good.at-hit Neg T include G inside P A team
Because he is no good at batting, he didn't get into the team.

Positive polarity nominalisations denoting events are typically suffixed (10.8.3.1), but they are often unsuffixed with negative polarity:

- (1001) Nō leila tā lātou lōmamainga ia.
 P that P they come.Pl-Nom Af
That's why they came.
- (1002) Nō leila tō lātou yē lōmamai (*-nga).
 P that P they Neg come.Pl *Nom
That's why they didn't come.
- (1003) Nō kiai te loa, te yē oti vave o tā tātou yanga.
 P that A long A Neg finish quickly P P we work
That's why it has taken a long time, why our work hasn't been finished quickly.

However this is not always the case, since suffixed nominalisations do occur for unrealised actions. For negative nominalisations denoting potential events, it is not always easy to perceive a distinction between the suffixed and unsuffixed forms:

(1004) Nō tana yē pelenga ia, na yē leka te ĩmene.
 P her Neg sing.descant-Nom Af T Neg nice A sing
Because she didn't sing the descant, the singing wasn't nice.

(1005) Nō tona yē pele, na lili ai te tiaki.
 P her Neg sing.descant T angry pro A judge
Because she didn't sing the descant, the choir master got angry.

Suffixation of the nominalisation may implies a period of time during which an activity has not taken place, while the unsuffixed form implies that the action is not taking place at the present.

(1006) Ke manatu tātou wakalelei ma te yanga tātou ki lunga o te yanga nei,
 C think we well and A work we G on P A work here
 mālama tikāi ia tātou ē, ko takayala tātou te yē yanganga i tō tātou leo,
 clear really By-A we C T mistake we A Neg work-Nom Acc P we language

te yē ulunga i tō tatou leo ma a tātou pewu wenua.
 A Neg search-Nom Acc P we language and P we custom land
When we think about it carefully, and try to work on this task we realise that we were wrong not to have worked on[preserving] our language, not to have searched for our language and traditions [from the past until now].
 (KM:PS6:2)

(1007) ...ko takayala tātou te yē yanga i tō tātou leo.
 T mistake we A Neg work L P we language
 ...we are wrong to be not working on our language.

10.8.3.4 Syntactic Conditioning of Suffixation

1. Nominalisations in time adverbials seem to be syntactically conditioned, since they are always suffixed and may refer to changes of state or to present states as well as dynamic events:

(1008) I te iloanga e lāua tō lāua leo, kamuloa lāua vēvēia.
 L A know-Cia-Nom Ag they.2 P they.2 language really they.2 happy
When they got to know their [native] language they were really happy. (KM:ET4:3)

(1009) Maka toku tau ki te punga i laló, wai ma te wutiwuti mai ke makeke.
 throw my anchor G A coral.head L down-Da do with A RR-pull Dir C strong
 I te makekenga, liko mai loa au i te kalo...
 L A strong-Nom hold Dir Int I Acc A scoop
I cast my anchor to the coral head down below, and pulled on it so that it was secure.
When it was secure, I picked up my instrument [for prising clams open]... (KM:YK2:3)

(1010) I te vilinga ō lātou ate ma te ūmele wua,
 L A shake-Nom P-P they liver and surprise just
In fear and amazement, [lit. in the shaking of their livers and being amazed.] (KM:AM2:7)

2. Nominalisations as subjects of numerical predicates are always suffixed but this can be explained semantically since they denote specific events by virtue of being enumerated.

(1011) E lua aku yīnga.
 T two my.Pl fish-Nom
I went fishing twice.

3. Suffixation of nominalisations which are arguments of verbs of completion is also syntactically conditioned. Nominalisations which are the subject of a verb of completion are normally unsuffixed.²⁸ There may be no participants expressed, or the actor of the nominalised verb may occur as a possessor.

- (1012) Oti loa **te kaikai**, nīniko ai ki Wale.
 finish Int A RR-eat R-return pro G Home
After eating [they] returned to Wale [the main islet]. (PP2:5:4)
- (1013) Oti loa **tana tākele**, wano loa tāpena.
 finish Int his wash, go Int prepare
After washing, he went to get ready. (PP2:2:3)
- (1014) E pito oti wua atu tā **mātou kaikai**.
 T just finish just dir P we RR-eat
We have just finished eating. (V90:9:1)

In addition to the presence of a possessively marked actor, the object may be incorporated into the verb (1015, 1016) or marked with ‘accusative’ case marking (1017, 1018, 1077).

- (1015) Oti loa **taku tunu ika**, wano ai au tauvalo mai i toku māmī mā, ke lōmamai kaikai.
 finish Int my cook fish go pro I call Dir Acc my mother etc C come.PI RR-eat
When I had finished cooking the fish, I went and called my mother and the others to come and eat. (PP2:8:4)
- (1016) Oti loa **te yoka uto** a **Ngake**, lōmamai loa ki nā poti,
 finish Int A husk sprouting.coconut P Ngake come.PI Int G A boat
When Ngake had finished husking nuts, they came to the boats, (WF2:3:2)
- (1017) Oti **te māni a Limutaemoa i nā kai**,
 finish A make P Limutaemoa Acc A food
When Limutaemoa had finished making the food,
- (1018) Oti loa tā **māua onoono i nā puka manu**,
 finish Int P we.2 look Acc A tree.sp bird
When we had finished looking at the birds [in the] puka trees, (F3:S5:5)

However, if the direct object occurs as the possessor of the nominalisation then a suffixed form is required.

- (1019) Ka vēvēia tātou na oti **te kotikotinga mua o tō tātou leo** **Pukapuka**.
 T happy we T finish A RR-cut-Nom front P P we language Pukapuka
We will be very happy when the first printing [lit. cutting] of our language has been completed. (P:11:3)

A verb of completion together with its complement may be nominalised, for instance as a temporal adverbial marked by *i* which has a suffixed nominalisation as its head. The clause which is the subject of the verb of completion may be marked as a possessor. Where the verb in the complement has a generic object, the nominalisation which is the possessor of the verb of completion remains unsuffixed.

- (1020) I **te otinga o taku kalo pāyua**, kake loa au ki lunga o toku poti.
 L A finish-Nom P my scoop clam climb Int I G on P my boat
When I had finished collecting clams, I climbed back on board my boat. (KM:YK1:3)

However, other nominalisations which are marked as the possessor of a verb of completion allow both suffixed and unsuffixed forms without any significant semantic variation.

- (1021) I te otinga o tana talatalanga, mea atu ai iāna kia Timona,
L A finish-Nom P his RR-talk-Nom say dir pro he G-A Timona
When he had finished talking, he said to Timona, (KM:LK3:4)
- (1022) I te otinga o tana talatala ki te kau, mea loa iāna,
L A finish P his RR-talk G A people say Int he
When he had finished talking to the people, he said, (KM:LK9:1)
- (1023) ...ki te mutunga o taku lelenga.
G A finish-Nom P my run-Nom
...to the end of my race. (KM:PY3:1)

Hooper (1996:236) notes for Tokelauan that the presence of an object of transitive verbs requires the suffixed form of the verb and also that present time reference suppresses the suffix. These factors do not appear to be so significant in Pukapukan. While it must be conceded that the vast majority of nominalisations in which the object occurs (either marked accusatively by *i* or possessively by *o*) are suffixed, the presence of the object in itself does not condition suffixation. Nominalisations denoting generic methods, for instance, allow unsuffixed verbs with *o* marked objects, although for complements of verbs of completion, a possessively marked object, but not an accusatively marked object, conditions suffixation. However, the specificity of the participants and of the event itself are significant factors conditioning the appearance of the suffix.

10.8.3.5 Placement of the Suffix

The nominalising suffix typically occurs directly following the verb and its postposed particles, but preceding other adverbials, complements and adjuncts of the clause:

- (1024) Taute loa te wī tangata i nā pō ia i te kake mai-nga wakawōu a te wonu ki ngāuta.
look.for Int A all people L A night Af Acc A climb Dir-Nom again P A turtle G shore
During those nights, the people all watched for the turtle to come on shore again. (LW:2:1)
- (1025) I te tuku atu-nga o te Kāleva ki Lalotonga, kamuloa iāna vevēia.
L A send Dir-Nom P A Kāleva G Rarotonga really he happy
He was very happy when the Kāleva was sent to Rarotonga. (PW3:6)
- (1026) Ka vevēia tātou na oti te kotikoti-nga mua o tō tātou leo Pukapuka.
T happy we T finish A RR-cut-Nom front P P we language Pukapuka
We will be very happy when the first printing [lit. cutting] of our language has been completed. (P:11:3)

However, there is some flexibility in its placement when the verb has an incorporated object. Nominalisations with incorporated objects can be suffixed or unsuffixed. As with other nominalisations, suffixed nominalisations refer to specific events and unsuffixed nominalisations denote generic or habitual action. For instance, *toku kai puyipuyi* ‘my habit of smoking’ [lit. my eat smokes] is an unsuffixed nominalisation, whereas *taku kainga i te puyipuyi ia* ‘my smoking of that cigarette’ refers to a specific event and is an unsuffixed nominalisation. Complements of verbs of completion commonly contain incorporated objects in unsuffixed nominalisations (10.8.3.4). There is some variation in the placement of the suffix; the suffix may occur either following or preceding the incorporated object:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1027) te wuli kaipea-nga A turn crab-Nom <i>catching crabs</i> | te wuli-nga kaipea A turn-Nom crab <i>catching crabs</i> |
|--|---|

Nominalisations in which the suffix follows the incorporated object show that the verb and its object are being treated as a unit:

- (1028) Na lautokamala **taku yī ika-nga o te ayó.**
T bad.luck my fish fish-Nom P A day-Da
I had no luck fishing yesterday.

When the suffix precedes the incorporated object there can be lengthening of the vowel of the suffix. Sometimes the lengthening emphasises plurality of the product of the event, but at other times it is unpredictable. This type of construction shows that there is a loose connection between the verb and its incorporated object. See 10.8 for discussion of the continuum that exists between loose incorporation and incorporated compounds.

- (1029) **Te wuli-ngā kaipea a Mea ia** i te wowolo.
A turn-Nom crab P Mea Af Prd R-big
The number of crabs that Mea caught was great [product of event].
[Lit. Mea's turning of crabs was many.]
- (1030) **Te kotikoti-ngā uwi o te matawiti,** ko wowolo nā toe konga ko liliki nā toe konga.
A RR-cut-Nom garden P A year-Da T R-big A other place T small.PI A other place
The dividing of the taro swamps last year, some places were big and other places were small.

10.8.4 POSSESSIVE MARKING

The choice of possessor marking in nominalisations in Polynesian languages depends on both syntactic and semantic factors (Chung 1973:651-674, 1978:298-311, Clark 1981b). In Pukapukan, the choice is dependent on semantic factors, as Hooper (2000a) states is also the case in Tokelauan. The same principles that select *a/o* marking for ordinary possessive relationships are used for the selection of possessive marking in nominalisations. A possessor denoting an agent or actor is in a relationship of control and is marked by *a*-possession, while a patient is marked by *o*-possession. Chung (op. cit.) stated that for Pukapukan, possessive markers are assigned by syntactic category to subjects and objects of transitive verbs, but on a semantic basis to subjects of intransitives.²⁹ However, distinguishing between these two groups of factors obscures the fact that the semantic basis for marking of intransitive subjects also holds for the marking of the arguments of transitive clauses.

Clark (1981b:69) correlated the choice of possessive marking for transitive subjects and objects with the basic semantic contrast between dominant and subordinate possessive categories, noting that transitive subjects encode actors which typically have a controlling relationship to the events in which they take part, while objects encode patients which are typically do not. Intransitive subjects may be of either type. He suggested that historically there has been a tension between applying the dominant/subordinate semantic distinction, on the one hand, and basing the choice on the syntactic relations themselves, on the other.

Arguments which are actors are possessively marked by *a*. These may be subjects of intransitive verbs (1031, 1032) or subjects of transitive clauses in the ‘accusative’ pattern (1033, 1034, 1035):

- (1031) ...mai tā lāua nīniko mai-nga mai Wale nā
 from P they.2 R-return dir-Nom from Home there
 ...from their return to Wale (TM1:5)
- (1032) Oti loa te yoka uto a Ngake, lōmamai loa ki nā poti,
 finish Int A husk sprouting.coconut P Ngake come.Pl Int G A boat
 When Ngake [village] had finished husking nuts, [they] came to the boats, (WF2:3:2)
- (1033) I tā lātou amonga i nā manu ia,
 L P they carry.on.shoulder-Nom Acc A bird Af
 As they were carrying the birds,
- (1034) Oti te māni a Limutaemoa i nā kai,
 finish A make P Limutaemoa Acc A food
 When Limutaemoa had finished making the food,
- (1035) Na loa tā lāua kalinga ia Yina.
 T long-time P they.2 wait-Nom Acc-A Yina.
 They waited for Yina for a long time. [Lit. Their waiting for Yina was long.] (MY1:4)

Patients are marked by *o* possessive marking. They may be subjects of ‘patient-oriented’ intransitive verbs (cf. Arms 1974) (1036, 1037):

- (1036) I te ngawā mainga o te konga i lolotonu ia,
 L A break dir-Nom P A place L middle Af.
 When the place broke in the middle, (PK:M2)
- (1037) Ka vēvēia i tona wānaunga, i tona tō mainga.
 T happy L his born-Nom L his fall dir-Nom
 [They] will be happy at his being born, at his birth. (KM:LK1:15)

They may be patients of transitive clauses in which the verb is unaffixed (1038, 1039). The distinction between clauses of the ‘accusative’ pattern and the ‘ergative’ pattern is neutralised for nominalisations in which there is no overt agent:

- (1038) Ko weolo i lolotonu te vavayinga o te ipu.
 T same L middle A R-split-Nom P A coconut.
 The splitting of the coconut is equal in the middle. [ie. the two halves are equal] (MU:E2)
- (1039) Wano ai au onoono i nā talinga o nā apinga mai te tukutai.
 go pro I look Acc A carry-Nom P A thing from A beach
 I went to watch the things being carried [in loads] from the beach. (UR:9)

Patients of clauses of the ‘passive’ pattern are also marked by *o*:

- (1040) ...i tona liko-a-nga e te wī yītolo ia.
 Acc his hold-Cia-Nom Ag A all ghosts Af
 ...about his capture by the ghosts. (PK:W3)
- (1041) Na tala mai i tō kōtou puke-a-nga e te laloao...
 T tell dir Acc P you catch-Cia-Nom Ag A storm
 [He] told [me] of how you were caught by the storm... (LP:1:3)

10.8.4.1 Choice of possessive marking for actor subjects

The choice of possessor marking for intransitive subjects and for some semitransitive verbs is dependent on a range of semantic factors. A prototypical actor is one which is human or animate and in control of some volitional action, while a patient is typically inanimate, nonvolitional and affected by the action. Thus subjects of intransitive verbs which are marked by *a* are typically volitional animate or human actors, while subjects of intransitive verbs marked by *o* are not volitional actors. They are typically inanimate patient subjects, or the action may occur spontaneously. Where a given situation does not exactly correspond in all of these features, there is room for some flexibility in possessive marking. Moreover, the perspective that the speaker wishes to highlight may allow for an unexpected choice of possessive marking.

1. Animate non-human subjects are typically marked with *a*-possessive marking even although they may act instinctively rather than volitionally:

(1042) Taute loa te wī tangata i nā pō ia i te kake mai-nga wakawōu a te wonu ki ngāuta.
look.for Int A all people L A night Af Acc A climb dir-Nom again P A turtle G shore
During those nights, the people all watched for the turtle to come on shore again. (LW:2:1)

(1043) I te ūlunga lāi a nā memea ki loto o te kupenga, popō oki māua i te kupenga, tāki ki lunga.
L A Pl.enter Int P A fish.sp G inside P A net R-close also we.2 Acc A net lift G up
As the memea fish entered the net, we closed the edges and lifted it up. (PP2:11:3)

Inanimate subjects, which do not act volitionally at all, are typically marked by *o*. For the same verbs, animate actor subjects are normally marked by *a*:

| | | |
|--|--|-----------|
| (1044) te lelenga o te matangi. A run-Nom P A wind <i>the increasing intensity of the wind</i> <i>[lit. running of the wind].</i> | cf. te lelenga a te tama ia A run-Nom P A child Af <i>the running of the child</i> | (LS:2:53) |
|--|--|-----------|

| | |
|--|---|
| (1045) te wanonga o te poti ki Kō. A go-Nom P A boat G Kō <i>the going of the boat to Kō</i> | cf. te wanonga a te tama ia A go-Nom P A child Af <i>the going of the child</i> |
|--|---|

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| (1046) ki te tanginga o tō iyu. G A cry-Nom P your nose <i>until you die [lit. until your nose makes a noise]</i> | cf. te tanginga a te tama ia A cry-Nom P A child Af <i>the crying of the child</i> | (KM:WK3:1) |
|---|--|------------|

Actor-orientated verbs allow a choice of possessive marking for inanimate or non-human subjects depending on whether volitionality is being attributed to the subject or not.³⁰

(1047) Ko te kakā mainga teia a te wī manu nā onoono wua mai i te lelenga o te matiku nei.
Prd A call dir-Nom this P A all bird T look just dir Acc A fly-Nom P A heron here
This was what the birds called out as they watched the heron flying towards them. (KS:1:7)

2. Nonvolitional actions of inanimate entities are typically encoded with *o*-possessive marking (1048, 1049), but they allow *a*-possessive marking if the possessor is being depicted as an actor (1050):

- (1048) Ko te vāia lelei e te yī i te ika nei, ko te yekenga o te tai ki te wōwonu.
 Top A time good C fish Acc A fish here Prd A flow-Nom P A sea G A deep
The best time to catch this [sort of] fish is when the tide is coming in. (KM:YK1:3)
- (1049) Kamuloa te wī tāngata mātatau i nā ānginga o nā niu.
 really A all people R-fear By A blow-Nom P A coconut
Everyone was really fearful because of the way the coconuts were blowing. (UR:4)
- (1050) Na mamae te niu ia i te lapanga a te uwila ia.
 T wither A coconut Af L A flash-Nom P A lightning Af
The coconut tree was singed on account of the lightning flashing/when the lightning flashed.

3. Even human subjects of actor-orientated verbs allow possessive marking by *o* if the speaker does not wish to be explicit about the volitionality or intentionality of the subject in performing the action. The verb *wano* ‘to go’ normally marks its actor subjects with *a*-possession, but marking by *o* allows the interpretation that a journey was undertaken rather than actively performed. Non-active or inanimate subjects also allow marking by *o* as expected.

- (1051) tana wanonga ki te motu cf. te wanonga o Lata
 his go-Nom G A reserve A go-Nom P Lata
his going to the reserve islet the voyage of Lata
- (1052) Ko lātou na kitea te wanonga a te tamāwine nei.
 Top they T see-Cia A go-Nom P A girl here
They saw this girl going. (KS:3:5)
- (1053) E te matikú, wano lā i tō wanonga, nō ai koe wakalelei.
 Voc A heron-Da go Int L your go-Nom stay Pro you well
Heron, go on your way and remain happy. (MK:S1:7)
- (1054) Ke māloloyi o mātou wakayaele, ke lelei te wanonga o te wenua.
 T R-strong P we leader C good A go-Nom P A land
May our leaders be strong so that [the way] the island goes will be good. (LL:2:1)

4. Certain verbs of perception and cognition normally require conscious attention for their performance, for instance, *akalongo* ‘to listen’, *onoono* ‘to look’, *kite* ‘to see’, *manatu* ‘to think about, consider, remember’. Their actors/experiencers are normally marked by *a*-possession.

- (1055) I taku akalongonga i ana muna ia,
 L my listen-Nom Acc his.Pl word Af
When I listened to his words,
- (1056) Oti loa tā māua onoono i nā puka,
 finish Int P we.2 look Acc A tree.sp
When we had finished looking at the puka trees, (F3:S5:5)

However, they also allow their experiencers to be marked by *o* implying that the perception was not intentional.

- (1057) I te kite mainga o te māmā i te kau, kamuloa vēvēia.
 L A see Dir-Nom P A mother Acc A people really happy
When the mother saw the people [who had come to visit] she was very happy. (KM:ET2:5)

(1058) I te longonga **ōku** o tō leo welāvei,
 L A hear-Nom P-me P your voice greet
When I heard your voice greeting [me],

(KM:LK1:44)

5. Other verbs of cognition or emotion, including *manako* ‘to think’, *aloe* ‘to love’, *lili* ‘to be angry’, *mataku* ‘to fear’, *winangalo* ‘to want’ typically occur in unsuffixed nominalisations with their possessors marked by *o*, depicting states of nonvolitional emotion or inherent characteristics of the possessor.

(1059) E yē wano au ki ai nō **tona** lili.
 T Neg go I G pro P his anger
I won't go to him because he is angry.

They allow possessive marking by *a* only in certain cases that are dynamic situations encoded by suffixed nominalisations that refer to specific events in which the possessor is considered an actor.

(1060) I **taku** lilinga kia ana ia, yē yau ai iāna wakawōu.
 L my angry-Nom G-A he Af Neg come pro he again
On account of my getting angry at him [display of emotion] he never came back again.

(1061) I te lilinga **a Kali** i te kau ia, yē nīniko wakawōu.
 L A angry-Nom P Kali Acc A people Af Neg R-return again
When Kali got mad at those people, they never came back again.

Suffixed nominalisations containing verbs of emotion also allow possessive marking by *o* to denote that the emotion is an inherent characteristic, attribute or emotional state not under the volition of the actor.

(1062) Te lilinga **o Kali** ia, kamuloa i te ongo.
 A angry-Nom P Kali Af really Prd hard
Kali's display of anger was really intense.

Encoding of inherent relationships by *o*-possession is not limited to special categories of nominalised verbs, but potentially applies to a wide range of verbs. Even actions denoted by transitive verbs may be viewed as inherent characteristics of their possessors who are actors, although the conventionalisation of *a*-possessive marking for actors is the most common. Marking of a possessor in the role of actor by *a*-possession focuses on the activity, on sequentially ordered events, or the manner in which the action is performed, while marking by *o* may make a comment about the internal emotions of the possessor at the time when the action was performed; it de-focuses from the agency and volitionality of the actor.

(1063) **Taku** vayinga i te tamaiti ia na ongo.
 my hit-Nom Acc A child Af T hard
The way I hit that child was hard.

(1064) I **toku** vayinga i te tamaiti ia, kamuloa au wakaaloe.
 L my hit-Nom Acc A child Af really I feel-pity
As I hit the child, I felt sorry for him.

Abstract concepts such as ‘thoughts’ and ‘work’ which are likely to be lexical nominalisations also offer the choice of possessive marking based on the viewpoint of the speaker. They may be marked with *o* if the concepts are considered to be internal to the possessor, or they may be marked with *a* if the possessor is considered to be active. Thus thoughts which are made known to others, actively decided or thought

is considered to be active. Thus thoughts which are made known to others, actively decided or thought about by the possessor are marked by *a*, while those which are private or only internal to the possessor are marked by *o*. This distinction applies to two words for thinking which are different in their conventionalised possessive marking. *Manatunga* normally marks its possessor with *a* (1065), while *manako* is normally marked with *o* possession, denoting an internal desire or thought (1067). However both can be viewed from the opposite perspective in certain situations (1066, 1067).³¹ Likewise for *yanga* ‘work’, an actor can take both types of possessive marking (1068).

- (1065) Tēnei **taku**/*toku manatunga kia koe.
 here my think-Nom G-A you
Here is what I think [active, to be made known]. (KM:ET:4:1)
- (1066) i loto o te manatunga o te kau māwuwutu
 L inside P A think-Nom P A people R-clever
in the opinion of the experts [the thoughts inside them] (S:LN1:12)
- (1067) Te taime nei oki, na pau a tātou manako [na manatú], mē tai lā ō manako openga.
 A time here also T finish P we thought T think-Da Q exist Int your thought closing
Our speeches [announced thoughts] have come to an end now, [I give opportunity] if you have any final [internal] thoughts [to make them known now]. (UM:7:1)
- (1068) Ko yē aku iloa nā yanga o lua ōile, ko nā yanga lā tēnei a Ngake.
 T Neg I know-Cia A work P two village Prd A work but here P Ngake
I don't know what the other two villages do [characteristically], but this is what Ngake does. (V:90:12:2)

In summary, there is some flexibility in the marking of possession although there is a degree of conventionalised with actors marked with *a*-possession and patients marked with *o*-possession. Actors also sometimes allow marking by *o*-possession, but patients are always marked by *o* and do not allow the option of marking by *a*. Tokelauan (Hooper 2000:304) and Samoan (Mosel and Hovdahugen 1992:542, 551) seem to exhibit similar characteristics of possessive marking in nominalisations where *a*-marking explicitly indicates agency and *o*-marking is neutral.

10.8.4.2 Possessor marking in types of nominalisation

Possessor marking in nominalisations is also sensitive to the semantic type of nominalisation. Hooper (1996b) classified nominalisations in Tokelauan into several types and discussed the possessor marking which is typically associated with them. In Pukapukan, ‘instance’ nominalisations, which denote particular situations and specific events located in time, allow the actor to be an *a*-possessor:

- (1069) Kamuloa koe yeke wua i te tāyao nō tau kainga i te wala.
 Really you diarrhoea just L A tomorrow because your eat-Nom Acc A pandanus
You will really have diarrhoea tomorrow because of eating the pandanus fruit.
- (1070) E kauwelaui tā mātou kotonga i te tiale.
 T cls-we-100 P we pluck-Nom Acc A flower
We picked a hundred flowers.

‘Method’ nominalisations denote a manner or method of performing some activity. This type of nominalisation also allows the actor to be an *a*-possessor:

- (1071) Ko nā lelenga a toku māāmā, kamuloa puku te tua i te lele.
 Top A run-Nom P my mother-Da really bent A back L A run
The way that my mother was running, her back was really bent over in [her effort to] run. (UR:6)
- (1072) Kamuloa te wī tāngata ngālelepe e te kākata i nā ulanga a Pavai ma Kalito.
 really A all people R-break C R-laugh Acc A dance-Nom P Pavai and Kalito
Everyone was cracking up laughing at the way Pavai and Kalito were dancing. (F3:2:5)

On the other hand, nominalisations denoting habitual or frequent activity require their possessors to be marked by *o*. A contrast is made with nominalisations denoting a single dynamic event which mark their actors with *a* possession and which are suffixed.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1073) tona wano ki te āpii his go G A school <i>his [habitual]going to school</i></p> | <p>tana wanonga ki te āpii his go-Nom G A school <i>his going to school [once]</i></p> |
| <p>(1074) Nō tona mou pele, na wāi tona leo. P her frequent sing.descant T hoarse her voice <i>Because she often sings the descant, her voice is hoarse.</i></p> | <p>tana pelenga her sing-descant-Nom <i>her singing of the descant [one occasion]</i></p> |
| <p>(1075) tona kai puyipyi his eat cigarette <i>his habit of smoking</i></p> | <p>tana kainga i te puyipyi ia his eat-Nom Acc A cigarette Af <i>his smoking of that cigarette</i></p> |

Likewise, nominalisations denoting qualities and skills of individuals are unsuffixed nominalisations which require *o*-possessive marking. Hooper (op. cit.) calls both these classes ‘property’ nominalisations.

- (1076) tona ata ula
 her good.at dance
 her ability at dancing

In ‘abstract’ nominalisations, a type of activity or process is conceived abstractly and evaluated. No examples in the corpus contain possessive marking. ‘Phasal’ and ‘degree’ nominalisations are complements of verbs such as *oti* ‘finish’. This type of nominalisation typically occurs with the actor marked with *a*-possession (see 10.8.3.4).

- (1077) Oti te māni a Limutaemoa i nā kai,
 finish A make P Limutaemoa Acc A food
When Limutaemoa had finished making the food,

The object of all types of clausal nominalisations is marked by *o*-possession as described above.

Negative polarity is linked with possessive marking by *o*. Dynamic events with positive polarity mark their actor subjects possessively with *a*, but the same events with negative polarity often mark their actors with *o*:

- (1078) Nō leila tā lātou lōmamainga ia.
 P that P they come.Pl-Nom Af
That’s why they came.
- (1079) Nō leila tō lātou yē lōmamai.
 P that P they Neg come.Pl
That’s why they didn’t come.

10.8.4.3 The choice of which argument is possessor

Possessive marking is available only for certain arguments of the nominalised clause, namely subjects and direct objects. Subjects of intransitive verbs can always be encoded as a possessor (see 10.8.4.1-2).

Nominalisations of verbs with incorporated objects can always encode their subjects as possessor:

(1080) Oti loa tā māua tae vayavaya...
 finish Int P we.2 clear grass
When we had finished pulling out weeds...

(1081) Te wakaolo motokā a te wawine ia i te lelei.
 A drive car P A woman Af Prd good
The woman's driving is good.

1. A subject of a transitive verb in the 'accusative' pattern can be marked by *a*-possession, leaving the object marked with the accusative marker *i*. The grammatical relations of the subject and object are clear-cut for this pattern.

(1082) Oti te māni a Limutaemoa i nā kai,
 finish A make P Limutaemoa Acc A food
When Limutaemoa had finished making the food,

(1083) Tau ikoiko-nga i te taula nā i te makeke.
 your RR-wind-Nom Acc A rope that Prd strong
You wound that rope tightly.

2. If there is no overt actor in the nominalisation, the patient of a transitive verb may be marked with *o*. This pattern is structurally ambiguous. Since the verb is unsuffixed the possessor may represent the direct object of the 'accusative' pattern or the absolutive argument of the 'ergative' pattern.

(1084) Ke tayi te tātānga o te wī talatala tākatoa.
 C one A write-Nom P A all word entirely
To unify all the writing of all the words. (TA:E2)

Alternatively, the patient of a transitive verb may receive 'accusative' marking as a direct object of the 'accusative' pattern, although this is less frequent than possessive marking.

(1085) Na ongo loa te vayinga ia koe.
 T hard Int A hit-Nom Acc-A you.
You were hit hard. (AT:C1)

An alternative is that the actor is encoded as a possessor of the patient:

(1086) Akalongo atu au ko tala nei ia Tupi i te kainga o a lātou moa.
 caus-hear Dir I T tell here A Tupi Acc A eat-Nom P P they chicken
I listened while Tupi told of how [they] had eaten the hens. (F3:S4:1)

(1087) I te otinga lai o a mātou ika e te tuaki, wawao loa ki loto o te ola.
 L A finish-Nom Int P P we fish C gut R-throw Int G inside P A basket
When we had finished gutting the fish, [we] put them in the basket. (PP2:8:3)

The choices of (1) and (2) can be summarised as follows: if there is only one main argument of the nominalised verb overt, then it is normally marked as a possessor. If both the actor and the patient are present then preference is given to mark the actor as a possessor.

To account for similar facts in other Polynesian languages, Chung (1973:659, 1978:309) formulated a rule of possessive marking which applies to the first noun phrase following a nominalised verb: ‘Possessive marking cannot apply to canonical transitive subjects if they occur to the right of the nominalised verb and are marked with *e*.’ Clark (1981b:71) reformulated this rule in terms of two output constraints:

The first is that a nominalised verb may not have more than one postposed possessive phrase. Double possessive marking is possible only when one of the possessors is preposed.

Although rare, double possessive marking does occur in Pukapukan:

- (1088) Ke yē tūkēkē te wāpikipikinga o nā lata a te toe tangata ma te toe tangata.
 C Neg R-different A RR-join-Nom P A letter P A other person and A other person
So that the way letters are joined together won't be different between one person and another. (TA:E1)

However, the actor of a transitive verb cannot be encoded as a preposed *a*-possessor with the patient encoded as a *o*-possessor. Accusative marking is required for the patient.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (1089)* taku kitenga o te tamāwine | taku kitenga i te tamāwine |
| my see-Nom P A girl | my see-Nom Acc A girl |
| <i>(My seeing of the girl)</i> | <i>my seeing of the girl</i> |

Clark's second constraint prevents unmarked noun phrases appearing in nominalisations, which are also restricted in Pukapukan. A nominative subject of the ‘accusative’ pattern may not appear in the nominalisation with the direct object encoded as a possessor:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1090)* te onoononga mātou o nā puaka | tā mātou onoononga i nā puaka |
| A look-Nom we P A pig | P we look-Nom Acc A pig |
| <i>(our looking at the pigs)</i> | <i>our looking at the pigs</i> |

However, there are one or two examples in the corpus which have unmarked noun phrases in nominalisations. One example is with a verb which allows a preverbal pronoun, and neither argument is encoded as a possessor; both appear after the verb with their normal case marking:

- (1091) I te iloanga e lāua tō lāua leo, kamuloa lāua vēvēia.
 L A know-Cia Ag they.2 P they.2 language really they.2 happy
When they had learned their language, they were very happy. (KM:ET4:3)

3. Examples of anomalous case marking exist where otherwise a noun phrase which is not encoded as a possessor would be left unmarked in the nominalisation. Compare the nominalisation in (1092a) with the corresponding verbal clause in (1092b):

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1092)a taku ngalopōina-nga ia koe | b. Na ngalopoaina koe ia aku. |
| my forget-Nom ?Acc-A you | T forget you By-A I |
| <i>my forgetting of you</i> | <i>I forgot you.</i> |

The experiencer of the neuter verb, which is the causal oblique noun phrase marked by *i*, is marked by *a*-possessive marking and the patient noun phrase in the nominative/absolutive case acquires an anomalous accusative case marking. Seiter (1979:120-2) refers to this phenomenon in Niuean as ‘Fake Accusative Marking’. Anomalous case marking does not occur for all nominalisations of clauses containing neuter verbs. The most common pattern of case marking is for the patient to be marked with *o*-possession and for the causal noun phrase to retain its oblique case marking.

- (1093) te yinganga o te lākau i te matangi
 A fall-Nom P A tree By A wind
the falling of the tree on account of the wind

4. Chung notes (1973:659, 1978:308) that possessive marking applies only to non-oblique noun phrases. Thus temporal, locative and other oblique noun phrases retain their original case markings.³²

- (1094) Na kite oki au i tana ālu mainga ki lunga o te poti, i te kakau mainga ki lunga o te poti.
 T see also I Acc his follow Dir-Nom G on P A boat Acc A swim Dir-Nom G on P A boat
I saw him coming after the boat [to get] on it, swimming [to get] on the boat. (LS2:30)

- (1095) I te ilinga o tō lātou vaka i lunga ia,
 L A land-Nom P P their canoe L above Af
When their canoe landed on top, (PK:M3)

5. Nominalisations of clauses of the ‘passive’ pattern are attested for Pukapuka (Chung 1973:677), although these occur infrequently. Chung observed that nominalisations exclusively select the *a* suffix on the verb. Although this is mostly true, it is not the case in the two examples below from the Beagleholes’ manuscript (E. and P. Beaglehole n.d.,a.).

- (1096) Na pau te kai-na e Te Takapau a Te Moyoaliki.
 T finish A eat-Cia Ag Te Takapau P Te Moyoaliki
It had all been eaten by the Takapau of Te Moyoaliki. (BB:1160)

- (1097) Tala loa i te motu-ia-nga o te pa o Te Malo.
 tell Int Acc A break-Cia-Nom P A fish.hook P Te Malo.
They told of the breaking of the fishing hook of Te Malo. (BB:1028)

In nominalisations of ‘passive’ verbs, the patient is marked by *o* possession and the agent keeps its agentive case marking, *e*. The agent cannot be encoded as a possessor leaving the patient in an unmarked case.

- (1098) Ko i te kau, ko tala nei i tona liko-a-nga e te wī yītolo ia.
 T L A people T tell here Acc his hold-pass-Nom Ag A all ghosts Af
[He] was with the people, telling [them] about his capture by the ghosts. (PK:W3)

- (1099) Na tala mai i tō kōtou puke-a-nga e te laloao.
 T tell Dir Acc P you catch-Cia-Nom Ag A storm
[He] told [me] of how you were caught by the storm. (LP:1:3)

- (1100) Te lāpalepale o tō mātou potí, na yaeyae loa i tō mātou puke-a-nga e te matangi ongó.
 A jib.sail P P we boat-Da T RR-tear Int L P we catch-Cia-Nom Ag A wind hard-Da
The jib sail on our boat was torn to pieces when we were struck by the strong wind.

A second type of nominalisation occurs with certain non-agentive verbs derived from nouns by suffixation. The meaning of these verbs is: 'to be affected by N'.

| | | | |
|-----|-------|---------|--|
| lā | sun | lā-ina | affected by sun, kissed by the sun, to get sunstroke |
| pō | night | pō-ina | to be benighted |
| mea | thing | mea-ina | to have something happen to one |

- (1101) Nā pōina mātou i tā mātou nīniko mainga ki wale.
 T night-Cia we L P we R-return Dir-Nom G home
Night fell on us while we were on our way home.

These verbs may be nominalised and their patient subjects are marked by *o* possession:

- (1102) I tō mātou pō-ina-nga,
 L P we night-Cia-Nom
when we were benighted,

There are also a few verbs which take a *-Cia* suffix but have no active form and allow preverbal pronominalisation. For these verbs preverbal pronoun placement is retained in nominalisations, or a non-pronominal agent is marked by *e* even if there is no overt object. Possessive marking by *a* is not permitted.

- (1103) ...ma te yē a lātou iloloa.
 with A Neg they Pl-know-Cia
...without them knowing. (PS5:2)
- (1104)* I te iloanga a Ietu. koā oko ki te vāia...
 I te iloanga e Ietu koā oko ki te vāia...
 L A know-Cia Ag Jesus T arrive G A time
When Jesus knew that the time was approaching [when]...

NOTES

1. However, explicitly marked resultant action is usually marked by the subordinator *ke* (10.3).
2. However, *kole* is not an independent negative form in Pukapukan (see Chapter 8 Negatives).
3. It is possible that this structure was the original one and it was generalised to the subject complement structure.
4. Neuter verbs including verbs of completion are generally only permitted in complements marked by *ke*:
 - (i) Ka vēvēia au ke oti te yanga nei.
 * Ka vēvēia au e te oti te yanga nei.
 T happy I C finish A work here
I will be glad when this work is finished/to finish this work.

Even verbs of evaluation do not allow verbs of completion in their sentential complements marked by *e te*. However in the corpus there is one example of a neuter verb occurring in the complement of another neuter verb marked by *e te*. Since both the main verb and the predicate have a non-volitional subject, this seems to indicate that the restriction is a semantic rather than a syntactic one.

- (ii) Koa oti te taime o te anu e te pau.
 T finish A time P A cold C finish
Winter is almost finished.

(V90:10:1)

5. The second line of this example sentence is acceptable in the 'accusative' pattern which means 'Tao wants to take him /(*himself) to Kō', but the 'ergative' interpretation is not acceptable.

6. Chung (1978:326) assumes that subordination by juxtaposition is related to an underlying form in which the clauses are subordinated by the tense-aspect marker *ke*. She does not acknowledge that the underlying form she cites is in fact ungrammatical in many cases, but the formulation of her rule of 'Equi' depends on deletion of *ke*.

7. Chung attests that 'Equi' can target the subjects of intransitive clauses and transitive clauses of the 'accusative' pattern (1978:326-328) (although there are one or two minor errors in the examples she cites), but she says that the agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern is 'rarely, if ever, able to serve as the target for Equi' (1978:348). Two of her examples, (67)a., b., are ungrammatical as she states. They require the 'accusative' marking in the subordinate clause to become grammatical. Her third example, (67) c., is an imperative clause which is ungrammatical because it contains an overt subject pronoun referring to the addressee in the superordinate clause.

8. Chung attests that the agentive noun phrase of the 'passive' pattern can 'serve occasionally as the target for Equi' (1978:346). Two of her examples, (61)a., b., marked with (?) as marginal, are in fact ungrammatical, being narrative clauses. My consultants corrected them to the 'accusative' pattern. The third, (61)c., is an imperative clause, with no overt agent, which is grammatical, as she says it is.

9. Chung did not distinguish imperative clauses from declarative clauses, but she does give an example each of imperative clauses in the 'passive' and 'ergative' patterns. She attests that the 'passive' pattern is grammatical (1978:346) (her example (61)c.), but that the 'ergative' pattern is 'rarely if ever' grammatical (1978:348) (her example (67)c.). The 'ergative' pattern is restricted in not allowing an overt subject pronoun in the superordinate clause, a fact which she overlooks. By chance, her 'passive' example does not have an overt subject in the superordinate clause, but her 'ergative' example does, which is the reason for the discrepancy.

10. Chung attests the same (1978:328).

11. Chung (1978:335-336) concludes that the deletion strategy is available for subjects of intransitive verbs.

12. Chung (1978:336) assumes that the 'accusative' pattern is the basic one and that subjects of this pattern are always relativised by deletion. Her examples (39a., b.) are both grammatical, although the addition of definitive accents is required.

13. Chung (1978:343) also concludes that the 'unmarked noun phrase' of the 'passive' pattern can always undergo the deletion strategy.

14. Chung (1978:347) seems reluctant to accept that the 'NP' of the 'passive' pattern can undergo subject referring rules, such as relativisation by deletion, and marks one of her examples (63a) with † to indicate near perfect acceptability. My consultants found the example completely grammatical, although (63b) required a minor correction, as did some of her earlier examples of relativisation.

15. Again Chung's (1978:344) conclusions are the same, although my consultants found minor amendments necessary to make her sentences fully grammatical.

16. Chung (1978:349) attests that the agentive noun phrase of the 'ergative' pattern can 'occasionally' undergo the deletion strategy. However, her examples (repeated here as (i) and (ii)) are not grammatical as there are contiguous like vowels not marked, which in (69a) ((i) here) corresponds to a missing accusative marker *i* and in (69b) ((ii) here) corresponds to a missing *-Cia* suffix.

- (i) * Ko i wea te tāne na kai te ika?
 Pred at where? the man [past eat the fish]
 ('Where is the man who ate the fish?')

corrected to:

Ko i wea te tāne na kai i te iká?
 T L where A man T eat Acc A fish-Da
Where is the man who ate the fish?

or 'better':

Ko i wea te tāne na kaina te iká?
 T L where A man T eat-Cia A fish-Da
Where is the man who ate the fish?

- (ii) * Ko ai te kau e langa a tatou ui nei?
 Pred who? the people [uns pull pl=our taro this
 ('Who is the group who pulls up our talo?')

(BB:1128)

corrected to:

Ko ai te kau e langā o tātou uwi nei?
 Prd Pro A people T pull-Cia P we garden here
Who are the people who are pulling up our taro?

17. Chung does not investigate this category.

18. Chung (1978:337) concludes the same.

19. For equational and existential main clauses, *ke* seldom occurs as a subordinator and the pronominal *ai* is required in the subordinate clause. The subordinate clause thus appears to be more like a tenseless relative clause for these sentences.

- (i) Ēnā te kau [Ø kau ai lua tamaliki nā], ko te anu.
 There A blanket C cover Pro two children there lest cold
There is a blanket with which to cover the two children, in case of the cold.
- (ii) Kāe aku kūkī, [Ø yemu ai te lākau ki lalo].
 Neg.exist my.Pl axe C chop Pro A tree G down
I don't have an axe with which to chop down the tree.

20. *Kāe* as a subordinator should not be confused with *kāe* the negative existential marker (8.4).

21. Except for their occurrence with ordered narrative clauses which are typified by zero tense marking.

22. The occurrence of unsuffixed nominalisations in this type of reason clause could also be related to the influence of CIM in which unsuffixed nominalisations regularly denote the present continuous aspect. (The CIM example sentence quoted here reflects Puk usage of CIM.)

- (i) CIM Nō leila te lekaleka nei au ia kōlua... Puk Nō kiai au na vēvēia ia kōlua...
 P that A happy here I Acc-A you.2 P that I T happy Acc-A you
That's why I am so happy with you... (SF:T5:2) That's why I am happy with you...

23. *Nō tei* does not allow a tense-aspect marker in the reason clause and thus could be analysed as a portmanteau morpheme combining tense-aspect and reason. However *i* is not a tense-aspect marker in Pukapukan. Although it looks as though *tei* could be related to CIM *i* 'past tense marker', CIM has a different form, *nō te mea*, as a subordinator of reason clauses. The function of *tei* in CIM (locational present) is very different from its use in Pukapukan.

- (i) CIM Tei e'a te puka?
 Puk Ko i wea te puka?
 T L where A book
Where is the book?

24. *Ke* is phonetically long in most environments, but its length has not been indicated in the orthography. It is subject to a morphophonemic rule of shortening (see 2.6.2).

25. Although most of the existential verbs may not occur as the nucleus of nominalisation, (including the positive and negative polarity singular and plural existential verbs: *e tai*, *e yī*, *e nī*, *kāyi*, *kāni*.) there is one negative existential verb *kākole* 'to have nothing' which can be nominalised:

- (i) Te nōnōnga o te ayo nei.
 A RR-stay-Nom P A day here.
The stay of today. [Our staying on the motu today] (U:C1)
- (ii) Na oti i kinei tā mātou manatunga o te pō nei.
 T finish L here P we think-Nom P A night here.
Here we finish our speeches for tonight. (AR3:16)
- (iii) Na lautokamala taku yī ikanga o te ayó.
 T bad.luck my catch fish-Nom P A day-Da
I had no luck fishing yesterday.

APPENDIX

ANNOTATED LIST OF PUBLICATIONS IN PUKAPUKAN

- Apolo, Tairua. 1992a. *Mata popoa* ('Greedy pig'). Auckland: Mataaliki Press. [Original story with illustrations]. 18 pp.
- _____ 1992b. *E wea au e yē maua e te pepeke?* [Translation of Rita Gelman, *Why can't I fly?*]. Auckland: Mataaliki Press. 48 pp.
- Beumelberg, Paul. 1993. *Science on Pukapuka*. [Bilingual high school textbook with Pukapukan translation by Sylvia Poyila Beumelberg. Awaiting publication with Ministry of Education, Rarotonga.]
- Hammond, William (ed.). [1985]. *Tala waanonga i tawa o te yila moolii. Naa tala tawito o Te Ulu o te Watu*. ['Stories by the light of the lamp. Old tales of Pukapuka.' Translations into *leo* Pukapuka by the teachers of Niuva School, Pukapuka. Published privately.]
- Hebenstreit, Johnny Frisbie. 1992. *Pōlāwie*. Auckland: Mataaliki Press. [Translation of Hebenstreit 1990, *A quiet night*. TUPU Series, Learning Media, Wellington. Translated by Ngatokotoru Ine, Tukia Mataora, Karitua Makuare, Atawua Robati, Mataora Tutai and Mele Salisbury. Illustrations by Judith Künzle as in TUPU Series. 16 pp.]
- Makuare, Karitua. 1980. *Manatu te manako ki te yukenanga o toku wenua ki te ao o te Mālama*. [New chant composed for Ngake village in Auckland recounting the arrival of Christianity.]
- _____ 1988. [A set of four photocopied booklets by Karitua Makuare comprising seven original stories in Pukapukan for children and young people with English translation. Published privately.]
- Manatu wakalelei* ('Think carefully'). [Two original stories: Two baskets of prayers, Why were you born?] 10 pp.
- Toku māuli: yaele wakatai ma te wānonga* ('My dear friend: walking together with a story'). [Two stories: The story of the 'Where' family, The story of the person who never changed his ways.] 10 pp.
- Ka yika koe ke ngutuwolo* ('You will win if you boast!': The argument among the cooking utensils.) 8 pp.
- Na ongo te umiti* ('Strong craving for delicacies'). [Two original stories for children: Looking for crabs, Coming home from school]. 9 pp.
- _____ 1989. *Nā taute mānoe na wō welāvei ia Ietu*. ['The shepherds who went to meet Jesus'. A Christmas story. Photocopied pamphlet.] 4 pp.
- _____ 2000. *Te Mako Iūpilēnō Mele Tālingi ma Kēveni Lōpā*. ['Silver Jubilee Chant for Mary and Kevin Salisbury.']
- Makuare, Karitua and Kevin Salisbury. 1992. *Te witungaua muna a Ietu i lunga o te tātaulo*. ['The seven words of Jesus on the cross.' Bilingual draft reader in Pukapukan and English.] Auckland: Te Pūlama o te Luengāulu. 12 pp.
- Mataora, Tukia, Mataora Tutai, Robert Borofsky et al. MS 1981. Pukapukan-English dictionary: A Preliminary Edition. [Photocopied typescript produced by Robert Borofsky.] 57 pp.
- Niva, Teawi. 2000. *Te Mako Wāu nō Ngake*. ['New chant for Ngake village'.]
- Ravarua, Akaora. 1990. *Ko koe mō toku mānā?* [Translation of P.D. Eastman, *Are you my mother?*]. Photocopied booklet. 56 pp.
- Robati, Atawua and Karitua Makuare (eds). 1991-93. *Te Pūlama o te Luengāulu*. ['The lighted torch that causes heads to shake'. 13 issues of a bilingual news and cultural magazine.]

- Salisbury, Kevin. 1980. *Te Ayo Wolo o Te Ulu o te Watu ki Niu Tileni nei*. [Chants and songs performed at the 1980 Pukapuka festival in New Zealand.] Auckland: Danger Island Publications.
- _____ 1981. *Te wii aitamu o te lulu na lee*. ('The items of the winning village') [Chants and Songs of Ngake village, Pukapuka Festival.] Auckland: Danger Island Publications.
- _____ 1985. *Te wii tila o Te Ulu o te Watu*. [A first collection of the short chant genre]. Auckland: Danger Island Publications. 48 pp.
- _____ 1992c. *Te wānganga mako o te Ayo Wolo o Te Ulu o Te Watu i Niu Tileni*. ['The Chanting contest at the Pukapuka Festival in New Zealand.']. Auckland: Mataaliki Press and Te Pūlama o te Luengāulu. 24 pp.
- _____ 2000. *Pukapuka Lua Mano*. [Chants performed at the Pukapuka Festival, 2000.] 12pp.
- _____ 2002a. *Te Mako nō te Tiniu*. (Celebration chant for the women's craft group.)
- _____ 2002b. *Te Wakapapanga o te wīingoa i loto o nā mako o Te Ulu o te Watu*. An Index of names in Pukapukan chants. Auckland: Mataaliki Press. 47pp.
- Salisbury, Kevin and Mary, Atawua Robati and Karitua Makuare. 1982. *Te Yukenanga o Te Ulu o Te Watu ki te Ao o te Maalama*. ('The Opening of Pukapuka to the World of Light.'). [Translation into Pukapukan of the L.M.S. Records of the first contact with Pukapuka.] Auckland: Danger Island Publications. [2nd enlarged edition, 1983 with illustrations. 18 pp.]
- Salisbury, Kevin and Ela Kiliuyi. 2002. *E Tangi nō Karitua*. ['Lament for Karitua Makuare.']
- Salisbury, Kevin and Karitua Makuare. 1992. *Nālalau wōu a te kau lōpāo Te Lāngaikula*. 'The new fishing chants by the young men of Ngake.' Auckland: Mataaliki Press and Te Pūlama o te Luengāulu. [15 chants (9 translated); Preliminary edition, 52 pp.]
- _____ 1995. *Te Tangi nō Ietu; Te Tila nō te Tūwakawāunga*. ['Lament for Jesus' and 'Chant for the Resurrection': Traditional chant genres performed in Easter Day drama.]
- _____ 1996. *Te Tangitangi o Atawua*. [Celebration chant in honour of Atawua Robati QSM.]
- Salisbury, Kevin and Lutera Metua. 2000. *Te Mako nō te Lōpā Lelei*. [Chant in honour of Nuku Rapana QSM.]
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- _____ 1991. *E Tolu Tangi*. ['Three Laments' in text and translation.] Mataaliki Press.
- Tutai, Mataora and Mary Salisbury (eds). 1990. [Six booklets of stories written in Pukapukan by children from the school on Pukapuka.]
- Te wānganga tātā wānonga*. Pupu 5, Te Āpii i Niua. ['The story-writing competition.' Grade 5, Niua School.] 13 pp.
- Te wānganga tātā wānonga*. Form 2, Te Āpii i Niua. ['The story-writing competition.' Form 2, Niua School.] 13 pp.
- Na tala a te kauliki māwuwutu*. Pupu 1, Te Āpii i Niua. ['Stories by clever children.' Form 1, Niua School.] 12 pp.
- Na tala a te kauliki māwuwutu*. Pupu 2, Te Āpii i Niua. ['Stories by clever children.' Form 2, Niua School.] 18 pp.
- Na tala a te kauliki māwuwutu*. Pupu 4 & 5, Te Āpii i Niua. ['Stories by clever children.' Forms 4 and 5, Niua School.] 8 pp.
- Te kotikoti uwinga ma na toe tala*. Pupu 4 & 5, Te Āpii i Niua. ['The dividing of the taro gardens and other stories.' Forms 4 and 5, Niua School.] 10 pp.
- Tutai, Mataora, Karitua Makuare, Kevin and Mary Salisbury (eds). 1992. *Uliia! Na tala no te uliia i Wale, Mati 1992. Na te kauliki o te Pupu Ono, Te Āpii i Niua*. ['Hurricane! Accounts of the March 1992 hurricane on Pukapuka' by Grade 6, Niua School.] 12 pp.

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