

A Grammar of the Manihiki Language

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I hereby certify that the work embodied in the thesis is my own work, conducted under normal supervision.

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Dedications

To Norwegian adventurer Thor Heyerdahl,
For igniting my life-long interest in Polynesia through his writings.

To Professor William Wilson of the University of Hawai'i,
For suggesting to me to make the language of Manihiki and Rakahanga the object
of this present work.

To all the people of Manihiki and Rakahanga,
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me into their homes and treating me like an old friend.

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encountered during my travels in the Pacific and during the writing of this thesis.

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A grammar like this is never the work of one person only. Numerous people have helped make it into what it is today. The idea to make the language of the two tiny atolls of Manihiki and Rakahanga the object of this present study, was first given to me by Prof William Wilson of the University of Hawai'i at Hilo in January 2015.

I had spent the preceding 6 months putting together a project to study the Asumbuo language, spoken on the island of Utupua in Temotu Province, the easternmost province of the Solomon Islands. However, it was looking more and more unlikely that I would be granted a visa to stay for a longer period of time in the Solomon Islands. Realizing that I might have to abandon this project, at least for the foreseeable future, I began looking around for another language that seemed to make a suitable object of study. I began writing to linguists at various universities whose works I had read, and as I had been fascinated with Polynesia since childhood, I decided to write to Prof Wilson as well.

I had at that point in time never expected that there would be a language within Triangle Polynesia that had never been the object of a study before, but alas, there was! Prof Wilson wrote back to me the very next day with a list of suitable Polynesian languages. A lot of these belonged to the so-called Polynesian Outliers, but one in language, spoken on the two atolls of Manihiki and Rakahanga, was situated virtually right at the centre of Triangle Polynesia and belonged to the Eastern Polynesian branch, the one that interested me the most.

It would be difficult in a limited space to mention all the people who have since helped me make the present study a reality. However, I would like to mention my supervisors, Dr Åshild Næss, Dr Catriona Malau and Prof Bill Palmer of the University of Newcastle, New South Wales. My first principal supervisor, Åshild, helped me transition from my previous project in the Solomon Islands to the newer one in the Cook Islands. Since Åshild left Newcastle, Catriona has kindly read and re-read the chapters of this thesis pointing out inconsistencies and areas where further description and discussion was necessary. Bill has provided invaluable feedback on various chapters. The Phonology chapter in particular has benefitted from Bill's expertise in prosody. Its current analyses are in large part due to him. Thanks also

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Abstract

This thesis describes the grammar of the language spoken on the two small atolls of Manihiki and Rakahanga in the Northern Group of the Cook Islands. The language is a Polynesian language belonging to the Eastern Polynesian subgroup and is closely related to neighbouring languages such as Tongarevan and Rarotongan. The work is the first ever reasonably thorough description of this language, and is based on a number of video recordings, collected during a total of approximately 12 months of fieldwork. The fieldwork was split into several different visits to New Zealand, as well as to Rarotonga and Manihiki in the Cook Islands. The recordings were transcribed and translated with the help of native speakers. The grammar is divided into seven chapters: Preliminaries, Phonology, Word Classes, The Noun Phrase, The Verb Complex, Clause Structure and Complex Sentences. From the description, one can see that the Manihiki language is a fairly typical Eastern Polynesian language. It is grammatically very close to Rarotongan and Tahitian, whereas the phonology is virtually identical to that of New Zealand Māori, with exactly the same phoneme inventory. When it comes to word classes, Manihiki exhibits a fluidity between nouns and verbs which is typical of Polynesian languages, and which is probably facilitated by the fact that Manihiki is an almost entirely analytic language, with no inflectional morphology and only three derivational affixes: two causative prefixes and a nominalizing suffix. Manihiki also appears to be a fairly typical Polynesian language when it comes to the use of determiners with noun phrases and preverbal particles with verb complexes. It also contains the presentative preposition *ko*, cognate forms of which are found in most other Polynesian languages. Further research will be needed in order to determine the exact position of Manihiki within the Eastern Polynesian subgroup.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|------|----------------------------|
| EPN | Eastern Polynesian |
| CEPN | Central Eastern Polynesian |
| PPN | Proto-Polynesian |
| NPN | Nuclear Polynesian |

Glosses

The glosses marked with (A) are my own. All others are from the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf>) or from Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_glossing_abbreviations).

| | |
|--------|----------------|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| ABL | ablative |
| ABS | absolutive |
| ACC | accusative |
| AGT | agentive |
| ALL | allative |
| APH | anaphoric (A) |
| BEN | benefactive |
| CAUS | causative |
| COM | comitative |
| COMP | complementizer |
| COND | conditional |
| DAT | dative |
| DEF | definite |
| DEI | deictic |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DIST | distal |
| DU | dual |
| EMP | emphatic |
| EXCL | exclusive |
| EXCLAM | exclamative |
| INCEP | inceptive |
| INCH | inchoative |
| INCL | inclusive |
| INDF | indefinite |
| INT | intensifier |

| | |
|-------|------------------------|
| IPFV | imperfective |
| LOC | locative |
| MED | medial |
| NEG | negative |
| NMLZ | nominalization |
| NUM | numeral |
| PASS | passive |
| PERS | personal |
| PFV | perfective |
| PL | plural |
| POSS | possessive |
| PRED | predicate |
| PROG | progressive |
| PROH | prohibitive |
| PROX | proximal, near speaker |
| PRV | presentative (A) |
| PRS | present |
| PST | past |
| REDUP | reduplication (A) |
| RETR | retrospective (A) |
| RES | resultative |
| SBJV | subjunctive |
| SPF | specific (A) |
| SUBR | subordinator |
| TNS | tense |
| VOC | vocative |

1. Preliminaries

1.1. Introduction

This thesis will form the first grammatical description ever of the indigenous language of the two small atolls of Manihiki and Rakahanga, both of them located within around 24 nautical miles of each other in the northern part of the Cook Islands. This language is one of the last remaining indigenous languages within Triangle Polynesia to be described.

The language belongs to the Central Eastern Polynesian (CEPN) subgroup, and is closely related to the other CEPN languages of the Cook Islands, i.e., to all the indigenous languages of the country apart from Pukapukan in the far north-western corner, which is generally considered to belong to the Samoic branch of the Samoic-Outlier group (Pawley 1967:259, 261), although it has more recently been described as being one of the languages that “...remain unclassified within Nuclear Polynesian” (Marck 2000:1-4).

The native inhabitants of the Cook Islands are closely related to those of other island groups in Eastern Polynesia¹, both genetically, culturally and linguistically. They refer to themselves as *Maori*² people, using the same endonym as the natives of New Zealand. The Cook Islands have been in some form of political association with either Great Britain or New Zealand since 1888, and this may be the reason why they have chosen to refer to themselves in a similar way as the people of this country, although it is also possible that this practice goes further back. It is worth noting, however, that the also closely related people of Tahiti and other islands in French Polynesia use a similar sounding, but distinct and non-cognate term, *Mā'ohi*, to refer to themselves³. Tahiti, the main island of French Polynesia, is located less than 1,000

¹ I will here use the term ‘Eastern Polynesia’ to refer to the area where languages belonging to the Eastern Polynesian (EPN) subgroup of Polynesian languages have traditionally been spoken, i.e., the Cook Islands, the various island groups of French Polynesia (Tahiti and the Society Islands, Pa'umotu, Marquesas, Mangareva, etc.), Hawai'i, New Zealand, and the remote and isolated Rapa Nui/Easter Island. Excluded from this area are the islands where languages belonging to the Samoic-Outlier or Tongic subgroups are spoken, e.g., the island of Pukapuka in the Cook Islands.

² In the official spelling of this name when referring to the indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand, the macron is often used over the first vowel, i.e., *Māori*. See 2.4.1 for a discussion of the marking of vowel length.

³ According to Davies (1851:132), both *Maori* (i.e., *Māori*) and *Maohi* (i.e., *Mā'ohi*) seem to be used interchangeably, so this seems at least to have historically been the case, although I am unaware of how the current usage of these words in Tahitian is. *Mā'ohi* may be a taboo deformation of *Māori*.

nautical miles southeast of Manihiki, whereas the northern tip of New Zealand's North Island is more than 2,000 nautical miles to the southwest. One would assume that voyaging between Manihiki and French Polynesia would traditionally have been much more frequent than contact between Manihiki and New Zealand, but also that the contact would have lessened considerably since European colonial powers began to exert their influence in the area. In 1842, Tahiti and surrounding major islands were declared to be a French Protectorate, and in 1889, other island groups of the area joined in to form what is today known as French Polynesia. This would have lessened contact between the French dominated and the British/New Zealand dominated areas considerably and may be the cause of people from the two areas now using different names to refer to themselves⁴.

In the same way that the people are referred to as *Maori* (in Manihiki) or *Māori* (in the main dialect spoken on Rarotonga), the communalects⁵ of the Cook Islands are often referred to as 'Cook Islands Māori' (Nicholas 2016). As mentioned, all communalects of Cook Islands Māori, apart from Pukapukan, belong to the CEPN branch, which also comprises all other EPN languages apart from Rapa Nui. Rapa Nui is the language of the island that goes by the same name, although it is perhaps still better known to Westerners as Easter Island. Apart from the Cook Islands, the area in which languages of the CEPN branch are spoken is comprised of New Zealand, Hawaii, and all of the scattered island groups of French Polynesia. See 1.2.3 for an overview of the Polynesian language family and for details on the CEPN branch.

Te Reo Maori Act defines Maori thus:

"Maori" –

- (a) Means the Maori language (including its various dialects) as spoken or written in any island of the Cook Islands; and
- (b) Is deemed to include Pukapukan as spoken or written in Pukapuka; and

⁴ An alternative explanation is that Tahitian originally used a term cognate to *Maori/Māori*, but that this term underwent a radical change due to the common word taboos of this language. On the tabooing of words in Tahitian, see Elbert (1953:161).

⁵ I use the term 'communalect' in the same sense as Charpentier and François (2015:74), who refer to it as "... a linguistic system with its own lexical, syntactic and phonological characteristics". They go on to state that "whether a particular communalect should be defined as a dialect or as a language, depends on what it is being compared to".

(c) Includes Maori that conforms to the national standard for Maori approved by Kopapa Reo⁶

Parliament of the Cook Islands (2003:2)

One can see from the above that the Manihiki language would be included under the term “(Cook Islands) Maori” as defined in Te Reo Maori Act.

1.2 Geography of the Cook Islands

Returning to the Cook Islands, and more specifically to their geography, we can see that they consist of a Northern Group of islands, located within the area 9°-18°S 158°-166°W, and a Southern Group of islands, located within the area 19°-22°S 157°-160°W. The larger and more populous islands are all located in the Southern Group, and it is here that most tourists and other visitors arrive through Rarotonga International Airport.

The islands of the Northern Group are the oldest, and they consist entirely of atolls, i.e., ring-shaped coral islands that have formed around the location where there used to be a volcanic island. Among these atolls are Manihiki and Rakahanga, whose inhabitants share a single language, known in this book as Manihiki after the larger of the two islands (although some people would probably prefer the more accurate Manihiki-Rakahanga)⁷. Also located in the Northern Group are the islands of Pukapuka (Danger Island), about 270 nautical miles to the west of Manihiki and Rakahanga, and Tongareva (Penrhyn Island), about 190 nautical miles to the east. The islands of the Southern Group have been formed more recently, and they consist mostly of large volcanic islands. The main island of Rarotonga, where the capital city of Avarua is located, is one such island. Also located in the Southern Group are the islands of Mangaia, Mauke, Atiu, Mitiaro and Aitutaki, all of which are volcanic islands, apart from Aitutaki, which is an ‘atoll-in-the-making’, consisting of a partially submerged volcanic island, around which a coral reef has begun to rise.

⁶ *Te Kopapa Reo Maori*, the Maori Language Commission, my note.

⁷ I have also considered the term ‘Manihikian’ with the ‘-an’ ending, which is also used in such language designations as Rarotongan, Tahitian, Hawaiian and many others. This term, however, is not used by the speakers of the language themselves, and I have therefore opted to use the terms ‘Manihiki’ or ‘Manihiki language’ for the language of Manihiki and Rakahanga, and ‘Manihiki people’ or ‘natives of Manihiki’ (instead of ‘Manihikians’) for the people tracing their roots back to the original speakers of this language.

Manihiki shares many similarities with the other CEP_N languages of the country, including the most widely used indigenous language, Rarotongan. However, it also possesses many distinctive features. This is especially true for phonology and vocabulary, whereas differences in morphosyntax seem to be minimal. Interestingly, Manihiki shares a number of features with New Zealand Māori, which are not shared by Rarotongan, and at least one recorded traditional story (a *pehe* or ‘chant’) describes how Kupe, the first man to set foot on the land of the Long White Cloud, was a native of Manihiki. Most speakers of Manihiki are also fluent in both Rarotongan and English, and particularly Rarotongan has had a large impact on how Manihiki is spoken today, with many younger speakers replacing traditional Manihiki words with Rarotongan ones.

1.2.1 The languages of the Northern Group

On the islands of the Northern Group, three different communalects are spoken. As has been mentioned, one of them, Pukapukan, does not belong in the CEP_N group, and it is therefore clearly a separate language from the others. The status of the other two as being either dialects of the same language, or two separate languages, is as yet undetermined, but for the time being, I will refer to them as two separate languages. With those caveats in mind, the languages of the Northern Group are:

- Pukapukan
- Tongarevan
- Manihiki

Pukapukan is spoken mainly on the island of Pukapuka, located in the westernmost part of the Northern Group. A small population of Pukapukan speakers live on the tiny island of Nassau, about 50 nautical miles southeast of Pukapuka. As mentioned in 1.1, Pukapukan belongs to the Samoic-Outlier branch of Polynesian languages, and is quite different from the other indigenous languages of the Cook Islands. Tongarevan is spoken on the island of Tongareva, most often referred to by its English name, Penrhyn. This island is located in the easternmost part of the Northern Group. Because of its melodious intonation, Tongarevan is widely regarded as being one of the most beautifully sounding of the Cook Islands languages. Closely related to Tongarevan is the language that is the subject of this study, namely the Manihiki

language. Manihiki is spoken on the two islands of Manihiki and Rakahanga, which are often referred to collectively as *Te Fuinga-o-Nīva* ('The Gathering of Niva'⁸).

Also located in the Northern Group are the islands of Suvarrow (Anchorage Island) and Palmerston. On Suvarrow there are no villages, only a caretaker and his family. On Palmerston Island, the present population of less than 100 people are virtually all descendants of the English adventurer William Marsters who settled there in 1863 with his two (later three) Polynesian wives. They speak a variety of British English, which is possibly based on the dialect of Walcote, Leicestershire, in the East Midlands, where William Marsters is thought to have been born (Hendery 2012, 2013, 2015).

1.2.2 The languages of the Southern Group

In the Southern Group, the indigenous communalects, as listed by Nicholas (2016:9), are

- Rarotongan⁹
- Mangaian
- Aitutakian
- Ngā Pū Toru (referred to as Atiuan by my Manihiki consultants).

Rarotongan, Mangaian and Aitutakian are spoken on the islands of Rarotonga, Mangaia and Aitutaki, respectively. Ngā Pū Toru is spoken on the three islands of Atiu¹⁰, Mauke and Mitiaro, which are known collectively (in the Rarotongan spelling) as *Ngā Pū Toru* ('The Three Roots'). The uninhabited islands of Manuae and Takutea are administratively considered part of Aitutaki and Atiu, respectively.

⁸ Most of the people I talked to had no idea as to the meaning of 'Niva', but in a non-recorded and non-annotated elicitation session with one of my language consultants, Jean Marie Williams, I was told that it is actually two words: *ni hiva* ('coconut nine' = 'the nine coconuts'). Coconut is possibly used metaphorically for canoe here, and the nine canoes being referred to are the ones that according to tradition were the first to reach Aotearoa/New Zealand.

⁹ In this thesis, I use the term 'Rarotongan' as synonymous with what Nicholas terms 'Southern Cook Islands Māori'.

¹⁰ The names that I give for the islands here are written as most Cook Islanders would write them for everyday use, without long vowels or glottal plosives being written. Their official use in Rarotongan is a bit different for some islands. According to Ministry of Education (2008), the full names of the islands of Atiu, Mauke, Mitiaro and Takutea should be: *Ātiu*, *Ma'uke*, *Miti'āro* and *Takūtea*. However, in my conversations with Manihiki people, I did not hear them pronounce the glottal plosive for these names.

As is the case for the Northern Group, there is uncertainty as to whether the communalects of the Southern Group comprise different languages or are merely dialects of a single language. Nicholas (2016:5-6) also discusses this issue. Her analysis of the situation in the Northern Group yields the same conclusion as what I have described in 1.2.1, namely three languages: Pukapukan, Penrhyn (my Tongarevan) and Rakahanga/Manihiki (my Manihiki). However, in relation to the situation in the Southern Group, she classifies all four communalects mentioned above as being variants of a single common language, which she refers to as *Te Reo Māori o te Pae Tonga* or 'Southern Cook Islands Māori'.

In this thesis, I will not enter into any discussion as to the status of the communalects of the Southern Group, and neither will I provide much detail on Manihiki's relatedness to Tongarevan. I will refer to the three communalects of the Northern Group as separate languages, in concordance with both Nicholas' and my own findings. As for the communalects of the Southern Group, I will regard them as dialects of a single languages, following Nicholas' findings. However, I will still refer specifically to 'Rarotongan' when discussing non-Manihiki forms of words that have started to be used in Manihiki, e.g., *meitaki*, 'good', instead of the Manihiki *maitaki* and *kāre*, 'no, not, negative particle' instead of the Manihiki *kore*. My consultants referred to these forms as being 'Rarotongan' and I do not possess the necessary knowledge of dialectal variation in the Southern Group to distinguish Rarotongan forms from forms used throughout this group.

1.2.3 The sociolinguistic situation

Manihiki and Rakahanga belong to one linguistic and cultural unity, which, as previously mentioned, is sometimes referred to as *Te-Fuinga-o-Nīva*, 'The Gathering of Niva'. Fishing has traditionally been the most important means of livelihood on the two islands. Manihiki is a typical atoll and consists mostly of sand. Very few crops can grow there apart from coconuts. On Rakahanga on the other hand, there is a large swamp where people grow taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) and giant swamp taro (*Cyrtosperma merkusii*). Traditionally, people would migrate from Manihiki to Rakahanga when food was scarce, and then later migrate back again. However, according to local oral tradition, the missionaries convinced people that it was better for people to live on one island only, and that one group of people should migrate to Rakahanga and live there, while another group should stay on Manihiki.

Most speakers of Manihiki are multilingual, in that besides speaking Manihiki, they are also reasonably fluent in Rarotongan, the national language of the Cook Islands, as well as in English. This has important consequences for the maintenance of Manihiki, and many older speakers lament the fact that the younger ones (and even some older ones) substitute Rarotongan words for Manihiki ones. This also shows in certain of my recordings.

It is difficult to assess how many speakers of Manihiki exist at present. They are scattered over Manihiki, Rakahanga and Rarotonga, as well as Auckland, New Zealand, and Sydney and Melbourne, Australia. According to the most recent census (2016), the population of Manihiki and Rakahanga are 212 and 83 people, respectively¹¹. Ethnologue.com¹² writes that there is a total of 320 speakers of Manihiki in the Cook Islands (according to the 2011 census) and 2,820 in all countries.

Ethnologue.com describe the status of this language as level 7 with the label “Shifting”. This refers to the fact that “The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children”. My own impression, and what was told to me by my consultants, is that the language is still being learned by children on Manihiki and is spoken by people of more or less all age groups. In spite of this, it was mostly elderly people who were pointed out to me as being most suited to work with me as language consultants, as they were often deemed to have a deeper knowledge of the language than people of younger generations.

1.3 The Polynesian Languages and Their Position Within Oceanic

The Polynesian languages have long been recognised as forming a subgroup of the larger Oceanic language group, itself a part of the larger Austronesian language family, which

¹¹ See Mfem.gov.ck/statistics/census-and-surveys/census/142-census-2016 and Mfem.gov.ck/images/documents/Statistics_Docs/5.Census-Surveys/6.Population-and-Dwelling_2016/TABLE_1_-_2016_DEMOGRAPHIC_CHARACTERISTICS.pdf.

¹² See Ethnologue.com/language/rkh.

stretches from Taiwan in the north, where current evidence indicates that the language family has originated¹³, to Madagascar in the west and Polynesia in the east.

The easternmost extension of this language family is Easter Island, whereas the southernmost is New Zealand. In the north-eastern corner of Polynesia are the islands of Hawaii, situated almost as far north as Taiwan, which make up the north-western endpoint of the area in which Austronesian languages are spoken. The Polynesian languages, together with the languages of Fiji and the language of Rotuma, with which Polynesians share not only a linguistic but also a cultural and genetic heritage, make up the Central Pacific subgroup, itself a part of the Central/Eastern subgroup of Oceanic (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:94).

1.3.1 The internal subdivision of the Polynesian group

A recognition of the internal subdivision of the Polynesian group only occurred much later than the recognition of the subgroup itself. The first rough subdivision was basically a grouping into those languages spoken in Western Polynesia (Tonga, Samoa and the Outliers in Melanesia and Micronesia) and those spoken in Eastern Polynesia (roughly corresponding to what we refer to today as the EPN languages). According to Elbert (1953:148):

A West-East cultural division has long been recognized in Polynesia, on the basis of other than linguistic evidence. The most complete studies ... are based on comparisons of technology, kinship, religion, and mythology.

While the languages of Eastern Polynesia were regarded as being in a subgroup together by Elbert and have been regarded as such by linguists working in the area ever since, the situation in Western Polynesia, i.e., Tonga, Samoa and the Outliers, was subject to a radical reanalysis by Elbert. In his proposal, the first split among Polynesian languages occurred between the Tongic languages, by which he meant Tongan, Niuean, Futunan and East Uvean¹⁴, and the rest of the group. Tongan is also often considered to be the most 'conservative' of the Polynesian

¹³ And/or in the southern part of the Chinese mainland, immediately adjacent to Taiwan (Bellwood 1995).

¹⁴ Elbert uses the term 'Uvean' and does not explicitly mention whether he refers to East Uvean (spoken on the island of 'Uvea in the French overseas territory of Wallis and Futuna), or West Uvean (spoken on the island of Ouvéa in the Loyalty Islands in New Caledonia, also a French overseas territory). The two islands simply happen to share a similar name, and there is nothing which would otherwise indicate any particularly close connection between them. I am assuming here, for geographical reasons, that he is referring to East Uvean.

languages (Clark, pers. comm.), meaning that it is the language that has changed the least in relation to Proto-Polynesian (PPN). All the other Polynesian languages belong, in Elbert's classification, in one large subgroup, later referred to as Nuclear Polynesian (NPN) by Green (1966:4). Within this subgroup, the next two subgroups to split off consisted of the Samoic languages (including Samoan, Tikopian and Ellicean) and the Outlier languages, a very large and scattered group of Polynesian languages spoken in geographical Melanesia and Micronesia. Of the Outlier languages, Elbert only considered one, Kapingamarangi, for lack of descriptive material for the others. The remainder of the languages belong to the EPN subgroup.

Elbert's reanalysis has largely been accepted by subsequent linguists, with minor modifications (Green 1966; Pawley 1966, 1967). An overview of this is given in Figure 1.1.

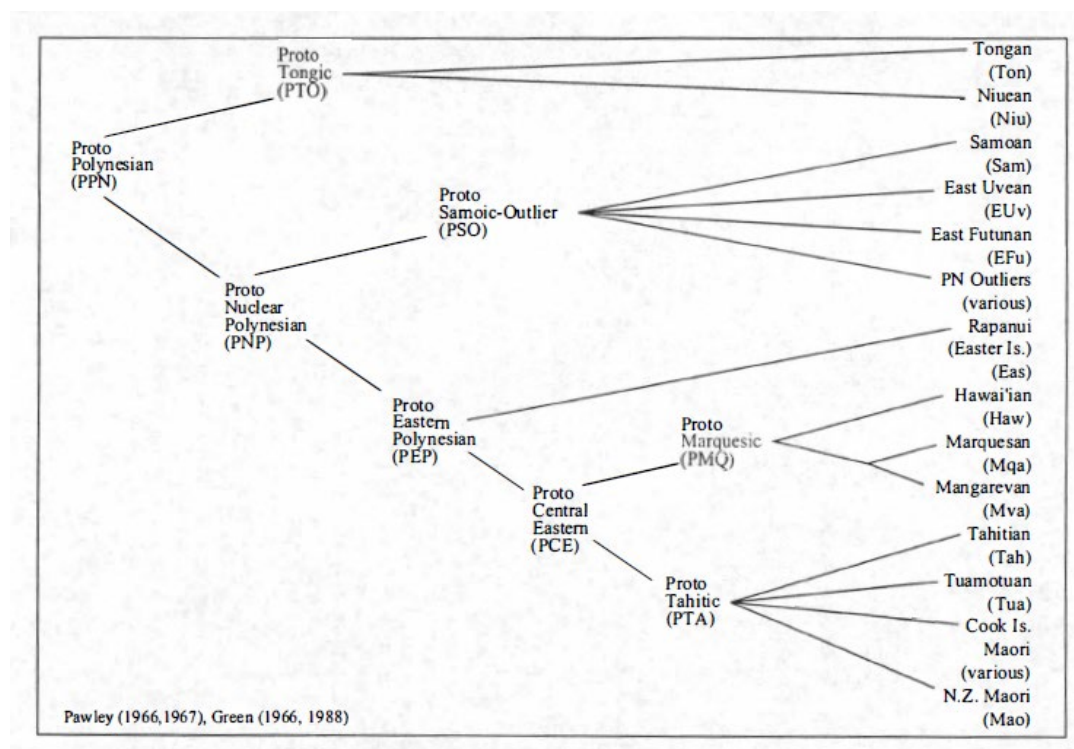


Figure 1.1: The standard subgrouping of Polynesian languages, from Marck (2000:2).

However, Marck (2000:3) proposes a slightly modified version of Elbert's subgrouping. Similarly to Elbert, he maintains that the first split occurred between Tongic on the one hand and NPN on the other. What he believes happened then, however, was that NPN split off into 11 different groups, all but one of which consisted only of a single language. The only group

with more than one language was the ‘Ellicean’ group. This group in turn is split into Samoan, Ellicean Outlier and EPn. As for the internal division of the EPn group, Marck is in accordance with Elbert’s proposal. An overview of Marck’s proposal is given in Figure 1.2.

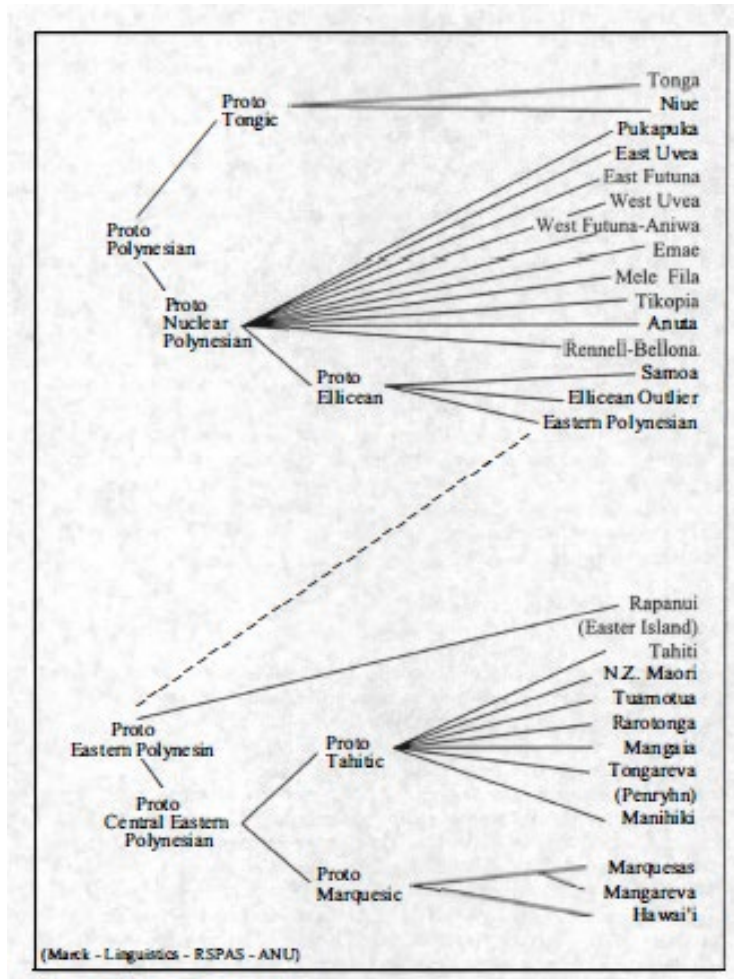


Figure 1.2: The standard subgrouping of Polynesian languages revised, from Marck (2000:3).

Elbert’s proposal, which uses slightly different terminology from that employed by most contemporary authors, will be described in 1.3.3.1.

1.3.2 Previous works on the languages of Polynesia

The Polynesian languages form a relatively close-knit group, and especially among the EPn subgroup there is a large amount of mutual intelligibility between the different languages, a

fact which was also noted by early European explorers, some of whom recruited indigenous people from various parts of Polynesia to help as interpreters in other parts.

As Clark (1976:13) observes: “The relatedness of the Polynesian languages being apparent to the most superficial observer, the comparative literature begins almost as early as the descriptive.” It was not until Elbert (1953), however, that the EPN subgroup was firmly established.

The description of different culture areas of Polynesia begins before the description of different linguistic areas. An early paper discussing these matters is Burrows (1940). Burrows does not use the terms ‘Western Polynesia’ or ‘Eastern Polynesia’, but instead describes a western and a central ‘centre of radiating influence’ (1940:352). From these two centres spread various technological innovations, social arrangements, religious beliefs and customs, and mythological stories.

Several grammars have appeared over the years, describing both the languages of Western and Eastern Polynesia, as well as many of the Outlier languages. Both Tongan (Churchward 1953) and Samoan (Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992) have been described. Pukapukan has also been described (Salisbury 2002). For the EPN languages, grammars exist for both New Zealand Māori (Bauer, Parker, and Evans 1993), Tahitian (Coppénrath and Prévost 1975) and Hawaiian (Elbert and Pukui 1979). Recently, a grammar of Rarotongan has also appeared (Nicholas 2016). See 1.4 for a further description of previous works on the languages of the Cook Islands.

And then there are the online sources. A good online source for vocabulary of all of the various communalects of the Cook Islands, apart from Pukapukan, is the Dictionary of Cook Islands Languages (Cookislandsdictionary.com). This online dictionary allows one to search for words in Rarotongan, Mangaian, Aitutakian, Atiuan, Tongarevan and Manihiki, plus individually for Atiuan, Mauke and Mitiaro, which both Nicholas (2016) and I have categorised as one language (Ngā Pū Toru)¹⁵. A Pukapukan dictionary can be found on Pukapuka.world/dictionary. There is also an online dictionary of New Zealand Māori called *Te*

¹⁵ Apart from the main page of this website, where one can search for lexemes in all of the languages at once, it is also possible to access individual pages on the various languages through the following hyperlinks: Aitutaki.cookislandsdictionary.com, Atiu.cookislandsdictionary.com, Mangaia.cookislandsdictionary.com, Manihiki.cookislandsdictionary.com, Mauke.cookislandsdictionary.com, Mitiaro.cookislandsdictionary.com, Penrhyn.cookislandsdictionary.com and Rarotonga.cookislandsdictionary.com.

Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary. It can be found on Maoridictionary.co.nz. Finally, an online Tahitian-French Dictionary has until recently been made available by *l'Académie Tahitienne - Fare Vāna'a*. It can be found on Farevanaa.pf/dictionnaire.php, although it is currently not working.

Then there is also the Polynesian lexicon project database, POLLEX, which was initiated by Bruce Biggs at the University of Auckland in 1965. The current online version of the database is referred to as POLLEX-Online. It includes “...over 55,000 reflexes of more than 4,700 reconstructed forms in 68 languages” (Greenhill and Clark 2011:551). Forty-four of the languages are Polynesian, and the remainder are from other subgroups of Oceanic. The data are sourced from 199 different resources. It was originally found on Pollex.org.nz, but is currently available at Pollex.shh.mpg.de.

The present study of Manihiki is the first of its kind, and hopefully it will fill in one of the few remaining gaps in our understanding of the EPN language group. It was originally Professor William Wilson who suggested Manihiki/Rakahanga to me to be the location for my field site, but other researchers also mention that this is one place where no linguistic data have so far been collected, e.g., Elbert (1953:150).

With Nicholas’ description of Rarotongan, and this description of Manihiki, most of the languages of Eastern Polynesia have now been covered. A few areas are left in French Polynesia though, where further research is needed. These areas include the southern part of the Marquesas Islands, the Pa’umotu (Tuamotu) Archipelago, the Austral Islands and Mangareva (the Gambier Islands). Especially the communalects of the Pa’umotu Archipelago may be particularly closely related to the language of Manihiki and Rakahanga, and more work done on this language would be very valuable. As the EPN subgroup is so well studied, and consists of so closely related languages, it should be possible to arrive at relatively sure conclusions as to its internal subdivision. This present work will hopefully have contributed to this larger project, and when the few remaining gaps are filled in, we shall have an even more accurate picture of the structure and prehistory of this subgroup.

1.3.3. *The position of Manihiki within EPN*

While even a cursory glance at the grammatical structure and vocabulary of Manihiki reveals that it is clearly an EPN language, its more specific place within this group has yet to be determined.

A large number of my Manihiki language consultants mentioned to me that Manihiki shares many words with New Zealand Māori, a fact of which they were rather proud. Now, it is definitely the case that all Polynesian, and more particularly all EPN languages, share many cognates. What they meant, however, was that many of the same sound changes – or sometimes lack of sound changes – have taken place in these two languages. A very common example given was that of the word for ‘house’, which is *whare* and *fare*¹⁶ in New Zealand Māori and in Manihiki, respectively, whereas it is *‘are* in Rarotongan, and *wale* in Pukapukan. In other words, both Manihiki and New Zealand Māori have kept the phoneme /f/ (historically the phoneme /ϕ/).

However, from their description, it did not seem that New Zealand Māori and Manihiki are supposed to have particularly many more cognate words than New Zealand Māori and Rarotongan, and at least one Manihiki speaker admitted to me that he was not able to understand New Zealand Māori.

According to Green (1966:17-18) CEPN is defined by two lexical innovations: *tahito, ‘ancient’ and *kite, ‘understand’, and one phonological innovation: Proto-EPN *hah- to Proto-CEPN *vah-¹⁷. All three of these innovations are found in Manihiki, the two lexical ones being reflected as *tahito* and *kite*, and the phonological ones as *vah-*, as is reflected in Manihiki words such as *vahine*, ‘woman’, and *voho*, ‘outside’, the latter of which shows later vowel assimilation. He also mentions (1966:19-20) two shared innovations for the Proto-Tahitic group, which are *ngahuru, ‘ten’, reduced from Proto-EPN *angafulu, and *ki, ‘be full’, where proto-Marquesic has *pi. Both of these innovations are reflected in Manihiki, as *ngahuru* and

¹⁶ The two words are pronounced more or less in the same way. Both the New Zealand Māori digraph ‘wh’ and the Manihiki letter ‘f’ presently represent the voiceless labiodental fricative, and both are thought to historically represent the voiceless bilabial fricative and/or the voiceless bilabial approximant.

¹⁷ Walworth (2014:261) gives these as *faf- and *wah-, respectively.

ki, respectively. Thus, if one accepts the division between Marquesic and Tahitic languages, Manihiki would fall in the latter group.

Green (1966:28) also notes¹⁸ a shared innovation between East Coast New Zealand Māori and Rarotongan, which, it appears, is also shared by Manihiki, namely the forms of the second person singular possessive determiner/pronoun in both dominant and subordinate possession. This is laid out in Table 1.1 below. The forms in Standard New Zealand Māori, East Coast New Zealand Māori and Rarotongan are as given by Green (1966). The Manihiki forms are from my own fieldwork. As can be seen, Manihiki contains both a short form of these pronouns agreeing with Standard New Zealand Māori, and a long one agreeing with East Coast New Zealand Māori and with Rarotongan.

Table 1.1: Second person singular possessive determiners/pronouns in four EPn languages

| Standard NZ Māori | East Coast NZ Māori | Rarotongan ¹⁹ | Manihiki | Gloss |
|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>tāu</i> | <i>tāhau</i> | <i>ta'au</i> | <i>tau, ta hau</i> | 'your(s)' |
| <i>tōu</i> | <i>tōhou</i> | <i>to'ou</i> | <i>tou, to hou</i> | 'your(s)' |

Finally, it should be noted that at least two of Marck's (2000:132) five sporadic sound changes from Proto-EPn to Proto-CEPn are also attested in Manihiki, name *pāhua*, 'shell, clam, oyster', (Proto-EPn *faahua, proto-CEPn *paahua) and *koi*, 'sharp' (Proto-EPn *kai, Proto-CEPn *koi)

1.3.3.1 Elbert's subgrouping of the EPn languages

In Elbert's (1953) proposal, he classifies eight of the 20 languages he surveys as belonging to EPn. These eight languages are: Rapa Nui (Elbert's Easter Island); Mangarevan; Marquesan; Rarotongan; Pa'umotu (Elbert's Tuamotuan); New Zealand Māori; Hawaiian; and Tahitian. He specifically mentions what he calls "Pukapuka-Penrhyn-Manihiki" as one of the areas for which data was lacking at his time of writing.

According to Elbert, Rapa Nui was the first language to break away from the other languages of the group. All the other EPn languages belong to a subgroup, which Marck (2000:3) has

¹⁸ This came to attention of Green through personal communication with Andrew Pawley.

¹⁹ Nicholas (2016) has the forms as *tā'au* and *tō'ou*.

later termed Central Eastern Polynesian (my abbreviation: CEP_N). According to Elbert, this group is then split into two: one consisting of Marquesan and Mangarevan, and another consisting of Tahitian, Pa‘umotu, Rarotongan, New Zealand Māori and Hawaiian.

In Elbert’s analysis, the only languages he recognises for the islands of French Polynesia are Tahitian, Marquesan, Pa‘umotu and Mangarevan. Charpentier and François (2015:20, 2015:74) add Austral and Rapa Iti to that list, besides splitting Marquesan into two languages: Northern Marquesan and Southern Marquesan. Likewise, the only language of the Cook Islands used in Elbert’s study is Rarotongan. He mentions both Tongarevan (his Penrhyn) and Manihiki, but adds that data were lacking for these two languages, plus a number of other Polynesian languages (Elbert 1953:150).

Whatever the exact subgrouping of Polynesian as a whole that one regards as correct, it is quite clear that Manihiki belongs to the EP_N branch. As already mentioned, the EP_N group is split into two main groups, CEP_N and non-CEP_N. The first language to split off from the others was Rapa Nui, and this language by itself thus makes up the non-CEP_N group (Kieviet 2017:5). For the time being, I will still describe the CEP_N group as being made up of two subgroups, the Marquesic and the Tahitic, although the existence of these two subgroups has recently been called into question (Walworth 2014), see 1.3.3.2 below. A full list of the 16 presently recognised EP_N languages is given in Table 1.2, with the distinctions between Marquesic and Tahitic as given in Marck (2000:3).

Table 1.2: The 16 presently recognised EP_N languages

| non-CEP _N | CEP _N | |
|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Easter Island | Marquesic | Tahitic |
| Rapa Nui | Hawaiian | Tahitian |
| | Northern Marquesan | Pa‘umotu linkage |
| | Southern Marquesan | Austral |
| | Mangarevan | Rapa Iti |
| | | Rarotongan |
| | | Mangaian |
| | | Aitutakian |
| | | Atiuan |

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| | Tongarevan |
| | Manihiki |
| | New Zealand Māori |

1.3.3.2 Internal subdivisions of EPN – on the existence of the Marquesic/Tahitic split

Various internal groupings have been proposed over the years, and the only thing most scholars seem to be in agreement on, is that the speakers of Rapa Nui were the first to break away from the larger language community and that they have remained in relative isolation ever since, thus forming a first-order subgroup of their own (Elbert 1953:166-169; Pawley and Green 1974:45-46; Walworth 2014:256). It is clear that all of the remaining 15 EPN languages belong to the CEPN group. However, the internal division of the CEPN group remains a contested issue. Elbert groups these into a Marquesic group comprising Marquesan²⁰ and Mangarevan, and a Tahitic group comprising the remainder of the EPN languages, i.e., the languages of French Polynesia, the languages of the Cook Islands, New Zealand Māori and Hawaiian²¹. Green (1966:17) reclassifies Hawaiian as belonging in the Marquesic group. It was also Green who first proposed analysing what had so far been known as Marquesan as two distinct languages, i.e., as a Northern and a Southern variant.

Walworth (2014:257) mentions Green's proposal as still being the prevailing model in Polynesian historical linguistics today. She does, however, call this model into question. Based on new archaeological data, which suggests a very rapid settlement of all the islands of Eastern Polynesia, "including the most remote islands" (2014:259), she proposes a different scenario, where no further subdivision of CEPN is possible. She writes:

What this rapid colonization theory implies for the development of Eastern Polynesian languages is that all language groups settled on their respective islands at about the same time, which does not allow sufficient time for development of the primary EP [Eastern Polynesian] subgroups. This renews interest in the strength of data for the EP subgrouping, and pushes the linguist to reevaluate how compelling the evidence for the current tree model is.

²⁰ This would include both Northern and Southern Marquesan in the current terminology.

²¹ Elbert does not spell out the terms 'Marquesic' and 'Tahitic'. Instead he uses the abbreviations 'PMA' and 'PTa' in his tree diagram on page 169. The first person to use the full terms was Green (1966:9).

Walworth goes on to examine the shared innovations, or possible borrowings, which have been proposed as defining the Marquesic and the Tahitic subgroups, respectively. On this basis, she concludes that there was neither a proto-Marquesic nor a proto-Tahitic language. In Walworth's new family tree for EPN, she still regards Rapa Nui as having branched off from the other CEPN languages, as have most other researchers before her. However, she believes that "...the CEP [Central Eastern Polynesian] languages developed out of continued waves of contact, due to high mobility between island groups that diffused features based on spheres of interaction, and stretched as far as New Zealand and Hawai'i" (Walworth 2014:268-269).

In other words, Walworth proposes that, apart from the isolated Rapa Nui, there was contact among all the islands of Eastern Polynesia for several generations after initial settlement. She thus accepts the division between Rapa Nui and CEPN, but maintains that the latter group is influenced by contact-induced change, and that no further subdivisions of this group can be recognised at present.

Her conclusion is an interesting one, and, given our present state of knowledge, also very plausible. I have earlier argued (Olesen 2011:41-44) that interregional contact in the Pacific in pre-European times was greater than what has so far been recognised, and suggested that the use of grammatical features such as possessive classifiers have spread as an areal feature, rather than having been inherited from a common ancestor.

1.3.4. The other languages in the EPN subgroup

As already mentioned, the indigenous languages of the Cook Islands, apart from Pukapukan, belong to the EPN subgroup. This is a universally recognised subgroup within Polynesian, that was first established by Elbert (1953). However, the exact number of languages recognised as belonging to this subgroup has changed over the years, as more communalects of French Polynesia have recently been recognised as separate languages (Charpentier and François 2015). A few languages have also changed their name throughout the years; e.g., Elbert's 'Easter Island' is today most commonly referred to as 'Rapa Nui', a name also used in the most comprehensive grammar of this language to date (Kieviet 2017). Similarly, the language

formerly known as ‘Tuamotuan’ is today most commonly referred to as Pa‘umotu (Charpentier and François 2015).

Just as is the case for many other parts of the world, it can be difficult, when looking at the linguistic situation in Eastern Polynesia, to determine exactly what should count as a separate language, and what should merely be considered to be a dialect of another language. More so, as many of the communalects of the area have only recently been described in the linguistic literature. This is especially true for those spoken in the many scattered island groups of French Polynesia.

For the Cook Islands, I recognise the same six communalects that my language consultants have described for me (Rarotongan, Mangaian, Aitutakian, Atiuan, Tongarevan and Manihiki). I do not include Pukapukan here because, as previously mentioned, it is not an EPN language, but rather belongs to the Samoic-Outlier subgroup. For the languages of French Polynesia, I recognise the seven communalects mentioned by Charpentier and François (2015:20,74), without making any decisions as to whether these should be regarded as separate languages from one another. These seven communalects are Tahitian, Pa‘umotu, Austral, Rapa Iti, Northern Marquesan, Southern Marquesan and Mangarevan. A full list of all 16 currently recognised EPN languages that will form the basis of my comparative study is given in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3: Communalects of Eastern Polynesia

| Cook Islands | French Polynesia | New Zealand | Hawaii | Easter Island |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Rarotongan | Tahitian | New Zealand | Hawaiian | Rapa Nui |
| Mangaian | Pa‘umotu | Māori | | |
| Aitutakian | Austral | | | |
| Atiuan | Rapa Iti | | | |
| Tongarevan | Northern Marquesan | | | |
| Manihiki | Southern Marquesan | | | |
| | Mangarevan | | | |

1.4 Previous Works on the Languages of The Cook Islands and Related Languages

This study is the first of its kind, in that Manihiki has never been the subject of a linguistic study before, though a fair amount of linguistic work has been done on other languages of the Cook Islands, and a large amount on the languages of Eastern Polynesia more generally.

For Cook Islands Māori, or Rarotongan, two comprehensive dictionaries exist (Savage 1962; Buse and Taringa 1996), and a grammatical description has recently been finished (Nicholas 2016). There is also a short Manganian dictionary (Christian 1924), and two newer ones (Mauriaiti et al. 2006; Shibata 1999). Mauriaiti et al. is based partly on Christian's (1924) work. For Aitutakian and Atiuan, no comprehensive work has so far been done to my knowledge, but these languages, together with Manganian, are very briefly described by Nicholas in her recent grammar. In the Northern Group, Pukapukan is by far the best studied language, and a very comprehensive grammar has been published for this language (Salisbury 2002), as well as a dictionary (Te Taka o Te Pukamuna 1999). For Tongarevan, a short grammatical description is available (Yasuda 1968), as well as a dictionary (Shibata 2003).

Most of the other major EPN languages, and a few minor ones, have been described. This includes Tahitian (Coppénrath and Prévost 1975), Rapa Iti (Walworth 2015), Northern Marquesan²² (Cablitz 2006), Mangarevan (Janeau 1908, Rensch 1991), New Zealand Māori (Bauer et al. 1993), Hawaiian (Elbert and Pukui 1979; Pukui and Elbert 1986, 1992) and Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2016, 2017). One specific communalect of Northern Marquesan, the one spoken on the small island of 'Ua Pou has also been described in Mutu and Te'ikitutoua (2002) and an attempt to cover all dialects of Marquesan has been made by the French missionary Dordillon (1904, 1931, 1932), whose works were published posthumously; see also Elbert (1985) for the history of the publication of this work.

There are still three smaller languages of French Polynesia for which no descriptive work has been done, or at least only very little: Southern Marquesan; Pa'umotu; and Austral.

²² Cablitz refers to the language which is the subject of her study simply as 'Marquesan', but a closer inspection reveals that it is the Northern Marquesan variety that she describes.

1.5 Aims and Methodology

This thesis contains a grammatical description of the Manihiki language. As part of this project, I have also aimed to produce a more thorough ‘language documentation’ of Manihiki. This term is defined by Himmelmann, Gippert, and Mosel (2006:v) as “compiling a representative and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language or one of its varieties”. This means, first of all, that the written documentation, i.e., the grammar and/or dictionary as well as interlinearized and annotated texts, should be supplemented with audio and/or video recordings, both of which should include as many different genres of speech as possible. Secondly, it means that “provisions [should be] taken to ensure the long-term preservation of primary data so that it can be used in new theoretical ventures as well as in re-evaluating and testing well-established theories”. I am currently in the process of having my audio and video data archived with PARADISEC²³.

1.5.1 Participant recruitment and fieldwork

Contact was first established with the Manihiki community in Auckland, New Zealand, through New Zealand-based linguist Sally Nicholas at the University of Auckland, herself a Cook Islander by birth. She put me in contact with William Hakaoro, who can be regarded as a sort of ‘community leader’. William is from Tongareva, but has many contacts among people from Manihiki. He provided me with a list of people to contact, and also informed people of my arrival and about what my work would entail. After having contacted the first consultants on Rarotonga, I was soon introduced to many other potential consultants. In accordance with the requirements of the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) at the University of Newcastle (UoN), all consultants were given the chance to read an information statement on the project, and were required to sign a consent form. They were given the option of receiving a payment of NZD20.00 an hour for the time they worked with me, but most chose not to. My project was approved by HREC, effective 21/07/2015.

Nicholas has recently published a grammar of Southern Cook Islands Māori. She has previously done a certain amount of work with William Hakaoro, a pastor from Tongareva, who has many

²³ PARADISEC (the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures; Paradisec.org.au) is an online archive focusing on languages of the Pacific area, which is freely accessible to registered users. It is managed jointly by the University of Sydney, the University of Melbourne, and the Australian National University.

contacts among natives of Manihiki. Through William, I established contact with my first three language consultants, all of whom were living in Auckland. I travelled from Newcastle to Auckland around early September 2015, and stayed there for about one month, conducting recording sessions with these three people.

After having finished these first recording sessions, William helped me arrange accommodation on Rarotonga, and provided me with a list of people, who were respected among the Manihiki community for their language use and for their knowledge of traditional stories and other aspects of Manihiki culture. I did video recordings with 15 different Manihiki speakers on a number of occasions on Rarotonga, where I spent two periods of fieldwork. The first was from October through to December 2015, and the second from February through to early June 2016. These recordings, together with my earlier recordings from Auckland, make up the bulk of the data used in this thesis. A smaller amount of data was recorded in elicitation sessions on Rarotonga and Manihiki. On Manihiki, I also recorded various public speeches and celebrations. I have recorded a total of 27 hours of data, two hours in Auckland, six hours on Rarotonga and 19 hours on Manihiki. I was on Manihiki from June through to August 2016.

The recordings made in Auckland and on Rarotonga consist almost exclusively of monologues of various types of narrative text, in which language consultants were asked to either give an autobiographical account, or explain various aspects of traditional Manihiki culture, or aspects of modern life on Manihiki, e.g., related to pearl farming. The recordings made on Manihiki consist mostly of public speeches and traditional songs being sung at public events, including *Te Maeva Nui*, 'the Big Celebration', which takes place on 4 August to celebrate the Cook Islands Constitution of 1965.

During the next stage, I had the recordings translated. Most of this work was done as a collaborative effort between myself and Fever Taana, an elderly Manihiki lady who I had previously interviewed. Another part of it was done by Merle Pukerua, also a lady of Manihiki descent, who worked as a schoolteacher at Tereora College on Rarotonga. She was fast on a computer, and preferred to do the translation work by herself. Four hours of recordings have been translated, consisting exclusively of material collected in Auckland and on Rarotonga. The recordings from Manihiki have so far not been translated.

1.5.2 The recordings

The content of this book is based on the recordings of 18 different speakers of Manihiki. Metadata for the speakers can be found in Table 1.4. Suitable candidates were suggested to me by William Hakaoro, and consent was later sought from the speakers themselves. Each speaker interviewed has been given an information statement on the project, and has signed a consent form. This has all been done in accordance with the requirements laid out by HREC.

The first three people listed in the table were all interviewed in their respective homes on the outskirts of Auckland, New Zealand. The subsequent 15 speakers were interviewed in various places on Rarotonga, most of them in either their home or their workplace.

While on Manihiki, I mostly worked on doing transcription and translation work on my recordings from Rarotonga, but I also managed to do more recordings, mostly from various celebrations and public speeches. I also did some work with one consultant on the video clips developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics²⁴. However, I have not had the time to work the results of these elicitation sessions into this thesis.

²⁴ The Language and Cognition Department at The Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, has developed a number of ‘video stimulus materials’ for use in eliciting words and grammatical structures in various languages. While they also contain videos for eliciting verbs of ‘putting’ and for ‘reciprocal constructions’, I have worked mainly with the ones for verbs of ‘cutting and breaking’. Information on these recordings, as well as a link to them, can be found at Fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/2001/cut-and-break-clips.

Table 1.4: Metadata for language consultants

| Consultant | Gender | Date of first recording | Age at time of first recording | Place of birth |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Taverio Tapaano | M | 13/09/2015 | 59 | Tukao |
| Vaianu Napara | M | 14/09/2015 | (unknown) | Rarotonga |
| Arahu Marsters | M | 16/09/2015 | 65 | Rarotonga |
| Ngarima George | M | 28/09/2015 | 69 | Tukao |
| Mereani Tangata | F | 01/10/2015 | 71 | Aitutaki |
| Vaeau Temu | M | 07/10/2015 | 73 | Rakahanga |
| Taepae Tuteru | M | 02/11/2015 | 68 | Tukao |
| Daniel Apii | M | 05/11/2015 | 70 | Tauhunu |
| Niki Rattle | F | 10/11/2015 | 64 | Tukao |
| Ngamoeroa Karaponga | F | 23/11/2015 | 60 | Rakahanga |
| Jane Kora | F | 23/11/2015 | 68 | Tukao |
| Haumata Hosking | F | 24/11/2015 | 60 | Tauhunu |
| Fever Taana | F | 24/11/2015 | 65 | Tauhunu |
| Tupou Faireka | M | 25/11/2015 | 71 | Penrhyn |
| Ioane Kaitara | M | 04/12/2015 | 83 | Tukao |
| George Ellis | M | 13/04/2016 | 73 | Tauhunu |
| Merle Pukerua | F | 18/04/2016 | 41 | Rarotonga |
| Wilkie Rasmussen | M | 27/04/2016 | 58 | Penrhyn |

Of the 18 consultants, seven were women and 11 men, so there is a slight bias towards male speakers. When looking at the age of the speakers, a more pronounced bias occurs, with only one being younger than 58, and the average age being 66 years. Among Manihiki people living in Auckland and on Rarotonga, it was virtually impossible to get younger people to work with me, as they were too busy. Children were busy with their school, and younger adults were busy at work. At least 11 of my informants were also busy at their work place, but still managed to take time off to work with me, as they regarded my work of preserving the language as very important, and also because they felt that, being older, they had a better knowledge of the language than the younger generations, and perhaps also had a sort of duty to help preserve it for future generations.

Another crucial thing to note is that only one of the recordings translated so far has been a dialogue between two speakers. All of the other recordings have consisted of monologues. A lot of them have been autobiographical accounts, while others have described various aspects of traditional culture, such as songs, music and dance, or aspects of pearl farming.

All of the people interviewed were fluent in English as well as in Manihiki. Most, if not all, were also fluent in Rarotongan, and in some of the recordings this shows, as there is a considerable amount of code switching back and forth between Manihiki and Rarotongan. Two of the people recorded, Fever Taana and Merle Pukerua, aided in translating the data of the other people. All of the recordings were made with a Canon Legria video camera positioned on a tripod and were in MTS format. For some of them, an external microphone with a windjammer was attached. The camera was purchased with a grant from ELDP²⁵ that was given for my previous project in the Solomon Islands, and the format was chosen to be in compliance with the standard set by ELAR²⁶, in order to facilitate a possible future archiving of the data with them. Recordings were regularly backed up on two Seagate external hard drives, which were stored in separate locations, and all text files were similarly backed up on a number of SD cards and USB flash drives.

I named the files according to a system that was originally suggested to me by the ELDP. All my main recording sessions are named first 'manihiki' then a three-digit number to indicate the day of recording and a two-digit number to indicate which recording it was on that particular day. The three- and two-digit numbers are separated by a hyphen. In my sample sentences as used in this thesis, I give only the numbers separated by the hyphen, and leave out 'manihiki'.

1.5.3 Funding

The vast majority of the funds used to cover fieldwork expenses during this project were covered by my scholarship at the University of Newcastle, Australia, for which I am very grateful to this institution. One major piece of equipment, namely the video camera used to record the interviews, was purchased for my previous project on Utupua in the Solomon

²⁵ The Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, Eldp.net.

²⁶ The Endangered Languages Archive, Elar.soas.ac.uk.

Islands with money from a Small Grant, which had been kindly donated by the ELDP. Sadly, this project has been postponed for an indefinite period of time owing to various formalities regarding extension of visa. Hopefully it will be continued in the future. The video camera in question is a Canon Legria HFG30 HD Camcorder.

2. Phonology

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the phonology of Manihiki. First, I will give a short overview of all the phonemes of the Manihiki language in 2.2. Here I will describe first the consonant phonemes in 2.2.1, and then the vowel phonemes in 2.2.2. This will be followed by a more detailed description of each of the consonant and vowel phonemes in 2.3.

In 2.3.2.4, I will describe the orthography used in this thesis, which takes into account both the non-standardized way that Manihiki speakers themselves write, and orthographies used for other Polynesian languages, particularly the one used for Rarotongan, as described in Nicholas (2016:59-60). As most EPN languages are written with fairly similar orthographies, there should be few contested issues here. The glottal stop, which is phonemic in nearly all other EPN languages apart from New Zealand Māori, is not used in Manihiki²⁷, and representation of the glottal stop in written form will therefore not be an issue. The only two potentially contentious issues would be how to mark vowel length, and how to write the velar nasal /ŋ/.

Section 2.5 deals with phonotactics in general, and section 2.6 specifically with word stress. At the end of the present chapter, in 2.7, there is a section on reduplication, a phenomenon that occurs quite extensively in Manihiki.

2.2. Phoneme Inventory

Similar to other Polynesian languages, Manihiki has a relatively simple phonological system with ten consonants and the five cardinal vowels, all five of which have a phonemic distinction in length.

Most other EPN languages have fairly similar phoneme inventories, with all of them having the same vowels (five short and five long), and only differing in their consonant inventory. New

²⁷ And not in Tongarevan either. Since Pukapukan lacks it too, it can be said to be missing from all of the languages of the Northern Group.

Zealand Māori has a phoneme inventory almost identical to that of Manihiki²⁸. Rarotongan has only nine consonants, with both /f/ and /h/ having merged into the glottal stop /ʔ/. Tahitian also has only nine consonant phonemes, but in this language, it is /k/ and /ŋ/, which have both merged into /ʔ/.

Hawaiian, which is also in the EPN group, has the most simplified system of all Polynesian languages, with only eight consonant phonemes. In Hawaiian, the following transmutations have taken place: /t/ has been replaced by /k/, /k/ has been replaced by /ʔ/, and /r/ has been replaced by /l/. Besides this, /ŋ/ has merged with /n/ into /n/ and /f/ has merged with /h/ into /h/.

2.2.1 Consonant inventory

The consonant inventory is small and fairly typical of Polynesian languages. Three places of articulation and only one series of plosives, or in other words no distinction in voice onset time for plosives. Interestingly, as in New Zealand Māori, there is no glottal plosive /ʔ/. The glottal plosive is sometimes used in loanwords from other languages, especially from Rarotongan, but never in indigenous Manihiki words. The same is true of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, which is also sometimes used in loanwords, but never in indigenous Manihiki words. The consonant phonemes of Manihiki are given in Table 2.1.

²⁸ The only major difference between modern New Zealand Māori and modern Manihiki is that New Zealand Māori has /w/ [w], a “voiced labio-labial [i.e., bilabial] semi-vowel with back of tongue raising and moderate lip-rounding” (Bauer et al. 1993:533) where Manihiki has /v/ [v], the voiced labiodental approximant. For the phoneme /f/, some speakers of New Zealand Māori have the voiceless labiovelar fricative [ɸ], although most of them have [f] (Bauer et al. 1993:531-532), as do speakers of Manihiki. Pronouncing /f/ as [ɸ] appears to also have been common at one point among Manihiki people, especially among chiefs (Jean Marie Williams, undated elicitation session). Note also that Kauraka (1982) uses ‘wh’ instead of ‘f’ in his Manihiki texts, which might indicate an earlier pronunciation as [ɸ]. This was most likely inspired by certain English dialects using this pronunciation for the first phoneme in words such as ‘which’, ‘why’, etc.

Table 2.1: Consonants of Manihiki

| | bilabial | labiodental | alveolar | velar | glottal |
|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|
| plosive | p | | t | k | |
| nasal | m | | n | ŋ | |
| fricative | | f | | | h |
| approximant | | ʋ | | | |
| tap | | | r | | |

2.2.2 Vowel inventory

The five vowel phonemes of Manihiki are the five standard Oceanic vowels: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/. All five vowels exhibit a two-way distinction in length, and this distinction is also crucial in determining the stress pattern of words. Other languages with vowel systems practically identical to that of Manihiki are the other EPN languages, i.e., Rarotongan, Tahitian, New Zealand Māori, etc., as well as most other Polynesian languages, e.g., Samoan and Tongan. The vowel phonemes of Manihiki are given in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Vowels of Manihiki

| | front (unrounded) | central (unrounded) | back (rounded) |
|------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| close/high | i, i: | | u, u: |
| mid | e, e: | | o, o: |
| open/low | | a, a: | |

Vowel length is contrastive, at least for polysyllabic words. A question remains as to whether vowels in monosyllabic words make a phonemic distinction in length. Similarly, it is not at present decided whether vowels that occur in sequence with other vowels as diphthongs make this distinction. When browsing through grammars of other closely related EPN languages, one often comes across the assertion that even monosyllables distinguish length. Thus, Kieviet (2016) writes in his grammar of Rapa Nui:

Vowel length is contrastive. Some examples of monosyllabic minimal pairs:

| | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| ki /ki/ “to” | kī /ki:/ “to say” |
| ka /ka/ “IMP” | kā /ka:/ “to kindle” |
| 'o /ʔo/ “lest” | 'ō /ʔo:/ “really” |
| 'i /ʔi/ “at” | 'ī /ʔi:/ “full” |

Notice that in all these pairs the short-vowel word is a prenuclear particle, while the long-vowel word is a lexical word or postnuclear particle. As a result, the two words will never occur in an identical context.

Kieviet (2016:31)

What Kieviet writes concerning Rapa Nui is also true of Manihiki. Notice the pairs given in (1).

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|------|-----------------------------------|-----------|-------|---------|
| (1) | <i>ko</i> | [ko] | ‘presentative preposition’ | <i>ko</i> | [ko:] | ‘there’ |
| | <i>ki</i> | [ki] | ‘to, allative/dative preposition’ | <i>ki</i> | [ki:] | ‘full’ |

The question here is whether the morphemes with the short vowels should actually be regarded as (pro)clitics²⁹, and thus phonologically part of the lexical words that follow them. If this analysis is accepted, one could postulate a general rule saying that monosyllabic lexical words always have a long vowel, or in other words, that lexical words are always bimoraic. In this case, one would not need to indicate length on monosyllabic words, as length would be entirely predictable, at least for lexical words, which always contain long vowels without any exceptions whatsoever.

This rule is complicated, however, by the fact that, besides a few grammatical particles that always contain a short vowel, the majority of them actually do contain long vowels. Actually, the only grammatical particles that are always monomoraic are the two mentioned above (the presentative preposition *ko* and the allative/dative preposition *ki*) plus the particle *te*, used with noun phrases to mark as definite and with verb complexes to mark as progressive, as well as the particle *i*, used in front of noun phrases as the locative/accusative preposition, or as part of verb complexes in subordinate clauses where it is used to mark the perfective, instead of the usual perfective preverbal particle *kua* used in main clauses.

²⁹ Kieviet (2017:41, footnote 20) has suggested the same.

The argument for regarding *i*, *ki*, *te* and perhaps also *ko* as clitics is strengthened by the fact that at least *i* and *ki* are often written together with *te* as single words: *ite* and *kite*, respectively, at least in Rarotongan and perhaps also in Manihiki. An example of this was found in a street sign seen on waste stations around Rarotonga, asking people to sort their rubbish according to type (plastic, glass, paper, etc.). The sign, which was written both in English and in Rarotongan, read as in (2).

- (2) “Put it in the right bin – Please!”
 “Tuku ki roto ite vairanga tau – Ine!”

In the standard orthography of Rarotongan, with marking of long vowels and of the glottal stop and with *i* and *te* as separate words, the Rarotongan part of the sign can be analysed as in (3).

- (3) *Tuku ki roto i te vairanga tau - 'inē!*
 put ALL inside LOC DEF bin correct please
 ‘Put it in the right bin – please!’

All other grammatical particles contain long vowels in careful speech, although they will often be shortened in rapid speech. These particles are given in (4).

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-------|---------------------------------------|
| (4) | <i>me</i> | [me:] | ‘if, conditional preverbal particle’ |
| | <i>ka</i> | [ka:] | ‘inceptive preverbal particle’ |
| | <i>e</i> | [e:] | ‘imperfective preverbal particle’ |
| | <i>te</i> | [te:] | ‘progressive preverbal particle’ |
| | <i>na</i> | [na:] | ‘plural definite article’ |
| | <i>e</i> | [e:] | ‘indefinite article’ |
| | <i>e</i> | [e:] | ‘and, additive conjunction’ |
| | <i>me</i> | [me:] | ‘with, comitative preposition’ |
| | <i>o</i> | [o:] | ‘subordinate possessive preposition’ |
| | <i>a</i> | [a:] | ‘dominant possessive preposition’ |
| | <i>no</i> | [no:] | ‘subordinate benefactive preposition’ |
| | <i>na</i> | [na:] | ‘dominant benefactive preposition’ |

The mentioned shortening of the vowel sound can occur not only when they are used by themselves, but also, e.g., when the possessive markers *o* and *a* or the benefactive/emphatic markers *no* and *na* are used as part of the possessive determiners/pronouns, as in (5) and (6).

- | | | | |
|-----|--|----|-------------------------------|
| (5) | <i>t-ō-na</i> DEF-POSS-3SG 'his, her(s)' | or | <i>t-o-na</i> DEF-POSS-3SG |
| (6) | <i>nā-na</i> BEN-3SG 'for him/her' | or | <i>na-na</i> BEN-3SG |

2.3 Description of Phonemes

In the following, I will describe the phonemes of Manihiki one by one, the consonant phonemes in 2.3.1 and the vowel phonemes in 2.3.2.

2.3.1 Consonant phonemes

The consonant phonemes of Manihiki fall into four categories: plosives; nasals; fricatives; and the rhotic or tap, all of which will be described in the following sections.

2.3.1.1 Plosives

There are three plosives, all of which are voiceless and either unaspirated or only very slightly aspirated. These are the bilabial /p/, the alveolar /t/, and the velar /k/. Like all other consonants, these only occur before vowels.

/p/ the voiceless bilabial stop:

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>kōpapa</i> | ['ko:papa] | 'body' |
| <i>pekapeka</i> | ['peka,peka] | 'trouble' |
| <i>po</i> | [po:] | 'night' |
| <i>puāpī</i> | ['pu.a: ,pi:] | 'teacher' |
| <i>āpī</i> | ['a:pi:] | 'school' |

/t/ the voiceless dental stop is usually unaspirated [t], although it can be slightly affricatized before /i/ for some speakers:

| | | |
|----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>tangata</i> | [ta'ŋata] | 'person' |
| <i>te</i> | [te] | 'the, definite article' |
| <i>tika</i> | ['tika] or ['tʰika] | 'straight', 'true' |
| <i>toku</i> | ['toku] | 'my (subordinate)' |
| <i>tuakana</i> | ['tu.a,kana] | 'older same-sex sibling' |

/k/ the voiceless velar stop, is sometimes pronounced with a uvular place of articulation before /a/:

⇒ [q] / _a

| | | |
|-------------|------------|--|
| <i>ka</i> | [ka:, qa:] | 'inceptive preverbal particle' |
| <i>kite</i> | ['kite] | 'see' |
| <i>ko</i> | [ko] | 'presentative preposition' |
| <i>Kupe</i> | ['kupe] | 'name of first explorer to find New Zealand' |
| <i>tūkē</i> | ['tu:ke:] | 'different' |

2.3.1.2 Nasals

There are three nasal phonemes, corresponding to the three plosives: the bilabial /m/, the alveolar /n/ and the velar /ŋ/. None of these have any significant variation in their pronunciation.

/m/ the bilabial nasal:

| | | |
|-------------|---------|-----------|
| <i>maki</i> | ['maki] | 'ill' |
| <i>mea</i> | ['me.a] | 'thing' |
| <i>mimi</i> | ['mimi] | 'urinate' |
| <i>motu</i> | ['motu] | 'islet' |
| <i>muri</i> | ['muri] | 'behind' |

/n/ the alveolar nasal:

| | | |
|---------------|------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>na</i> | [na:] | 'so, and then' |
| <i>nenu</i> | [nenu] | 'noni fruit' |
| <i>nīmata</i> | ['ni:mata] | 'green coconut' |
| <i>noti</i> | ['noti] | 'exactly', 'intensifying particle' |
| <i>nui</i> | ['nuj] | 'big' |

/ŋ/ the velar nasal:

| | | |
|----------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>ngahuru</i> | [ŋa'huru] | 'ten' |
| <i>ngūtupa</i> | ['ŋu:tupa] | 'door' |
| <i>onge</i> | ['oŋe] | 'run out of' |
| <i>tangi</i> | ['taŋi] | 'weep' |
| <i>ingoa</i> | [i'ŋo.a] | 'name' |

2.3.1.3 Fricatives and approximants

There are two fricative phonemes: the voiceless /f/ and /h/, and one approximant: the voiced /v/. According to some speakers, the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ used to be realized as a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] or a voiceless labialized velar approximant [ɰ], which is probably the reason why the sound is written as 'wh' in many older texts, such as Kauraka (1982). The same digraph is still used today in New Zealand Māori, although it is also generally pronounced as [f] by most speakers. In this language, it is unclear whether the voiced labiodental approximant /v/ also used to be realized bilabially as a voiced fricative [β] or perhaps a voiced approximant [ɸ̹].

/f/ the voiceless labiodental fricative:

| | | |
|----------------|------------|-----------------------|
| <i>fare</i> | ['fare] | 'house' |
| <i>fotu</i> | ['fotu] | 'rock on ocean floor' |
| <i>fuiḡfui</i> | ['fuiḡfui] | 'gather' |

/h/ the voiceless glottal fricative:

| | | |
|----------------|-------------|------------------------|
| <i>ha</i> | [ha:] | 'rise' |
| <i>henua</i> | [he'nu.a] | 'land', 'large island' |
| <i>hi</i> | [hi:] | 'pull' |
| <i>hoki</i> | ['hoki] | 'go/come back, return' |
| <i>hurihia</i> | ['huri,hia] | 'hurricane' |

In grammatical morphemes, but not in lexical words, the phoneme /h/ is sometimes lost altogether in rapid speech. This is especially true for *haka*-, 'causative', *hia*, 'passive, inchoative', and *-hanga*, 'nominalizer'. Notice also that the interrogative pronoun that

translates as ‘who’ is realized with a /h/ when used after the benefactive preposition, i.e., *na hai*, but not when used after the presentative preposition, i.e., *ko ai*.

The phoneme /v/ can be realized in Manihiki as either the voiced labiodental fricative [v] or the voiced labiodental approximant [ʋ], with the latter variant appearing to be the more common. I have, therefore, chosen to phonetically transcribe /v/ as [ʋ], unless there has been reason to do otherwise. There does not appear to be any phonological or phonotactic reasons as to which variant is being used by speakers.

/v/ the voiced labiodental approximant:

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>vānanga</i> | [ˈʋaːnaŋa] | ‘word’ |
| <i>viravira</i> | [ˈʋira,ʋira] | ‘shiny’ |
| <i>voho</i> | [ˈʋoho] | ‘outside’ |
| <i>rave</i> | [ˈraʋe] | ‘do’ |

Nicholas (2016:25) writes that for Rarotongan, the labiodental fricative version tends to occur before front vowels, whereas an approximant version, in this case the labiovelar approximant [w], tends to occur before back vowels, although this is not obligatory. Conversely, in Tongarevan (Yasuda 1968:21), the phoneme appears to tend to be realized as a labiodental fricative [v] before the front vowels /i/, /e/ and /ae/, the latter of which is pronounced as [æ:], as well before the back vowel /o/. Before /a/, however, also a front vowel, it is pronounced as the bilabial fricative [β].

It is by no means uncommon in Polynesian languages that /v/ tends to fluctuate between a fricative and an approximant realization. Kieviet (2017:28) writes that in Rapa Nui, /v/ is a voiced labiodental fricative, which may become a labiodental approximant [ʋ] in rapid speech. Walworth (2015:41) writes that in Rapa Iti³⁰, the labiodental fricative /v/ is articulated as a labiodental approximant [ʋ] among older speakers. She adds that “This is not an uncommon articulation for CEP reflexes of PPN *w” and gives Hawaiian as an example of a language for which /v/ is thought to have, at least previously, been realized as an approximant, either labiodental or bilabial.

³⁰ This is the variant referred to by Walworth as ‘Old Rapa’.

2.3.1.4 Rhotic

Although /r/ is most often realized as a tap [ɾ], it can be realized as a lateral [l]. Some speakers tend to use the [l] pronunciation significantly more than others, and there may be social factors involved in how much a given speaker uses this pronunciation.

/r/ the voiced alveolar tap:

| | | |
|-------------|---------|--------------|
| <i>ra</i> | [ra:] | ‘sun, day’ |
| <i>re</i> | [re:] | ‘language’ |
| <i>rima</i> | [‘rima] | ‘hand, five’ |
| <i>roa</i> | [‘ro.a] | ‘long’ |
| <i>rua</i> | [‘ru.a] | ‘two’ |

The tendency to use [l] instead of [ɾ] seems to be common to the whole of the Cook Islands, although it could very well be more common in the Northern Group than in the Southern. In Pukapukan, /l/ is regarded as being the basic form of the phoneme, not [ɾ]. In this language, /r/ only occurs in loanwords from other Cook Islands communalects, although it seems that even in loanwords, speakers of Pukapukan usually pronounce it [l] (Salisbury 2002:19).

In Tongarevan (Yasuda 1968:20) and Rarotongan (Nicholas 2016:25), both of the pronunciations [ɾ] and [l] occur, and no conditions for which one to use has so far been suggested. From my own limited exposure to Rarotongan, it seems that [ɾ] is by far the more common pronunciation in this language. For Tongarevan, on the other hand, I have at least a limited amount of data suggesting that [l] is the preferred variant here.

My own data on Tongarevan is limited to an 11-minute interview with Wilkie Olaf Patua Rasmussen³¹, a former Cabinet Minister and leader of the Cook Islands Democratic Party.

³¹ As an interesting side note, especially for Danes like myself, I can tell that Wilkie Olaf Patua Rasmussen, who is currently working as a lawyer on Rarotonga, is not only of partially Danish descent, but is actually the second cousin of the popular Danish novelist and poet Ib Michael. Wilkie's paternal grandfather was the Danish skipper Viggo Rasmussen, who was a captain on the *Tiare Taporo* (the Lime Flower). Viggo was the elder brother of Ib's maternal grandmother Olga. Viggo was married first to a lady from Penrhyn named Kuraiti, and later after Kuraiti had passed away, to her sister, Reremata. Dane, Wilkie's father, is the son of Viggo and Reremata. Reremata was known throughout the island of Tongareva for her powers as a traditional healer. Apparently, she became known as 'Mama Rongo' for her connection to the spirit world (Michael 1991:100). *Rongo* means 'listen'.

Wilkie was born on Penrhyn, and his first language was Tongarevan. He uses both [r] and [l], but there seems to be some indication the two are not in entirely free variation.

First of all, it seems that [l] is more common at the beginning of words and [r] between vowels, as evidenced by pronunciations such as *langatira*, ‘chief’, *leo*, ‘language’, *Māmā Longo*, ‘Mama Rongo (personal name)’, *Lakahanga*, ‘Rakahanga’, *lave*, ‘do’ and *lua*, ‘two’.

Second, there are two other tendencies, which seems to overrule the first one, namely that typically ‘Tongarevan’ words tend to contain the [l] pronunciation even between vowels, whereas words from Rarotongan tend to use [r] even at the beginning of a word. The first of these two other tendencies is evidenced by words such as Halalanga and Māngalongalo, which are alternative names for the island of Tongareva, and even by the pronunciation of this latter word as Tongaleva. The second of these is evidenced by the pronunciation of Rarotonga with a distinct [r].

Wilkie also mentions the four following words containing [l] in my interview with him, for which I unfortunately have not obtained a translation: *sale*³², *sele*³³, *silinga* and *sikilo*. It is very interesting to note that Wilkie said these words in the interview in order to illustrate the fact that Tongarevan contains /s/, a phoneme which to my knowledge is lacking in all other communalects of the Cook Islands. I do not think he gave much thought to the fact that all four of these words also contains the phoneme /l/, although he in all four cases pronounced this very distinctly as [l], not as [r]. This lends credence to the hypothesis that Tongarevans are more likely to use an [l] pronunciation in ‘typical’ Tongarevan words, by which I mean words that Tongarevan does not share with the other communalects.

In another part of the interview with Wilkie, he mentions that the Tongarevan word for ‘house’ is *hale*, whereas the Manihiki word is *fare*. He pronounces both of these words very distinctly, making sure to not only distinguish the /h/ from the /f/, but also the [l] from the [r]. This indicates that he must have some metalinguistic awareness of the fact that the /r/ phoneme is pronounced differently in the two communalects, even though he does not say

³² Or possibly *sasale*. It is a bit difficult to determine if the first syllable is repeated in his speech because of a stutter, or because it is part of the word.

³³ This could be what Yasuda (1968:13) gives as *sere*, ‘tie (v.)’.

Returning to the speech of the people of Manihiki, it also seems that [r] almost always occurs between vowels, whereas [l] may sometimes occur at the beginning of words, although it does not have to. I have not noted that traditional Manihiki words are more likely to be pronounced with [l], as was the case for Tongarevan. However, one speaker, who has spent a considerable amount of her life in New Zealand, shows almost only words with [r] and very few words with [l] occurring, and among those that do occur, only with [l] in the beginning.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|------------|-----------|------------|----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| (7) | <i>Fānau</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>...</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>henua</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>Rakahanga.</i> |
| | be born | PASS | 1SG | | LOC | DEF | island | PRV | Rakahanga [ˈlaka.hana] |

Other Polynesian languages which use /l/ instead of /r/ include Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan and Tokelauan.

As shown in Table 2.2, there are five vowels in Manihiki, all of which show a length distinction, i.e., they appear in either short or long versions. When the short versions appear in a word, they can be analysed as consisting of one mora each, while the long versions consist of two morae. All of the vowel phonemes of Manihiki, short and long, are given in (8).

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In this section, examples of each of these vowel phonemes will be given in their short and long versions in syllables not consisting of diphthongs. Diphthongs will be discussed separately in 2.3.2.2.

/a/, /a:/ open front unrounded vowel:

| | | |
|---------------|------------|------------------------|
| <i>marama</i> | [maˈrama] | ‘moon’ |
| <i>mārama</i> | [ˈma:rama] | ‘be clear, understand’ |

/e/, /e:/ mid-close mid-front unrounded vowel:

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>kerekere</i> | [ˈkere,kere] | ‘black’ |
| <i>tētahi</i> | [ˈte:tahi] | ‘some, specific determiner’ |

/i/, /i:/ close front unrounded vowel:

| | | |
|---------------|------------|---------|
| <i>hitu</i> | [ˈhitu] | ‘seven’ |
| <i>hīmene</i> | [ˈhi:mene] | ‘hymn’ |

/o/, /o:/ mid-close mid-back rounded vowel:

| | | |
|--------------|------------|--|
| <i>ora</i> | [ˈora] | ‘live (v.)’ |
| <i>kōrua</i> | [ˈko:ˌrua] | ‘you two, 2 nd person dual’ |

/u/, /u:/ close back rounded vowel:

| | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------------------------|
| <i>ute</i> | [ˈute] | ‘type of chant’ |
| <i>Tūkao</i> | [ˈtu:kaʊ] | ‘Tukao, village on Manihiki’ |

2.3.2.1 Minimal pairs

All five vowels are clearly distinct from one another, and it is unlikely that any misunderstandings will occur. However, foreign learners of Manihiki may be inclined to confuse /e/ with /i/ or /o/ with /u/, when these are used after /a/, in which instances they become part of falling diphthongs and are thus pronounced more or less as semi-vowels. Minimal pairs and/or near-minimal pairs are given below.

/i/ versus /e/:

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>ki</i> | [ki:] | ‘full’ | <i>ke</i> | [ke:] ³⁴ | ‘different’ |
| <i>vinivini</i> | [ˈvini, vini] | ‘scared’ | <i>venevene</i> | [ˈvene, vene] | ‘type of red berries’ |
| <i>kōriro</i> | [ˈko:riro] | ‘slit drum’ | <i>kōrero</i> | [ˈko:rero] | ‘speak’ |

/u/ versus /o/:

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|--------|--------------|---------|-----------|
| <i>tua</i> | [ˈtu.a] | ‘side’ | <i>toa</i> | [ˈto.a] | ‘warrior’ |
| <i>rua</i> | [ˈru.a] | ‘two’ | <i>roa</i> | [ˈro.a] | ‘long’ |
| <i>ngaru</i> | [ˈŋaru] | ‘wave’ | <i>ngaro</i> | [ˈŋaro] | ‘lost’ |

/ai/ versus /ae/:

| | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>tai</i> | [tai] | ‘sea’ | <i>tae</i> | [tae] | ‘reach’ |
| <i>vai</i> | [vai] | ‘water’ | <i>vaevae</i> | [ˈvaɛvaɛ] | ‘foot, leg’ |
| <i>kai</i> | [kai] | ‘eat, food’ | <i>vaerua</i> | [ˈvaɛrua] | ‘spirit’ |

/au/ versus /ao/³⁵:

| | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|
| <i>au</i> | [aʊ] | ‘I, me’ | <i>ao</i> | [aɔ] | ‘cloud’ |
| <i>mauri</i> | [ˈmaʊri] | ‘ghost’ | <i>Maori</i> | [ˈmaɔri] | ‘Maori’ |
| <i>Tauhunu</i> | [ˈtaʊhunu] | ‘Tauhunu’ | <i>Tūkao</i> | [ˈtu:kaɔ] | ‘Tukao’ |

Short versus long vowels may also be hard to distinguish for foreign learners at first. A number of minimal and/or near-minimal pairs are given below.

Short vowels versus long vowels:

| | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>tuatua</i> | [ˈtu.a, tu.a] | ‘talk’ | <i>tuātau</i> | [tu.ˈa:taʊ] | ‘season, period’ |
| <i>feta</i> | [ˈfeta] | ‘rough sea’ | <i>fētū</i> | [ˈfe:tu:] | ‘star’ |

³⁴ This word will also occasionally be pronounced *kehe*.

³⁵ In some of the pairs of words given here, there seems to also be a difference in the length of the diphthongs /au/ and /ao/, at least as they are pronounced at the surface level. E.g., the diphthong in *Maori* appears to be of longer duration than that in *mauri*. This might be cited as a counterexample to my claim that there are no long (i.e., trimoraic) diphthongs. According to my theory, however, this difference only occurs at the surface level, and is conditioned by the off-glide vowel, i.e., diphthongs with a close back rounded off-glide will always appear shorter than those with a close-mid back rounded off-glide. A similar phenomenon might very well be at work with /ai/ and /ae/, where the diphthong with the close front unrounded off-glide will appear shorter than those with the close-mid front unrounded off-glide.

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|----------|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>ninita</i> | [niˈnita] | ‘pawpaw’ | <i>nīmata</i> | [ˈniːmata] | ‘green coconut’ |
| <i>toto</i> | [ˈtoto] | ‘blood’ | <i>totō</i> | [toˈtoː] | ‘push’ |
| <i>tuku</i> | [ˈtuku] | ‘give’ | <i>tūkē</i> | [ˈtuːkeː] | ‘different’ |

2.3.2.2 Diphthongs

While the five vowel phonemes of Manihiki are never diphthongized, neither in their short nor in their long form, a number of diphthongs occur, consisting of two vowel phonemes occurring together within the same syllable, i.e., one syllable consisting of two morae of different vowel quality. However, not all vowels occurring adjacent to other vowels are diphthongs, only those occurring within the same syllable. These are invariably falling diphthongs. All combinations of vowels that start with a vowel of higher sonority³⁶ and end with a vowel of lower sonority are pronounced as diphthongs (i.e., they belong to the same bimoraic syllable), whereas combinations of vowels that start with a vowel of lower sonority and end with a vowel of higher sonority are never diphthongized (i.e., they belong to two separate syllables).

It is not quite certain at present whether vowel sequences with more or less level sonority such as /oe/ in *poe*, ‘pearl’, should be analysed as one syllable (a diphthong) or two syllables (not a diphthong). I have chosen the former option here. The opposite combination, putative /eo/, does not occur in any words in my material.³⁷ The vowel sequence /ui/ also contains vowels of similar sonority, but appears to be clearly diphthongized.

An overview of the diphthongs used in Manihiki is given in (9). The inverted breve is used here under the non-syllabic part of the diphthong.

- (9)
- | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| /aɛ̃/ | | /oɛ̃/ | |
| /aɪ̃/ | /eɪ̃/ | | /uɪ̃/ |
| /aɔ̃/ | | | |
| /aʊ̃/ | /eʊ̃/ | /oʊ̃/ | |

³⁶ The sonority hierarchy of the vowels of Manihiki is, from highest to lowest: a – e, o – i, u. In other words, /a/ is the most sonorous vowel, while /i/ and /u/ are the least sonorous ones. /e/ and /o/ fall in between in terms of sonority. Thus, sonority is inversely related to vowel height for the five vowels of Manihiki, in the same way as has previously been stated for other Polynesian languages, e.g., for Tahitian (Bickmore 1995:414).

³⁷ It does, however, occur in the Rarotongan word *reo*, ‘speech, language’ (e.g., *te reo Manihiki*, ‘the Manihiki language’). This word is sometimes used by Manihiki speakers, although the ‘correct’ Manihiki form of this word would be *re* [reː].

As has already been noted, diphthongs consist of two morae, just like the long vowels ‘ā’, ‘ē’, ‘ī’, ‘ō’ and ‘ū’ (/a:/, /e:/, /i:/, /o:/, /u:/). Conversely, long vowels never occur adjacent to other vowels, and never form part of diphthongs. Triphthongs do not occur either, and there are thus no trimoraic syllables.³⁸ Examples of words containing diphthongs are given in (10).

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|---------------|--|
| (10) | <i>vaevae</i> | [ˈvaɛvaɛ] | ‘foot, leg’ |
| | <i>vaerua</i> | [ˈvaɛ,ru.a] | ‘spirit’ |
| | <i>tai</i> | [tai] | ‘sea’ |
| | <i>ai</i> | [ai] | ‘anaphoric particle’ |
| | <i>ao</i> | [aɔ] | ‘cloud’ |
| | <i>Maori</i> | [ˈmaɔri] | ‘Maori’ |
| | <i>au</i> | [aʊ] | ‘I, me’ |
| | <i>taua</i> | [ˈtaʊ.a] | ‘you and I/me, we/us two, 1 st person dual inclusive’ |
| | <i>ei</i> | [ei] | ‘resultative preposition’ |
| | <i>teia</i> | [ˈteɪ.a] | ‘this, proximal demonstrative’ |
| | <i>peu</i> | [peʊ] | ‘traditional’ |
| | <i>āheu</i> | [ˈa:heʊ] | ‘surgeonfish, member of the family Acanthuridae’ |
| | <i>koe</i> | [koɛ] | ‘you, 2 nd person singular’ |
| | <i>moe</i> | [moɛ] | ‘sleep’ |
| | <i>Hoerapa</i> | [ˈhoɛrapa] | ‘name of a person in a traditional story’ |
| | <i>kavou</i> | [kaˈvoʊ] | ‘coconut crab, <i>Birgus latro</i> ’ |
| | <i>tinamou</i> | [ˈtina,mou] | ‘stick to something’ |
| | <i>tīfoufou</i> | [ˈti:fou,fou] | ‘bite (of a crab)’ |
| | <i>fuiŋfui</i> | [ˈfuiŋfui] | ‘collect, gather’ |
| | <i>nui</i> | [nuɪ] | ‘big, large’ |

2.3.2.3 Vowel combinations that are not diphthongs

As mentioned previously, Manihiki only has falling diphthongs, i.e., only diphthongs where the first part is a full vowel and the last part is pronounced as a semi-vowel. This means that only

³⁸ Although there seems to be no phonemic distinction in length for diphthongs, these may however be pronounced as slightly longer when occurring in a stressed position. The demonstrative *teia*, ‘this’, will thus be pronounced as slightly longer when it occurs as a pronoun, i.e., as the head of the noun phrase, than when it occurs as a determiner in the pre-head position. Likewise, *taua* will be pronounced as slightly longer when it occurs as head, either as a personal pronoun, “we two (incl.)”, or as a retrospective pronoun, “the aforementioned”. However, when occurring as a retrospective determiner in pre-head position, the diphthong will be pronounced as slightly shorter, as it no longer receives main stress.

those vowel combinations where the last part is pronounced with a more closed position of the lips and tongue can be diphthongs, with the single exception of ‘oe’, which I also regard as a diphthong, although both the ‘o’ and the ‘e’ are pronounced with a fairly similar degree of openness. Obviously, this excludes the long vowels consisting of two morae of the same vowel quality, but it also excludes the vowel combinations where the first part is more closed than the last part. Examples are given in (11).

| | | | |
|------|---------------|--------------|--|
| (11) | <i>hua</i> | [‘hu.a] | ‘bear fruit’ |
| | <i>metua</i> | [me‘tu.a] | ‘parent’ |
| | <i>moa</i> | [‘mo.a] | ‘chicken’ |
| | <i>roa</i> | [‘ro.a] | ‘long’ |
| | <i>hea</i> | [‘he.a] | ‘where’ |
| | <i>teatea</i> | [‘te.a,te.a] | ‘white’ |
| | <i>ia</i> | [‘i.a] | ‘locative/accusative preposition + personal article’ |
| | <i>riaria</i> | [‘ri.a,ri.a] | ‘rotten’ |

2.3.2.4 Long vowels and double vowels

Besides the phonemically long vowels, there are also occasional occurrences of double vowels, most commonly found in reduplicated words, as in (12). These only occur across a morpheme boundary, as in the examples below, where they occur due to reduplication. *Onoono*, ‘look carefully’, is the reduplicated form of *ono*, ‘look’. *Angaanga* is an inherently reduplicated word, at least in the modern language, but may very well be a reduplication of an originally unreduplicated word, which is why I still consider the double vowel in this word to occur across a morpheme boundary.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------|------------------|
| (12) | <i>angaanga</i> | [‘aŋa.ŋa] | ‘work’ |
| | <i>onoono</i> | [‘ono.ŋo] | ‘look carefully’ |

The words in (12) clearly contain double vowel and not long vowels, which can be easily determined by looking at the stress-pattern. When looking at the two middle morae in both of the two sample words, one can see that the first of the middle morae is completely stressless, whereas the second carries the secondary stress of the word. In other words, it is stressed as a typical four-mora word where each of the morae belongs to a distinct syllable, e.g., *avatea* [‘ava,te.a] ‘afternoon’. Presumably, had the two words contained a heavy syllable

in the middle of them, then this syllable would have been the stressed one. I say presumably, because no instances occur in my data of a heavy middle syllable in a four-mora word³⁹.

The distinction between long vowels and double vowels is also a good reason to write the former with a macron, instead of with a double letter/grapheme. If one decided on the latter option, i.e., write 'aa' instead 'ā' (e.g., 'ta^ātou' instead of 'tā^ātou'), one could write double vowels as two instances of the same letter, separated by a hyphen. For example, instead of writing 'anga^āanga', one could write 'anga-anga'. In my orthography, I have chosen not to use the hyphen with the reduplicated vowels, so that the two words mentioned above are written *angaanga* and *onoono*, respectively.

Another problem is how to distinguish between true diphthongs and two vowels in combination.

This problem is in many ways similar to that of how to distinguish between long and double vowels. As of yet, no definite solution to this problem has been found. One general rule of thumb, however, is that when vowels occur adjacent to each other as the result of reduplication, they never form a diphthong, even when they might have otherwise formed one (e.g., [uĩ], [aɔ]). Examples of this is given in (13).

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------|---------|
| (13) | <i>ikuiku</i> | ['iku.iku] | 'teach' |
| | <i>otaota</i> | ['ota.ota] | 'bush' |

In other instances, one may postulate a rule, which says that when three vowels occur together, the middle vowel will always form the last part of a falling diphthong, of which the

³⁹ One could possibly postulate a rule stating that four-mora words cannot contain a heavy middle syllable, and this, then, would be the argument why *angaanga* and *onoono* must contain double vowels instead of long vowels.

first vowel forms the first part. Thus, the diphthong [uĩ] does not occur in the word in (14) either.

(14) *taui* ['taɯ.i] 'change (tr.)⁴⁰

2.4 Orthography

The people of Manihiki have already established informal conventions for writing, which are used, e.g., on small written notices put up at the village centre. The conventions are mostly as one would expect, with all consonants and vowels being used for their approximate IPA value. Long vowels are usually not marked.

The velar nasal /ŋ/ is written as the digraph 'ng'. From a linguistic point of view, one might want to replace this with a single letter, e.g., with the IPA symbol 'ŋ', but as it seems that it is already an established convention to write it as a digraph, this probably would not be a good idea. This phoneme is written with the same digraph in Rarotongan, and indeed in many other Polynesian languages, e.g., in New Zealand Māori, in Rapa Iti and in Tongan. In Samoan, Niuean, Futunan, Uvean, Tokelauan and Tuvaluan, however, this phoneme is written as 'g'. Some scholars writing on Polynesian languages have chosen to use 'ŋ'. Kieviet (2017) does this for Rapa Nui. For obvious reasons connected to keyboard layouts and availability of fonts, this would probably not be recommendable.

In older literature such as Kauraka (1982), the digraph 'wh' is used, where Manihiki people today use 'f'. This is probably inspired by the orthography of New Zealand Māori, or possibly reflects an older pronunciation of this phoneme as [ɸ] or [ɰ].

2.4.1 Marking of vowel length in Manihiki and in other Polynesian languages

For all varieties of Cook Islands Māori, people tend not to distinguish between short and long vowels in writing, but many people agree that the long vowels 'ought to be' represented by a macron over the vowel, as is done in New Zealand Māori. This is the practice that I have adopted here.

⁴⁰ E.g., change clothes or behaviour.

In most documents written by Manihiki people, vowel length is not noted, but long vowels are occasionally written with the macron, similarly as for Rarotongan. The tradition of writing long vowels as double vowels, as has been used by some authors working with Polynesian languages (e.g., Krupa 1982; Bauer et al. 1993), does not seem to occur at all, and should therefore probably best be avoided.

During my fieldwork on Rarotonga and Manihiki, I would often write words and phrases in Manihiki on my laptop, using double vowels to indicate long vowels, as I had not at that time figured out how to use the macron in Word. Curious people looking over my shoulder while I was writing would often point at these words containing double vowels, and exclaim: “That’s wrong! That word should be written with only a single ‘a’” or something of that sort. They were used to seeing words written with double consonants when reading texts written in Rarotongan. In Rarotongan, however, a double vowel does not indicate a long vowel, but rather two instances of the same vowel, separated by a glottal stop. This is exemplified by a Rarotongan word such as *maata*, ‘big, large, great’, which is pronounced [‘maʔata]. This in all likelihood causes speakers of Manihiki to associate double vowels with the glottal stop, a sound which does not occur in native Manihiki words, although it may sometimes be used in loanwords from Rarotongan. It would thus not be advisable to use double vowels to signify vowel length in Manihiki.

The choice not to mark vowel length in monosyllabic words, and thus to use as few macrons as possible, is partly motivated by the fact that speakers of the various communalects of the Cook Islands tend to not mark vowel length at all. If one is in any way to convince people to mark vowel length, this would probably only be possible by arguing that misunderstandings in texts and other written communications might be avoided this way. Since a monosyllabic word which appears as head of either a verb complex or a noun phrase (or as either adverbial or adjectival modifier of one of these) will always contain either a long vowel or a diphthong, and thus be bimoraic, misunderstandings would not arise in these instances, and the use of the macron would be superfluous and thus best avoided.

When quoting from sources in New Zealand Māori, Rarotongan, or other languages where the macron is used also in diphthongs, I will of course use the original spelling of that source. I will not enter into any discussion of whether vowel length in diphthongs is phonemically

distinctive in these languages, although that could possibly make for an interesting future study. I will note here, however, that Nicholas (2016:28-29), in her discussion of vowel length in Rarotongan, does not provide any minimal pairs concerning vowel length in diphthongs, Bauer et al. (1993:535-536, 555) analyse long vowels in New Zealand Māori as double vowels (combinations of two identical vowels), mentioning that instances of one long vowel immediately followed by one short vowel does occur, but also fails to provide minimal pairs. For New Zealand Māori, however, Jones (1953:241) does give three minimal pairs showing a short-short versus long-short distinction in their diphthongs, and one pair showing a short-short versus short-long distinction. These pairs would probably provide a good basis for a future study on vowel length in diphthongs in this language as well as in other Polynesian languages.

2.4.2 *The Manihiki alphabet*

The alphabet used in this thesis for Manihiki is all in all very similar to the one used for Rarotongan (Nicholas 2016:60). However, it lacks a sign for the glottal stop, as this phoneme does not occur in Manihiki, and two letters have been added for sounds that do occur in Manihiki, but not in Rarotongan, namely ‘f’ and ‘h’. The letters mostly occur in the same order as has been used by Nicholas for Rarotongan, while ‘f’ has been added after ‘v’ at the very end of the alphabet (where ‘wh’ occurs in New Zealand Māori). And ‘h’ has been added after ‘ē’ (again similar to New Zealand Māori, where ‘h’ occurs after ‘e’). The alphabet contains only one digraph, namely ‘ng’ for the sound /ŋ/. This is again similar to Rarotongan, but slightly different from New Zealand Māori, which has two digraphs: ‘ng’ and ‘wh’. In Rarotongan, ‘ng’ has been placed after ‘ē’ in the alphabet⁴¹ (Ministry of Education 2008:33), where I have placed ‘h’. I have had to choose whether to put ‘h’ or ‘ng’ first, and have, fairly arbitrarily, chosen to put the ‘h’ first and then the ‘ng’. In New Zealand Māori, ‘ng’ follows ‘n’ (Harlow 1996:2), but since Manihiki is closer related to Rarotongan than to Cook Islands Māori, and is politically part of the Cook Islands together with Rarotonga, I have chosen the Rarotongan model over the New Zealand Māori one. The full alphabet of Manihiki is as given in (15).

(15) a - ā - e - ē - h - ng - i - ī - k - m - n - o - ō - p - r - t - u - ū - v - f

⁴¹ Or actually after “ē”, but since the glottal stop does not occur in Manihiki, this digraph does not occur either.

2.5 Phonotactics

Manihiki syllables are of the form (C)V(V), i.e., each syllable contains an obligatory vowel nucleus and an optional consonant onset. A second vowel mora may occur at the end of the syllable. Consonant codas do not occur, and neither do nuclei consisting of syllabic consonants. Heavy syllables contain two morae. If these are of the same vowel quality, the syllable contains one of the long vowels /a:/, /e:/, /i:/, /o:/ or /u:/. If they are of a different quality to one another, the syllable contains a diphthong, which will invariably be falling in Manihiki (see 2.3.2.2 for a full list of diphthongs).

Manihiki words consist of one or more syllables of the structure described above. The shortest words are grammatical words consisting of just one vowel, i.e., words of the form (C)V, as in (16).

| | | | |
|------|-----------|------|-----------------------------------|
| (16) | <i>i</i> | [i] | ‘locative/accusative preposition’ |
| | <i>ki</i> | [ki] | ‘allative/dative preposition’ |
| | <i>te</i> | [te] | ‘definite article’ |
| | <i>ko</i> | [ko] | ‘presentative preposition’ |

The vowels in these three grammatical words seem to always be short. When looking at lexical words, however, one quickly notices that they are all at least two morae long, even the monosyllabic ones. In other words, the shortest lexical words are all of the form (C)VV, and may contain either a long vowel or a diphthong. Examples are given in (17).

| | | | |
|------|------------|--------|---------------|
| (17) | <i>ao</i> | [aɔ̯] | ‘cloud’ |
| | <i>au</i> | [aʊ̯] | ‘smoke’ |
| | <i>hi</i> | [hi:] | ‘pull’ |
| | <i>ha</i> | [ha:] | ‘rise up’ |
| | <i>kai</i> | [kai̯] | ‘eat’ |
| | <i>ki</i> | [ki:] | ‘be full’ |
| | <i>ma</i> | [ma:] | ‘be clean’ |
| | <i>tae</i> | [tae̯] | ‘reach’ |
| | <i>tu</i> | [tu:] | ‘stand’ |
| | <i>pau</i> | [paʊ̯] | ‘be finished’ |

In longer words, all four basic syllable structures (V, VV, CV or CVV) can be used in any combination.

2.6 Word Stress

Stress in Manihiki is primarily realized as increased intensity or loudness. Manihiki uses right-aligned moraic trochees, where the head foot is to the left. A foot in the phonological sense consists of either two syllables or two morae. In Manihiki, the mora is the basic prosodic unit, and a foot in Manihiki will thus consist of two morae. A word consisting of only one foot, which is the shortest potential length of a lexical word in Manihiki, will invariably be stressed on the first mora, and thus form what is known in the study of prosody as a trochee.

2.6.1 Words consisting of two morae

In the following, I will refer to light (monomoraic) and heavy (bimoraic) syllables. A light syllable contains only a single mora, i.e., only one of the five short vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ or /u/. A heavy syllable contains two morae. These two morae can be made up of a single long vowel (/a:/, /e:/, /i:/, /o:/, /u:/), which can be thought of as two adjacent vowels of the same type. These heavy syllables containing two morae both consisting of the same vowel are written as a single vowel with the macron on top. This is done in order to distinguish them from double vowels, i.e., two instances of the same vowel occurring adjacent to each other, where each of the two vowels make up the nucleus of a separate light syllable (see 2.3.2.4). They can also, however, be made up of two non-identical vowel sounds occurring adjacent to each other, where the second vowel is higher than the first. In these cases, they make up a falling diphthong.⁴²

The headedness of stress in Manihiki is most easily determined by looking at words containing only light syllables, i.e., only syllables consisting of a single mora each. First, I will look at words containing only one foot consisting of two light syllables. A foot in the phonological sense can be defined as either a sequence of two syllables or a sequence of two morae⁴³. It will be

⁴² Although the last mora of diphthongs will always consist of a vowel which is more close/high than the vowel of the first mora, these diphthongs will be described as 'falling', referring to the fact that the second vowel (the high one) is turned into a semi-vowel, and thus has less sonority.

⁴³ These pairs of either syllables or morae will always be counted from either the beginning or the end of the phonological word. E.g., a four-syllable/four-mora word will contain exactly two feet, one foot consisting of the

determined later in the thesis whether the stressable element in Manihiki is the syllable or the mora. For the time being, I will leave this question out of the equation by looking only at words containing light syllables, which by definition will contain exactly as many morae as they contain syllables.

Example (18) gives a number of examples of bisyllabic words containing only light syllables, together with their stress-pattern and other phonetic information in square brackets.

| | | | |
|------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| (18) | <i>kino</i> | ['kino] | 'bad' |
| | <i>tama</i> | ['tama] | 'boy, son' |
| | <i>ika</i> | ['ika] | 'fish (n.)' |
| | <i>ura</i> | ['ura] | 'dance' |

Judging from the words above, it would appear that this particular phonological type of word is invariably stressed on the first syllable. So far, I have not been able to find any counterexamples to this generalisation, and I can therefore conclude with a reasonable amount of certainty that words consisting of only one foot is stressed on the first part, i.e., either the first syllable or the first mora, of this foot. A stress-pattern like this is referred to as trochaic, while the opposite pattern (one in which the last part of the foot would receive the stress) is known as iambic.

So, phonological feet in Manihiki are trochees, i.e., stressed on the first syllable. The next thing we need to find out is how these trochees are distributed in words consisting of an uneven number of syllables. This is most easily done with words consisting of three syllables. For trisyllabic words, there are two logical possibilities. Either they consist of a foot followed by a single unfooted syllable, or they consist of a single unfooted syllable followed by a foot. In the former case, the feet are aligned with the beginning of the word ('left-aligned') and in the latter with the end of the word ('right-aligned').

first two syllables/morae and the other consisting of the last two. However, the two syllables/morae occurring in the middle of this four-syllable/four-mora word will not count as one foot, but belong each to a separate foot of the word, the first as the last syllable/mora of the first foot, and the second as the first syllable/mora of the second foot.

2.6.2 Words consisting of three morae

Words with three morae in three light syllables are given in (19). As can be seen, they are invariably stressed on the penultimate syllable, which in these words is also the middle syllable. If the feet of words were counted from the beginning of the word, or in other words, if feet were left-aligned, this stress would fall on the final mora of the first foot, making that foot an iambus. However, as has previously been determined, the foot in Manihiki is a trochee, which is stressed on the first mora. In other words, the stressed middle syllable must form a trochee together with the final syllable, while the first syllable of the words below is unfooted. This can be rephrased as stating that feet in Manihiki are right-aligned trochees.

| | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------|----------|
| (19) | <i>ingoa</i> | [i'ŋo.a] | 'name' |
| | <i>kakati</i> | [ka'kati] | 'bite' |
| | <i>kakahi</i> | [ka'kahi] | 'tuna' |
| | <i>matangi</i> | [ma'taŋi] | 'wind' |
| | <i>moana</i> | [mo.'ana] | 'ocean' |
| | <i>ninita</i> | [ni'nita] | 'pawpaw' |

Words with three morae, where the last two appear together in a heavy syllable are given in (20). As can be seen, these words are stressed on the penultimate mora, not the penultimate syllable, showing that stress in Manihiki is moraic, not syllabic.

| | | | |
|------|--------------|----------|--------------------------------------|
| (20) | <i>kavou</i> | [ka'ʋoʋ] | 'coconut crab, <i>Birgus latro</i> ' |
| | <i>mangō</i> | [ma'ŋo:] | 'shark' |
| | <i>momō</i> | [mo'mo:] | 'far away' |

In trimoraic words, where the first two morae together form a heavy syllable, this heavy syllable will be stressed. If this heavy syllable is a diphthong, the first mora of the syllable will be the stressed part, as diphthongs in Manihiki are invariably falling. Examples of this are given in (21).

| | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|--|
| (21) | <i>nōna</i> | ['no:na] | 'for him, 3 rd person singular benefactive' |
| | <i>tāne</i> | ['ta:ne] | 'man, husband' |
| | <i>maunga</i> | ['maɯŋa] | 'mountain' |
| | <i>meika</i> | ['mei̯ka] | 'banana' |
| | <i>meiti</i> | ['mei̯ti] | 'small, little' |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|--|
| <i>rau</i> <i>ka</i> | [ˈrau̯ka] | ‘be able to’ |
| <i>rau</i> <i>ru</i> | [ˈrau̯ru] | ‘hair’ |
| <i>te</i> <i>a</i> | [ˈte̯i.a] | ‘this, proximal demonstrative’ |
| <i>ka</i> <i>oa</i> | [ˈka̯o.a] | ‘house on small island for farming pearls’ |
| <i>tau</i> <i>a</i> ₁ | [ˈtau̯.a] | ‘you and I, we two, 1 st person dual inclusive’ |
| <i>tau</i> <i>a</i> ₂ | [ˈtau̯.a] | ‘the aforementioned, retrospective demonstrative’ |

Trimoraic words that have been formed by reduplicating the first syllable of a bimoraic word are pronounced in the same way as other trimoraic words, i.e., with the stress on the first mora of the final foot, as in (22).

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (22) | <i>nono</i> <i>ho</i> | [noˈnoho] | ‘be married to’ |
| | <i>nunui</i> | [nuˈnui] | ‘great, very large’ |
| | <i>rara</i> <i>hi</i> | [raˈrahi] | ‘very big’ |
| | <i>vivi</i> <i>ki</i> | [viˈviki] | ‘fast’ |

2.6.3 Words consisting of four morae

Words containing four morae contain exactly two whole trochees. By looking at which one of these two trochees carries the primary stress, one can determine which one is the head foot. As can be seen from the examples in (23), the primary stress of four-mora words fall on the very first mora, so the head foot of a four-mora word must be the one closest to the front, or in other words, the head foot is to the left.

| | | | |
|------|---|----------------|---------------------|
| (23) | <i>ava</i> <i>te</i> <i>a</i> | [ˈava.te.a] | ‘afternoon’ |
| | <i>ā</i> <i>to</i> <i>ro</i> | [ˈaːto.ro] | ‘visit’ |
| | <i>ngā</i> <i>ka</i> <i>u</i> | [ˈŋaːka̯u] | ‘heart, intestines’ |
| | <i>ngū</i> <i>tupa</i> | [ˈŋuːtu.pa] | ‘door’ |
| | <i>iri</i> <i>naki</i> | [ˈiri.naki] | ‘believe’ |
| | <i>ka</i> <i>u</i> <i>ka</i> <i>u</i> | [ˈka̯u̯ka̯u̯] | ‘shower’ |
| | <i>ka</i> <i>ū</i> <i>tā</i> | [ˈka̯ʊ̯taː] | ‘talk, say’ |
| | <i>ke</i> <i>re</i> <i>ke</i> <i>re</i> | [ˈke.re.ke.re] | ‘black’ |
| | <i>ko</i> <i>re</i> <i>re</i> <i>ka</i> | [ˈko.re.re.ka] | ‘big’ |
| | <i>kō</i> <i>papa</i> | [ˈkoːpa.pa] | ‘body’ |
| | <i>kō</i> <i>pū</i> | [ˈkoːpuː] | ‘stomach’ |
| | <i>kō</i> <i>re</i> <i>ro</i> | [ˈkoːre.ro] | ‘speak’ |

| | | |
|------------------|--------------|---|
| <i>kōriro</i> | [ˈkoːriro] | ‘slit drum’ |
| <i>matahiti</i> | [ˈmataˌhiti] | ‘year’ |
| <i>mokopuna</i> | [ˈmokoˌpuna] | ‘grandchild’ |
| <i>nīmata</i> | [ˈniːmata] | ‘young, green coconut’ |
| <i>ōhire</i> | [ˈoːhire] | ‘village’ |
| <i>pōpongi</i> | [ˈpoːponʒi] | ‘morning’ |
| <i>puapinga</i> | [ˈpu.aˌpiŋa] | ‘important’ |
| <i>rangatira</i> | [ˈraŋaˌtira] | ‘chief of a village, captain of a boat’ |
| <i>rauara</i> | [ˈrau̯.ara] | ‘people’ |
| <i>rōpā</i> | [ˈroːpaː] | ‘young man’ |
| <i>tēnā</i> | [ˈteːnaː] | ‘that, medial demonstrative’ |
| <i>tērā</i> | [ˈteːraː] | ‘that, distal demonstrative’ |
| <i>tinamou</i> | [ˈtinaˌmoʊ] | ‘stick to something’ |
| <i>tokerau</i> | [ˈtokeˌrau̯] | ‘north’ |
| <i>tuakana</i> | [ˈtu.aˌkana] | ‘older same-sex sibling’ |
| <i>vaerua</i> | [ˈvaɛ̯.ru.a] | ‘spirit’ |
| <i>fānau</i> | [ˈfaːnaʊ] | ‘be born’ |
| <i>fuiʔfui</i> | [ˈfuiʔfui] | ‘gather, collect’ |
| <i>hinangaro</i> | [ˈhinaˌŋaro] | ‘want, wish’ |
| <i>hinuhinu</i> | [ˈhinuˌhinu] | ‘fat and healthy (of person)’ |
| <i>hīmene</i> | [ˈhiːmene] | ‘hymn’ |
| <i>hopuhopu</i> | [ˈhopuˌhopu] | ‘swim’ |
| <i>hupahupa</i> | [ˈhupaˌhupa] | ‘dance’ |
| <i>taeake</i> | [ˈtaɛ̯.ake] | ‘friend’ |
| <i>tamariki</i> | [ˈtamaˌriki] | ‘children’ |
| <i>maikuku</i> | [ˈmai̯kuku] | ‘fingernail’ |

2.6.4 Words consisting of five morae

While six-mora words are fairly common in Manihiki, five-mora words are rare, but they do occur. Most of these have their main stress on the first mora and their secondary stress on the penultimate mora, as seen in (24). This indicates that while the last foot of these words is right-aligned, as was previously shown for trisyllabic words, the first foot must be left-aligned, with the middle mora being left unfooted.

| | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| (24) | <i>hipukarea</i> | [ˈhipuka, re.a] | ‘home island’ |
| | <i>pākakari</i> | [ˈpa:ka, kari] | ‘very old’ |
| | <i>tāmanako</i> | [ˈta:ma, nako] | ‘figure out’ |

However, if the second syllable is long, this will be the stressed syllable, as seen in (25). This has to be due to the previously mentioned rule of no syllable splitting, and results in the first mora of these words being unfooted, instead of the middle one.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| (25) | <i>tamāhine</i> | [taˈma:, hine] | ‘girl’ |
| | <i>tamāroa</i> | [taˈma:, ro.a] | ‘boy’ |
| | <i>tuātau</i> | [tu.ˈa:tau] | ‘season, period of time’ |

2.6.5 Words consisting of six morae

Words with six morae are more commonly found than words with five. Six-mora words, which have three complete feet with no morae left unfooted, are invariably stressed on the first mora, as seen in (26).

| | | | |
|------|--------------------|-------------------|---|
| (26) | <i>Hineporaria</i> | [ˈhinepora, ri.a] | ‘name of a female character in traditional myths’ |
| | <i>hārāvei</i> | [ˈha:ra:, veɪ] | ‘meet’ |
| | <i>manamanatā</i> | [ˈmanamana, ta:] | ‘problem’ |
| | <i>ākarakara</i> | [ˈa:kara, kara] | ‘observe’ |
| | <i>kātoatoa</i> | [ˈka:to.a, to.a] | ‘all’ |
| | <i>kōmiromiro</i> | [ˈko:miro, miro] | ‘rub’ |
| | <i>maromaroā</i> | [ˈmaromaro, a:] | ‘weak’ |
| | <i>mārohirohi</i> | [ˈma:rohi, rohi] | ‘strong’ |
| | <i>māhihi</i> | [ˈma:hi:, hi:] | ‘swear, use swear words’ |
| | <i>pāsireia</i> | [ˈpa:si, reɪ.a] | ‘kingdom’ |
| | <i>pōrokiroki</i> | [ˈpo:roki, roki] | ‘warn’ |
| | <i>taurearea</i> | [ˈtaʊre.a, re.a] | ‘young man of high status, son of chief’ |
| | <i>tākinokino</i> | [ˈta:kino, kino] | ‘destroy’ |
| | <i>tāpiripiri</i> | [ˈta:piri, piri] | ‘spy’ |
| | <i>tārekareka</i> | [ˈta:reka, reka] | ‘entertain’ |
| | <i>tīfoufou</i> | [ˈti:fou, fou] | ‘bite (of a crab)’ |

2.6.6 Words with irregular stress

A number of trimoraic and trisyllabic words have irregular stress, which falls on the first mora, even though this does not appear to be a heavy syllable. I have thus far found three such words, which are given in (27).

| | | | |
|------|----------------|------------|------------------|
| (27) | <i>manako</i> | [ˈmanako] | ‘think, thought’ |
| | <i>tahito</i> | [ˈtahito] | ‘ancient’ |
| | <i>hopenga</i> | [ˈhopenɟa] | ‘end’ |

Besides these trimoraic words with irregular stress patterns, three four-mora words also show irregular stress patterns. These are given in (28). *Inanahi* carries the main stress on the third mora of the word (i.e., the first mora of the second foot) instead of where it would regularly be, on the first mora of the word (first mora of the first foot). This could possibly be explained as speakers interpreting the first syllable of the word as the locative preposition *i*, and the last three syllables as making up the entire lexical word, which is then stressed on the penultimate syllable, as other trisyllabic words. *Tamaiti*, on the other hand, carries the stress on the first part of the second syllable, or the second mora of the first foot. *Faraoa* shows the same stress pattern as *tamaiti*, and this may be due to the fact that both words contain a diphthong for the second and third mora of the word. For *faraoa*, which is obviously a loanword, it may also simply be due to the pronunciation of the original English word.

| | | | |
|------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| (28) | <i>inanahi</i> | [,inaˈnahi] | ‘yesterday’ |
| | <i>tamaiti</i> | [taˈmaɪti] | ‘child’ |
| | <i>faraoa</i> | [faˈraɔa] | ‘flour’ |

As seen in 2.6.3, the irregular plural form of *tamaiti*, i.e., *tamariki*, shows the regular stress pattern for four-mora words.

2.6.7 Secondary word stress

Words consisting of at least four morae, falling into at least three syllables, also contain a secondary stress, which invariably is placed on the penultimate mora. The only exception to this is the irregular word *inanahi*, where it is the primary stress that is placed on the penultimate mora, with the secondary stress being placed on the preantepenultimate, in this

case also first, mora. There will always be at least one unstressed mora between the one carrying the primary and the one carrying the secondary stress, and in words of five or more morae, there will often be more than one unstressed mora in between these. Examples of words containing secondary stress are given in (29). Most of these have also been given elsewhere.

| | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----------------|--|
| (29) | <i>avatea</i> | [ˈava,te.a] | ‘afternoon’ |
| | <i>irinaki</i> | [ˈiri,naki] | ‘believe’ |
| | <i>kerekere</i> | [ˈkere,kere] | ‘black’ |
| | <i>korereka</i> | [ˈkore,reka] | ‘big’ |
| | <i>puapinga</i> | [ˈpu.a,piŋa] | ‘important’ |
| | <i>tinamou</i> | [ˈtina,mou] | ‘stick to something’ |
| | <i>tokerau</i> | [ˈtoke,rau] | ‘north’ |
| | <i>vaerua</i> | [ˈvaɛ,ru.a] | ‘spirit’ |
| | <i>hinangaro</i> | [ˈhina,ŋaro] | ‘want, wish’ |
| | <i>taeake</i> | [ˈtaɛ,ake] | ‘friend’ |
| | <i>tamariki</i> | [ˈtama,riki] | ‘children’ |
| | <i>hipukarea</i> | [ˈhipuka,re.a] | ‘home island’ |
| | <i>pākakari</i> | [ˈpa:ka,kari] | ‘very old’ |
| | <i>tāmanako</i> | [ˈta:ma,nako] | ‘figure out’ |
| | <i>tamāhine</i> | [taˈma:,hine] | ‘girl’ |
| | <i>tamāroa</i> | [taˈma:,ro.a] | ‘boy’ |
| | <i>hārāvei</i> | [ˈha:ra:,veɪ] | ‘meet’ |
| | <i>manamanatā</i> | [ˈmanamana,ta:] | ‘problem’ |
| | <i>ākarakara</i> | [ˈa:kara,kara] | ‘observe’ |
| | <i>kātoatoa</i> | [ˈka:to.a,to.a] | ‘all’ |
| | <i>kōmiromiro</i> | [ˈko:miro,miro] | ‘rub’ |
| | <i>maromaroā</i> | [ˈmaromaro,a:] | ‘weak’ |
| | <i>māhīhī</i> | [ˈma:hi:,hi:] | ‘swear, use swear words’ |
| | <i>pāsireia</i> | [ˈpa:si,reɪ.a] | ‘kingdom’ |
| | <i>taurearea</i> | [ˈtaʊre.a,re.a] | ‘young man of high status, son of chief’ |
| | <i>tārekareka</i> | [ˈta:reka,reka] | ‘entertain’ |
| | <i>tīfoufou</i> | [ˈti:fou,fou] | ‘bite (of a crab)’ |

2.6.8 Stress placement in other EPN languages⁴⁴

In this section, I will describe how word stress has been analysed for three other EPN languages: Rarotongan (Nicholas 2016:52-57) is described in 2.6.8.1, Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2017:45-47) in 2.6.8.2 and Rapa Iti⁴⁵ (Walworth 2015:61-65) in 2.6.8.3.

2.6.8.1 Stress in Rarotongan

Nicholas (2016:52-57) writes that in Rarotongan, there are two main word stress patterns that can apply to words of any form. She calls these WSP1 and WSP2. In WSP1, the first mora is stressed and in WSP2 the penultimate mora is stressed. It is not clear what factors influence the choice between WSP1 and WSP2. The use of either WSP1 or WSP2 varies between speakers. Sometimes an individual speaker will favour one of the patterns. However, a single speaker may also produce both patterns freely. In words that contain a single long vowel, that syllable may optionally draw the stress, even if that does not conform to WSP1 or WSP2.

In bisyllabic words with only light syllables, the two patterns converge, as the first syllable is also simultaneously the penultimate syllable, as can be seen in (30).

| | | | | |
|------|-------------|---------|--|-------------|
| (30) | <i>tupu</i> | ['tupu] | | 'grow' |
| | <i>miri</i> | ['miri] | | 'massage' |
| | <i>mana</i> | [mana] | | 'authority' |

In words of more than two syllables containing only light syllables, one can see examples of either WSP1, with the stress falling on the first mora, or of WSP2, with stress on the penultimate mora. This is shown in (31) for words with three light syllables and in (32) for words with four light syllables.

| | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------|----|-----------|------------|
| (31) | <i>tangata</i> | ['taŋata] | or | [ta'ŋata] | 'human' |
| | <i>ma'ara</i> | ['maʔara] | or | [ma'ʔara] | 'remember' |
| | <i>va'ine</i> | ['vaʔine] | or | [va'ʔine] | 'woman' |

⁴⁴ For this whole section, I have either provided phonetic transcriptions for the sample words myself, when the source did not provide (Nicholas 2016; Kieviet 2017), or made changes to the phonetic transcriptions provided, in order for them to fit the format I have used elsewhere in this chapter (Walworth 2015).

⁴⁵ In the following, I will use the term 'Rapa Iti' to refer exclusively to what Walworth (2015:20-21) terms 'Old Rapa'.

| | | | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------|----|-------------|--------------|
| (32) | <i>mokopuna</i> | ['moko:puna] | or | [moko'puna] | 'grandchild' |
| | <i>'inangaro</i> | ['ʔinaŋaro] | or | [ʔina'ŋaro] | 'desire' |
| | <i>tamariki</i> | ['tamariki] | or | [tama'riki] | 'children' |

In words which contain a single long vowel, that long vowel usually draws the stress. In trimoraic words containing one heavy and one light syllable, it will always do so. If the long vowel is word-initial, then the stress occurs on that syllable, which conforms to both WSP1 and to WSP2. This does not prove anything in relation to whether or not long vowels draw the stress. However, if the long vowel is word-final, then the final heavy syllable will always be stressed, conforming to WSP2, but outruling the possibility of pronouncing these words according to WSP1, proving that long vowels in trimoraic words always draw the stress. Examples of trimoraic words containing a long vowel in either initial or final position are given in (33).

| | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------|--|--------------|
| (33) | <i>vā'i</i> | ['va:ʔi] | | 'split (v.)' |
| | <i>kakī</i> | [ka'ki:] | | 'neck' |
| | <i>va'ī</i> | [va'ʔi:] | | 'wrap up' |

In four-mora words containing one medial heavy syllable and two light syllables (one initial and one final), this heavy syllable will also always draw the stress. This form only occurs in loanwords. However, four-mora words containing one initial heavy syllable and two light syllables (one medial and one final) can show either WSP1 or WSP2, which indicates that it is not obligatory to stress a long vowel in four-mora words.

In words that contain several heavy syllables, either WSP1 or WSP2 can occur, as is the case for words containing only light syllables. This is shown in (34).

| | | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------|----|--------------|------------|
| (34) | <i>āpōpō</i> | ['a:po:po:] | or | [a:po:'po:] | 'tomorrow' |
| | <i>mūtēkī</i> | ['mu:te:ki:] | or | [mu:te:'ki:] | 'be quiet' |
| | <i>'ārāvei</i> | ['ʔa:ra:vei] | or | [ʔa:ra:'vei] | 'meet' |
| | <i>pererau</i> | ['pererau] | or | [pere'rau] | 'wing' |
| | <i>meitaki</i> | ['meɪtaki] | or | [meɪ'taki] | 'good' |

2.6.8.2 Stress in Rapa Nui

Kieviet (2017:45-47) writes that in Rapa Nui, the final foot of the word is prominent. This results in the following pattern:

(i) When the final syllable of the word is heavy, and thus contains a whole foot, it is stressed, as in (35).

| | | | |
|------|---------------|-------------|----------|
| (35) | <i>pō</i> | [ˈpo:] | ‘night’ |
| | <i>maŋō</i> | [maˈŋo:] | ‘shark’ |
| | <i>keretū</i> | [ˌkereˈtu:] | ‘pumice’ |

(ii) When the final syllable of the word is light, the penultimate syllable is stressed. The penultimate and the final syllable constitute the final trochaic foot, with the penultimate syllable receiving the stress, as in the words in (36).

| | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| (36) | <i>noho</i> | [ˈnoho] | ‘sit, stay’ |
| | <i>mauku</i> | [ma.ˈuku] | ‘grass’ |
| | <i>pāpaʻi</i> | [ˌpaːˈpaʔi] | ‘write’ |
| | <i>haŋupotu</i> | [ˌhaŋuˈpotu] | ‘youngest child’ |
| | <i>hānautama</i> | [ˌhaːˌna.uˈtama] ⁴⁶ | ‘pregnant’ |

As can be seen in the examples above, the first morae of all feet other than the final foot receive secondary stress. This results in a rhythm of alternating strong (stressed) and weak (unstressed) morae throughout the word.

2.6.8.3 Stress in Rapa Iti

Walworth (2015:61-65) writes that primary stress in Rapa Iti is directly related to the weight of syllables, where surface long vowels and surface diphthongs (both long and short) attract stress as a result of their heavier weight. In Rapa Iti, the prosodic foot consists of two or three morae and is built from the right edge of the word. Primary stress falls regularly on the penultimate mora, an example of which is given in (37).

| | | | |
|------|------------|--------|--------|
| (37) | <i>ivi</i> | [ˈivi] | ‘bone’ |
|------|------------|--------|--------|

⁴⁶ I have analysed this word as a five-syllable word, as Kieviet writes that all sequences of non-identical vowels are bisyllabic, “... even those often analysed as diphthongs in other Polynesian languages...” (Kieviet 2017:27).

In some words, there is evidence of an unfooted first syllable. In these cases, primary stress remains on the penultimate mora, as in (38).

- (38) *puaka* [pu.ˈaxa]⁴⁷ ‘pig’
 ʻangai [ʔaˈŋaɪ] ‘adopt’

In words with more than one foot, primary stress falls on the penultimate mora of the second foot (counting from the right), as in (39).

- (39) *tāpū* [ˈta:pu:] ‘cut’

A foot consisting of a heavy syllable will attract the stress over a foot consisting of two light syllables, regardless of the ordering of the feet, as in (40).

- (40) *pōʻotu* [ˈpo:ʔotu] ‘rock’
 mangavai [maŋaˈvaɪ] ‘river’

Further, among several feet consisting of heavy syllables, those with long vowels will attract the stress, rather than those with diphthongs, as in (41).

- (41) *keiā* [kei.ˈa:] ‘steal’

This implies a hierarchy among Rapa Iti's three syllable types, where heavy syllables with long vowels are ranked higher than heavy syllables with diphthongs, which in turn are ranked higher than light syllables. Rapa Iti stress rules, maintaining this hierarchy, can be outlined as follows:

- (i) Primary stress falls on the foot that contains the syllable highest on the hierarchy.
- (ii) When all feet contain syllables of the same hierarchical status, then stress falls on the penultimate mora of the second foot (counting from the right).

2.7 Reduplication

Manihiki contains a large number of words with reduplicated elements, as do most other Polynesian languages, and indeed many other Oceanic and Austronesian languages. The vast

⁴⁷ Walworth (2015:62) herself gives a phonetic transcription with the voiceless velar fricative. Elsewhere she writes: “Velar stop /k/ becomes a fricative intervocalically, in unstressed syllables. This rule is optional.” (Walworth 2015:42).

majority of these words inherently contain reduplicated elements. In other words, they do not appear to be formed synchronically from words without any reduplicated forms, although there may very well diachronically have been such words, which have not left any trace in the present language. These will be discussed further below in 2.7.2. Other words containing full or partial reduplication are formed from non-reduplicated bases. These will be discussed below in 2.7.1.

2.7.1 Reduplicated words formed from non-reduplicated bases

The majority of these are stative verbs, and the reduplicated forms are usually intensified versions of the non-reduplicated forms. The intensifying meaning is the same whether these stative verbs are fully reduplicated as in (42) or partially reduplicated as in (43). As can be seen, the stress pattern of these words is the same as one would expect for any other non-reduplicated word of their mora-length.

| | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------|----|-----------------------------|----------------|
| (42) | ' <i>maki</i> | 'ill' | => | ' <i>maki</i> , <i>maki</i> | 'very ill' |
| | ' <i>riki</i> | 'small' | => | ' <i>riki</i> , <i>riki</i> | 'very small' |
| (43) | <i>nui</i> | 'big' | => | <i>nu</i> ' <i>nui</i> | 'large, great' |
| | ' <i>rahi</i> | 'big' | => | <i>ra</i> ' <i>rahi</i> | 'very big' |

Owing to the relatively small number of these potentially reduplicated stative verbs that have so far been collected, it is hard to come up with any definitive rule as to when to use full, and when to use only partial, reduplication. One rule that may be postulated is that bimoraic roots are fully reduplicated (as in the cases of *maki* and *riki*), unless the second mora contains 'h' as the consonant onset (as in the case of *rahi*, and also *noho* below) or no consonant onset at all (as in the case of *nui*). In these cases, only the first stressed mora of the foot is reduplicated.

For other reduplicated words, which can be either stative verbs, active verbs or nouns, there is no regular semantic correspondence between the reduplicated and the non-reduplicated forms⁴⁸. Examples are given in (44). As for the words mentioned in (42) and (43), the stress pattern appears to be the regular one in these words. In all the words below, reduplication is bimoraic, apart from in the word *nonoho*, where it is monomoraic, most likely due to the 'h'

⁴⁸ Although for active verbs reduplication might indicate habitual, continuous or repetitive action. See 5.8.

onset before the second mora. As was the case with *nui* and *rahi* in (43), it is the first stressed mora of the trochee, which is reduplicated in this word.

| | | | | | |
|------|--------|-------------|----|--------------|-------------------|
| (44) | 'tangi | 'weep' | => | 'tangi,tangi | 'sad' |
| | 'one | 'sand' | => | 'one,one | 'fine sand' |
| | 'vene | 'sweet' | => | 'vene,vene | 'type of berries' |
| | 'noho | 'sit, live' | => | no'noho | 'be married to' |

2.7.2 Reduplicated forms without free bases/inherently reduplicated words

Besides these words containing reduplicated elements, which are formed from non-reduplicated words, there are also a large number of words that inherently contain reduplicated elements. In these words, the reduplication is always bimoraic. These can be either stative verbs as in (45), active verbs as in (46) or nouns as in (47). As can be seen, it is almost invariably the right-most foot that is reduplicated in these words, the only three exceptions being *maromaroā*, *manamanatā* and *pakapakakina*.

| | | | |
|------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (45) | <i>hakarohirohi</i> | [haka'rohi,rohi] | 'lazy' |
| | <i>kerekere</i> | ['kere,kere] | 'black' |
| | <i>maromaroā</i> | ['maromaro,a:] | 'weak' |
| | <i>mārohirohi</i> | ['ma:rohi,rohi] | 'strong' |
| | <i>māhanahana</i> | ['ma:hana,hana] | 'warm' |
| | <i>parapara</i> | ['para,para] | 'dirty' |
| | <i>paruparu</i> | ['paru,paru] | 'lazy' |
| | <i>pahekeheke</i> | [pa'heke,heke] | 'smooth, slippery' |
| | <i>petepete</i> | ['pete,pete] | 'fat (of person)' |
| | <i>pōkaikai</i> | ['po:kai,kai] | 'round (spherical)' |
| | <i>punupunu</i> | ['punu,punu] | 'round (circular)' |
| | <i>riaria</i> | ['ri.a,ri.a] | 'rotten' |
| | <i>rohirohi</i> | ['rohi,rohi] | 'tired' |
| | <i>tumutumu</i> | ['tumu,tumu] | 'strong' |
| | <i>vinivini</i> | ['vini,vini] | 'scared' |
| | <i>hinuhinu</i> | ['hinu,hinu] | 'fat and healthy (of person)' |
| (46) | <i>angaanga</i> | ['aŋa,aŋa] | 'work' |

| | | | |
|------|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| | <i>ākarakara</i> | [ˈa:kara,kara] | ‘observe’ |
| | <i>ihoiho</i> | [ˈiho,iho] | ‘climb down’ |
| | <i>ikuiku</i> | [ˈiku,iku] | ‘teach’ |
| | <i>kaikai</i> | [ˈkaikaɪ] | ‘eat’ |
| | <i>kaukau</i> | [ˈkaʊkaʊ] | ‘shower’ |
| | <i>kōmiromiro</i> | [ˈko:miro,miro] | ‘rub’ |
| | <i>māharahara</i> | [ˈma:hara,hara] | ‘remember’ |
| | <i>onioni</i> | [ˈoni,oni] | ‘have sexual intercourse’ |
| | <i>paepae</i> | [ˈpaɛpaɛ] | ‘float’ |
| | <i>rangaranga</i> | [ˈraŋa,raŋa] | ‘look around’ |
| | <i>tiketike</i> | [ˈtike,tike] | ‘go high’ |
| | <i>tīfoufou</i> | [ˈti:fou,fou] | ‘bite (of a crab)’ |
| | <i>forefore</i> | [ˈfore,fore] | ‘peel (e.g., banana)’ |
| | <i>fuihui</i> | [ˈfui,fui] | ‘collect’ |
| | <i>hopuhopu</i> | [ˈhopu,hopu] | ‘swim’ |
| | <i>hupahupa</i> | [ˈhupa,hupa] | ‘dance’ |
| | <i>hurihuri</i> | [ˈhuri,huri] | ‘discuss’ |
| (47) | <i>kumekume</i> | [ˈkume,kume] | ‘tree trunk’ |
| | <i>maemae</i> | [ˈmaɛmaɛ] | ‘species of fish’ |
| | <i>manamanatā</i> | [ˈmanamana,ta:] | ‘problem’ |
| | <i>mekameka</i> | [ˈmeka,meka] | ‘abundance’ |
| | <i>mokomoko</i> | [ˈmoko,moko] | ‘very young green coconut’ |
| | <i>motomoto</i> | [ˈmoto,moto] | ‘juice of a young coconut’ |
| | <i>otaota</i> | [ˈota,ota] | ‘bush’ |
| | <i>pāhutahuta</i> | [ˈpa:huta,huta] | ‘rhythm’ |
| | <i>pekapeka</i> | [ˈpeka,peka] | ‘problem’ |
| | <i>takataka</i> | [ˈtaka,taka] | ‘dried coconut’ |
| | <i>taurearea</i> | [ˈtaʊre.a, re.a] | ‘young man of status’ |
| | <i>pakapakakina</i> | [ˈpakapaka,kina] | ‘noise’ |
| | <i>tuetue</i> | [ˈtu.e,tu.e] | ‘hill’ |
| | <i>haruharu</i> | [ˈharu,haru] | ‘spat collector’ ⁴⁹ |

⁴⁹ This is an instrument used in pearl farming consisting of a sort of net which is submerged in the water of the lagoon to collect oyster larvae, also known as spat.

3 Word Classes

3.1 Introduction

Manihiki is an almost completely isolating language, with no inflectional morphology of any kind, and only very little derivational morphology. Lexical words of Manihiki fall into two classes: nouns and verbs. There is no separate class of adjectives. Instead, words expressing properties of nouns form a special class of stative verbs. Further, there is also a class of pronouns, which includes personal, possessive and emphatic forms. The possessive pronouns, and to a certain extent the emphatic ones, can also function as determiners. The demonstratives form a class of their own, which can also function as either pronouns or determiners.

Besides the two classes of lexical words, there are also grammatical words or particles, and these also fall into two general categories: those generally used with nouns and those generally used with verbs.

Grammatical words that can occur as part of the noun phrase in Manihiki are: determiners; numerals; the plural marker *au*; and the deictic particles. Noun phrases in turn combine with prepositions to form prepositional phrases. Grammatical words that can be used as part of verb complexes are: the aspect/mood particles; the passive/inchoative marker *hia*; the postverbal modifiers; the directional markers; the deictic particles (similar in form to the ones used with noun phrases); and the anaphoric particle *ai*. Besides the nominal and verbal particles already mentioned, there are also the conjunctions, which can be used to coordinate clauses, and, for some of them, also noun phrases and prepositional phrases.

Great flexibility in the use of the same lexical word as both noun and verb has been noted for several Polynesian languages, and has been particularly widely studied and discussed for Tongan (e.g., Broschart 1997; Völkel 2017). In Manihiki, the same phenomenon is also found, as shall be discussed in more detail in section 3.9.

3.2 Lexical and Grammatical Words

Two major categories of words can be distinguished: lexical words (full words) and grammatical words (particles). The category of lexical words comprises an open class while the category of grammatical words is closed. The distinction between the two can be at least partially determined on phonological grounds. All lexical words are at least two morae long, and most of them are longer than that. The shortest lexical words contain only one bimoraic syllable, which can be either a long vowel or a diphthong. Grammatical words are either one or two morae long⁵⁰. They never contain long vowels, but may contain diphthongs. In spoken Manihiki, one may find that the vowel of a monosyllabic grammatical word is sometimes lengthened slightly, but it might just as well be pronounced as short.

There are only three examples in my corpus of lexical words consisting of a single long vowel, all of which happen to be stative verbs. These are given in (1).

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-------|----------------|
| (1) | <i>ma</i> | [ma:] | ‘be clean’ |
| | <i>ki</i> | [ki:] | ‘be full’ |
| | <i>ke</i> | [ke:] | ‘be different’ |

Since the length of the vowel in a monosyllabic word is predictable once one knows whether it is lexical or grammatical, I have chosen not to mark vowel length in these words. Long vowels in polysyllabic words are marked using a macron. This is similar to what is done in many other Polynesian languages, e.g., New Zealand Māori, Tahitian and Hawaiian.

3.3 Overview of the Word Classes of Manihiki

While there seems to be a clear-cut distinction between the two classes of lexical and grammatical words, the subdivisions of each of these classes is less clear, as there is a pronounced fluidity between word classes of Manihiki. This pronounced fluidity is also found in other Polynesian languages (see 3.9).

⁵⁰ This implies that bisyllabic and bimoraic words can be either lexical (e.g., *fare*, ‘house’, *tai*, ‘sea’) or grammatical (e.g., *mei*, ‘ablative, from’, *noti*, ‘postverbal intensifier’). Monomoraic monosyllabic words will always be grammatical (e.g., *ki*, ‘allative, to’, *e*, ‘imperfective aspect’), while bimoraic monosyllabic words containing long vowels will always be lexical (e.g., *ki*, ‘be full’, *ma*, ‘be clean’). Words more than two syllables long will invariably be lexical (e.g., *tangata*, ‘person’, *vahine*, ‘woman’, *henua*, ‘island’, *moana*, ‘ocean’).

3.3.1 Lexical words

For the time being, I will regard lexical words as falling into two major classes: nouns and verbs. Lexical words modifying nouns (adjectives) and those modifying verbs (adverbs) make up a special class of verbs, the stative verbs. As already mentioned, lexical words are all at least two morae long, and may be longer. Examples of lexical words of varying mora-length are given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Lexical words

| Two morae | Three morae | Four morae | Five morae | Six morae |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>tama</i> , ‘boy, son’ | <i>tāne</i> , ‘man’ | <i>hurihia</i> , ‘hurricane’ | <i>tamāhine</i> , ‘girl’ | <i>kātoatoa</i> , ‘all’ |
| <i>fare</i> , ‘house’ | <i>tangata</i> , ‘person’ | <i>ātoro</i> , ‘visit’ | <i>hipukarea</i> , ‘home island’ | <i>hārāvei</i> , ‘meet’ |
| <i>patu</i> , ‘kill’ | <i>kakahi</i> , ‘tuna’ | <i>irinaki</i> , ‘believe’ | <i>tuātau</i> , ‘time’ | <i>kōmiromiro</i> , ‘rub’ |
| <i>hoki</i> , ‘go/come back’ | <i>kakati</i> , ‘bite’ | <i>angaanga</i> , ‘work’ | <i>tāmanako</i> , ‘figure out’ | <i>tāparuparu</i> , ‘ask’ |
| <i>maki</i> , ‘be ill’ | <i>aroha</i> , ‘love’ | <i>maitaki</i> , ‘be good’ | <i>tāmarō</i> , ‘wipe’ | <i>manamanatā</i> , ‘problem’ |

3.3.2 Grammatical words

Grammatical words are usually either one or two morae long. Examples are given below.

One Mora:

| | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|
| <i>e</i> | ‘imperfective aspect’ |
| <i>te</i> | ‘progressive aspect’ |
| <i>i</i> | ‘locative or accusative marker’ |

Two morae (also includes derivational affixes):

| | |
|--------------|----------------------|
| <i>au</i> | ‘plural marker’ |
| <i>mei</i> | ‘ablative’ |
| <i>ei</i> | ‘resultative’ |
| <i>haka-</i> | ‘causative prefix 1’ |
| <i>tā-</i> | ‘causative prefix 2’ |

| | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| <i>-hanga</i> | ‘nominalizing suffix’ |
| <i>kua</i> | ‘perfective’ |
| <i>kia</i> | ‘subjunctive’ |
| <i>hia</i> | ‘passive/inchoative’ |
| <i>ai</i> | ‘anaphoric’ |
| <i>nei</i> | ‘proximal’ |
| <i>ana</i> | ‘medial’ |
| <i>mai</i> | ‘hither’ |
| <i>atu</i> | ‘thither’ |
| <i>ake</i> | ‘upwards’ |
| <i>iho</i> | ‘downwards’ |

A small number of grammatical words are more than two morae long. These appear to be multimorphemic forms. Two examples are:

| | |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| <i>tētahi</i> | ‘specific determiner’ |
| <i>mēkore</i> | ‘disjunctive/alternative’ |

3.3.2.1 Conjunctions

Examples of conjunctions are given in (2).

| | | |
|-----|----------|--------------------------|
| (2) | <i>e</i> | ‘additive/cumulative’ |
| | <i>a</i> | ‘corrective adversative’ |

3.3.2.2 Pronouns, demonstratives and numerals and their grammatical status

There are certain classes of words that, although they fill mostly grammatical functions, also have certain features in common with lexical words, as they can be heads of either noun phrases or verb complexes. The words that fall in this ‘in between’ category are pronouns, demonstratives and numerals. Among the pronouns are included personal, possessive and emphatic pronouns. The demonstratives could also very well be regarded as pronouns, as this is one of their functions. However, since they can also be used as determiners, or in other words fill the determiner slot in a noun phrase instead of the head slot, I have chosen to regard them as being in a class of their own. Numerals exist in two separate paradigms: the old forms

and the new forms. Nonetheless, the ‘in between’ status is true for both the paradigm of the old forms and the paradigm of the new forms.

These three classes of words: pronouns, demonstratives and numerals, are phonologically like lexical words, in that they are all at least two morae long, and may be longer; see Table 3.2. Possessive and emphatic pronouns are composite forms, and are thus usually at least three morae long, although it is true that special shortened versions for the singular of both the possessive and the emphatic pronouns exist, which are all also exactly two morae long. The demonstratives are all at least three morae long, and are thus all to be regarded as lexical words on phonological grounds. For the numerals, one notices a tendency, in that some numerals consist of two morae, while others consist of three. Numerals ‘one’ to ‘nine’ are all exactly two morae long. *Kāre*, ‘no, nothing’, which is also used to mean ‘zero’ is of course three morae long, but it is kind of in a class of its own, and should probably be regarded as a pronoun rather than a numeral. On the other hand, the numerals for ‘ten’, ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’ are all more than two morae long. The best analysis for the numerals would probably be to say that they function as verbs when used cardinally and as nouns when used ordinally. These two uses are exemplified in (3) and (4) below, respectively.

- (3) *E rua hoki tahunga i ko.*
 IPFV two INT traditional healer LOC DEI
 ‘There were two traditional healers there.’ [007-02]

- (4) *Tupou Tārita te teru, ko Papa Vākai te fa.*
 Tupou Tarita DEF three PRV Papa Vakai DEF four
 ‘Tupou Tarita was the third (-born child) and Papa Vakai the fourth.’ [003-03]

Table 3.2: Pronouns, demonstratives and numerals

| | Two morae | Three or more morae |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Pronouns | <i>au</i> , ‘I’ | <i>tātou</i> , ‘all of us (incl.)’ |
| | <i>koe</i> , ‘you (sg.)’ | <i>raua</i> , ‘those two’ |
| | <i>toku</i> , ‘mine’ | <i>to hoku</i> , ‘mine (alt. form)’ |
| | <i>tau</i> , ‘yours’ | <i>ta hau</i> , ‘yours (alt. form)’ |
| Demonstratives | - | <i>teia</i> , ‘this (proximal)’ |
| | - | <i>tēnā</i> , ‘that (medial)’ |
| | - | <i>tērā</i> , ‘that (distal)’ |
| Numerals | <i>tahi</i> , ‘one’ | <i>ngahuru</i> , ‘ten’ |
| | <i>rua</i> , ‘two’ | <i>hānere</i> , ‘hundred’ |
| | <i>hiva</i> , ‘nine’ | <i>tauatini</i> , ‘thousand’ |

One thing to note about these grammatical words which are more than two morae long, is that the vast majority of them seem to be composite forms, i.e., historically derived from two or more words put together. Or, alternatively, they may be borrowings from non-Polynesian languages, e.g., *hānere*, ‘hundred’, and *tauatini*, ‘thousand’, both of them borrowings from English. The only other numeral among the new forms that contains more than two morae is *ngahuru*, ‘ten’, which appears to be a composite form derived from the obsolete plural definite article *nga*⁵¹ + the numeral element *huru*.

The dual and plural forms of the personal pronouns also appear to be composite forms, as they all seem to contain traces of the numerals *rua*, ‘two’, or *toru*⁵², ‘three’, although both of these have lost the ‘r’ to become *-ua* and *-tou*, respectively. The only form that has retained the ‘r’ is *kōrua*, ‘you two’. Note that all the pronominal elements of the pronouns below, i.e., *mā-*, *tā-*, *kō-* and *-rā*, are pronounced with a long vowel sound. However, as long and short vowels are not distinctive in vowels adjacent to other vowels (i.e., there are no minimal pairs in this position), they are written without the macron in three of the forms below, namely *maua*, *taua* and *raua*; see (5).

⁵¹ This form, which is still found in modern New Zealand Māori (with a phonemically long ‘a’ marked with a macron), is probably the diachronic antecedent of the modern Manihiki plural definite article *na*.

⁵² *Toru* is the Rarotongan form for Manihiki *teru*.

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|
| (5) | <i>ma-ua</i> | ‘we two (excl.)’ | <i>mā-tou</i> | ‘we (excl.)’ |
| | <i>ta-ua</i> | ‘we two (incl.)’ | <i>tā-tou</i> | ‘we (incl.)’ |
| | <i>kō-rua</i> | ‘you two’ | <i>kō-tou</i> | ‘you (pl.)’ |
| | <i>ra-ua</i> | those two’ | <i>rā-tou</i> | ‘they’ |

For the full paradigm of the personal pronouns, see 4.9.1.

The possessive pronouns are made up of two or three elements. There is a pronominal element, which for the singular forms are different in form from the independent pronouns, and which for the dual and plural forms are identical in form to the independent pronouns. When used for possesseees in the singular, but not for those in the plural, this pronominal element is preceded by *t-*, which is most likely a trace of the definite article *te*⁵³, and also by one of the possessive markers *o* or *a*. For a further description of the possessive pronouns and their (diachronic) analysis, see 4.9.2.

Finally, there are the demonstratives, which can function as either pronouns or determiners. They also appear to be composite forms, containing a form of the definite article *te* (with lengthening of the vowel) + various particles, either pronouns or deictic markers⁵⁴. The probable etymology of the demonstratives will be described in 4.9.5.

3.4 Classes of Nouns

There are four classes of nouns: common nouns (3.4.1), personal names (3.4.2), place names (3.4.3) and locational nouns (3.4.4). There are also three deictic pronouns, which exhibit many noun-like characteristics (3.4.5). The common nouns make up a large open class of words, which can occur as arguments in a clause, and which can be preceded by the articles *e* (indefinite), *te* (definite), and *na* (definite plural), as well as by the specific determiner *tētahi* and by any of the possessive or demonstrative determiners. They cannot be preceded by the personal article *a*, even though they may sometimes refer to people. The personal names make up another large class of words, also presumably an open class. They are defined by

⁵³ Although the definite article *te* can be used in noun phrases with both singular and plural nouns as heads in modern Manihiki, it is highly likely that this article was previously only used in noun phrases with singular nouns as heads, as is the case in modern New Zealand Māori. This is probably the reason why traces of *te* are used to mark the singular in the possessive determiners and pronouns.

⁵⁴ I have no suggestion as to what the final element of the retrospective demonstrative is derived from.

their ability to occur with the personal article *a*. They usually do not occur with any other articles or determiners besides this one. Finally, the locational nouns make up a small closed class of nouns, eight in total, which can be defined semantically as referring to places, and grammatically by their inability to occur with any articles or other determiners, or to be arguments in a clause. They usually occur after the preposition *i*, but can occur after other prepositions as well, such as *ki* or *no*.

3.4.1 Common nouns

Common nouns are those that can occur with the definite articles *te* and *na*, and with the demonstrative and possessive determiners. They cannot occur with the personal article *a*. Most common nouns denote objects or people. They can be used in the roles of subject or object of a clause, and can also occur after a preposition. Examples of common nouns are given in (6).

| | | |
|-----|----------------|----------|
| (6) | <i>vaka</i> | ‘canoe’ |
| | <i>fare</i> | ‘house’ |
| | <i>tangata</i> | ‘person’ |
| | <i>vahine</i> | ‘woman’ |
| | <i>tāne</i> | ‘man’ |

In (7) and (8), one can find examples of *tangata* being used as the clause subject, and in (9) one can find an example of *tāne* as the clause object, following the accusative preposition *i*. The *a* that occurs in (9) is the dominant possessive marker, not the personal article.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|
| (7) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tangata</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tu~tūranga</i> |
| | PFV | go/come back | DEF | person | LOC | DEF | REDUP~way |
| | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fāmā</i> . | | | | |
| | POSS | DEF | farm | | | | |
| | ‘The people returned to the ways of farming (pearls).’ [013-01] | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-------------------|
| (8) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tangata</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Manihiki</i> . |
| | PFV | go/come back | hither | DEM.PROX | person | ALL | Manihiki |
| | ‘This guy returned to Manihiki.’ [013-01] | | | | | | |

- (9) *Māpū mai mātou, kua haka-ipoipo atu mātou*
 old hither 1PL.EXCL PFV CAUS-marry thither 1PL.EXCL
i a mātou tāne.
 ACC POSS 1PL.EXCL man
 ‘When we grew older, we married our husbands.’ [013-01]

3.4.2 Personal names

Personal names can co-occur with the personal article *a*, but not with the specific articles *te* or *na*. Examples of personal names are given in (10).

- (10) *Hoerapa* ‘name of a person in a traditional story’
Tāringavaru ‘name of a person in a traditional story’

Personal names can also occur as arguments in a clause, just like the common nouns. An example of the use of a personal name with the personal article being used as a subject is given in (11).

- (11) *I te matahiti varu ngahuru ma varu,*
 LOC DEF year eight ten COM eight

kua hoki atu a Tāmu ki Manihiki.
 PFV go/come back thither PERS Sam ALL Manihiki
 ‘In the year 1988, Sam returned to Manihiki.’ [013-01]

3.4.3 Place names

Place names occur without any article. They can be used as adjuncts in a clause as in (12), or as arguments of a clause, as in (13).

- (12) *I te hoki-hanga mātou ki Manihiki, te*
 LOC DEF return-NMLZ 1PL.EXCL ALL Manihiki DEF

tuātau mua tērā i kite ai au
 time before/first DEM.DIST TNS see APH 1SG

i te henua ko Manihiki.

ACC DEF land PRV Manihiki

‘When we returned to Manihiki, that was the first time I saw the island of Manihiki.’

[013-01]

- (13) *Me kautā au Manihiki, tei roto hoki Rakahanga.*
 COND talk 1SG Manihiki LOC.PRED inside INT Rakahanga
 ‘If I talk about Manihiki, Rakahanga is also included.’ [010-02]

3.4.4 Locational nouns

Locational nouns occur without any articles or other determiners⁵⁵, as do the place names. They also refer to locations, but unlike the place names they are always preceded by prepositions. They cannot be arguments in a clause, but only adjuncts. Locational nouns appear to make up a closed class of nouns. A list of all locational nouns found in my corpus, which might quite possibly be an exhaustive list of these, is given in (14).

- (14) *runga* ‘above’
raro ‘below’
roto ‘inside’
voho ‘outside’
mua ‘in front’
muri ‘behind’
tai ‘lagoonward’
tua ‘oceanward’

In all instances in which these locational nouns occur within my data, they occur in prepositional phrases, usually as complements of the locative preposition *i*. In this, they are similar to the deictic pronouns, which also usually occur as complements of this preposition

⁵⁵ A possible exception to this rule could be in this idiosyncratic expression:

na te tai-tua
 BEN DEF lagoonward-oceanward
 ‘everywhere (on an atoll)’ [012-01]

However, it is probably best here to regard *taitua* as a common noun in its own right, being derived from the two locational nouns *tai* and *tua*.

(see 3.4.5). They are also often postmodified by another prepositional phrase with *i* as its head, which provides a reference point. See (15) and (16) for details.

- (15) *i runga i te henua*
 LOC above LOC DEF island
 ‘on the island’

- (16) *i roto i te moana*
 LOC inside LOC DEF ocean
 ‘in the ocean’

An example of a locational noun being used in an adjunct within a clause is given in (17).

- (17) *Tuātau nei, kāre au tārangā e kite koe*
 time PROX NEG PL story IPFV see 2SG
- i roto i te hupahupa.*
 LOC inside LOC DEF drum dance
- ‘Today, you don’t see any stories in the drum dance.’ [010-02]

If there is a sense of moving onto something, the head of the prepositional phrase of which *runga i...* is, the complement will be *ki* instead of *i*, as in (18).

- (18) *... i te haka-mata-hanga ki runga i te tū-hanga*
 LOC DEF CAUS-start-NMLZ ALL above LOC DEF stand-NMLZ (= way)
- o te fāmā pārau.*
 POSS DEF farm shell
- ‘... in order to start on the way of pearl shell farming.’ [013-1]

Finally, at least one of the locational nouns, *runga*, ‘above’, has an idiosyncratic meaning, in that it can be used as the complement of the benefactive preposition *no*, to mean ‘about’, as in (19).

- (19) *No runga i t-o rātou pākiri,*
 BEN above LOC DEF-POSS 3PL skin

kia hūmaria te pākiri.
 SBJV beautiful DEF skin

‘And about their skin (the skin of the children of Manihiki), how beautiful the skin is.

[011-01]

Roto, ‘inside’, can also sometimes be used with the benefactive *na*. Seemingly, there is no difference in meaning whether one uses *na* or *i*. See (20) for an example.

(20) *Mārī ra, na roto i te tautā-hanga,*
 but/only BEN inside LOC DEF try-NMLZ

i te kimi-rāvenga-hanga, kua rauka mai
 LOC DEF search-way to do something-NMLZ PFV be able hither

mātou i te kite,
 1PL.EXCL COMP DEF know

ka haka-pēhea mātou i runga i te tū-hanga
 INCEP CAUS-how 1PL.EXCL LOC above LOC DEF stand-NMLZ (= way)

o te fāmā-hanga i te pārau.
 POSS DEF farm-NMLZ ACC DEF shell

‘It’s only, through the trying, through the searching for a way, that we managed to discover how we should do the job of farming the pearl shells.’ [013-01]

3.4.5 Deictic pronouns

Manihiki has a limited set of deictic pronouns, describing locations. These are given in (21).

- (21) *ko* ‘there’ (medial and distal deictic pronoun)
konei ‘here’ (proximal deictic pronoun)
reira ‘in the aforementioned location’ (retrospective deictic pronoun)

These should not be confused with the postnominal deictic particles *nei*, ‘proximal deictic’ and *ra*, ‘distal deictic’ as well as their identical postverbal forms⁵⁶. However, it seems highly likely

⁵⁶ The form *ana*, ‘medial deictic’ can also be used postverbally, but not postnominally.

that one of the deictic pronouns, *konei*, can be etymologically and diachronically, if not synchronically, broken down as in (22).

- (22) *ko-nei*
 there-PROX
 ‘here’

In other words, the proximal deictic pronoun is in all likelihood derived from the (medial and distal) deictic pronoun *ko* by use of the postnominal proximal particle *nei*.

The deictic pronouns are similar to the locational nouns in that they usually occur in prepositional phrases as complements of the prepositions *i* or *ki* and cannot appear as arguments of clauses. They differ from the locational nouns, however, in that they cannot be postmodified by another prepositional phrase. Examples are given in (23) through (25).

- (23) *Ko au, te noho nei au i ko-nei, t-o-ku*
 PRV 1SG PROG sit/live PROX 1SG LOC DEI-PROX DEF-POSS-1SG

pukuhatu tei Manihiki.
 heart LOC.PRED Manihiki
 ‘As for me, I live here (on Rarotonga), but my heart is in Manihiki.’ [011-02]

- (24) *Kua haka-mata t-o tātou hiti tangata i te reva*
 PFV CAUS-start DEF-POSS 3PL people COMP DEF reach

mai ki ko-nei.
 hither ALL DEI-PROX
 ‘Our people began moving here (to Rarotonga).’ [011-02]

- (25) *Rauara i no~noho ra i Manihiki, kua hinangaro*
 people TNS REDUP~sit/live DIST LOC Manihiki PFV want/wish

rātou kia no~noho rātou i reira.
 3PL SBJV REDUP~sit/live 3PL LOC there
 ‘People who are living in Manihiki, they want to keep living there.’ [011-01]

3.5 Determiners

Determiners occur in the very first position in the noun phrase. There are five different types of determiners, and some of them combine with the possessive particles and postnominal deictic particles to form a paradigm consisting of 53 forms, i.e., four articles, a specific determiner, four demonstrative determiners, and 44 possessive determiners. The high number of possessive determiners is owing to the fact that each of the 11 pronouns has four corresponding possessive determiners, as all possessive determiners are distinguished for both alienability (alienable vs. inalienable) and number (singular vs. plural). The determiners of Manihiki, apart from the possessive ones, are given in Table 3.3. The use of determiners will be described in more detail in 4.4.1.

Table 3.3: Articles, demonstrative determiners and the specific determiner

| Articles | Demonstratives | Other |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>e</i> ‘indefinite’ | <i>teia</i> ‘proximal’ | <i>tētahi</i> ‘specific’ |
| <i>te</i> ‘definite’ | <i>tēnā</i> ‘medial’ | |
| <i>na</i> ‘definite plural’ | <i>tērā</i> ‘distal’ | |
| <i>a</i> ‘personal’ | <i>taua</i> ‘retrospective’ | |

3.6 Prepositions

Prepositions form a closed group of particles that combine with noun phrases to make prepositional phrases. They can be of either one or two morae. An exhaustive list of prepositions will be given in 6.4.

The “presentative preposition” *ko* is particular not just to Manihiki, but to Polynesian languages in general. An example of its use is given in (26).

- (26) *Ko au teia.*
 PRV 1SG DEM.PROX
 ‘This is me.’ [007-01]

3.7 Classes of Verbs

There are two major classes of verbs: active and stative. Active verbs express actions, whereas stative verbs express states or properties. Manihiki does not have any copula verb (i.e., no verb for ‘be’), nor any verb expressing ownership (i.e., no verb for ‘have’ either).

3.7.1 Active verbs

Active verbs can be of one of four types: transitive active verbs (3.7.1.1); ditransitive active verbs (3.7.1.2); middle verbs (3.7.1.3); or intransitive active verbs (3.7.1.4).

3.7.1.1 Transitive active verbs

Transitive active verbs are defined by their ability to occur with two nominal arguments: a subject noun phrase (usually expressing the actor of the action described in the verb complex) and a direct object noun phrase (usually expressing the undergoer of said action). Examples of transitive active verbs are given in (27).

| | | |
|------|-------------|---------------------------|
| (27) | <i>kai</i> | ‘eat’ |
| | <i>patu</i> | ‘kill’ |
| | <i>tanu</i> | ‘plant (crops)’ |
| | <i>hopu</i> | ‘dive for (e.g., pearls)’ |

3.7.1.2 Ditransitive active verbs

Ditransitive active verbs are verbs such as *hōronga*, ‘give’, which take both a direct (accusative) and an indirect (dative) object. They are further described in 5.7.1.

3.7.1.3 Middle verbs

Middle verbs, also known as experiencer verbs, are those that “... take an experiencer rather than an agent as their subject” (Nicholas 2016:101). They are also found in Rarotongan (Nicholas 2016:101-102) and in New Zealand Māori (Bauer et al. 1993:86-87, 269-271). Some examples from Manihiki are given in (28).

- | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------|
| (28) | <i>hinangaro</i> | ‘want’ |
| | <i>kite</i> | ‘see, know’ |
| | <i>mārama</i> | ‘understand’ |

3.7.1.4 Intransitive active verbs

Intransitive active verbs can occur with one noun phrase only as their grammatical subject. No other nominal arguments can occur together with intransitive active verbs. Examples of intransitive active verbs are given in (29).

- | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------------|
| (29) | <i>hano</i> | ‘go, come’ |
| | <i>hoki</i> | ‘go back, come back’ |
| | <i>tere</i> | ‘sail’ |
| | <i>kautā</i> | ‘talk’ |
| | <i>tangi</i> | ‘cry’ |
| | <i>moe</i> | ‘sleep’ |

3.7.2 Stative verbs

Stative verbs are words describing states or properties. They are invariably intransitive. Examples of stative verbs and their corresponding translations by English adjectives are given in (30).

- | | | |
|------|---------------|--------------------|
| (30) | <i>roa</i> | ‘be long’ |
| | <i>meiti</i> | ‘be small’ |
| | <i>rahi</i> | ‘be big’ |
| | <i>nui</i> | ‘be huge, be vast’ |
| | <i>pakari</i> | ‘be old’ |

Stative verbs can occur in predicate position together with the same preverbal particles as other verbs, or for the imperfective with no preverbal particle. They can also occur as a postnominal modifier in the noun phrase, as can other verbs.

Another piece of evidence that stative verbs form a separate subclass of verbs is that the postverbal particle *hia* can occur with them, but that this particle does not have the same function of marking the passive as it does when used with active transitive verbs. Rather, it

marks inchoative. In other words, there is no promotion of a potential object to subject, when this particle is used with stative intransitive verbs, and thus no change of valency. I have found no examples of this particle being used with intransitive active verbs. Stative verbs in Manihiki differ from those of, e.g., Hawaiian, where they are characterised by not being followed by the cognate passive/imperative marker *‘ia* (Elbert and Pukui 1979:49). An example of a stative verb being used with *hia* to mark inchoative is given in (31).

- (31) *Kua maki~maki hia t-o-na kōpapa.*
 PFV ill~REDUP INCH DEF-POSS-3SG body
 ‘His body became ill.’ [011-01]

The inchoative meaning of the passive marker has probably developed out of the tendency of verbs in the passive to have a subject whose referent also undergoes some kind of transformation, as in (32). In other words, there is a change of state for the subject of a verb when it is being marked with either of these voices/aspects.

- (32) *I taua tuātau ra, te mahani hia ra*
 LOC DEM.RETR time DIST PROG build PASS DIST

te ngāhi tō-hanga pahī rere o Manihiki.
 DEF place stand-NMLZ ship fly POSS Manihiki
 ‘At that time, the airport of Manihiki was being built.’ [011-01]

Similar to the construction with a stative verb + the passive marker *hia*, is another construction with a stative verb + the directional particle *mai*, ‘hither, towards speaker, towards person or thing which is topic’. Interestingly, this latter construction with the directional particle has more or less the same inchoative meaning as the former construction with the passive marker, as can be seen from (33). This meaning of *mai* can probably best be explained by the fact that inchoative processes can be seen as starting at some point before the time that is being focused on, which in (33) refers to a point in time in the future, and then ‘moves’ towards this point in time.

- (33) *Ko t-o-ku hinangaro e, me ra~rahi mai*
 PRV DEF-POSS-1SG want/wish SUBR COND REDUP~big/large hither

t-a-ku mokopuna...

DEF-POSS-1SG grandchild

‘My wish is that when my grandchildren have grown up...’ [011-02]

Perhaps the alternative inchoative meaning of *mai* has developed from a tendency to use the verb *riro*, ‘become’ together with this particle, as in (34).

- (34) ... *kia* *kore* *e* *riro* *mai* *ei* *manamanatā* *rahi*
 SBJV NEG TNS become hither RES problem big/large
 ‘... so that it won’t develop into a big problem.’ [011-01]

3.7.2.1 Neuter verbs

A subcategory of the stative verbs are the neuter verbs. These cannot be used with the passive/inchoative marker *hia*, possibly because an inchoative sense is part of their basic meaning. They are often used with the perfective *kua* in an imperfective meaning, and if an agent is expressed, it is marked with the accusative preposition *i*. What I have termed neuter verbs correspond to what Bauer et al. (1993:413) also term neuter verbs in New Zealand Māori. Nicholas (2016:98-100) prefers to refer to the Rarotongan equivalents as stative verbs, but notes (2016:98-99, footnote 23) that there are reasonable objections to this term, and that others have preferred to call them neuter verbs.

Examples of neuter verbs are *mate*, ‘die, dead’, *oti*, ‘completed, finished’ and *pau*, ‘finished’. Examples of their use is given in (35) through (39).

- (35) *Kua* *mate* *teia* *tangata* *i* *fāngai*
 PFV die/dead DEM.PROX person TNS feed

 i-a *haku.*
 ACC-PERS 1SG
 ‘This person who fed me died.’ [007-01]

- (36) *Ora* *atu* *au* *i* *reira,* *kāre* *au* *i* *mate.*
 alive thither 1SG LOC there NEG 1SG TNS die/be dead
 ‘I was still alive there, I hadn’t died/wasn’t dead.’ [007-02]

- (37) *Kua* *mate* *t-a-ku* *tāne,* *kua* *haka-hoki* *atu* *mātou*

PFV die ART-POSS-1SG man PFV CAUS-go/come back thither 3PL

ki te henua, te hipukarea Manihiki.

ALL DEF island DEF home island Manihiki

‘My husband died, we brought him back to the island, the home island of Manihiki.

[014-01]

- (38) *I tētahi tuātau roa ki reira, kua oti mai*
 LOC SPF time long ALL? there PFV complete/finish hither

i reira t-a-ku āpī nēti.

LOC there DEF-POSS-1SG school nurse

‘For (= after) a long period there (in New Zealand), I completed my nursing school.’

[011-01]

- (39) *Kua pau tētahi rima matahiti tūmā i-a-ia*
 PFV finish SPF five year more than LOC-PERS-3SG

i te rangaranga-hanga, e kua kite hia mai e,
 LOC DEF look around-NMLZ and PFV see PASS hither SUBR

ka manuia teia anga-anga fāmā poe,
 INCEP successful DEM.PROX work farm pearl

i roto i te rōtō o Manihiki.

LOC inside LOC DEF lagoon POSS Manihiki

‘He finished more than five years of the work of looking around, and then he saw that it would be good, this job of farming pearls in the Manihiki lagoon.’ [021-01]

3.8 Verbal Particles

Aspect, mood, voice, direction of movement, etc., is all shown by a number of particles that occur in the verb complex, either preverbally or postverbally. The preverbal particles express

either aspect or mood. The preverbal particles are described briefly in 3.8.1. The postverbal particles mark for a larger variety of different parameters. They are described in 3.8.2.

3.8.1 Preverbal particles

A few of the preverbal aspect/mood particles are given in (40). See Chapter 5 on the Verb Complex for an exhaustive list of this type of particles.

| | | |
|------|------------|---------------|
| (40) | <i>kua</i> | ‘perfective’ |
| | <i>ka</i> | ‘inceptive’ |
| | <i>te</i> | ‘progressive’ |
| | <i>me</i> | ‘conditional’ |

The preverbal particles appear in the initial position in the verb complex. An example of the use of *kua*, the preverbal particle marking the perfective is given in (41).

| | | | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| (41) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>riro</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hupahupa</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>tā-mataora</i> |
| | PFV | become | DEF | drum dance | RES | thing | CAUS-happy |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>na</i> | tourist, | | | | |
| | ACC | DEF.PL | tourist | | | | |
| | ‘The drum dancing has become a thing to entertain the tourists.’ [010-02] | | | | | | |

The only example of two preverbal particles occurring together is when the conditional marker *me* occasionally occurs before the inceptive *ka*, as in (42). Another example of this is given in (56) further below.

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|-------------|-----------|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| (42) | <i>E</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>no~noho</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>nei</i> | |
| | and | COND | INCEP | REDUP~sit/live | DEF.PL | child.PL | PROX | |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Fuinga-o-Nīva, na</i> | <i>hai</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>ākono?</i> |
| | LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | Fuinga-o-Niva | EMP | who | TNS look after |
| | 'And if the children (from Manihiki) started living inside the Fuinga-o-Niva (the Manihiki Hostel in Avarua), who would be the one to look after them?' [011-01] | | | | | | | |

3.8.2 Postverbal particles

There are six different groups of postverbal particles, which, when they co-occur with each other, occur in a specific order in relation to each other. The six different groups are given in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Postverbal particles

| Passive/inchoative marker | Postverbal modifiers | Directionals | Adverbs | Deictics | Other |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>hia</i> ‘passive’, ‘inchoative’ | <i>hoki</i> ‘intensifier’ | <i>mai</i> ‘hither’ | <i>vave</i> ‘quickly’ | <i>nei</i> ‘proximal’ | <i>ai</i> ‘anaphoric’ |
| | <i>noti</i> ‘intensifier’ | <i>atu</i> ‘thither’ | | <i>ana</i> ‘medial’ | |
| | | <i>ake</i> ‘upwards’ | | <i>ra</i> ‘distal’ | |
| | | <i>iho</i> ‘downwards’ | | | |

The postverbal particles will be discussed in the following sections. The marker of the passive voice, *hia*, will be discussed in 3.8.2.1, the postverbal modifiers in 3.8.2.2, the directionals in 3.8.2.3, adverbs in 3.8.2.4, the deictic particles, most of which are used both postverbally and postnominally, have already briefly been touched upon in 3.4.5, where the “deictic pronouns” were discussed. They will be discussed more in depth in 3.8.2.5. The anaphoric particle *ai* will be discussed in 3.8.2.6.

3.8.2.1 The passive marker

The voice marker *hia* marks the verb as being in the passive voice. Examples of its use are given in (43) and (44).

- (43) *Fānau hia au i te matahiti e tahi*
 bear children PASS 1SG LOC DEF year IPFV one
- tauatini iva hānere fa ngahuru ma tahi*
 thousand nine hundred four ten COM one
- i te henua ko Rakahanga.*

LOC DEF island PRV Rakahanga

‘I was born in the year 1941 on the island of Rakahanga.’ [007-01]

(44) *Kāre e Matahōrua akahou, uru hia ko Tūkao...*

NEG INDF Matahorua again/anymore call PASS PRV Tukao

‘No more (using the name) Matahorua, (the town) is (now) called Tukao...’ [009-02]

3.8.2.2 Postverbal modifiers

Postverbal modifiers form a small and seemingly closed group of postverbal particles. They will be further described in 5.4.2. Examples of the use of the two postverbal modifiers *hoki* and *noti*, both with an intensifying meaning, are given in (45) and (46).

(45) *Te haka-mārama hoki i t-o-ku ingoa.*

PROG CAUS-clear INT ACC DEF-POSS-1SG name

‘I’m going to explain (the meaning of) my name.’ [014-01]

(46) *Hinangaro noti au, ki o-ku mātua fāngai,*

want (here: like) INT 1SG ALL⁵⁷ POSS-1SG parent feed

no te mea, kite ake au i te rangi

because see upwards 1SG ACC DEF sky

e te henua, ko raua.

and DEF island/land PRV 3DU

‘I preferred my feeding (i.e., adoptive) parents (to my biological ones), because I (first) saw the sky and the land with them.’ [014-01]

3.8.2.3 Directional markers

Manihiki contains a set of four postverbal directional markers. They are given in (47).

⁵⁷ The allative (and dative) preposition *ki* is here used to express the accusative, where *i* would normally be used.

- (47) *mai* ‘hither’, ‘direction towards someone’
 atu ‘thither’, ‘direction away from someone’
 ake ‘upwards’
 iho ‘downwards’

3.8.2.4 Adverbs

Adverbs follow the main verb as part of the verb complex. In the examples (48) through (51), the adverbs *vave*, ‘quickly’, *māria*, ‘slowly’, *meitaki*, ‘well’, and *tikāi*, ‘truly’ are being exemplified. In my corpus, there are no instances of *vave* being used as anything other than an adverb⁵⁸, but *māria* and *meitaki* are used extensively as stative verbs in predicate position, with no change in form. The situation is a bit different for *tikāi*. The corresponding stative verb is *tika*, ‘be true’, i.e., the adverbial form shows a lengthening of the final vowel of the adjectival form and also contains a suffix *-i*, which does not seem to occur on any other words, whether adverbs or belonging to other word classes. This last part of the adverbial form is highly likely to be derived from the anaphoric particle *ai*, which is coalesced with the adjectival form. A variant form, *tikahai*, also sometimes appears for the adverbial. There are no examples of active verbs being used in adverbial function.

- (48) *No te mea, e kore te pahī e tae*
 because IPFV NEG DEF ship TNS reach/arrive

 vave mai.
 quickly hither
 ‘Because the ship does not arrive quickly/often/on time.’ [011-02]

- (49) *Kia ho~hoki te Manihiki, kia ono māria...*
 SBJV REDUP~go/come back DEF Manihiki SBJV look slowly
 ‘The Manihiki people should go back, they should look slowly (i.e., carefully) (at how traditional drumming and dancing is done)...’ [010-03]

- (50) ... *me haka-rongo meitaki tātou i te matatahi.*

⁵⁸ A commonly used corresponding stative verb is *viviki* ‘quick, fast’, also ‘speed’, which is exemplified in (84) below.

COND CAUS-hear good/well 1PL.INCL ACC DEF matatahi
 ‘... if we listen carefully to the matatahi (type of drum).’ [010-02]

(51) *Mataora tikāi t-o-ku ora-hanga i noho ai*
 happy truly DEF-POSS-1SG live-NMLZ TNS sit/live APH

au i Manihiki.
 1SG LOC Manihiki

‘I was truly happy about my stay on Manihiki.’ [011-01]

3.8.2.5 Deictic postnominal/postverbal particles

I have chosen the term “deictic” for these postverbal particles, as two of them, the proximal and the distal one, can also be used postnominally with a clearly deictic meaning. The medial deictic particle, while not being able to occur postnominally, is still part of the medial demonstrative determiner/pronoun *tē-nā*, which does occur in noun phrases, in either determiner or head position. The three deictic particles, in the forms that they occur postverbally, are given in (52).

(52) *nei* ‘proximal’
ana ‘medial’
ra ‘distal’

The use of these postverbal deictic particles will be discussed in more detail in 5.3.1.2.

3.8.2.6 The anaphoric particle

The anaphoric particle *ai* is used in relative clauses, where it occurs in place of the noun that has been relativized, when that noun is either a locative adjunct, as in (53), a temporal adjunct as in (54), or an adjunct of manner or means as in (55). It is not used when the relativized noun is an argument (subject or object) of the verb complex.

(53) ... *e kāre ngāhi kia hoko hia ai na poe.*
 IPFV NEG place SBJV sell PASS APH DEF.PL pearl
 ‘... there is no place where the pearls can be sold.’ [013-01]

(54) *i taua tuātau i hano ai*
 LOC DEM.RETR time TNS go/come APH

mātou ki Manihiki
 1PL.EXCL ALL Manihiki

‘during this time when we came to Manihiki’ [013-01]

(55) *te tūranga i te rauka ai t-a-u pārau*
 DEF way COMP DEF get APH DEF-POSS-1SG shell

‘the way to get your pearl shells’ [013-01]

3.9 Fluidity Between Word Classes

As mentioned in the introduction, Manihiki is similar to many other Polynesian languages, in that many words can occur underived either as the head of noun phrases or as the head of verb complexes. Manihiki is a highly analytic language, and has only a minimum of morphology. There is no inflectional morphology whatsoever, with the possible exception of a singular/plural distinction in a very limited number of nouns; see 4.10.6. When it comes to derivational morphology, it is limited to the two causative prefixes *haka-* and *tā-* and the nominalizing suffix *-hanga*⁵⁹. However, in spite of Manihiki having what appears to be a nominalizing suffix, i.e., a suffix which converts verbs into (usually abstract) nouns, there is a very pronounced tendency to use prototypical verbs to fill slots in the clause usually filled by

⁵⁹ However, it could be argued that *-hanga* is actually an enclitic, rather than a suffix, much like the passive/inchoative marker *hia*, in which case only the two causative prefixes could be regarded as derivational affixes. Cognates of both the nominalizing and passive marking particles are clearly suffixes in certain other Polynesian languages, e.g., in New Zealand Māori, but this is not necessarily the case for Manihiki. Whereas the two suffixes vary in their form in New Zealand Māori, this is not the case in Manihiki, and neither is it the case in Rarotongan or Tahitian. It could, therefore, easily be argued that both suffixes should be regarded as enclitics, and written as separate words in the orthography, or at least that both *hia* and *hanga* should be written the same way, i.e., either both should be written as separate words, or both should be written as suffixes. However, I have opted to write the passive marker separately, as it occurs within the verb complex and does not change the basic word class of the verb to which it is attached, whereas I write the nominalizing marker as a suffix, to mark that it usually entails a shift of the word that it is attached to from one word class to another, i.e., from verb to noun.

noun phrases, and conversely to use prototypical nouns to fill in as the heads of verb complexes, with no derivational prefixes whatsoever being used.

3.9.1 Nouns being used verbally

As an example of words usually occurring as heads of noun phrases being used as heads of verb complexes, take the nouns *pōpongi*, ‘morning’, and *po*, ‘night’. These are usually used as heads of noun phrases, where they may co-occur with, e.g., determiners such as the definite article *te*. In (56), one can see *po* being used as it most commonly is, namely as a noun meaning ‘night’. It occurs here in the noun phrase *te po nei*, ‘this night, tonight’, which is used twice in this sentence. Similarly, in (57), one can see *pōpongi* in its most common use, namely as a noun meaning ‘morning’.

(56) *Me ka kautā hua atu i te po nei, ka moe*
COND INCEP speak only thither LOC DEF night PROX INCEP sleep

tahi te rōpā nei, i te haka-rongo-hanga
one? DEF young man PROX LOC DEF CAUS-hear-NMLZ

ki a haku vānanga i te po nei.
ALL POSS 1SG word LOC DEF night PROX

‘If I start speaking (about everything) tonight, this young man will fall asleep from listening to my words tonight.’ [014-01]

(57) *Kai~kai tātou i te pōpongi, avatea, ahiahi.*
eat~REDUP 1PL.INCL LOC DEF morning afternoon evening

‘We eat in the morning, afternoon and evening.’ [014-02]

However, these two words designating two different times of day, *po* and *pōpongi*, can also be used in predicate position as part of the verb complex. In these instances, they may be used together with the preverbal aspect/mood markers, just like any other verb. In the first sentence in (58) below, *pōpongi*, is being used in the sense ‘be morning’ or ‘it being morning’, together with the preverbal particle *me*, marking the conditional mood. Similarly, in the second sentence in (58), *po* is used in the sense ‘be night’ or ‘it being night’ together with the preverbal particle *e*, marking the imperfective aspect. Note that we are dealing here with zero-

derivation, i.e., no morpheme is being added to or subtracted from the original nominal form. In (59) is another example of *pōpongi* being used in a verbal sense, this time with the perfective preverbal marker *kua*, which gives it the sense of ‘it having turned into morning’.

- (58) *Me pōpongi, ka haere māria hua te ra.*
 COND be morning INCEP go/come slow only DEF sun
E po hua atu, ka moe meitaki rātou.
 IPFV be night only thither INCEP sleep good 3PL
 ‘When it was morning, the sun only went slowly. When the night came, they slept well.
 [014-02]

- (59) *Te no~noho ake nei rātou ki raro ka kai~kai,*
 PROG REDUP~sit upwards PROX 3PL ALL below INCEP eat~REDUP
kua pōpongi.
 PFV morning
 ‘They would sit down to eat, and it would already be morning.’
 [014-02]

However, even better examples occur, containing even more prototypical nouns being used verbally.

In (60), one can see the prototypical noun *vahine*, ‘woman’, being used with the perfective preverbal particle *kua* to mean ‘become a woman’.

- (60) *I teia tuātau kua vahine ia,*
 LOC DEM.PROX time PFV woman 3SG
hinangaro i-a tētahi tūranga ora-hanga
 want ACC-PERS? SPF way live-NMLZ
ke no hona.
 different BEN 3SG
 ‘During this time, she had become a woman and she wanted a different way of living for herself. [013-01]

In (61), one can see the prototypical noun *mea*, ‘thing’, clearly being used as a verb meaning ‘to do’, as it is being used in the initial predicate position and introduced by the preverbal particle *ka*, which is used to mark inceptive aspect. The verb complex here, *ka mea pēhea*, is used to mean ‘how to do’. This meaning can also be expressed by using the causative prefix *haka-* in front of *pēhea*, as seen previously in (20).

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|
| (61) | <i>Ko</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>reira,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roro</i> |
| | PRV | DEF.PL | child.PL | LOC | there | IPFV | NEG | TNS | go/come |
| | <i>mai,</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hēkōkō</i> | | <i>o</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>mātua</i> | <i>e,</i> |
| | hither | BEN | DEF | uncertain/indecisive | | POSS | DEF.PL | parent | SUBR |
| | <i>ka</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>pēhea</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>nei?</i> | | | |
| | INCEP | thing/do | how | DEF.PL | child.PL | PROX | | | |
| | <i>E</i> | <i>haka-no~noho</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>hea?</i> | | | | |
| | IPFV | CAUS-REDUP~sit/live | 3PL | ALL | where | | | | |
| | <i>Na</i> | <i>hai</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>hākono</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>nei?</i> | |
| | EMP | who | IPFV | look after | ACC | DEF.PL | child.PL | PROX | |
| | <i>E</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>ngatā</i> | <i>tērā.</i> | | | | | |
| | INDF | thing | difficult | DEM.DIST | | | | | |

‘For the kids that did not come (from Manihiki to Rarotonga), because of the indecisiveness of their parents, what were these kids going to do? Where were they going to live? Who was going to be the one to look after these kids? That was a difficult question.’

[011-02]

In (62), *mea* is used to mean something like ‘become a thing, be realized’.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|------------|----------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| (62) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>reira</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>porokaramu</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>mātou.</i> |
| | PFV | thing | LOC | there | DEM.PROX | program | PROX | BEN | 1PL.EXCL |

‘This program of ours was started (lit.: became a thing) there.’ [011-01]

The noun *fāmā*, ‘(pearl shell) farmer’, is clearly a loan from English. However, it can also be used as a transitive verb meaning ‘farm’, usually with the incorporated object *pārau*, ‘(pearl)

shell’. In (63), it is being used in its original nominal sense, preceded by the definite article *te* and the plural marker *au*. In (64), it is being used as a verb in the *i te* form meaning ‘in order to farm (pearl shells)’.

- (63) *Kua riro teia tuātau ei tuātau*
 PFV become DEM.PROX time RES time
mareka kore no te au fāmā.
 happy NEG BEN DEF PL farmer
 ‘This time became a time where the farmers were not happy.’ [013-01]

- (64) *E kore hoki ko maua hua taua tuātau ra*
 IPFV NEG INT PRV 1DU.EXCL only DEM.RETR time DIST
i te hoki mai mei Nu Tīrani,
 COMP DEF go/come back hither ABL New Zealand
te hano i te fāmā pārau.
 DEF go/come COMP DEF farm shell
 ‘It was not only us during that time who returned from New Zealand, in order to do pearl shell farming.’ [013-01]

From the above examples, one can see that there is no perfectly regular way of determining what a given noun means when used verbally. Both *pōpongi*, ‘morning’, *po*, ‘night’, *vahine*, ‘woman’ and *mea*, ‘thing’ are used more or less as stative verbs meaning ‘be morning’, ‘be night’, ‘be a woman’ and ‘be a thing’ respectively⁶⁰. *Mea* can also be used as an active verb meaning ‘to do’, as was seen in (61). On the other hand, the noun *fāmā*, ‘farmer’, becomes an active transitive verb when used verbally, ‘farm something, some kind of crop (or here: pearl shells)’.

This may lead some people to suggest that the verbal forms are actually entirely different lexemes from the nominal forms. However, I will here follow the opinion of Völkel (2017:449),

⁶⁰ The inchoative sense of *vahine* and *mea* when used verbally in the examples above is most likely not present in every case of them being used verbally.

who quotes Hengeveld as arguing that flexible lexemes, which in this context would be words that can be heads of either noun phrases or verb complexes, are ‘semantically vague’, or that, in other words, a specific meaning is only attributed to them by their use in a certain context, see 3.10 below.

3.9.2 Verbs being used nominally

The opposite is also possible, i.e., using an essentially verbal word as a noun without any derivational morphemes being added to the original word.

3.9.2.1 Active verbs being used nominally

In (65) below is an example of *tauturu*, ‘help’, being used as a verb in a verb complex and taking the imperfective preverbal particle *e*. In (66), however, we see the same lexeme being used as the head of the noun phrase *tētahi tauturu na haku*, ‘some help of mine’. It co-occurs here with the specific determiner *tētahi* and with the emphatic *na haku*, ‘(here:) mine’. The emphatic form *na haku* is being used here instead of the regular possessive form in the first of what I have termed the two minor variations of the possessive construction in the noun phrase (see 4.7.1). The noun phrase in which *tauturu* occurs in (66) is being used as the direct object in a transitive clause, and interestingly, it occurs without the accusative preposition *i*, which is normally used in front of direct objects. I have no suggestion as to why the accusative preposition is not used here. In (67), *tauturu* is being used as part of a noun phrase after the resultative preposition *ei*.

| | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| (65) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>haere</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>t-a-ku</i> | <i>tane</i> | |
| | PFV | go/come | thither | DEF-POSS-1SG | man | |
| | <i>e</i> | <i>tētahi</i> ⁶¹ | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>teru</i> | <i>māpū</i> | <i>tane,</i> |
| | and | SPF | DEF-POSS-1SG | three | youngster | male |
| | <i>e</i> | <i>tauturu</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>runga</i> |
| | IPFV | help | ACC-PERS | 3SG | LOC | above |

⁶¹ It is unclear why the determiner *tētahi* is used here, as it is usually only used with nouns that are specific but indefinite, whereas the three young men/boys in the above example are both specific and definite.

i tērā henua.

LOC DEM.DIST island

‘My husband went (to Suwarrow) with my three boys to help him on that island.’

[014-01]

(66) *Kua rauka i-a haku i te hoki*
 PFV be possible ACC-PERS 1SG COMP DEF go/come back

ki Manihiki i te hōronga atu
 ALL Manihiki COMP DEF give thither

tētahi tauturu na haku ki te hiti tangata.
 SPF help EMP 1SG ALL DEF people

‘It was possible for me to return to Manihiki to give some help of mine to the people.’

[011-01]

(67) *Pēnei ake, me rauka mai t-a tātou*
 perhaps upwards COND able hither DEF-POSS 3PL

tamariki, i teia tūranga,
 child.PL ACC DEM.PROX way

na rātou noti ei tauturu i-a tātou.
 BEN 3PL INT RES help ACC-PERS 1PL.INCL

‘Perhaps, if our children are able to do this way [market our pearls], they will become a help to us.’ [013-01]

The stative verb *tūkē* can also be used both verbally and nominally. In (68) through (70), it is used verbally with the meaning ‘be different’. As can be seen from (69), it can be used with the ablative preposition *mei*, ‘from’, to mean ‘be different from’. However, as can be seen in (70), this preposition, *mei*, can also be substituted by *i roto i*, ‘inside’.

(68) *E tahi hua kōriro, ka tūkē t-a-na tangi.*
 IPFV one only slit drum INCEP different DEF-POSS-3SG sound/cry

‘One slit drum has a different sound.’ (lit.: ‘There is one slit drum, its sound is different’)

[010-02]

- (69) *Ko te hupahupa Manihiki, kore i tūkē*
 PRV DEF dance Manihiki NEG TNS different
mei t-a te tāne.
 from DEF-POSS DEF man

In the Manihiki dance, [the women’s dance] is not different from the men’s [dance].

[010-03]

- (70) *E kore i tūkē te kōriro i roto*
 IPFV NEG TNS different DEF slit drum LOC inside
i te pahu a te Manihiki ki te choir.
 LOC DEF drum POSS DEF Manihiki ALL DEF choir

‘There is no difference between the slit drum and the Manihiki drum in the choir’

[010-03]

In (71), one finds an instance of *tūkē* being used in a clearly nominal role, occurring as the head of a noun phrase with the definite article *te*. This noun phrase acts as the subject of the stative verb *korereka*, ‘be big, be huge’. In (72), *tūkē* occurs twice, first in what seems to be a verb complex in the imperfective aspect without any pre- or postverbal particles, and then as the head of a noun phrase with the definite article. The reason that the first instance of *tūkē* in this sentence is in all likelihood verbal, is that it occurs all by itself. Common nouns, to which group this stative verb would belong if it was being used in a nominal form, always occur with a determiner, whereas verbs in the imperfective can occur either with the imperfective preverbal particle *e* or without any preverbal particle at all. Verb complexes in other aspects or moods besides the imperfective always occur with a preverbal article.

- (71) *Korereka atu te tūkē.*
 be big/be huge thither DEF difference

‘There is a big difference.’ (lit.: ‘The difference is big.’) [speaking of two different types of drums] [010-02]

- (72) *No te mea, tūkē, korereka te tūkē*
 because different big/huge DEF difference
- i te rākau me te rima.*
 LOC DEF wood/stick COM DEF hand
- ‘Because it’s different, there’s a huge difference between (using) the stick and (using) the hands.’ [010-02]

The verb *kite* is interesting, in that it can mean both ‘see’ and ‘know’, at least when used verbally. In (73), which is a repetition of (12), *kite* is used verbally and the meaning is clearly ‘see’, whereas in (74) it could potentially be translated as either ‘see’ or ‘know’. My translator of this text, Fever Taana, was of the opinion that ‘know’ would be the more appropriate translation in this instance. In (75), however, *kite* is being used as a noun to mean ‘knowledge’.

- (73) *I te hoki-hanga mātou ki Manihiki, te*
 LOC DEF return-NMLZ 1PL.EXCL ALL Manihiki DEF
- tuātau mua tērā i kite ai au*
 time before/first DEM.DIST TNS see APH 1SG
- i te henua ko Manihiki.*
 ACC DEF land PRV Manihiki
- ‘When we returned to Manihiki, that was the first time I saw the island of Manihiki.’
 [013-01]

- (74) *Mataora tikāi t-o-ku ora-hanga i noho ai au*
 happy truly DEF-POSS-1SG live-NMLZ TNS sit/live APH 1SG
- i Manihiki. No te mea, kua kite au e,*
 LOC Manihiki because PFV see/know 1SG SUBR
- t-a-ku angaanga e rave nei, te riro nei*
 DEF-POSS-1SG work TNS do PROX PROG become PROX

ei tauturu i te hiti tangata.

RES help LOC DEF people

‘I was truly happy about my stay on Manihiki. Because I knew that the work that I was doing, was helping people.’ [011-01]

- (75) *Na hana i kave mai i te kite no*
EMP 3SG TNS bring hither ACC DEF see/know BEN

teia angaanga e fāmā poe.
DEM.PROX work TNS farm pearl

‘It was him who brought the knowledge of this work of pearl-farming.’ [021-01]

Similarly, *manako* is usually used as a verb meaning ‘to think’, examples of which can be seen in (76) and (77). In both these examples, it occurs in the initial position as a verbal predicate, in both cases with the subject argument *au*, ‘I’. In (76), it occurs in the imperfective without any preverbal particle, while in (77), it occurs with the perfective marker *kua*.

- (76) *Manako au i reira, ka hoki au ki Manihiki,*
think 1SG LOC then INCEP go/come back 1SG ALL Manihiki

noho ai i tētahi tuātau...
sit/live APH LOC SPF time

‘I decided I would go back to Manihiki and live there for some time...’ [011-01]

- (77) *Kua manako au e mea puapinga*
PFV think 1SG INDF thing important

kia ātoro atu au i te āpī
SBJV visit thither 1SG ACC DEF school

i te tuātau āpī.
LOC DEF time school

‘I decided it was important for me to visit the school during school hours.’ [011-01]

However, this same word *manako* can also be used nominally to mean ‘thought’, as in (78) and (79). In both of these examples, it occurs with the possessive determiner *toku*, ‘my’, marking it clearly as a noun.

- (78) *T-o-ku* *manako* *i* *te* *matahiti* *nei*,
 DEF-POSS-1SG think/thought LOC DEF year PROX
- i* *te* *matahiti* *ono* *ngahuru* *ma* *ono*, *mēkore*
 LOC DEF year six ten with six or
- ono* *ngahuru* *ma* *hitu*, *kia* *ture* *hia* *te* *tini*.
 six ten with seven SBJV make a law PASS DEF tin
- ‘I think it was in this year, in the year 1966 or 1967, that they made the law of the tins (a law prohibiting the use of tins as instruments while playing the slit drum at traditional dances).’
 [010-03]

- (79) *Kua* *tātā* *mai* *au* *i reira* *i* *te* *tuku* *mai*
 PRV wrote hither 1SG then COMP DEF send (here: express) hither
- i* *t-o-ku* *manako* *e*, *kia* *riro* *ko* *au*
 ACC DEF-POSS-1SG thought/wish SUBR SBJV become PRV 1SG
- te* *nēti* *i* *Manihiki*, *e* *kua* *haka-tika*
 DEF nurse LOC Manihiki and PFV CAUS-true (= allow/accept)
- hia* *mai*.
 PASS hither
- ‘I wrote (a letter) to express my wish to become the nurse of Manihiki, and they accepted it.’
 [011-01]

In (80) through (82), one can find examples of the word *hinangaro*, ‘want, wish’. In (80), *hinangaro* is being used in a verbal sense, while in (81) and (82) (the latter of which is a repetition of (33)), it is being used as a noun.

- (80) *Hinangaro* *au* *i* *te* *kautā* *atu* *no* *runga* *i*

want 1SG COMP DEF talk thither BEN above LOC

t-o-ku hoki-hanga ki Manihiki.

DEF-POSS-1SG go/come back-NMLZ ALL Manihiki

‘I want to talk about my return to Manihiki.’ [011-01]

- (81) *No atu e te noho nei au i Rarotonga nei,*
 although PROG sit/live PROX 1SG LOC Rarotonga PROX

ko t-o-ku pukuhatu, ko t-o-ku hinangaro,
 PRV DEF-POSS-1SG heart PRV DEF-POSS-1SG want/wish/desire

tei Manihiki.

LOC.PRED Manihiki

‘Although I’m living on Rarotonga, my heart, my desire, is in Manihiki.’ [011-01]

- (82) *Ko t-o-ku hinangaro e, me ra~rahi mai*
 PRV DEF-POSS-1SG want/wish SUBR COND REDUP~big/large hither

t-a-ku mokopuna...

DEF-POSS-1SG grandchild

‘My wish is that when my grandchildren have grown up...’ [011-02]

The verb *angaanga*, ‘work’, can also be used both verbally and nominally. This is exemplified in (83) through (88).

- (83) *Kua angaanga au i reira e nēti*
 PFV work 1SG LOC there INDF nurse

i roto i te fare maki.

LOC inside LOC DEF house sick

‘I worked as a nurse in the hospital.’ [011-01]

- (84) *Kore t-o tātou matīni e tāveria nei*
 NEG DEF-POSS 1PL.INCL machine IMPF produce PROX

te paua e angaanga ana.
 DEF power IMPF work MED

‘We did not have any machines to produce power that were working.’ [011-01]

(85) *Ko au i reira te i hiki hia mai e angaanga*
 PRV 1SG LOC there DEF TNS choose PASS hither IMPF work

na te ngāhi o te tuku-hanga mere.
 BEN DEF place POSS DEF send-NMLZ mail

‘I was the one that was chosen to work in the position of posting mail.’ [014-01]

(86) *Kua ono~ono au i reira i te tu o te*
 PFV look~REDUP 1SG LOC there ACC DEF way POSS DEF

hiti tangata. E aha te au angaanga meitaki
 people INDF what DEF PL work/task good

ka rauka i te rave hia, me kore, na angaanga
 INCEP be possible COMP DEF do PASS if NEG DEF.PL work/task

kua rave hia ana kia kore e ngā~ngaro.
 PFV do PASS MED SBJV NEG TNS REDUP~lose/forget

‘There I studied the lifestyle of the people. What are the best tasks to do for maintenance, or the tasks that can be finished and should not be forgotten.’ [011-01]

(87) *E ka tahi nei, ka rave hia ai teia angaanga.*
 and INCEP one PROX INCEP do PASS APH DEM.PROX work

‘And for the first time, this type of work is being done.’ [011-02]

(88) *Ka manuia teia angaanga fāmā poe,*
 INCEP successful DEM.PROX work farm pearl

i roto i te rōtō o Manihiki.
 LOC inside LOC DEF lagoon POSS Manihiki

‘This work of farming pearls inside the Manihiki lagoon will be successful.’ [021-01]

3.9.2.2 Stative verbs being used nominally

Stative verbs can also be used as nouns, as in (89), where the stative verb *kino*, ‘be bad’ is used as the head of a noun phrase, which makes up the subject of a clause. It co-occurs here with a determiner, namely the definite article *te*, showing that it is functioning as a noun. Its meaning here is ‘something bad’. In (90), one can find the same stative verb, *kino*, and also another stative verb, *maki*, ‘be ill’ being used as heads of noun phrases, both co-occurring with the definite article. *Kino* here has pretty much the same meaning as in (89), whereas *maki* in this instance can be translated as ‘disease’.

- (89) *Me kore e haka-tano hia, ka rahi atu*
 COND NEG IPFV CAUS-correct PASS INCEP big/large thither
te kino i teia au matahiti ki mua.
 DEF bad LOC DEM.PROX PL year ALL before/in front
 ‘If (the teaching of traditional dances) is not corrected, the damage (to how these dances are being performed) will grow bigger in the years to come.’ [010-02]

- (90) *Ko te kino teia te tupu mai i roto i*
 PRV DEF bad DEM.PROX PROG grow/happen hither LOC inside LOC
te au tuātau o te maki o te tai roto.
 DEF PL time POSS DEF sick POSS DEF sea inside
 ‘This is the bad thing that happened during the times of the disease of the lagoon.’
 [013-01]

However, sometimes the nominalizing suffix is used with the very same stative verbs that can also at other times be used without this suffix when used as nouns. Seemingly, there is no difference in meaning between when the suffix is used and when it is not. This is exemplified in (91), where both *kino*, ‘be bad’, and *maki*, ‘be sick/ill’, are used with the suffix, as compared to (90), where they are both used without.

- (91) *I teia tuātau, kore hua no te tuātau*
 LOC DEM.PROX time NEG only BEN DEF time

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hurihia,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>riro</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tuātau</i> |
| POSS | DEF | hurricane | PFV | become | DIST | INT | DEF | time |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|----------|-----------|
| <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tai</i> | <i>roto,</i> | <i>t-o</i> | <i>tātou</i> | <i>tai</i> | <i>roto,</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> |
| POSS | DEF | sea | inside | DEF-POSS | 3PL | sea | inside | POSS | DEF |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>kino-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>maki-hanga</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>pārau.</i> |
| bad-NMLZ | LOC | DEF | sick-NMLZ | POSS | DEF | PL | shell |

‘In this time, it was not only the time of the hurricane, it became the time of the lagoon, our lagoon, of the badness consisting of the sickness of the shells.’ [013-01]

Examples of the stative verb *viviki*, ‘be fast’, being used both verbally, and as a noun meaning ‘fastness, speed’, is given in (92).

(92) *Me viviki te pahu, kore e rauka te hupa,*
COND fast DEF drum NEG IPFV able DEF dance

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>pāpū</i> | <i>tika</i> | <i>tērā.</i> | <i>E,</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>haka-tano</i> |
| INDF | thing | sure | true | DEM.DIST | and | COND | CAUS-correct |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|----------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------------------|
| <i>hia</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>viviki</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pahu,</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>rauara hupa~hupa,</i> |
| PASS | DIST | DEF | fast | POSS | DEF | drum | SBJV | people dance~REDUP |

| | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|--------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>reira,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>hūmāria</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tārekareka.</i> |
| LOC | there (= then) | PFV | beautiful | DEF | performance |

‘If the drumming is (too) fast, they can’t dance, that’s for sure. If the speed of the drum has been made correct for the people dancing, then the performance is nice. [010-03]

The verb *tika*, ‘be true’ can be used verbally as in (93), or nominally as in (94), where it is reduplicated. The exact reason for its being reduplicated here is not known.

(93) *Kite kōtou e, e aha, e te au taeake,*
see/know 2PL SUBR INDF what VOC DEF PL friend

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>kua</i> | <i>tika</i> | <i>noti,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>haere</i> | <i>māria</i> | <i>hua</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ra.</i> |
| PFV | true | INT | PFV | go/come | slow | only | DEF | sun |

‘You know what, friends, it's true, the sun only went slowly (from that day on).’ [014-02]

(94) *Maui, e haka-kite atu nei au te tika~tika*
 Maui IPFV CAUS-see/know thither PROX 1SG DEF true~REDUP

ai ki-a koe.

APH ALL-PERS 2SG

‘Maui, I’m telling you the truth.’ [014-02]

3.10 Previous Studies of Word Class Distinctions in Polynesian

Manihiki is far from the only Polynesian language for which the distinction between different word classes has been a contested subject, and the pronounced fluidity between word classes found in Manihiki may even be the norm for the Polynesian group as a whole. From all the various subgroups of Polynesian, and indeed from many other Oceanic groups, one can find examples of prototypical nouns being used verbally and vice versa. Among the Polynesian languages, Tongan is probably the one for which most word class studies have been conducted (e.g., Broschart 1997; Völkel 2017).

Tongan has sometimes been categorised as a “flexible” language (Broschart 1997:129, citing Hengeveld 1992:66), or in other words a language in which the same word can occur in different syntactic slots “which are usually associated with translational equivalents of verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs”. In contrary to this, Broschart argues that while it may at first glance seem that Tongan does not have any word classes, it does in fact, although it is of an entirely different order from what is found in English or other classical SAE languages. In other words, to use a quote from Broschart, “Tongan does it differently”. He writes:

... a language such as Tongan exhibits a fundamental categorial distinction which is essentially different and logically independent from a major distinction between classical nouns and verbs.

Broschart (1997:123)

He refers to Tongan as a “type/token”-language, i.e., a language that makes a primary distinction between non-referential lexical “types” and referential instantiations of said type, which he calls “tokens”. He goes on to write:

...type/token-languages and classical noun/verb-languages will turn out to be comparable with respect to related discourse parameters (referential and predicative function), and the frequently cited prototype tendency to distinguish what is referential from what is predicative, and to distinguish phenomena which are time-stable ... from non-time-stable ones (especially actions) is common to both language types.

Broschart (1997:124)

According to Broschart, there are two categories of grammatical words in Tongan, which may never combine with each other. These are articles (or probably more accurately: determiners) and tense/aspect/mood markers (TAM markers). These latter correspond to what I have termed “preverbal particles” in Manihiki, where they are used to distinguish aspect and mood, but not tense. In other words, Tongan distinguishes a syntagm initiated by articles or determiners from a syntagm initiated by TAM markers.

However, often the same word can appear in both of the two syntagms, i.e., both in the syntagm marked for tense, aspect and mood (the “verbal” one) and in the one marked for definiteness (the “nominal” one). Examples can be found in (95) and (96), both of which are taken from Broschart.

- (95) *Na'e lele e kau fefiné.*
 PST run SPF PL woman/female.DEF
 ‘The women were running.’ [Broschart 1997:134, my glosses]

- (96) *Na'e fefine kotoa e kau lelé.*
 PST woman/female all SPF PL run.DEF
 ‘The ones running were all female.’ [Broschart 1997:134, my glosses]

In other words, the major distinction made in Tongan, according to Broschart, is between referential noun-like tokens and non-referential verb-like tokens, as exemplified in (97).

- (97) *'oku laione pē 'a e laioné.*
 PRS lion just ABS SPF lion.DEF
 ‘Lions will be lions.’ (lit.: ‘A lion will lion.’) [Broschart 1997:150, my glosses]

The situation in Tongan is further complicated by the fact that even ‘prototypical verbs’ are sometimes used in predicate position, i.e., in a typically verbal position, in a nominal form with

the presentative preposition. In other words, what could easily (and perhaps ‘more naturally’) be expressed by a verbal clause is sometimes expressed by a nominal one, see (98) and (99). In (98), ‘*a* is clearly the dominant possessive particle, as it would always occur in this construction with the glottal stop. In (99), (*’*)*a* can occur either with or without the glottal stop, and is not the dominant possessive but the absolutive preposition.

- (98) *Ko e ‘alu ‘a Sione ki kolo.*
 PRV SPF go POSS Sione ALL town
 ‘Sione is going to town.’ (lit.: ‘There is a going of Sione to town.’)
 [Broschart 1997:152, my literal translation and glosses]

- (99) *Na’e ‘alu (’a) Sione ki kolo.*
 PST go ABS Sione ALL town
 ‘Sione went to town.’ [Broschart 1997:152, my glosses]

It is noteworthy that the possessive particle used postnominally in the noun phrase is (almost) identical in form to the absolutive preposition. Broschart (1997:153) writes:

The great freedom of using particles from a “nominal” environment in a “verbal” one are clear indicators of the fact that so-called “nominal” and “verbal” features are almost NEVER strictly distinguished in Tongan.

3.11 Use of Verb Complexes with Possessive Determiners

The possessive determiners can also be used with verbs (preceded by the preverbal tense particles used in subordinate clauses):

- (100) *t-a-ku i mārama,*
 DEF-POSS-1SG TNS know

t-a-ku i haka-kite mai ki-a haku
 DEF-POSS-1SG TNS CAUS-know hither ALL-PERS 1SG
 ‘what I know, what was explained to me’ [003-05]

3.12 Word Class Status of Verbs in the *i te* Construction

Possibly, the *i te* construction, which is used with a purposive meaning, can be regarded as containing a verb being used nominally. Examples are given in (101) through (106). This construction will be discussed further in 6.3.4.1.1.

- (101) *Kua hoki mai mātou i te rapakau*
 PFV go/come back hither 1PL.EXCL COMP DEF cure/treat

i t-o hona maki~maki.
 ACC DEF-POSS 3SG sick~REDUP

‘We returned to treat his illness.’ [011-01]

- (102) *Tērā ra, e hoki ana au ki Ākarana i te*
 but IPFV return MED 1SG ALL Auckland COMP DEF

hārāvei i na Manihiki...
 meet ACC DEF.PL Manihiki (people)

‘But I returned to Auckland to meet Manihiki people...’ [011-01]

- (103) *Teia tuātau mua ra, e kore e tangata*
 DEM.PROX time before DIST IPFV NEG INDF person

e haka-tika hia kia hano hua koe,
 TNS CAUS-true (=allow) PASS SBJV go/come only 2SG

kia use koe tēnā tank a hopu
 SBJV use 2SG DEM.MED tank POSS dive

i te hopu na pārau.
 COMP DEF dive DEF.PL pearl

‘During this time before, no one just allowed you to go and use this diving tank to dive for pearls.’ [013-01]

- (104) *Te haere nei au i tētahi ra i te tūtaka*

PROG go PROX 1SG LOC SPF day COMP DEF visit

i rauara pākakari na roto i o rātou fare.
ACC people very old BEN inside LOC POSS 3PL house

‘I went one day to visit some elderly people in their homes.’ [011-02]

(105) *Ko hai te tangata i Manihiki e rauka ana*
PFV what DEF person LOC Manihiki IPFV be able MED

pērā a-na moni? E rauka i-a koe i te
thus/that kind POSS-3SG money IPFV be able LOC-PERS 2SG COMP DEF

rere mai, me t-a-u vahine a kōrua tamariki
fly hither COM DEF-POSS-2SG woman, POSS 2DU child.PL

i te roro mai ki Rarotonga nei, orotē?
COMP DEF go/come hither ALL Rarotonga PROX holiday

‘What people in Manihiki can afford that kind of money? To fly over with your wife and children to come to Rarotonga for a holiday?’ [011-02]

(106) *Te haere nei te tangata i te tanu~tanu,*
PROG go PROX DEF person COMP DEF plant crops~REDUP

te haere nei te tangata i te tautai,
PROG go PROX DEF person COMP DEF catch fish

pō~pō.
be night~REDUP

Te hoki mai ki te fare, pōpongi.
DEF go/come back hither ALL DEF house be morning

‘The people would go to plant food, the people would go fishing, and then it would already be night. They would return home, and it would be morning.’ [014-02]

Other sentences containing *i te* forms are (64), (66) and (79), repeated below as (107), (108) and (109), respectively.

- (107) *E kore hoki ko maua hua taua tuātau ra*
 IPFV NEG INT PRV 1DU.EXCL only DEM.RETR time DIST
i te hoki mai mei Nu Tīrani,
 COMP DEF go/come back hither ABL New Zealand
te hano i te fāmā pārau.
 DEF go/come COMP DEF farm shell
 ‘It was not only us during that time who returned from New Zealand, in order to do pearl shell farming.’ [013-01]

- (108) *Kua rauka i-a haku i te hoki*
 PFV be possible ACC-PERS 1SG COMP DEF go/come back
ki Manihiki i te hōronga atu
 ALL Manihiki COMP DEF give thither
tētahi tauturu na haku ki te hiti tangata.
 SPF help EMP 1SG ALL DEF people
 ‘It was possible for me to return to Manihiki to give some help of mine to the people.’
 [011-01]

- (109) *Kua tātā mai au i reira i te tuku mai*
 PRV wrote hither 1SG then COMP DEF send (here: express) hither
i t-o-ku manako e, kia riro ko au
 ACC DEF-POSS-1SG thought/wish SUBR SBJV become PRV 1SG
te nēti i Manihiki, e kua haka-tika
 DEF nurse LOC Manihiki and PFV CAUS-true (= allow/accept)
hia mai.

PASS hither

‘I wrote (a letter) to express my wish to become the nurse of Manihiki, and they accepted it.’

[011-01]

3.13 Derivational Conversion Between Word Classes

Manihiki contains only an extremely limited amount of derivational morphology, and conversion from one word class to another occurs virtually exclusively through the nominalizing suffix *-hanga*, which converts a verb into a noun. The only other derivational morphology that exists are the two causative prefixes *haka-* and *tā-*, which are mainly used with verbal bases, and usually do not convert from one word class to another, although they may convert a stative or active intransitive verb into a transitive one. All these three affixes will be described in further detail in 5.5. Two examples of conversion from verb (or verbal form) to noun (or nominal form) using the nominalizing suffix *-hanga* are given in (110) and (111).

- (110) *Te rahi-hanga o te vahine i te ra nei,*
DEF big-NMLZ POSS DEF woman LOC DEF day PROX
- e tahi hua tua.*
IPFV one only side

‘The majority of the women today, (they use) only one side (of their hips when they perform the traditional drum dance).’ [010-03]

- (111) *t-o-ku ora-hanga*
DEF-POSS-1SG live-NMLZ
‘my life’

3.13.1 Conversion from locational noun to common noun

One very interesting conversion from a locational noun into a common noun through vowel lengthening occurs in the pair *roto*, ‘inside’ vs. *rōtō*, ‘lagoon’⁶². Sometimes the two can be

⁶² An alternative name for the latter is *tai-roto*, literally ‘sea-inside’ or ‘inside-sea’. The two are used interchangeably.

found in the same sentence as in (112). Sometimes a fuller form, *rōtō moana*, is used, as in (113). *Moana* means ‘ocean’.

(112) ... *kua tupu te angaanga poe pārau i roto*
 PFV grow DEF work pearl shell LOC inside

i te rōtō o Manihiki.

LOC DEF lagoon POSS Manihiki

‘... the pearl shell work grew inside the lagoon of Manihiki.’ [021-01]

(113) ... *me ka rauka e ka manuia i te fāmā i*
 COND INCEP be able and INCEP successful COMP DEF farm ACC

te poe pārau i roto i te rōtō moana o Manihiki.

DEF pearl shell LOC inside LOC DEF lagoon ocean POSS Manihiki

‘... If (i.e., whether or not) we could be successful in the farming of pearl shells inside the lagoon of Manihiki.’ [021-01]

The only other example that occurs of conversion from locational nouns into common nouns is *taitua*, ‘everywhere (on an atoll)’, as has already been mentioned in footnote 55 in this chapter.

4 The Noun Phrase

4.1 Introduction

Noun phrases contain as their head one of the two classes of nominals: nouns (4.3) or pronouns (4.6). The grammatical and pragmatic roles of nominals (subject, object and adjunct) are marked by word-order, and by the use of a limited number of prepositions. For more on this, see Chapter 5 on Clause Structure.

4.2 The Head of the Noun Phrase

The head of the noun phrase can be either a noun or a pronoun. Nouns are divided into four different subtypes: common nouns, personal names, place names and locational nouns, based on their (in)ability to occur with the various articles (see 3.4). Pronouns are divided into two different subtypes: personal and demonstrative (see 4.9). Common nouns in Manihiki are defined by their ability to co-occur with the indefinite article *e*, the definite article *te*, or the plural definite article *na*. Personal names can co-occur with the personal article *a*, which is also used with the personal pronouns when they occur after certain prepositions (see 4.9.4). The category that I have labelled as place names are proper nouns referring to places. They do not co-occur with any articles. There is also a very small closed group of locational nouns that are always used without articles. These are nouns that refer to locations or positions relative to a certain referent, such as ‘above’, ‘below’, ‘inside’, ‘outside’, etc.

Unlike the place names, which can appear as either arguments in the clause, or as adjuncts (when headed by prepositions), all locational nouns in my data appear as adjuncts. Further elicitation is needed to determine whether or not locational nouns can also occur as arguments.

All noun phrases not having a place name as its head can occur either unmarked as the subject of a verbal or nominal clause, or as complements of one of a limited number of prepositions. The prepositions of Manihiki include the accusative (direct object) marker *i* and the dative (indirect object) marker *ki*. They also include the ‘presentative preposition’ *ko*. See Chapter 6 on Clause Structure for the ways that noun phrases can fulfil various grammatical functions in the clause, including how they are used as complements of prepositional phrases.

An overview of the subtypes of nouns and pronouns is given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Nominal subtypes

| Subtype | Marked with | Examples |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Common nouns | indefinite article <i>e</i> definite article <i>te</i> or plural definite article <i>na</i> | <i>tangata</i> , ‘person’ <i>vahine</i> , ‘woman’ <i>fare</i> , ‘house’ <i>kōpū tangata</i> , ‘family’ <i>hiti tangata</i> , ‘people’ <i>orahanga</i> , ‘life’ |
| Personal names | personal article <i>a</i> (optional) | <i>Tāringavarua</i> <i>Maui</i> <i>Tāmu</i> , ‘Sam’ |
| Place names | no marking | <i>Manihiki</i> <i>Rarotonga</i> <i>Nu Tīrani</i> , ‘New Zealand’ |
| Locational nouns | no marking, usually occur after a preposition and with a following prepositional phrase | <i>roto</i> , ‘inside’ <i>voho</i> , ‘outside’ <i>raro</i> , ‘below’ <i>runga</i> , ‘above’ |
| Personal pronouns | usually no marking, sometimes marked with the personal article <i>a</i> ⁶³ | <i>au</i> , ‘I, 1 st person singular’ <i>taua</i> , ‘you and I, 1 st person dual inclusive’ <i>rātou</i> , ‘they, 3 rd person plural’ |
| Demonstrative pronouns | no marking, can occur as head of noun phrases, and in the determiner slot | <i>teia</i> , ‘this (proximal)’ <i>tēnā</i> , ‘that (medial)’ <i>tērā</i> , ‘that (distal)’ |

Common nouns can be used with the indefinite article *e*, or with the definite articles *te* and *na*. The structure of the noun phrase, as it appears with common nouns, will be set out in 4.3. Place names and personal and demonstrative pronouns do not occur with any determiners at all. Personal names may occur with the personal article *a*, but not with any other modifiers. The closed class of locational nouns consists exclusively of words that are used to describe the

⁶³ The third person singular pronoun *ia* is optionally marked with *a* when occurring as the subject of a verb. Other personal pronouns are always unmarked in this position. All personal pronouns are marked with *a* when occurring in oblique position after one of the prepositions *i* and *ki* (see 4.9.1).

position of one referent in relation to another, and are thus distinct from place names. The locational nouns usually occur after a preposition and with a following prepositional phrase; see 3.4.4.

4.3 Noun Phrase Structure

An overview of the structure of the Manihiki noun phrase is given in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Noun phrase structure

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Pre-head | determiner (either article or specific, demonstrative or possessive determiner) plural marker <i>au</i> , <i>henu</i> , ‘other’ |
| Head | Noun ⁶⁴ |
| Post-head | nominal or verbal postmodifier deictics <i>nei</i> and <i>ra</i> numeral, <i>kātoatoa</i> , ‘all’ lexical possessor noun phrase, postposed possessive determiner or possessor expressed by emphatic pronoun relative clause |

The various pre-head and post-head modifiers will be discussed in this chapter in the order in which they occur in the noun phrase, apart from the numerals and *kātoatoa*, ‘all’, which are put in a separate section of their own at the very end of the chapter; see 4.10.

Section 4.4 will outline the use of the prenominal modifiers. In 4.4.1 the various determiners able to go in the first slot of the noun phrase are discussed. This is followed by a section on the plural marker *au* in 4.4.2.1 and of the modifier *henu*, ‘other’, in 4.4.2.2

⁶⁴ Although it only happens very rarely, noun phrases sometimes occur as simply determiner (either definite article, or, more commonly, possessive determiner) + following relative clause, with no overt noun being expressed as the head. For more on constructions like this, see 7.4.5.5.

4.4 Prenominal Modifiers

The prenominal modifiers include the determiners (discussed in 4.4.1), the plural marker *au* (4.4.2.1) and the modifier *henu*, ‘other’ (4.4.2.2).

4.4.1 The determiner slot

The first position in the noun phrase is the determiner slot. Common nouns are obligatorily marked by a determiner, whereas personal names may or may not be marked by the personal article *a*. Place names and locational nouns are never marked by determiners, and neither are the demonstrative and possessive pronouns⁶⁵. Personal pronouns are similar to personal names in that they may or may not be marked by the personal article *a* (see 4.9.1). The determiner slot is always filled for common nouns by either an article (4.4.1.1), the specific determiner (4.4.1.2), a demonstrative determiner (4.4.1.3), or a possessive determiner (4.4.1.4).

4.4.1.1 Articles

Manihiki has four articles, which are given in (1).

| | | |
|-----|-----------|-------------------|
| (1) | <i>e</i> | ‘indefinite’ |
| | <i>te</i> | ‘definite’ |
| | <i>na</i> | ‘plural definite’ |
| | <i>a</i> | ‘personal’ |

Examples of their use will be given below. The indefinite article will be described in 4.4.1.1.1, the definite in 4.4.1.1.2, the plural definite in 4.4.1.1.3 and the personal article in 4.4.1.1.4.

4.4.1.1.1 The indefinite article

Indefinite nouns are marked with *e*, as shown in (2) through (4). The indefinite article conveys no number information; in other words, it does not distinguish between singular and plural. In examples (2) and (3) the indefinite article is used with nouns referring to singular entities,

⁶⁵ Although the initial *t-* found in both types of pronouns is more than likely a diachronic reflex of the definite article.

while in (4) it is used with a noun referring to a plural entity. In (28) is another example of a noun referring to a plural entity being marked with *e*.

- (2) *Ko te hupahupa Manihiki, e tua⁶⁶ tētahi,*
 PRV DEF dance Manihiki INDF story SPF

e tārangā t-o hona.

INDF story DEF-POSS 3SG

‘The Manihiki dance has a story of its own.’ (lit.: ‘The Manihiki dance, there is a certain story, there is a story belonging to it.’) [010-02]

- (3) *E mea taka maitaki te kōriro Manihiki.*
 INDF thing sound good DEF slit drum Manihiki

‘The Manihiki way of drumming is a thing that sounds good.’ [010-02]

- (4) *Na technician i taua tuātau ra,*
 DEF.PL technician LOC DEM.RETR time DIST

e Tiāpani.

INDF Japan/Japanese (people)

‘The (pearl) technicians in those days were Japanese.’ [013-01]

In sentence (2), *te hupahupa Manihiki* has been fronted and is marked with the presentative preposition *ko* as being topic. This topic is followed by two predicate nouns marked with the indefinite article. Both predicate nouns occur with another determiner being used *after* the noun in question, quite possibly because the determiner slot (first slot in the noun phrase) is already being filled up by the indefinite determiner.

Sentence (3) also contains a nominal clause, where the predicate is *e mea taka maitaki*, ‘a thing that sounds good’. This predicate is marked as indefinite owing to its generic reference. In (4), the subject of the sentence, *na technician*, ‘the technicians’, has been fronted to mark it as topic, though without the use of the presentative *ko*, which would normally be used in

⁶⁶ My Manihiki consultants explained to me that *tua* is a Rarotongan word for story, while *tārangā* is the original Manihiki word. There is a fairly large amount of code-mixing, and Rarotongan words are used freely in Manihiki discourse.

instances like this. The predicate of this clause is *e Tiāpani*. This predicate is ambiguous, in that it can be analysed as either a nominal or a verbal predicate. As a nominal predicate, it would consist of the head noun *Tiāpani*, ‘Japanese people’, and the indefinite article *e*. This is the analysis that I have followed here. Alternatively, as a verbal predicate, *e* would be the imperfective preverbal particle, and *Tiāpani* would be a stative verb meaning ‘be Japanese’.

There are no instances of this article occurring in anything other than predicative position in my data. The only possible exception to this is in the sentence given in (5), where *e* occurs in front of the subject. It could possibly be the case here, however, that *e* is actually the agentive preposition (see 6.4.8)

- (5) *Kua mau mai e henua aronga ke.*
 PFV lend/borrow hither INDF other people different
 ‘Other different people borrowed (the Manihiki drum dance).’ [010-02]

In Hawaiian (Elbert and Pukui 1979:156-157), the cognate indefinite article *he* also most commonly occurs “as [=in] the initial phrase in verbless sentences”. This is congruent with my findings for Manihiki. They also note that *he* does not follow prepositions other than *me*, marking ‘comitative/instrumental/similitude’. It can occur with both subjects and objects, but objects are never marked with the accusative *i* when used with *he*.

4.4.1.1.2 The definite article

Singular definite noun phrases are marked with the definite article *te* as shown in (6) and (7). In (6), the speaker is speaking of a definite island, which is named as being the island of *Rakahanga*, and the word for ‘island’ is therefore marked as definite.

- (6) *I fānau hia au i te henua ko Rakahanga.*
 TNS bear children PASS 1SG LOC DEF island PRV Rakahanga
 ‘I was born on the island of Rakahanga.’ [013-01]

- (7) *Mākona te au mea i tieni,*
 plenty DEF PL thing TNS change
ei kore i meitaki atu.
 RES NEG TNS good thither

‘Many are the things that have changed, and not for the better.’ [010-03]

Te can also be used with a generic meaning, as in (8), where it is used before *kōriro*, ‘slit drum’.

- (8) *Na, hoki mai au ki runga i te kōriro.*
 so return hither 1SG ALL above LOC DEF slit drum
 ‘So, I will return now to the subject of the slit drum.’ [010-03]

4.4.1.1.3 The plural definite article

Plural definite nouns can be marked with either the plural definite article *na* or with the definite article *te* followed by the plural marker *au*. Occasionally, both a plural definite form with *te au* and one with *na* can be found in the very same sentence. In (9), we see that the same noun, *angaanga* – ‘work, task’ – is used first with one construction, and then with the other. It is possible, however, that *te au angaanga meitaki* is an example of code-mixing with Rarotongan. The combination *te au* is also found in Rarotongan (Nicholas 2016:161-2), while *meitaki* is a Rarotongan word corresponding to the Manihiki *maitaki*. Conversely, *na* does not occur in modern Rarotongan as a plural marker, although a most likely cognate particle, *ngā*, is used to mark paucal (160-1).

- (9) *Kua ono~ono au i reira i te tu o te*
 PFV look~REDUP 1SG LOC there ACC DEF way POSS DEF

hiti tangata. E aha te au angaanga meitaki
 people INDF what DEF PL work good

ka rauka i te rave hia, me kore, na angaanga
 INCEP be possible COMP DEF do PASS if NEG DEF.PL work

kua rave hia ana, kia kore e ngā~ngaro.
 PFV do PASS MED SBJV NEG TNS REDUP~lose/forget

‘There I studied the lifestyle of the people. What are the best tasks to do for maintenance, or the tasks that can be finished and should not be forgotten.’ [011-01]

4.4.1.1.4 The personal article

The personal article *a* is used before personal names as in (10). It is not used after the presentative preposition. Two examples of personal names occurring after this preposition and without the personal article are given in (11). As seen in (12), the personal article does not seem to occur with any of the nouns in a list, if the first noun in the list is marked by the presentative preposition.

- (10) *I te matahiti varu ngahuru ma varu,*
 LOC DEF year eight ten COM eight

kua hoki atu a Tāmu ki Manihiki.

PFV go/come back thither PERS Sam ALL Manihiki

‘In the year 1988, Sam returned to Manihiki.’ [013-01]

- (11) *Ko Jane Kora t-o-ku ingoa.*
 PRV Jane Kora DEF-POSS-1SG name

E ingoa ke atu t-o hoku, ko Nga Tokorua.
 INDF name different thither DEF-POSS 1SG PRV (name)

‘My name is Jane Kora. I also have another name, Nga Tokorua.’ [014-01]

- (12) *Kua riro teia tuātau, ko au, Tāmu,*
 PFV become DEM.PROX time PFV 1SG Sam

e na toko-rua tamariki i te hoki
 and DEF.PL NUM-two child/offspring.PL COMP DEF go/come back

mai ki Manihiki

hither ALL Manihiki

‘This became the time when Sam, I and our two children returned to Manihiki.’ [013-01]

4.4.1.2 The specific determiner

The specific determiner is *tētahi* ‘(a) certain, some’. This determiner can also be used pronominally, i.e., as the head of a noun phrase. It is used to mark noun phrases that are

specific, but indefinite⁶⁷. It can be used with nouns referring to either singular or plural entities. Examples of its use in the noun phrase are given in (13) through (15). In (15), it co-occurs inside the noun phrase with the plural marker *au*.

- (13) *tētahi* *mea*
 SPF thing
 ‘a certain thing’

- (14) *tētahi* *mea* *puapinga*
 SPF thing important
 ‘an important thing’ [011-01]

- (15) *tētahi* *au* *maki*
 SPF PL sick
 ‘certain diseases’ [011-01]

4.4.1.3 Demonstratives

Apart from the articles and the specific determiner, the determiner slot can also be filled by a demonstrative, as in (16) and (17). Demonstratives can be used as either determiners or pronouns. This is a quality that they share with the specific determiner *tētahi* and with the possessive determiners. The demonstratives are discussed in more detail in 4.9.5.

- (16) *teia* *tangata*
 DEM.PROX person
 ‘this person’

- (17) *teia* *au* *mea*
 DEM.PROX PL thing
 ‘these things’

A few more examples, which illustrate the use of these noun phrases with demonstrative determiners inside clauses, are given in (18) and (19).

- (18) *Ka* *hoki* *mai* *teia* *au* *mea* *t-a* *hana*

⁶⁷ Unlike noun phrase marked with the definite article, which are both specific and definite.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|--------|----------|----|-------|----------|-----|
| INCEP | go/come back | hither | DEM.PROX | PL | thing | DEF-POSS | 3SG |
|-------|--------------|--------|----------|----|-------|----------|-----|

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------------|----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tuātau</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>noho</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>mātou</i> |
| TNS | see | LOC | DEF | time | TNS | sit/live | APH | 3PL.EXCL |

| | |
|----------|---------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>reira.</i> |
| LOC | there |

‘These things that he saw will come back from the time we lived there.’ [011-01]

- (19) *E ka tahi nei, ka rave hia ai teia angaanga.*
 and INCEP one PROX INCEP do PASS APH DEM.PROX work
 ‘And for the first time, this type of work is being done.’ [011-02]

Apart from being used to fill the determiner slot in a noun phrase, the demonstratives can also occur as heads of noun phrases, i.e., as pronouns. Examples of their pronominal use will be given in 4.9.5.

The Manihiki demonstratives are very similar in form to the demonstratives used in New Zealand Māori. A major difference is that the Manihiki demonstratives are not marked for a singular/plural distinction. The New Zealand Māori ones, on the other hand, substitute initial *t*-marking in the singular with zero-marking in the plural. The *t*-part of the demonstratives is most likely a remnant of the definite article *te*. This article can be used with both singular and plural nouns in Manihiki, although *na* can be substituted in the plural, whereas it is only used for singular nouns in New Zealand Māori. This is probably the reason why the *t*-marking is replaced by zero-marking when the demonstratives are used to refer to plural entities in this language.

Note, however, that for the possessive determiners discussed in 4.4.1.4, the initial *t*-marking is substituted with zero-marking for plurals in Manihiki, just as it is in New Zealand Māori, showing that the Manihiki *te* was probably at one point also used exclusively to refer to singular entities.

4.4.1.4 Possessive determiners

The possessive determiners are identical in form to the possessive pronouns given in 4.9.2. They are distinguished for three persons (first, second and third) and for three numbers: singular, dual and plural. In the first person dual and plural, there is an exclusive/inclusive distinction, just as there is for the personal pronouns. Examples of noun phrases with possessive determiners are given in (20) through (22). The possessive determiners also contain traces of the definite article *te*, as do both the specific determiner *tētahi* and the demonstratives. However, for the possessive pronouns the *t-* part is left out when the noun they modify refers to a plural entity, as is the case for New Zealand Māori. It is unclear why this singular/plural distinction has been kept for the possessive determiners, when it has been lost for the others.

Examples (20) and (21) below refer to entities that are in the singular, and so, the *t-*part of the possessives is kept. In (22), on the other hand, this prefix is left out, as the word for ‘money’ is always plural in Manihiki.

(20) *t-o-ku* *fare*
 DEF-POSS-1SG house
 ‘my house’

(21) *t-o* *tātou* *reo*
 DEF-POSS 1PL.INCL language
 ‘our language’

(22) *a-ku* *moni*
 POSS-1SG money
 ‘my money’

4.4.1.5 On the prefix *t-*

The specific determiner, and the demonstrative and possessive determiners, all contain the prefix *t-*, which is in all likelihood a remnant of the definite article *te*. The specific determiner, and the demonstratives, do not show any singular/plural distinction. The same form is used for both numbers, but plural nouns modified by these determiners will be also preceded by

the plural marker *au*, which occurs immediately following these, just as is the case for nouns modified by *te*.

The possessive determiners are different, however, in that the *t*-prefix is replaced by zero-marking when the noun they modify is plural, as can be seen in (22) above. In Rarotongan, the same scenario seems to hold true; the specific and demonstrative determiners are invariant and mark the plural with *au*, whereas the possessive determiners lose the *t*- in the plural (Nicholas 2016:201, 204, 360, 397)

In closely related New Zealand Māori, the cognate demonstrative and specific determiners behave similarly to possessive determiners in that the initial *t*-part is replaced by zero-marking in the plural (Bauer et al. 1993:110-112). It is noteworthy here, that in New Zealand Māori the definite article *te*, which is cognate to the Manihiki one, is specifically singular, i.e., it is only used with nouns that have singular referents. For nouns with plural referents the plural definite article *ngā* must be used in this language. This may give us a clue as to why the *t*-prefix is lost in all plural determiners in New Zealand Māori. Manihiki, on the other hand, uses *te* also for nouns with plural referents, together with the plural marker *au*, and this may very well be a new development, from an original use similar to the one found in modern New Zealand Māori. Such a use is actually still found, with the plural definite article *na* being used in a similar way to the New Zealand Māori plural definite article *ngā*. For the determiners that contain traces of this article, the singular meaning of this remnant is still in the process of being lost, as it is completely gone for the specific and demonstrative determiners and only survives as a relic for the possessive ones.

As a matter of fact, there are examples of the possessive determiners retaining their *t*- and being used with the plural marker *au* when modifying nouns in the plural. One such example is given in (23).

| | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------|--------|-----------------|
| (23) | <i>t-o</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>au</i> | permit | <i>angaanga</i> |
| | DEF-POSS | 3PL | PL | permit | work |
| | ‘their work permits’ [013-02] | | | | |

Hawaiian also distinguishes between possessive pronouns/determiners marked with *k-* (Elbert and Pukui 1979:116-118), a remnant of the singular definite article *ka/ke*, and those that are zero-marked (1979:142), which “do not have the features singular definite”.

4.4.2 Prenominal modifiers after the determiner slot

There are two prenominal modifiers which occur between the determiner slot and the head noun of the noun phrase. These are the plural marker *au* and the prenominal modifier *henu*, ‘other’. There are no instances in my corpus of these two occurring together, so their position in the noun phrase in relation to one another is unknown at this stage.

4.4.2.1 The plural marker *au*

The plural marker *au* occurs prenominally in the noun phrase, just after the determiner slot. It usually is not used after possessive determiners, as these signal plural by substituting the initial *t-*marking with zero-marking (see 4.4.1.4, but note also exceptions to this rule as in (23) above). It is, however, used after the definite article, though not after the plural definite article, after the demonstratives, or after the specific determiner. An example of its use with the definite article is given in (24). An example of its use with the specific determiner has already been given in (15), reproduced here as (25), and with a demonstrative in (17), reproduced here as (26).

- (24) *te* *au* *Tiāpani*
 DEF PL Japan/Japanese (people)
 ‘the Japanese people’

- (25) *tētahi* *au* *maki*
 SPF PL sick
 ‘certain diseases’

- (26) *teia* *au* *mea*
 DEM.PROX PL thing
 ‘these things’

4.4.2.2 The prenominal modifier *henu*

The modifier *henu*, ‘other’, also occurs pre-head in the noun phrase. It can co-occur with or without the indefinite article *e*, seemingly with no difference in meaning. It never co-occurs with the definite articles *te* and *na*. Two examples are given in (27) and in (5), repeated here as (28). As can be seen from these examples, *henu* seems to denote a sense of plurality.

- (27) *te hupahupa a henu aronga*
DEF drum dancing POSS other people
‘the drum dancing of other people’ [010-02]

- (28) *Kua mau mai e henu aronga ke.*
PFV lend/borrow hither INDF other people different
‘Other different people borrowed (the Manihiki drum dance).’ [010-02]

4.5 Postnominal Modifiers

The postnominal modifiers that will be discussed in this section are nominal postnominal modifiers (4.5.1), verbal postnominal modifiers (4.5.2) and postnominal deictics (4.6). In later sections, there will be discussion of other types of postnominal modifiers, such as lexical possessor noun phrases (4.7), relative clauses (4.8) and numerals (4.10).

4.5.1 Nominal postnominal modifiers

Nouns can be used to modify other nouns, as in (29) through (33). Nominal modifiers follow the head noun. The nouns that can be used to modify other nouns include common nouns as in (29) through (31) and place names as in (32) and (33).

- (29) *na pūpū tārekareka*
DEF.PL group entertainment
‘the entertainment groups’ [010-02]

- (30) *t-a-ku āpī nēti*
DEF-POSS-1SG school nurse
‘my nursing school’ [011-01]

- (31) *te pahī hōpenga*
 DEF ship end
 ‘the last ship’ [011-01]
- (32) *te tārekareka Manihiki*
 DEF entertainment Manihiki
 ‘the Manihiki way of entertainment’ [010-02]
- (33) *te peu Manihiki*
 DEF custom Manihiki
 ‘the Manihiki customs’ [010-02]

4.5.2 Verbal postnominal modifiers

Like nominal modifiers, verbal modifiers follow the head noun. Verbal modifiers may be either stative verbs as in (34) through (38), intransitive active verbs as in (39), or transitive verbs as in (40) and (41). They occur without any verbal marking, except when they form part of relative clauses (see 4.8).

- (34) *tētahi tuātau poto*
 SPF time short
 ‘some short period of time’ [011-01]
- (35) *tētahi tuātau roa*
 SPF time long
 ‘some long period of time’ [011-01]
- (36) *tētahi tangata kehe*
 SPF person different
 ‘other people’ [011-01]
- (37) *e manamanatā rahi*
 INDF problem big
 ‘a big problem’ [011-01]

(38) *te aronga pakari*
 DEF people old
 ‘the old people’ [011-01]

(39) *pahī rere*
 ship fly
 ‘airplane’ (lit.: ‘flying ship’) [014-01]

(40) *tangata tiaki*
 person look after
 ‘caretaker, someone who looks after a hostel or similar institution’ [014-01]

(41) *tangata tautai*
 person catch fish
 ‘fisherman’ [004-03]

Occasionally, one finds examples of whole phrases modifying the head noun, as in (42).

(42) *ngāhi haka-tū pahī rere*
 place CAUS-stand ship fly
 ‘airport’ (lit.: ‘place where they put airplanes’) [011-01]

It is not clear whether the modifying part in the sentence above should actually be regarded as a relative clause. An alternative way of saying the same thing as in (42) is given in (43).

(43) *ngāhi tō⁶⁸-hanga pahī rere*
 place stand-NMLZ ship fly
 ‘airport’ (lit.: ‘place of the standing of the airplanes’) [011-01]

A similar example is found in (44).

(44) *E mea taka maitaki*
 INDF thing sound good
 ‘a good-sounding thing’ [010-02]

⁶⁸ *tō-*, which does not occur in any other instances in my corpus, should probably be regarded as an allomorph of *tū-*.

4.6 Postnominal Deictics

In addition to the prenominal demonstrative determiners, there are also two postnominal deictics: *nei* ‘proximal, close to speaker’, corresponding to the proximal demonstrative *teia*, and *ra*, ‘distal, in the distance’ corresponding to the distal demonstrative *tērā*. There is no postnominal deictic corresponding to the medial demonstrative *tēnā*. In (45) below, *te ra nei* could be substituted with *teia ra* with no difference in meaning. The distal deictic is often used after a noun preceded by the retrospective determiner *taua* as in (46) and (47).

- (45) *Te rahi-hanga o te vahine i te ra nei,*
 DEF big-NMLZ POSS DEF woman LOC DEF day PROX
e tahi hua tua.
 IPFV one only side
 ‘The majority of the women today, (they use) only one side (of their hips when they perform the traditional drum dance). [010-03]

- (46) *Kua haka-ipoipo atu au i te matahiti hitu ngahuru*
 PFV CAUS-marry thither 1SG LOC DEF year seven ten
ma ono ki-a Tāmu Karaponga.
 with six ALL-PERS Sam Karaponga
E rua a maua tamariki tei Nu Tīrani
 IPFV two POSS 2DU.EXCL child.PL LOC.PRED New Zealand
i taua tuātau ra.
 LOC DEM.RETR time DIST
 ‘I was married in the year 1976 to Sam Karaponga. We had two children (lit.: our children were two...) in New Zealand during that time.’ [013-01]

- (47) *I taua tuātau ra, te mahani hia ra te*
 LOC DEM.RETR time DIST PROG build PASS DIST DEF
ngāhi tō-hanga pahī rere o Manihiki.

place stand-NMLZ ship fly POSS Manihiki

‘At that time, the airport of Manihiki was being built.’ [011-01]

Note also the very idiomatic *teia-nei-ao* ‘this daylight’ = ‘the whole world’, in which *nei* appears prehead in the noun phrase. This idiomatic expression is the only instance I have found of a deictic occurring preminally.

4.7 Possession

There are two different basic types of possessive constructions within the noun phrase, with two minor variations, which will be discussed in 4.7.1. With pronominal possessors, the corresponding possessive determiners are used, and are placed in the first position in the noun phrase, as in (48) and (49). With nominal possessors, the possessor noun phrase follows the head of the noun phrase, which expresses the possessee. It is introduced by one of the possessive particles *o* or *a*, as in (50) through (60).

(48) *t-o-ku* *ora-hanga*
 DEF-POSS-1SG live-NMLZ
 ‘my life’

(49) *t-a-na* *mokopuna*
 DEF-POSS-3SG grandchild
 ‘his or her grandchild’

(50) *te* *vānanga* *a* *te* *au* *pakari*
 DEF word POSS DEF PL old person
 ‘the saying of the old people’

(51) *na* *vānanga* *o* *t-o-ku* *henua*
 DEF.PL word POSS DEF-POSS-1SG island
 ‘the language (lit.: words) of my island’

(52) *te* *hōpenga* *o* *te* *matahiti*
 DEF end POSS DEF year
 ‘the end of the year’

- (53) *te pahu-hanga a Māmā Tahia*
 DEF answer-NMLZ POSS Mama Tahia
 ‘Mama Tahia’s reply’
- (54) *te hiti tangata o Manihiki*
 DEF people POSS Manihiki
 ‘the people of Manihiki’
- (55) *te vahine o te mārāma*
 DEF woman POSS DEF month
 ‘the woman of the month’
- (56) *te rongo o t-o hou henua*
 DEF hear/reputation POSS DEF-POSS 2SG island
 ‘the reputation of your island’
- (57) *te angaanga a t-o-ku pāpā*
 DEF work POSS DEF-POSS-1SG father
 ‘my father’s job’
- (58) *te āpī a te puāpī*
 DEF school POSS DEF teacher
 ‘the teacher’s school’
- (59) *te haka-teateamamao-hanga a o-ku mātua*
 DEF CAUS-prepared-NMLZ POSS POSS-1SG parent

i-a haku
 ACC-PERS 1SG
 ‘my parents’ preparation of me’
- (60) *o-ku mātua fānau*
 POSS-1SG parent birth
 ‘my birth parents’

4.7.1 The two minor variations of the possessive construction

Besides the two most important types of possessive constructions – the one with the possessive determiner occurring in the first slot of the noun phrase, and the one with the nominal possessor occurring after the head noun – there are also two minor variations: one with the emphatic pronouns being used instead of the possessive determiners and occurring post-head (see 4.7.1.1) and one where the *t-* prefix is also used before the possessive marker when occurring with nominal possessors (see 4.7.1.2).

4.7.1.1 Emphatic pronouns occurring post-head in the noun phrase

A very similar construction is found where the emphatic pronouns occur post-head instead of the possessive determiners in the previous construction, and where the determiner slot is filled with the specific determiner *tētahi*, marking the noun as indefinite, but specific. An example of this is given in (61).

- (61) *Kua rauka i-a haku i te hoki*
 PFV be possible ACC-PERS 1SG COMP DEF go/come back
- ki Manihiki i te hōronga atu*
 ALL Manihiki COMP DEF give thither
- tētahi tauturu na haku ki te hiti tangata.*
 SPF help EMP 1SG ALL DEF people
- ‘It was possible for me to return to Manihiki to give some help of mine to the people.’
- [011-01]

4.7.1.2 Possessive marker with *t-* prefix occurring with nominal possessors

Occasionally, one finds the possessive markers occurring with the shortened definite article *t-* even with lexical possessor noun phrases. This occurs when the noun marking the possessee has been left out, as in (62) and (63).

- (62) *Ko te hupahupa Manihiki, kore i tūkē*
 PRV DEF dance Manihiki NEG TNS different

| | | | |
|------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>mei</i> | <i>t-a</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tāne.</i> |
| from | DEF-POSS | DEF | man |

‘In the Manihiki dance, (the women’s dance) is not different from the men’s.’

[010-03]

| | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-----------|------------------|----------|-------------|---------------|
| (63) | <i>T-a</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Aitutaki,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>tahi</i> | <i>kōriro</i> |
| | DEF-POSS | DEF | Aitutaki | IPFV | one | slit drum |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|----------|------------|------------|----------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>t-a</i> | <i>rātou.</i> | <i>E</i> | <i>uru</i> | <i>ana</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>pātē tikitā,</i> | <i>tokere tikitā.</i> |
| DEF-POSS | 3PL | IPFV | call | MED | SUBR | <i>pate tikita</i> | <i>tokere tikita</i> |

‘The Aitutakians have only one slit drum. They call it *pate tikita* or *tokere tikita*.

[010-03]

4.7.2 The two forms of possessive markers, *o* and *a*

As can be seen in the examples above, the particle marking possession can be of either the form *o* or *a*. The two different forms are used to indicate two different types of relationship between possessor and possessee. A similar if not identical distinction to the one made in Manihiki is made in virtually all other EPN languages (see Nicholas 2016:341-363 for Rarotongan, Bauer et al. 1993:197-215 for New Zealand Māori; Coppenrath and Prévost 1975:97 for Tahitian; Cablitz 2006:167-175 for Marquesan; Elbert and Pukui 1979:136-137 for Hawaiian; and Kieviet 2017:281-311 for Rapa Nui) ⁶⁹. Much has been said in the literature on the various Polynesian languages about these two possessive markers, and many different terminologies have been proposed to describe the distinction between the two.

For the time being, I will adopt the two terms ‘subordinate’ (when used with the marker *o*) and ‘dominant’ (when used with *a*). A closer look at the use of the two particles in Manihiki will hopefully reveal which labels are the most appropriate for this language. *O* is called the subordinate possessive marker owing to the fact that the possessor is usually subordinate to the possessee when this marker is used. Likewise, *a* is known as the dominant marker, as the possessor is usually dominant over the possessee when this marker is used.

⁶⁹ According to Kieviet, the basic form of the two possessive markers in Rapa Nui are *o* and ‘*a*, i.e., the latter contains a glottal stop. For Rarotongan, New Zealand Māori, Tahitian, Marquesan, and Hawaiian, the possessive markers are identical to the ones used in Manihiki, i.e., *o* and *a*.

Although sometimes the same noun can be used with either of the two possessive markers to denote different relationships between possessor and possessee, generalisations can be made as to what type of noun is usually used with one or the other marker.

An overview over the different types of nouns for which the possessive marker *o* is generally used is given in Table 4.3 and those for which *a* is generally used in Table 4.4.

Table 4.3: Nouns that are generally used with *o* when possessed

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Certain family members (same or ancestral generations) | <i>tuahine</i> | ‘sister of a man’ |
| | <i>matua</i> | ‘parent’ |
| | <i>tupuna</i> | ‘grandparent, ancestor’ |
| | <i>kōpū tangata</i> | ‘family’ |
| People or mythological beings of high status | <i>atua</i> | ‘god’ |
| | <i>rangatira</i> | ‘chieftain, captain of a ship’ |
| Natural phenomena | <i>moana</i> | ‘ocean’ |
| | <i>henua</i> | ‘island’ |
| | <i>pae henua</i> | ‘island group’ |
| | <i>tuātau</i> | ‘season, time’ |
| Things of importance in traditional culture | <i>vaka</i> | ‘canoe’ |
| | <i>fare</i> | ‘house’ |
| | <i>marae</i> | ‘ceremonial ground’ |
| Most active nominalized verbs | <i>hano-hanga</i> | ‘going, voyage’ |
| | <i>ora-hanga</i> | ‘life’ |
| | <i>haka-mata-hanga</i> | ‘beginning, commencement’ |
| | <i>tupu-hanga</i> | ‘way of living’ |
| Verbs of cognition used as zero-derived nouns | <i>kite</i> | ‘knowledge’ (also: ‘see, know’) |
| | <i>mārama</i> | ‘understanding’ (also: ‘be clear’) |
| Loanwords from Western languages | <i>pātikara</i> | ‘bicycle’ |
| | <i>pāsireia</i> ⁷⁰ | ‘nation, country’ |

⁷⁰ From New Testament Greek βασιλεία, ‘kingdom’.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|
| | <i>Evangeria</i> ⁷¹ | ‘Gospel’ |
| Body parts and other inherent parts | <i>kōpapa</i> | ‘body’ |
| | <i>tūhanga</i> | ‘part’ |

Table 4.4: Nouns that are generally used with *a* when possessed

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Certain family members – acquired by choice or of subsequent generations | <i>tāne</i> | ‘man, husband’ |
| | <i>tamaiti</i> | ‘child, offspring’ |
| | <i>mokopuna</i> | ‘grandchild’ |
| | <i>hina</i> | ‘great grandchild’ |
| Intangibles connected with traditional culture | <i>peu tupuna</i> | ‘ancestral tradition’ |
| | <i>haka-noho-noho-hanga</i> | ‘genealogy’ ⁷² |
| Certain places and institutions | <i>ngāhi</i> | ‘place’ |
| | <i>āpī</i> | ‘school’ |
| Certain passive nominalizations | <i>fānau-hia-hanga</i> | ‘birth’ |

As has been noted for other Polynesian languages (e.g., Wilson 1976:44 for Hawaiian; Bauer et al. 1993:212-214 for New Zealand Māori), certain words in Manihiki can be used with either of the two possessive markers when possessed, but with a change in relation between possessor and possessee. This change in meaning follows the general rule that *o* marks possession when the possessor is subordinate to the item possessed, as in (64) below, where *Kupe*⁷³ has no control over the chant⁷⁴ that other people have composed about him. In (65), however, the same chant is referred to from the point of view of the people who have inherited it and are responsible for passing it down to future generations⁷⁵. These people, who are thus ‘in charge’ of the chant, are seen to be in the same relation with the song as the

⁷¹ From New Testament Greek εὐαγγέλιον, ‘good tidings’.

⁷² As noted above most verbal nominalizations are used with *o*. The reason why the word for ‘genealogy’ is used with *a* is either because it contains the causative prefix or for semantic reasons.

⁷³ Kupe is alleged to have been the main captain in charge of the nine canoes, which were the first to reach New Zealand, or *Ao Tea Roa*, ‘the Long White Cloud’.

⁷⁴ *Pehe* has been variously translated as ‘song’ or ‘chant’ by my consultants. It refers here to a certain composition, which is not exactly sung, but rather recited at a slow pace with a particular intonation by one person. I have, therefore, preferred to translate it as ‘chant’.

⁷⁵ In Manihiki culture, chants and other aspects of traditional culture are usually passed down within the family, often from grandparents to grandchildren, as traditionally people would have children at a very young age, and then let their own parents, i.e., the children’s grandparents, take care of them.

people who originally composed it. Thus, the dominant possessive marker *a* is used in this case.

- (64) *te* *pehe* *o* *Kupe*
 DEF chant POSS Kupe
 ‘Kupe’s chant (the one about Kupe)’ [003-02]

- (65) *t-a* *tātou* *pehe*
 DEF-POSS 3PL chant
 ‘our chant (that we have inherited)’ [003-02]

Wilson (1976:42-44) quotes similar examples of the noun ‘song’ being possessed with either *a* or *o* in both New Zealand Māori and in Hawaiian. Elbert and Pukui (1979:139-140) also give a large number of examples from Hawaiian, with possessee such as ‘song’ and ‘picture/photograph’ and mention that *a* can often be translated as ‘by’, while *o* is usually translated ‘of’.

4.7.2.1 What governs the choice between the two possessive markers

As the distinction between the *o* and *a* possessive markers is so consistent within Polynesian languages, a group of languages that has been quite thoroughly described by global standards, many varying theories as to what governs the choice between the two have been put forward over the years. The most detailed discussion to date is probably the one begun by Wilson (1976) in relation to the Hawaiian forms, and later elaborated upon by the same author (1982:13-45) where he discusses the same theory in relation to Proto-Polynesian (PPN). I will here give a brief presentation of Wilson’s theory as presented in the latter of the two works, where he rejects a few of his previous proposals, while elaborating on the main idea. He writes:

The A/Q contrast is remarkably constant with Polynesian. Differences do exist, but they involve small groups of terms and innovations and can be identified by comparison with other languages.

Wilson (1982:13)

Wilson discusses three theories: the Noun Class Theory; the Simple Control Theory; and the Initial Control Theory. He first of all rejects the Noun Class Theory, primarily because it cannot account for cases of the same noun being used with either of the two possessive markers, examples of which were given in 4.7.2. Examples of this occurring in Manihiki were given in (64) and (65) above, and examples of the same phenomenon in Hawaiian can also be found, as given in (66) and (67) below.

(66) *ka* *mele* *a* *Pua*
 DEF song POSS Pua
 ‘the song (composed) by Pua’ [Elbert and Pukui 1979:140, my glosses and translation]

(67) *ka* *mele* *o* *Pua*
 DEF song POSS Pua
 ‘the song of (i.e., honouring) Pua’ [Elbert and Pukui 1979:140, my glosses and translation]

Wilson goes on to discuss the two other theories, both of which state that *a* is used when the possessor has a degree of control over the possessive relationship, and *o* when he or she does not have this control.

The difference between the two control theories lies in what is viewed as controlled. The Simple Control Theory holds that a possessor’s *control of the possessed* is the determining factor. The Initial Control Theory, on the other hand, holds that the possessor’s *control over the initiation of the possessive relationship* is the determining factor.

Wilson (1982:15-16)

The inadequacy of the Simple Control Theory lies in the fact that it cannot be used to account for instances where the roles of possessor and possessee can be reversed without a change of possessive marker from the dominant to the subordinate one, as in the Hawaiian examples replicated here as (68) and (69)⁷⁶.

(68) *ka* *wahine* *a* *ke* *kāne*
 DEF woman POSS DEF man

⁷⁶ Wilson also gives examples where there is a switch from dominant to subordinate possessive marker, and where both constructions are used with the subordinate possessive marker. The reader is referred to his work for a discussion of these cases.

‘the wife of the husband’ Wilson (1982:17, my glosses)

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| (69) | <i>ke</i> | <i>kāne</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>wahine</i> |
| | DEF | man | POSS | DEF | woman |

‘the husband of the wife’ Wilson (1982:17, my glosses)

According to Wilson, the use of the dominant possessive marker *a* in both (68) and (69) can only be adequately explained by the fact that both husband and wife control the initiation of the marriage relationship in Hawaiian culture. Put very briefly, the Initial Control Theory states that “...A is required in relationships initiated by the possessor and Q in those not initiated by the possessor”. He states, however, that “acceptance of the Initial Control Theory is qualified by a provision for several classes of exceptional relationships taking Q rather than the expected A” (Wilson 1982:13).

For the EPn languages, these exceptions are all related to personal possession of clothing, canoes and shelters.

When applying Wilson’s Initial Control Theory to the data from Manihiki, one can see that it generally predicts the right choice. Most of the items usually possessed with *o* are items for which the possessor is not able to control the initiation of the relationship. The only major groups of exceptions are things of importance in traditional culture and loanwords from Western languages. When looking through the nouns that are usually possessed with *a*, more exceptions occur. The Initial Control Theory correctly predicts that words for family members that are acquired by choice, such as the words for ‘husband’ and ‘offspring’, are marked as being possessed by using *a*. However, for the ‘intangibles connected with traditional culture’, the ‘places and institutions’ and the ‘passive nominalizations’, there does not seem to be much choice in the initiation of the relationship on the part of the possessor, even though these are usually possessed using the marker *a*. In other words, the Initial Control Theory fails to adequately predict the possessive marking for words describing these concepts.

4.8 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses follow the noun they modify. The verb in relative clauses is preceded by one of a set of verbal particles that differ from the particles normally used in main clauses. These

particles used in relative clauses are, however, similar to the forms used in negative sentences following the negative particle *kore*, ‘not’. The form and use of these alternative verbal particles will be described in more detail in 5.6. For more on relative clauses, see 7.4.4. In (70), one can see that the verb *fānau*, ‘bear children’, which appears in the verb complex of the relative clause, is preceded by the particle *i*, marking it for past tense.

- (70) *na pēpē i fānau hia*
 DEF.PL baby TNS bear children PASS
- i t-o-ku matahiti mua i noho ai au*
 LOC ART-POSS-1SG year before/first TNS sit/live APH 1SG
- i Manihiki*
 LOC Manihiki
- ‘the babies that were born during the first year that I lived on Manihiki’ [011-01]

- (71) *t-o-ku ora-hanga i noho ai au i Manihiki*
 DEF-POSS-1SG live-NMLZ TNS sit/live APH 1SG LOC Manihiki
- ‘(the period of) my life when I lived on Manihiki’ [011-01]

- (72) *te tuātau i noho ai au ki⁷⁷ Tūkao...*
 DEF time TNS sit/live APH 1SG LOC Tūkao
- ‘the time that I lived in Tūkao...’ [011-01]

- (73) *No reira i t-o-ku ingoa i huru hia ai,*
 so/and then LOC DEF-POSS-1SG name TNS call PASS APH
- ko Jane.*
 PRV Jane
- ‘And then (there is) the name that I am called: Jane (as opposed to my traditional Manihiki name). [014-01]

⁷⁷ The preposition *ki*, which normally expresses the allative or the dative, is used here with the verb *noho*, ‘sit, live’, to express the locative. In the two preceding examples, *i* is used with *noho*, and not *ki*.

(74) *te āpī i hano ai au*
 DEF school TNS go/come APH 1SG
 ‘the school where I went’ [014-01]

(75) *E teru o-ku matahiti, i hano ai au*
 IPFV three POSS-1SG year TNS go/come APH 1SG

i te āpī terēni puapī.
 LOC DEF school train teacher

‘For three years, I went to the teacher training college (lit.: ‘my years were three that I went to...’).’ [014-01]

(76) *te tūranga i te rauka ai t-a-u pārau*
 DEF way COMP DEF be possible APH DEF-POSS-1SG pearl
 ‘the way that you are able (to get) your pearl shells’ [013-01]

(77) *E kāre ngāhi kia hoko hia ai na poe.*
 IPFV NEG place SBJV sell PASS APH DEF.PL pearl
 ‘There is no place where the pearls can be sold.’ [013-01]

4.9 Pronouns

There are four different types of pronouns in Manihiki: personal/independent (4.9.1); possessive (4.9.2); emphatic (4.9.3); and demonstrative (4.9.5).

4.9.1 Personal/independent pronouns

Manihiki contains 11 different personal pronouns. The system distinguishes three persons (first, second and third) and three numbers (singular, dual and plural). For the first person dual and plural, there is an exclusive/inclusive distinction. The full paradigm is given in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Personal pronouns

| | singular | dual | plural |
|-------------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1.PERS.EXCL | <i>au</i> | <i>maua</i> | <i>mātou</i> |
| 1.PERS.INCL | - | <i>taua</i> | <i>tātou</i> |
| 2.PERS | <i>koe</i> | <i>kōrua</i> | <i>kōtou</i> |
| 3.PERS | <i>ia</i> | <i>raua</i> | <i>rātou</i> |

The singular forms seem to be monomorphemic, whereas the dual and plural forms seem to consist of a first part indicating the person (with an exclusive/inclusive distinction for the first person), while the second part indicates the number. The second part for the dual forms is *-ua/-rua* and is most likely derived from the numeral *rua*, ‘two’. The second part for the plural forms is *tou*, which is in all likelihood derived from the Rarotongan numeral *toru*, ‘three’⁷⁸, which corresponds to the Manihiki *teru*. One may assume that they were original trial forms, which were at some point generalised to be or reinterpreted as plural.

After the presentative preposition *ko*, the third person singular pronoun *ia* is usually used with the personal article *a*, as in (78). This personal article presumably also makes up the *a*-part of the alternative forms *ia* and *kia* for the preposition *i* and *ki*. These alternative forms are used before pronouns, as in (79), and personal names, as in (80).

- (78) *No reira, ko a ia te tangata tiaki.*
 so PRV PERS 3SG DEF person look after
 ‘So, he was the caretaker’ [014-01]

- (79) *Ko te aronga no voho mai,*
 PRV DEF people BEN outside hither

te Firipīni, mēkore i Fiti,
 DEF Philippines/Filipino or LOC? Fiji/Fijian

tuātau mua, e rua matahiti, haka-hoki
 time before IPFV two year CAUS-go/come back

⁷⁸ Elbert and Pukui (1979:107-108) have similarly suggested that the Hawaiian dual and plural pronouns are diachronically related to the words *lua*, ‘two’, and *kolu*, ‘three’.

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|----------|------------|--------------|
| <i>koe</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>rātou,</i> | <i>eoti,</i> | <i>haka-fou</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>t-o</i> | <i>rātou</i> |
| 2SG | ACC-PERS | 3PL | so | CAUS-new | ACC | DEF-POSS | 3PL |

au permit *angaanga*.

PL permit work

‘The people from outside, from the Philippines or Fiji, back in the days you had to take them back (to Rarotonga) every two years in order to renew their work permits.’ [013-02]

(80) *Kua haka-ipoipo atu au i te matahiti*
 PFV CAUS-marry thither 1SG LOC DEF year

| | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------------------|
| <i>hitu</i> | <i>ngahuru</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>ono</i> | <i>ki-a</i> | <i>Tāmu Karaponga.</i> |
| seven | ten | COM | six | ALL-PERS | Sam Karaponga |

‘I was married in the year 1976 to Sam Karaponga.’ [013-01]

4.9.1.1 Inclusive use of the personal pronouns

At least one of the personal pronouns, the third person dual *raua*, can be used in what can be described as an inclusive construction, when followed by the presentative preposition *ko*. A similar use of the personal pronouns is found in Rarotongan. Nicholas (2016:143) provides an example from this language where the third person plural pronoun *rātou* is being used in an inclusive construction. Bauer et al. (1993:372) also provides examples of inclusive constructions. Examples from Manihiki are given below in (81) through (83). All examples I have found of this construction have included only personal names.

(81) *E kore hoki ko maua hua taua tuātau ra*
 IPFV NEG INT PRV 2DU only DEM.RETR time PROX

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>mei</i> | <i>Nu Tīrani,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hano</i> |
| COMP | DEF | go/come back | hither | ABL | New Zealand | DEF | go/come |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fāmā</i> | <i>pārau.</i> | <i>Kua</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>mai</i> |
| COMP | DEF | farm | shell | PFV | go/come back | hither |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>tuangāne</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>Āpī</i> | <i>raua</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>Mehau.</i> |
| DEF-POSS-1SG | older opposite-sex sibling | LOC | Apīi | 3DU | PFV | Mehau |

‘It was not only us during that time who returned from New Zealand, in order to do pearl shell farming. My brother Apīi returned together with (his wife) Mehau.’ [013-01]

(82)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------------|------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>I</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tuātau,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>riro</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>māketē</i> |
| LOC | DEM.PROX | time | PFV | become | DEM.PROX | market |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| <i>katoa</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>māketē</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>haku</i> | <i>te</i> |
| also | PROX | DEF | market | PROX | LOC-PERS | 1SG | DEF |

kimi-rāvenga-hanga

search for-way to do something-NMLZ

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|------------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hopo~hopo-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>poe,</i> | <i>tauturu</i> |
| LOC | DEF | sell~REDUP-NMLZ | ACC | DEF | PL | pearl | help |

| | | | | | |
|----------|------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>t-a</i> | <i>maua</i> | <i>hānau</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> | <i>i-a</i> |
| ACC | DEF-POSS | 1DU.EXCL | family | Manihiki | ACC-PERS |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|
| <i>Tāmuera</i> | <i>raua</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>Nitika,</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>Mehau</i> | <i>raua</i> | <i>ko</i> |
| Samuel | 3DU | PFV | Nitika | ACC-PERS | Mehau | 3DU | PFV |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>Mokoha.</i> | <i>Pērā katoa,</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>Kaina</i> | <i>raua</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>Rēni,</i> |
| Mokoha | and also | ACC-PERS | Kaina | 3DU | PFV | Reni |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>t-o</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>noti</i> | <i>ora-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>runga</i> |
| and | DEF-POSS | 1PL.EXCL | INT | live-NMLZ | LOC | above |

| | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>tua</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>henua</i> | <i>nei.</i> |
| LOC | ocean shore | POSS | DEF | island | PROX |

‘At this time, this market also became a way for me to sell the pearls, to help our family in Manihiki, Samuel together with Nitika, and Mehau together with Mokoha. And also Kaina together with Reni, and our life on the shores of this island.’ [013-01]

(83) *Kua haere i reira te au tumutoa, Hāhiro*
 PFV go/come then DEF PL hero Hahiro

raua ko Mokopūai. Tera i reira, kua haere raua
 3DU PFV Mokopuai that is to say PFV go/come 3DU

i reira i te kaitamaki.
 then COMP DEF cause trouble

‘Then came the heroes, Hahiro together with Mokopuai. That is to say, then those two came to cause trouble.’ [020-03]

4.9.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns can also be used as possessive determiners, as mentioned in 4.4.1.4. Each possessive pronoun or determiner consists of two or three morphemes:

- the marker *t-*, which may be left out when the possessee noun is in the plural, and which is probably diachronically derived from the definite article *te*.
- a possessive particle, either *o* or *a*. This particle varies according to whether it marks dominant or subordinate possession (see 4.7.2).
- a pronominal suffix indicating the person and number of the possessor, and differentiating between exclusive and inclusive for the first person dual and plural forms.

The cliticized pronouns used for the possessives differ in form from the independent pronouns in the singular, but not in the dual or plural. These same cliticized singular pronouns are also used for the emphatic pronouns (see 4.9.3), and partially for the pronominal forms used with the prepositions *i* and *ki* (see 4.9.4), although in the latter two cases the third personal singular form makes use of the regular third person singular form of the personal pronouns, and not the ones used with the possessive determiners and pronouns, or with the emphatic pronouns.

The first person singular o-form *to hoku* ('my', 'mine') and its shortened form *toku* can be analysed as in (84).

| | | | | |
|------|------------|-------------|----|---------------|
| (84) | <i>t-o</i> | <i>hoku</i> | or | <i>t-o-ku</i> |
| | DEF-POSS | 1SG | | DEF-POSS-1SG |
| | 'my, mine' | | | |

The long forms, which appear as alternatives for all three persons in the singular, are used for emphasis.

An overview of all the possessive determiners is given in Table 4.6 through Table 4.9.

Table 4.6: Possessive pronouns, singular o-forms

| | Singular | dual | plural |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1.PERS.EXCL | <i>toku/to hoku</i> | <i>to maua</i> | <i>to mātou</i> |
| 1.PERS.INCL | - | <i>to taua</i> | <i>to tātou</i> |
| 2.PERS | <i>tou/to hou</i> | <i>to kōrua</i> | <i>to kōtou</i> |
| 3.PERS | <i>tona/to hona</i> | <i>to raua</i> | <i>to rātou</i> |

Table 4.7: Possessive pronouns, singular a-forms

| | Singular | dual | plural |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1.PERS.EXCL | <i>taku/ta haku</i> | <i>ta maua</i> | <i>ta mātou</i> |
| 1.PERS.INCL | - | <i>ta taua</i> | <i>ta tātou</i> |
| 2.PERS | <i>tau/ta hau</i> | <i>ta kōrua</i> | <i>ta kōtou</i> |
| 3.PERS | <i>tana/ta hana</i> | <i>ta raua</i> | <i>ta rātou</i> |

Table 4.8: Possessive pronouns, plural o-forms

| | Singular | dual | plural |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1.PERS.EXCL | <i>oku/o hoku</i> | <i>o maua</i> | <i>o mātou</i> |
| 1.PERS.INCL | - | <i>o taua</i> | <i>o tātou</i> |
| 2.PERS | <i>ou/o hou</i> | <i>o kōrua</i> | <i>o kōtou</i> |
| 3.PERS | <i>ona/o hona</i> | <i>o raua</i> | <i>o rātou</i> |

Table 4.9: Possessive pronouns, plural *a*-forms

| | Singular | dual | plural |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1.PERS.EXCL | <i>aku/a haku</i> | <i>a maua</i> | <i>a mātou</i> |
| 1.PERS.INCL | - | <i>a taua</i> | <i>a tātou</i> |
| 2.PERS | <i>au/a hau</i> | <i>a kōrua</i> | <i>a kōtou</i> |
| 3.PERS | <i>ana/a hana</i> | <i>a raua</i> | <i>a rātou</i> |

As mentioned, the possessive pronouns can all be used as determiners in the noun phrase, in which case they appear in the first slot, as in (20) and (21), repeated here as (85) and (86).

- (85) *t-o-ku* *fare*
DEF-POSS-1SG house
‘my house’

- (86) *t-o* *tātou* *reo*
DEF-POSS 1PL.INCL language
‘our language’

Or they can be used as full pronouns/heads of a noun phrase, as in (87).

- (87) *T-a* *tātou* *i* *raro* *hoki* *ki* *te* *teru* *percent*
DEF-POSS 3PL LOC below INT ALL DEF three percent
- o* *te* *kātoatoa* *o* *te* *poe* *o* *teia-nei-ao*.
POSS DEF all/totality POSS DEF pearl POSS DEM.PROX-PROX-world
- ‘We only have a very small amount of under 3% of all of the pearls in the world (lit.: ‘Ours is only a very small amount...’).’ [021-01]

4.9.3 Emphatic forms of the pronouns

A special series of emphatic forms of the personal pronouns are used when they are placed first in the clause to mark focus. The emphatic pronouns are similar in form to the plural possessive pronouns, i.e., the ones without the *t*-prefix. The only difference between the plural possessive pronouns and the emphatic personal pronouns is that the latter use prepositions *no* or *na* in place of the possessive markers *o* or *a*. The full paradigms are given in Table 4.10 and Table 4.11.

Table 4.10: Emphatic pronouns, *o*-forms

| | singular | dual | plural |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1.PERS.EXCL | <i>noku/no hoku</i> | <i>no maua</i> | <i>no mātou</i> |
| 1.PERS.INCL | - | <i>no taua</i> | <i>no tātou</i> |
| 2.PERS | <i>nou/no hou</i> | <i>no kōrua</i> | <i>no kōtou</i> |
| 3.PERS | <i>nona/no hona</i> | <i>no raua</i> | <i>no rātou</i> |

Table 4.11: Emphatic pronouns, *a*-forms

| | Singular | Dual | plural |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1.PERS.EXCL | <i>naku/na haku</i> | <i>na maua</i> | <i>na mātou</i> |
| 1.PERS.INCL | - | <i>na taua</i> | <i>na tātou</i> |
| 2.PERS | <i>nau/na hau</i> | <i>na kōrua</i> | <i>na kōtou</i> |
| 3.PERS | <i>nana/na hana</i> | <i>na raua</i> | <i>na rātou</i> |

The exact meaning of these two prepositions, *no* and *na*, is hard to pin down. What can be said with a certain amount of confidence is that when used with the pronouns, one of their main uses is to mark subjects that have been fronted for focus. Hence, I refer to these forms as the emphatic forms of the pronouns. In the same way that the general meaning of *no* and *na* is hard to determine, the difference in meaning between the two forms is also not so readily apparent, although from the presence of the vowels ‘o’ and ‘a’ they appear to be at least diachronically linked to the distinction found in the two possessive markers, namely the subordinate *o* and the dominant *a*.

The emphatic pronouns with the *na* forms, but not the *no* forms, can be used to mark that the subject of a verbal clause is placed in focus, or in other words, that this subject is used in what Nicholas (2016:239) calls an actor emphatic construction. When used in this construction, they are placed in the first slot in the sentence followed by the main verb, which is marked with one of the two preverbal particles used for marking verbs in subordinate clauses. Examples of this construction are given in (88) and (89).

- (88) *Na hana i kave mai i te kite no*
 EMP 3SG TNS bring hither ACC DEF see/know BEN
teia angaanga e fāmā poe.

DEM.PROX work TNS farm pearl

‘It was him who brought the knowledge of this work of pearl-farming.’ [021-01]

- (89) *Na hana i hakamata i te pate i te*
 EMP 3SG TNS start COMP DEF beat ACC DEF

kōriro e fa, kōriro ri~riki.
 slit drum IPFV four slit drum REDUP~small

‘It was him who started beating four small slit drums at a time.’ [010-03]

With the locational nouns, the preposition *no* can sometimes be used instead of *i* with a difference in meaning. The locational noun *runga*, ‘above’, can be used with the preposition *i* to mean ‘on’ or ‘in’, as in (90), or with either *no* or *na* to mean ‘about (a certain subject)’, as in (91) and (91), respectively.

- (90) *Mei tērā te tu, i-a haku i Manihiki*
 from DEM.DIST DEF way LOC-PERS 1SG LOC Manihiki

kua tupu ana tētahi au tūmatetenga
 PFV grow/happen MED SPF PL sad(ness)/accident

i runga i te ngāhi angaanga.
 LOC above LOC DEF place work

‘E.g., when I was in Manihiki, a number of accidents occurred in the workplace.’

[011-01]

- (91) *Hinangaro au i te kautā atu no runga*
 want 1SG COMP DEF tell thither BEN above

i t-o-ku hoki-hanga ki Manihiki.
 LOC DEF-POSS-1SG go/come back-NMLZ ALL Manihiki

‘I want to tell about my return to Manihiki.’ [011-01]

- (92) *Hakamata na runga i te tua*
 start BEN above LOC DEF story

o t-o-ku ora-hanga.

POSS DEF-POSS-1SG live-NMLZ

‘(I) will start (by talking) about one of the stories of my life.’ [013-01]

One final use of the emphatic pronouns is to mark the possessor in noun phrases, when the possessee is indefinite, but specific. In these cases, the noun is preceded by the specific determiner *tētahi* and followed by one of the emphatic pronouns, as in (61) above, repeated here as (93). As previously mentioned, *tētahi* marks nouns that are indefinite as well as specific. For more on this construction, see 4.7.1.1 above.

(93) *Kua rauka i-a haku i te hoki*
 PFV be possible ACC-PERS 1SG COMP DEF go/come back

ki Manihiki i te hōronga atu
 ALL Manihiki COMP DEF give thither

tētahi tauturu na haku ki te hiti tangata.
 SPF help EMP 1SG ALL DEF people

‘It was possible for me to return to Manihiki to give some help of mine to the people.’

[011-01]

4.9.4 Pronouns with the prepositions *i* and *ki*

The preposition *i* is used to express locative and accusative, while *ki* is used for allative, dative and comitative. These two prepositions have the alternative forms *ia* and *kia* before the personal pronouns and before personal names. The final *-a* can probably be analysed as a cliticized form of the proper article. In the singular forms, but not in the plural ones, these two prepositions (with the article) are pronounced together with the pronouns as one phonological word. Hence, I have also opted to write them in the orthography as one word. In the first person singular, the particles *ia* and *kia* are linked to the same cliticized form of the pronoun that is also used in the possessive and emphatic/benefactive pronouns (see 4.9.2 and 4.9.3 above). In the second and third person singular, they are linked to the regular personal pronouns, but with a different stress pattern than one would usually expect. Usually, both *koe* and *ia* are stressed on the first syllable, but in the compounds *iākoe/kiākoe* and *iaia/kiaia*, it

is the proper article that is stressed (and lengthened): [i'a:koe/ki'a:koe, i'a:ĩa/ki'a:ĩa]. The lengthening of the personal article may be due to the length of the pronoun in question, similar as to what is the case for Rarotongan. Nicholas (2016:48) writes for Rarotongan: “When the personal article introduces a pronoun, its length varies depending on the length of the pronoun. If the pronoun is bimoraic⁷⁹ the personal article is long ... elsewhere it is short...” This is congruent with what I have found for Manihiki in all cases where length is phonemically distinct.

See Table 4.12 and Table 4.13 for the full paradigms of the personal pronouns with *i* and *ki*.

Table 4.12: Pronouns with the preposition *i*

| | singular | dual | plural |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1.PERS.EXCL | <i>iāku/ia haku</i> | <i>ia maua</i> | <i>ia mātou</i> |
| 1.PERS.INCL | - | <i>ia taua</i> | <i>ia tātou</i> |
| 2.PERS | <i>iākoe</i> | <i>ia kōrua</i> | <i>ia kōtou</i> |
| 3.PERS | <i>iaia</i> | <i>ia raua</i> | <i>ia rātou</i> |

Table 4.13: Pronouns with the preposition *ki*

| | singular | dual | plural |
|-------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1.PERS.EXCL | <i>kiāku/kia haku</i> | <i>kia maua</i> | <i>kia mātou</i> |
| 1.PERS.INCL | - | <i>kia taua</i> | <i>kia tātou</i> |
| 2.PERS | <i>kiākoe</i> | <i>kia kōrua</i> | <i>kia kōtou</i> |
| 3.PERS | <i>kiaia</i> | <i>kia raua</i> | <i>kia rātou</i> |

An example of the use of the first person singular pronoun with the preposition *i* is given in (94).

- (94) *Te ono mai nei kōtou i-ā-ku.*
 PROG look hither PROX 2PL ACC-PERS-1SG
 ‘You people are looking at me.’ [009-01]

⁷⁹ Or monomoraic, as is the case in the first person singular (my comment).

4.9.5 Demonstratives

The demonstratives can be used as either pronouns or determiners, without any change in form. In other words, the same forms that are used as heads of noun phrases can also be used as modifiers of heads of noun phrases. The four demonstratives are given in (95) through (98) below.

In the plural, they co-occur with the plural marker *au* in the same way that the specific article *te* and the specific pronoun *tētahi* occur with this marker. This contrasts with the cognate demonstratives and the cognate specific determiner in New Zealand Māori, which substitute initial *t*-marking in the singular forms with zero-marking in the plural in a similar way to how the possessive determiners behave (Bauer et al. 1993:387).

There is a three-way proximal/medial/distal distinction in the Manihiki demonstratives. It will be seen that the system is slightly asymmetric, as the medial and distal demonstratives are formed by a compound of the specific article *te* and the medial and distal deictic particles *ana* and *ra*, respectively, whereas the proximal demonstrative is expressed by a compound of the same specific article *te* and the third person singular pronoun *ia*. The proximal deictic *nei* is not used to form demonstratives⁸⁰.

- (95) *te-ia*
 DEF-3SG [DEM.PROX]
 ‘proximal demonstrative, close to speaker’

- (96) *tē-nā*
 DEF-MED [DEM.MED]
 ‘medial demonstrative, close to listener’

⁸⁰ The demonstrative system of New Zealand Māori is a bit more “symmetrical”, as the proximal demonstrative makes use of this proximal deictic, instead of the third person singular pronoun:

tē-nei
 DEF-PROX
 ‘proximal demonstrative’ [New Zealand Māori, Bauer et al. 1993:387]

The demonstrative pronouns in Rarotongan are exactly the same as in Manihiki (Nicholas 2016:81, 85), except for the fact that Nicholas uses the spelling *tēia*, where I use *teia*.

- (97) *tē-rā*
 DEF-DIST [DEM.DIST]
 ‘distal demonstrative, removed from both speaker and listener’

- (98) *t-aua*
 DEF-RETR [DEM.RETR]
 ‘retrospective demonstrative’, ‘the aforementioned...’

The demonstrative *taua*, given in (98), is used to refer to an item previously mentioned in a certain discourse or text.

Examples of the demonstratives used pronominally, i.e., as heads of noun phrases are given in (99) through (101). Examples of the demonstratives used as determiners in noun phrases are given in (102) through (105).

- (99) *Teia t-a te rangatira ka uru.*
 DEM.PROX DEF-POSS DEF chief INCEP call out
 ‘This was what the chief called out (lit.: ‘This was the calling out of the chief’).’

- (100) *No reira, ko te tāranga tēnā*
 SO PRV DEF story DEM.MED

o Maui e te ra.
 POSS Maui and DEF sun
 ‘So, that was the story of Maui and the sun.’ [014-02]

- (101) *Ko te pahī hōpenga tērā i mua ake,*
 PRV DEF ship end/last DEM.DIST LOC before upwards

i huaki hia ai te ngāhi haka-tū pahī rere.
 TNS open PASS APH DEF place CAUS-stand ship fly
 ‘That one was the last ship before the airport was opened.’ [011-01]

- (102) *Meitaki korereka i te haka-rongo mai*
 thank you big COMP DEF CAUS-listen/hear hither

i teia tua.

ACC DEM.PROX story

‘Thank you very much for listening to this story.’ [013-01]

(103) *Teia tuātau mua ra, e kore e tangata*
DEM.PROX time before DIST IPFV NEG INDF person

e haka-tika hia kia hano hua koe,
TNS CAUS-true (=allow) PASS SBJV go/come only 2SG

kia use koe tēnā tank a hopu
SBJV use 2SG DEM.MED tank POSS dive for

i te hopu na pārau.
COMP DEF dive for DEF.PL pearl

‘During this time before, no one just allowed you to go, and use this diving tank to dive for pearls.’ [013-01]

(104) *Kua haere atu t-a-ku tane*
PFV go/come thither DEF-POSS-1SG man

e tētahi⁸¹ t-o-ku teru māpū tane,
and SPF DEF-POSS-1SG three youngster male

e tauturu i-a-ia i runga
TNS help ACC-PERS-3SG LOC above

i tērā henua.
LOC DEM.DIST island

‘My husband went (to Suwarrow) with my three boys to help him on that island.’

[014-01]

⁸¹ It is unclear why the determiner *tētahi* is used here, as it is usually only used with nouns that are specific but indefinite, whereas the three young men/boys in the above example are both specific and definite.

- (105) *E rua a maua tamariki tei Nu Tīrani*
 IPFV two POSS 1DU.EXCL child.PL LOC.PRED New Zealand
- i taua tuātau ra.*
 LOC DEM.RETR time DIST
- ‘We had two children in New Zealand, during that time.’ [013-01]

4.9.6 Interrogative pronouns

There are four interrogative pronouns, which are given in (106).

- (106) *(h)ai* ‘who’
aha ‘what’
hea ‘where’
pēhea ‘how’

The pronoun *(h)ai*, ‘who’, is always preceded either by the presentative preposition *ko*, or by the emphatic preposition *na*. The pronoun *aha*, ‘what’, is always preceded by the indefinite article *e*. The pronoun *hea*, ‘where’, is usually used with either the locative preposition *i* or the allative preposition *ki*. *Pēhea*, ‘how’, usually functions as an adjunct or adverb, but can also be used as a verb with the causative prefix *haka-*. For a description on how the interrogative pronouns are used inside clauses, see 6.6.2.2.

4.10 Number Marking

As mentioned in 4.4.1.1.3, plural definite nouns can be marked either with the plural definite article as in (107), or with the regular definite article plus the plural marker as in (108).

- (107) *na tangata*
 DEF.PL person
 ‘the people’

or:

- (108) *te au tangata*

DEF PL person
 ‘the people’

Number may also be indicated by the use of numerals (or the quantifier *kātoatoa*, ‘all’) within the noun phrase; see 4.10.2. For a discussion of inherently plural nouns, see 4.10.6.

Other than the numerals and *kātoatoa*, there is no evidence of any other quantifier being used within the noun phrase. The only other quantifier that occurs in my data, is *mākona*, ‘many, plenty’, and it has only been found in predicate position in the clause as in (109).

- (109) *Mākona hoki na māmā, korereka*
 plenty INT DEF.PL mother huge

t-o rātou kōpapa.
 DEF-POSS 3PL body

‘Many of the mothers have huge bodies.’ (lit.: ‘Many are the mothers, whose bodies are huge’) [011-01]

4.10.1 The modern numeral system

Manihiki has a modern decimal counting system, making use of terms from an older indigenous system, as well as terms for higher numbers borrowed from English. In addition to this system of counting, there is also an older system, the knowledge of which is retained only by a few elderly people. Both the modern strictly decimal system and the older system, which combine features of a decimal system with those of other systems such as vigesimal, mirror what is found in many other Eastern Polynesian languages (Lemaître 1985). The numerals from one to nine are as set out in Table 4.14. Note that for ‘zero’, the word *kāre*, ‘nothing’, is used.

Table 4.14: Numerals 1-9

| | |
|-------|-------------|
| One | <i>tahi</i> |
| Two | <i>rua</i> |
| Three | <i>teru</i> |
| Four | <i>fa</i> |
| Five | <i>rima</i> |
| Six | <i>ono</i> |
| Seven | <i>hitu</i> |
| Eight | <i>varu</i> |
| Nine | <i>hiva</i> |

The word for ‘ten’ consists of the base word *ngahuru* ‘ten’, preceded by *tahi* ‘one’. Multiples of ten up to ninety are counted by replacing *tahi* with one of the other numerals up to *hiva*, ‘nine’; see Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Multiples of ten, 10-90

| | |
|---------|---------------------|
| Ten | <i>tahi ngahuru</i> |
| Twenty | <i>rua ngahuru</i> |
| Thirty | <i>teru ngahuru</i> |
| Forty | <i>fa ngahuru</i> |
| Fifty | <i>rima ngahuru</i> |
| Sixty | <i>ono ngahuru</i> |
| Seventy | <i>hitu ngahuru</i> |
| Eighty | <i>varu ngahuru</i> |
| Ninety | <i>hiva ngahuru</i> |

Tens and ones are connected by the word *ma*, ‘with’, as exemplified in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Numerals, 10-23

| | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| Ten | <i>tahi ngahuru</i> |
| Eleven | <i>tahi ngahuru ma tahi</i> |
| Twelve | <i>tahi ngahuru ma rua</i> |
| Thirteen | <i>tahi ngahuru ma teru</i> |
| Fourteen | <i>tahi ngahuru ma fa</i> |
| Fifteen | <i>tahi ngahuru ma rima</i> |
| Sixteen | <i>tahi ngahuru ma ono</i> |
| Seventeen | <i>tahi ngahuru ma hitu</i> |
| Eighteen | <i>tahi ngahuru ma varu</i> |
| Nineteen | <i>tahi ngahuru ma hiva</i> |
| Twenty | <i>rua ngahuru</i> |
| Twenty-one | <i>rua ngahuru ma tahi</i> |
| Twenty-two | <i>rua ngahuru ma rua</i> |
| Twenty-three | <i>rua ngahuru ma teru</i> |

In my recorded material, the particle *ma* only occurs in numerals and only between tens and ones. It is not used to connect thousands, hundreds and tens, and it does not appear to occur elsewhere, e.g., as a putative comitative preposition. The same appears to be the case for Rapa Nui, which may suggest that the construction is calqued on one from Tahitian:

Mā is common in Polynesian languages in the sense ‘and, with’ (< PPN **mā*); in various languages it serves to connect to [sic] tens to units in numerals, like in Rapa Nui. In Rapa Nui, it is also used in circumstantial clauses..., a function shared with Tahitian...; possibly Rapa Nui borrowed *mā* from Tahitian.

Kieviet (2017:148, footnote 9)

A fuller description of the use of *mā* in Tahitian is given by Coppenrath and Prévost (1975:334-336). According to them, *mā* is also used as a regular comitative in this language.

For the hundreds and the thousands, the two English loanwords *hānere* and *tauatini* are used. These numerals are similar to the ones used in Tahiti, where they were also introduced by British missionaries, who went there before the French administration took over.

According to Lemaître (1985:7), the original form for ‘thousand’ introduced to Tahitian was *tausani*, a word which then underwent various sound changes to end up as either *tautini* or *tauatini* in modern Tahitian. The ‘s’ was first changed to a ‘t’, as Tahitian, like other EPN languages apart from Tongarevan, does not possess this phoneme. Then the ‘a’ of the penultimate syllable was then changed to ‘i’ inspired by the word *tini* ‘many, numerous’, which can be reduplicated as *tinitini* ‘innumerable’ and is also found as an ending in *manotini* ‘ten thousand’

Going back to Manihiki, we find that both *hānere* and *tauatini* are counted just like the tens using *tahi*, *rua*, *teru*, etc. As mentioned above, the particle *ma*, ‘with’, is only used between the tens and the ones. No particle is used between the thousands and the hundreds. Between the hundreds and the tens, however, *e*, ‘and’, is used.

4.10.2 Use of numerals in noun phrases

Numerals occur post-head in the noun phrase, in the position immediately following the deictics. They are preceded by the imperfective particle *e*. Examples are given in (110) and (111).

- (110) *taurearea e takau ma fa*
 young man IPFV ten COM four
 ‘14 young men’

- (111) *Ko te mono teia i te tini,*
 PRV DEF replacement DEM.PROX LOC DEF tin

ko na kōriro nei e fa.
 PRV DEF.PL slit drum PROX IPFV four
 ‘These four slit drums are the replacement for the tins.’ [010-03]

In my data, the only other quantifier that is found occurring within the noun phrase is *kātoatoa*, ‘all’. As a modifier within the noun phrase, it occurs in the same position as the numerals. Other quantifiers, such as *mākona*, ‘many, plenty’ are not found occurring within the noun phrase. An example is given in (112).

- (112) *Kua rekareka te au tangata katoatoa.*
 PFV happy DEF PL person ALL
 ‘All the people were happy.’

4.10.3 Use of numerals and other quantifiers as predicates

Numerals are more often used in predicate rather than in adnominal position. Examples of this are given in (113) through (115).

- (113) *E hitu o-ku matahiti i taua taime.*
 IPFV seven POSS-1SG year LOC DEM.RETR time
 ‘I was seven years old at that time (lit.: my years were seven...’).’ [007-01]

- (114) *E teru o-ku matahiti, i noho ai au*
 IPFV three POSS-1SG year TNS sit/live APH 1SG

i te āpī o te training college.
 LOC DEF school POSS DEF training college

‘I lived in the school of the training college for three years (lit.: ‘my years were three that I lived in...’).’ [007-01]

- (115) *E rua hoki tahunga i ko.*
 IPFV two INT traditional healer LOC DEI
 ‘There were two traditional healers there.’ [007-02]

4.10.4 Ordinal use of numerals

For all ordinal numbering apart from ‘first’, it appears that the cardinal numerals are used without change in form, but in this instance they appear as the head of a noun phrase with the definite article *te* and the enumerated noun in a possessive phrase introduced by *o*, as seen in (116) through (119).

- (116) *Tupou Tārita te teru, ko Papa Vākai te fa.*
 Tupou Tarita DEF three PRV Papa Vakai DEF four
 ‘Tupou Tarita was the third(-born child) and Papa Vakai the fourth.’ [003-03]

(117) *Te faonga mua, te rua, te teru, te fa,*
 DEF faonga before/first DEF two DEF three DEF four

*te rima, e te vaiatura*⁸².
 DEF five and DEF and so on

‘The first faonga (lot of protected land), the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, and so on.’ [009-03]

(118) *Kua pou te rua o te tūhanga i ko-nei.*
 PFV finish DEF two POSS DEF part LOC DEI-PROX

‘The second part (of the story) ends here.’ [004-03]

(119) *Te fa tēnā o te tūhanga,*
 DEF four DEM.MED POSS DEF part

teia te rima o te tūhanga.
 DEM.PROX DEF five POSS DEF part

‘That was the fourth part (of the chant), this is the fifth part.’ [003-02]

The ordinal numeral ‘first’ is expressed by the word *mua* (also: ‘before’, ‘in front of’), as was seen in (117) above, and is also shown in (120) through (122) below.

(120) *Ko Tūkao, t-o-na ingoa mua, ko te Matahōrua.*
 PRV Tukao DEF-POSS-3SG name before/first PRV DEF Matahorua

‘Tukao’s first name (lit.: Tukao, its first name) was Matahorua.’ [009-01]

(121) *Ko te Moriori ko te pūpū Manihiki*
 PRV DEF Moriori PRV DEF group Manihiki

teia mua i tae mai ki Ao Tea Roa.
 DEM.PROX before/first TNS reach hither ALL Aotearoa

⁸² *Te vaiatura*, ‘and so on’, may possibly be broken down thus:

te vai atu ra
 DEF water thither DIST

‘and the water keeps flowing’

‘The Moriori people were the first group of Manihiki people that arrived in Aotearoa.’

[003-05]

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|
| (122) | ... <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hoki-hanga</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> | <i>te</i> |
| | LOC | DEF | return-NMLZ | 1PL.EXCL | ALL | Manihiki | DEF |
| | <i>tuātau</i> | <i>mua</i> | <i>tērā</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>au</i> |
| | time | before/first | DEM.DIST | TNS | see/know | APH | 1SG |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>henua ko</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> | | | |
| | ACC | DEF | land PRV | Manihiki | | | |

‘... when we returned to Manihiki, that was the first time that I saw Manihiki.’ [013-01]

4.10.5 The older system of numeration

As is the case for many other Eastern Polynesian languages (Lemaître 1985), Manihiki shows traces of an older system of numeration besides the modern one. This older system contains indigenous numbers for the higher powers of twenty, and it also show an unusual tendency to count in pairs, something which has also been noted for other Polynesian languages. Lemaître in his survey of number systems in EPN languages notes in connection with his idea of the original PEPN system:

The decimal order of the system was disrupted by the counting methods. The Polynesians had a preference for counting by twos, fours or even eights. These quantities will [here] be called ‘counting units’ for convenience of exposition.

Lemaître (1985:3, my translation⁸³)

For Manihiki, I have not noted any instances of people counting by fours or eights, but counting by twos seems to have been very common, and perhaps the preferred system. Younger speakers of Manihiki seem to have lost all knowledge of this older system, and even elderly people are not too keen to elaborate on it, as they are afraid of saying something, which may be wrong. Instead they prefer to refer to a few ‘expert speakers’ who are seen as

⁸³ Original French text: *L’ordre décimal du système était perturbé par les procédés de comptage. Les Polynésiens avaient une préférence pour le comptage par 2, 4 ou même 8. Ces quantité seront appelées « unités de comptage » pour la commodité de l’exposé.*

the current authorities on these matters. The exposition here is based mainly on information from Tupou Faireka and Fever Taana.

In the old way of counting, even numbers are formed using *fakahani* ('a pair'), multiples of 20 are formed using *takau* ('twenty') and multiples of 200 using *rau* ('two hundred'). Uneven numbers from one to nine add *mea* ('thing'), and the words for 'five' and 'ten' have special names.

This older system was used for counting coconuts, as these were often tied together two-by-two. It was also used for counting birds. It is not clear whether birds, when caught and killed, were also tied together in a similar way. According to some accounts, birds were counted the same way as coconuts on account of belonging high in the sky, just as coconuts belong high in the palm trees. See Table 4.17 for the numbers 1-13 in the old system and Table 4.18 for the numbers 20-90, and Table 4.19 for the numbers 100-2000.

Table 4.17: Old numerals, 1-13

| | |
|----------|----------------------------------|
| One | <i>tahi mea</i> |
| Two | <i>tahi fakahani</i> |
| Three | <i>teru mea</i> |
| Four | <i>rua fakahani</i> |
| Five | <i>rima mea</i> or <i>tāpahi</i> |
| Six | <i>teru fakahani</i> |
| Seven | <i>hitu mea</i> |
| Eight | <i>fa fakahani</i> |
| Nine | <i>hiva mea</i> |
| Ten | <i>purupuru</i> |
| Eleven | <i>purupuru ma tahi mea</i> |
| Twelve | <i>purupuru ma tahi fakahani</i> |
| Thirteen | <i>purupuru ma teru mea</i> |

Table 4.18: Old numerals, 20-90

| | |
|---------|-------------------------------|
| Twenty | <i>tahi takau</i> |
| Thirty | <i>takau ma purupuru</i> |
| Forty | <i>rua takau</i> |
| Fifty | <i>rua takau ma purupuru</i> |
| Sixty | <i>teru takau</i> |
| Seventy | <i>teru takau ma purupuru</i> |
| Eighty | <i>fa takau</i> |
| Ninety | <i>fa takau ma purupuru</i> |

Table 4.19: Old numerals, 100-2000

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| One hundred | <i>rima takau or tahi rima</i> |
| Two hundred | <i>tahi rau</i> |
| Three hundred | <i>tahi rau ma rima te takau or rau mata kōkō</i> |
| Four hundred | <i>rua rau</i> |
| Five hundred | <i>rua ta rau ma rima te takau or rua ta rau mata kōkō</i> |
| Six hundred | <i>teru rau</i> |
| Seven hundred | <i>teru ta rau ma rima te takau or teru ta rau mata kōkō</i> |
| Eight hundred | <i>fa rau</i> |
| Nine hundred | <i>fa ta rau ma rima te takau or fa ta rau mata kōkō</i> |
| One thousand | <i>rima ta rau</i> |
| One thousand one hundred | <i>rima ta rau ma rima te takau or rima ta rau mata kōkō</i> |
| One thousand two hundred | <i>ono ta rau</i> |
| One thousand three hundred | <i>ono ta rau ma rima te takau or ono ta rau mata kōkō</i> |
| One thousand four hundred | <i>hitu ta rau</i> |
| One thousand five hundred | <i>hitu ta rau ma rima te takau or hitu ta rau mata kōkō</i> |
| One thousand six hundred | <i>varu ta rau</i> |
| One thousand seven hundred | <i>varu ta rau ma rima te takau or varu ta rau mata kōkō</i> |
| One thousand eight hundred | <i>hiva ta rau</i> |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| One thousand nine hundred | <i>hiva ta rau ma rima te takau or hiva ta rau mata kōkō</i> |
| Two thousand | <i>tahi mano</i> |

4.10.6 Singular/plural distinction within the noun

Two nouns – both of which denote people – show a singular/plural distinction within the noun itself, see (123).

| | | | | |
|-------|----------------|------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| (123) | <i>tupuna</i> | ‘ancestor’ | <i>hui tupuna</i> | ‘collective ancestors’ |
| | <i>tamaiti</i> | ‘child’ | <i>tamariki</i> | ‘children’ |
| | <i>matua</i> | ‘parent’ | <i>mātua</i> | ‘parents’ |

In the case of the first example, it is unclear whether the *hui* should be regarded as a plural marker, similar to *au* or whether it is in fact some kind of collective noun. In the second example, the stative verbs *iti* and *riki*, both of which mean ‘be little, be small’ are used in an idiosyncratic way to mark a singular/plural distinction. *Matua*, on the other hand, is the only noun that I have found in naturally occurring speech, which forms its plural by a lengthening of the first vowel. In an elicitation session, however, I found one other word with a similar plural, as given in (124).

| | | | | |
|-------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| (124) | <i>tangata</i> | ‘person’ | <i>tāngata</i> | ‘people’ |
|-------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|

Bauer et al. (1993) mentions a limited number of nouns in New Zealand Māori that mark the plural by a lengthening (which she calls reduplication) of the antepenultimate vowel. She writes:

“The complete list of nouns showing number distinction is:

| Singular | Plural | Gloss |
|----------|----------|----------------------------|
| matua | maatua | parent |
| tangata | taangata | man |
| teina | teeina | younger sibling (same sex) |
| tuahine | tuaahine | sister (of male) |
| tuakana | tuaakana | older sibling (same sex) |
| tupuna | tuupuna | ancestor |
| wahine | waahine | woman |

and for some,

| | | |
|-------|--------|--------|
| whaea | whaaea | mother |
|-------|--------|--------|

All of these form the plural by reduplication of the antepenultimate vowel. In addition

| | | |
|---------|----------|-------|
| tamaiti | tamariki | child |
|---------|----------|-------|

has an irregular singular-plural relationship.”

Bauer et al. (1993:356)

So, whereas the words for ‘child’ and ‘parent’ in both singular and plural in New Zealand Māori are exactly similar to the forms used in Manihiki, the word for ‘ancestor’, which also has a similar singular form to the Manihiki one, forms its plural by lengthening of the first vowel.

5 The Verb Complex

5.1 Introduction

The subject of this chapter is the verb complex. The verb complex of Manihiki is in all ways typical of the type that is found in EPN languages in general. However, it differs from those in the Tongic and Samoic subgroups in that it does not make use of the shortened preverbal pronominal proclitics that are found in these.

5.2 The Structure of the Verb Complex

There is only a small handful of derivational affixes: the two causative prefixes and the nominalizing suffix. Tense is not an important feature of the language, while aspect and mood are indicated by preverbal particles within the verb complex, or in some cases is zero-marked. For some aspects, these preverbal particles vary according to whether the verb complex appears in a main or a subordinate clause. In addition to these preverbal aspect/mood markers, there are a number of postverbal particles that can form part of the verb complex, namely the passive/inchoative marker, the postverbal modifiers (or adverbs, some of which are derived from verbs themselves), the directional markers, incorporated nouns, the deictics, and the anaphoric particle.

To sum things up: There are no verbal conjugational affixes, and only three derivational affixes exist: the two causative prefixes *haka-* and *tā-* (5.5.1); and the nominalizing suffix *-hanga* (5.5.2). Verbs may appear as the bare stem, without any grammatical morphemes, as is the case for the imperfective⁸⁴ (5.3.1.2) and the imperative (5.3.1.8), or they may appear with one or several preverbal aspect/mood marking particles (5.3.1.1). Two of these preverbal particles, the ones marking the imperfective and the progressive respectively, are often used in conjunction with one of three postverbal deictic particles, two of which are identical to the deictic particles that are used postnominally, while the last one is only used after verbs, not after nouns. In subordinate clauses, special preverbal particles are used (see 5.6), and these same particles are also used in all clauses containing one of the negative particles *kore* and

⁸⁴ The imperfective may also be marked with the optional preverbal particle *e*.

kāre. Other particles or lexical words that may follow the verb are: the passive/inchoative marker (5.4.1); one of the four directional markers (5.4.3); an incorporated noun (5.4.4); and the anaphoric particle (5.4.5).

The structure of the verb complex is given in Table 5.1. Only the verb itself is obligatory in the verb complex.

Table 5.1: Verb complex structure

| | |
|-----------|--|
| Pre-head | aspect/mood particle |
| | causative prefix |
| Head | Verb |
| Post-head | Passive/inchoative marker |
| | postverbal modifier, directional marker, incorporated noun, adverb |
| | deictics <i>nei</i> , <i>ana</i> and <i>ra</i> |
| | anaphoric particle |

5.3 Preverbal Modifiers

Only two types of preverbal modifiers occur: the preverbal particles marking aspect and mood; and the causative prefixes. The use of the causative prefixes will be described in 5.5 together with the only other verbal derivational affix, namely the nominalizing suffix. These two affixes are the only type of bound morphology occurring in the verb complex. The various preverbal particles marking aspect and mood will be described in (5.3.1), immediately below.

5.3.1 Marking of aspect and mood

Marking of aspect and mood is done by placing one of several preverbal particles before the verb, in the first slot of the verb complex. Tense is not marked⁸⁵. The imperative is always zero-marked, and the imperfective may be zero-marked as well, although it does have its own preverbal particle. For declarative main clauses, four aspects are distinguished (imperfective, perfective, inceptive and progressive). There are also three nondeclarative moods (imperative, subjunctive and conditional). For verbs marked for one of the three

⁸⁵ At least not in main clauses. Whether tense plays a role in subordinate clauses is a bit of a contentious issue. See 5.6.

nondeclarative moods, neither tense nor aspect is distinguished. In subordinate clauses, which include relative clauses, all negative clauses as well as other types, two special tense markers are used⁸⁶ (see 5.6).

5.3.1.1 Preverbal aspect/mood particles

Manihiki distinguishes four aspects in the verb complex: imperfective, perfective, inceptive and progressive. Each of these is marked with its own preverbal particle, which is placed directly in front of the main verb. In the imperfective, the preverbal particle is sometimes left out, i.e., the verb can be zero-marked for the imperfective. In addition to the declarative mood, which is marked for one of the four aspects, Manihiki also distinguishes three other moods, which are not marked for aspect. These are: the subjunctive; the conditional; and the imperative. The first two of these, the subjunctive and the conditional, are always marked with their own preverbal particle, whereas the imperative is invariably zero-marked. The preverbal particles used for the four declarative aspects and the three nondeclarative moods are listed in (1).

| | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) | Imperfective: | <i>e</i> ~ (zero) |
| | Perfective: | <i>kua</i> |
| | Inceptive ⁸⁷ : | <i>ka</i> |
| | Progressive: | <i>te</i> |
| | Subjunctive: | <i>kia</i> |
| | Conditional: | <i>me</i> |
| | Imperative: | (zero) |

In the following sections, each of the preverbal particles are discussed in turn. See 5.3.1.2 for the imperfective, 5.3.1.3 for the perfective, 5.3.1.4 for the inceptive, 5.3.1.5 for the progressive, 5.3.1.6 for the subjunctive and 5.3.1.7 for the conditional. Zero-marked constructions (for the imperfective and for the imperative; see 5.3.1.8 for the latter) are also discussed. For negative constructions, a different paradigm of particles is used, in conjunction

⁸⁶ For negative declarative clauses, the verb-like negative particle *kore* is placed at the beginning of the clause, followed by the subject and then the main verb in third position. The main verb is in these cases always marked with one of the same two preverbal particles that are also used in other subordinate clauses (see 5.8).

⁸⁷ I owe this term to Coppenrath and Prévost (1975) in their description of the cognate verbal particle in Tahitian.

with the negative particle, which has verb-like qualities. See 7.4.1 for a description of negative constructions.

5.3.1.2 The imperfective

The imperfective is often zero-marked, i.e., it is found with no preverbal marker at all. It is used for describing states that are ongoing as in (2), for habitual actions as in (3), or for situations in which aspect is simply not judged to be relevant as in (4).

Besides the possibility of the imperfective being zero-marked, it can also be marked with the preverbal particle *e*, as in (5).

- (2) *Hinangaro au i te kautā atu no runga i*
want 1SG COMP DEF talk thither BEN above LOC

t-o-ku hoki-hanga ki Manihiki.
DEF-POSS-1SG go/come back-NMLZ ALL Manihiki
'I want to talk about my return to Manihiki.' [011-01]

- (3) *Tāmā i te au ngāhi e, ka riro*
clean ACC DEF PL place SUBR INCEP become

ei manamanatā no te ora-hanga o te tangata.
RES problem BEN DEF live-NMLZ POSS DEF people
'(We) clean the places that might become a problem for the life of people.' [011-01]

- (4) *Manako au i reira, ka hoki au ki Manihiki,*
think 1SG LOC then INCEP go/come back 1SG ALL Manihiki

noho ai i tētahi tuātau...
sit/live APH LOC SPF time

'I decided I would go back to Manihiki and live there for some time...' [011-01]

- (5) *E hoki atu mātou ki Nu Tīrani.*
IPFV go/come back thither 1PL ALL New Zealand

‘We returned to New Zealand.’ [013-01]

The imperfective can also be used with one of the postverbal deictic particles *nei* and *ana*, most commonly with *ana*. When used with one of the deictics, it is always preceded by *e*. It is used to mark the habitual, or in other words to mark a state of affairs that persist for a longer period of time. Examples are given in (6) and (7).

- (6) *E noho ana au ki Rarotonga nei*
 IPFV sit/live MED 1SG LOC Rarotonga PROX

i te tuātau nei.
 LOC DEF time PROX

‘I live here on Rarotonga these days.’ [015-01]

- (7) *Tuātau mua, mākona na ika ra~rahi e rauka ana*
 Time before plenty DEF.PL fish REDUP~big IPFV get MED

t-o tātou hiti tangata i te Pae Tokerau
 DEF-POSS 1PL people LOC DEF island group north

me roro tautai.
 COND go catch fish

‘Back in the days, there were plenty of big fish that our people would catch (lit.: get) in the Northern Group when they went fishing.’ [015-01]

- (8) *E kua rauka teia tuātau i te*
 and PFV become DEM.PROX time LOC DEF

Kāvamani, na roto mai te Kāvamani Nu Tīrani,
 Government BEN inside hither DEF Government New Zealand

i te tauturu i te hiti tangata i tā-mahani
 COMP DEF help ACC DEF people TNS CAUS-build

i o rātou fare e uru hia ana e,

ACC POSS 3PL house IPFV call PASS MED SUBR

ko te cyclone shelter.

PRV DEF cyclone shelter

‘This became the time for the (Cook Islands) government, by way of the New Zealand Government, to come and help the people, who were (re)building their houses, (which had been destroyed by the Cyclone Martin), with what’s called a cyclone shelter.’ [013-01]

- (9) *Tuātau mua, e māmāha ana te pātete*
time before IPFV easy/cheap MED DEF fare

o te Air Raro.

POSS DEF Air Raro

‘Back then, the air fares of Air Raro were cheaper.’ [013-02]

Occasionally, one can find the *e ... ana* construction used where the imperfective or perhaps the progressive would be expected, as in (10).

- (10) *Tērā ra, e hoki ana au ki Ākarana i te*
but IPFV return MED 1SG ALL Auckland COMP DEF

hārāvei i na Manihiki...

meet ACC DEF.PL Manihiki (people)

‘But I returned to Auckland to meet Manihiki people...’ [011-01]

By far the most common postverbal deictic used is *ana*, but *nei* can also be used, as seen in (11) and (12).

- (11) *E pātohi nei te hiti tangata o te Kūki Airani,*
IPFV prohibit PROX DEF people POSS DEF Cook Islands

kia kore teia i tupu.

SBJV NEG DEM.PROX TNS happen

‘The people of the Cook Islands will prohibit (foreign fishing boats coming to fish in their waters), so that this (i.e., overfishing) will not happen.’ [013-02]

- (12) *E tīmata-hanga nei, i te hinangaro hia nei*
 INDF tempt-NMLZ PROX COMP DEF want PASS PROX
- i tētahi tauturu na te Kāvamani.*
 ACC SPF help BEN DEF Government
- ‘It was tempting (lit.: a temptation), wanting to get help from the government.’

[013-02]

The use of deictic particles after the verb in certain aspects or tenses, is quite common throughout EPN. Walworth writes concerning the language of Rapa Iti:

TAM *e* also functions as a progressive marker when used with deictics *na* or *ra*. With *na*, TAM *e* expresses the present progressive; action occurring at that exact moment... When used with *na*, TAM *e* can also express habitual action... With *ra*, TAM *e* expresses adjacent present progressive: action that was just witnessed and is presumably still occurring, but is not readily available for the speaker or addressee to see... With directional *atu* and *ra*, *e* [sic] can also mark something that has just happened...

Walworth (2015:99-100)

For the Manihiki examples, used here with either *nei* or *ana*, it is comparatively difficult to determine what difference the choice of postverbal deictic makes. It seems that *ana* can be used for either the present (as in (6) and (8)) or for the past (as in (7), (9) and (10)), while *nei* can be used for either the future (as in (11)) or for the past (as in (12)).

5.3.1.3 The perfective

The preverbal particle *kua* is used to mark perfective aspect. It is most commonly used to describe actions or states, which were true for a certain period of time, but are no longer true at the time of speaking; see examples (13) through (16). It can also be used for an event that has come to pass, the effects of which are still true, as in (17).

- (13) *Kua terēni hoki au ei nēti.*
 PFV train INT 1SG RES nurse
- ‘I trained to become a nurse.’ [011-01]

- (14) *Kua noho au i Rarotonga nei i tētahi*

PFV sit/live 1SG LOC Rarotonga PROX LOC SPF

tuātau poto, kua reva atu au ki Nu Tīreni.
time short PFV go/come thither 1SG ALL New Zealand

‘I lived here in Rarotonga for a short period of time, and then I went to New Zealand.’

[011-01]

(15) *T-o-ku hano-hanga ki Nu Tīreni, kua noho au*
DEF-POSS-1SG go-NMLZ ALL New Zealand PFV sit/live 1SG

i tētahi ngāhi, kāre Manihiki e noho ana
LOC SPF place NEG Manihiki IPFV sit/live MED

i reira.
LOC there

‘Upon arriving in New Zealand, I lived in a place where no Manihiki people were living.’

[011-01]

(16) *Kua riro teia tuātau ei tuātau*
PFV become DEM.PROX time RES time

mareka kore no te hiti tangata Kūki Airani.
happy NEG BEN DEF people Cook Islands

‘This time has become an unhappy time for the Cook Islands people.’

(17) *Hoki mai au, kua mate ra hoki i reira*
go/come back hither 1SG PFV be dead DIST INT LOC there

t-a-ku tāne, t-a-ku tāne mua, tangata Marike.
DEF-POSS-1SG man DEF-POSS-1SG man before/first person America

‘I returned (from America), (because) my husband had passed away there, my first husband, an American.’ [011-01]

When used with stative verbs, the perfective is often used for a state of affairs, which has become true at a certain point in time, as in examples (18) and (19). Perhaps in these instances, the particle can be said to have an inchoative perfective meaning.

- (18) *Kua mārama hoki tātou te mea faonga.*
 PFV be clear/understand INT 1PL.INCL DEF thing protected land
 ‘We all understand the concept of “protected land”’ [009-03]

- (19) *Tētahi ra, te haka-tere~tere pahī ra*
 SPF day PROG CAUS-sail~DUR ship DIST

teia tū-rua tamariki, kua pūai te tahiri
 DEM.PROX NUM -two child.PL PFV strong DEF blow

o te matangi.
 POSS DEF wind
 ‘One day, while the boys were playing with their (toy) ships, the blowing of the wind became very strong. [Kauraka 1982:5/8]

5.3.1.4 The inceptive

The inceptive marks the beginning of an action or a state of affairs. It is formed with the preverbal particle *ka*, as in examples (20) through (24).

- (20) *Ka kautā au no runga i te tārekareka Manihiki.*
 INCEP speak 1SG BEN above LOC DEF entertainment Manihiki
 ‘I will [now] speak about the Manihiki way of entertainment (traditional singing and dancing).’ [010-02]

- (21) *I mua ake ka fānau hia ai au...*
 LOC before upwards INCEP born PASS APH 1SG
 ‘Before I was born...” [003-03]

- (22) *Ka manuia teia angaanga fāmā poe,*
 INCEP successful DEM.PROX work farm pearl

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>rōtō</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> |
| LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | lagoon | POSS | Manihiki |

‘This work of farming pearls inside the Manihiki lagoon will be successful.’ [021-01]

(23) *Ka haere māria hua au.*
INCEP go slow only 1SG

| | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| <i>Ka</i> | <i>hiti</i> | <i>māria</i> | <i>hua</i> | <i>au.</i> |
| INCEP | rise | slow | only | 1SG |

‘I will (start to) only go slowly. I will (start to) only rise slowly.’ (said by the sun speaking to Maui in a traditional story) [014-02]

(24) *Me pōpongi, ka haere māria hua te ra.*
COND be morning INCEP go/come slow only DEF sun

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>E</i> | <i>po</i> | <i>hua</i> | <i>atu,</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>moe</i> | <i>meitaki</i> | <i>rātou.</i> |
| IPFV | be night | only | thither | INCEP | sleep | good | 3PL |

‘When it was morning, the sun only went slowly. When the night came, they slept well.

[014-02]

5.3.1.5 The progressive

The progressive describes an action that is ongoing. It is formed with the particle *te*, which is always accompanied by one of the postverbal deictic particles *nei*, as in (25) through (30), *ana*, as in (31), or *ra*, as in (32) through (34).

(25) *Te pātohi nei te hiti tangata Kūki Airani,*
PROG prohibit PROX DEF people Cook Islands

| | | | | |
|------------|-------------|----------|---------------|------------|
| <i>kia</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>mākona</i> | <i>atu</i> |
| SBJV | NEG | IPFV | be plenty | thither |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|------------|
| <i>kia</i> | <i>tā-kore</i> | <i>hia,</i> | <i>mēkore,</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>haka-iti</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>mai</i> |
| SBJV | CAUS-NEG | PASS | or | SBJV | CAUS-small | PASS | hither |

te au pahī tautai
 DEF PL ship catch fish

‘The Cook Island people prohibit, so that there won’t be more/so many fishing boats, so that it will stop, or so that the number of fishing boats will be lessened.’ [013-02]

(26) *No reira, i teia tuātau te noho nei au*
 so LOC DEM.PROX time PROG sit/live PROX 1SG

i ko-nei, i te Rakahanga Hostel,
 LOC DEI-PROX LOC DEF Rakahanga Hostel

i tauturu ana au i te hostel.
 TNS help MED 1SG LOC DEF hostel

‘So, these days I live here in the Rakahanga Hostel, I help/look after the hostel.’

[007-01]

(27) *Pērā, hoki i teia tuātau, te riro*
 also INT LOC DEM.PROX time PROG become

nei te au pahī tautai Tinitō,
 PROX DEF PL ship catch fish China/Chinese

te i haka-tika hia
 DEF TNS CAUS-true (= allow) PASS

e te Kāvamani kia tautai i t-o
 AGT DEF Government SBJV catch fish LOC DEF-POSS

tātou pae moana nei, o te Kūki Airani.
 1PL.INCL island nation PROX POSS DEF Cook Islands

‘Also, during this time, the Chinese fishing boats began to come, that had been allowed by the Government to fish here in our island nation of the Cook Islands.’ [013-02]

(28) *Te hinangaro hia nei hoki te pae moana o te*
 PROG want/wish PASS PROX INT DEF island nation POSS DEF

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|------------|--------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>Kūki Airani</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>saina</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>fa</i> | <i>tauatini</i> | <i>tangata</i> |
| Cook Islands | PROX | PFV | sign | IPFV | four | thousand | people |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|---------------------|----------|-----------|------------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pātohi-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Kāvamani,</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>runga</i> |
| LOC | DEF | prohibit-NMLZ | LOC | DEF | Government | BEN | above |

| | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------------|----------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tūranga</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>haka-tika-hanga</i> |
| LOC | DEM.PROX | way | POSS | DEF | CAUS-true-NMLZ (= allowing) |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------|----------|-----------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>pahī</i> | <i>tautai</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>henua</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>voho,</i> |
| ACC | DEF | PL | ship | catch fish | POSS | DEF.PL | island | POSS | outside |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|---------------|------------|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>tautai</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pae moana</i> |
| IPFV | catch fish | PROX | LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | island nation |

| | | |
|----------|-----------|---------------------|
| <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Kūki Airani.</i> |
| POSS | DEF | Cook Islands |

‘The island nation of the Cook Islands wants 4,000 people to sign a contract of prohibition from the Government, concerning this way of allowing fishing boats from countries from outside to fish in the island nation of the Cook Islands.’ [013-02]

(29)

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|------------|-----------|---------------------|----------|-----------|---------------------|
| <i>Te</i> | <i>hinangaro</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hiti tangata</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Kūki Airani,</i> |
| PROG | want/wish | PROX | DEF | people | POSS | DEF | Cook Islands |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|----------|-----------|
| <i>kia</i> | <i>tā-kore</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>atu,</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tū-hanga</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> |
| SBJV | CAUS-NEG | PASS | thither | DEM.PROX | stand-NMLZ (= way) | POSS | DEF |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>tautai</i> | <i>moana,</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>Tinitō</i> |
| catch fish | ocean | POSS | DEF | PL | China |

| | | |
|----------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tuātau.</i> |
| LOC | DEM.PROX | time |

‘The people of the Cook Islands want it to stop, this way of ocean fishing of the Chinese today.’ [013-02]

(30) *Te rongo nei mātou e, te hinangaro nei*
 PROG hear PROX 1PL.EXCL SUBR PROG want/wish PROX

te Pāniora ki te tautai i
 DEF Spain/Spanish people COMP DEF catch fish LOC

t-o tātou tai roto i te Kūki Airani nei.
 DEF-POSS 1PL.INCL sea inside LOC DEF Cook Islands PROX

‘We are hearing that the Spanish people want to fish (are interested in fishing) here in our lagoons⁸⁸ of the Cook Islands.’ [013-02]

(31) *Te tere ana te tātāvere.*
 PROG swim MED DEF cornetfish

‘The cornetfish is swimming.’ [021-02]

(32) *Haka-kite atu ra au ki-a kōtou,*
 CAUS-know thither DIST 1SG ALL-PERS 2PL

te tamariki ra au...
 PROG child.PL DIST 1SG

‘I tell you, (when) I was a child (lit.: children)...’ [010-02]

(33) *I taua tuātau ra, te mahani hia ra*
 LOC DEM.RETR time DIST ART build PASS DIST

te ngāhi tū-hanga pahī rere o Manihiki.
 ART place stand-NMLZ ship fly POSS Manihiki

‘At that time, they were building the airport of Manihiki.’ [011-01]

(34) *Ko au te nēti i Tūkao,*
 PRV 1SG DEF nurse LOC Tukao

⁸⁸ This should probably be *moana*, ‘ocean, open sea’.

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tōte,</i> | Doctor Collin, | <i>te</i> | <i>noho</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>ia</i> |
| AND | PRV | DEF | doctor | | PROG | sit/live | DIST | 3SG |

i *Tauhunu.*

LOC Tauhunu

‘I was the nurse in Tukao, and the doctor, Doctor Collin, she was living in Tauhunu.’

[011-01]

The postverbal deictic particle *ra* is consistently written using this spelling by Kauraka (1982), and my main translating consultant Fever Taana also insisted that this was the right pronunciation and spelling. This conflicts with the fact that a number of people pronounce it as *ara*. However, I have chosen to preserve the *ra* spelling used both by Kauraka and by my consultant. The spoken form *ara* has possibly arisen from an analogy with the form *ana*. Two examples of *ra* from Kauraka are given in (35) and (36), the latter of which is a repetition of (19) above and contains an incorporated noun in the verb complex.⁸⁹

(35) *I* *Manihiki,* *te* *noho* *ra* *tētahi* *tangata,*
 LOC Manihiki PROG sit/live DIST SPF person

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|-----------|---------------|----------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>ko</i> | <i>Tamaro</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ingoa,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>a-na</i> | <i>toko-rua</i> |
| PRV | Tamaro | DEF | name | and | POSS-3SG | NUM-two |

tamariki *tamāroa.*

child.PL boy

‘In Manihiki there once lived a man named Tamaro and his two sons.’

[Kauraka 1982:5,8]

(36) *Tētahi* *ra,* *te* *haka-tere~tere* *pahī* *ra*
 SPF day PROG CAUS-sail~DUR ship DIST

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>teia</i> | <i>tū-rua</i> | <i>tamariki,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>pūai</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tahiri</i> |
| DEM.PROX | NUM -two | child.PL | PFV | strong | DEF | blow |

⁸⁹ I have added macrons to the vowels in certain words in Kauraka’s text, in order to make his spelling consistent with my own. I have also changed his digraph ‘wh’ to either ‘h’ or ‘f’ depending on the circumstances. Translations have also been adapted.

o te matangi.

POSS DEF wind

‘One day, while the boys were playing with their (toy) ships, the blowing of the wind became very strong. [Kauraka 1982:5,8]

When looking through each of the examples above, it becomes clear that *nei* is most often used for the present or the future (as in (25), (26), (28), (29) and (30)), but may occasionally be used for the past (as in (27)). Likewise, *ra* is most often used for the past (as in (33), (34), (35) and (36)), but may also be used for the present (as in (32)). *Ana* occurs so seldomly as a postverbal particle with the progressive *te* that it is difficult to generalize anything about whether it refers to past or present action.

5.3.1.6 The subjunctive

The preverbal particle *kia* is used to form what I describe here as the subjunctive mood. It can be used in main clauses, where it always has a desiderative/optative function, or in subordinate clauses to express desiderative/optative and purposive functions. When occurring in a subordinate clause, this clause usually follows the main clause of the sentence. Its desiderative/optative function in main clauses is exemplified in (37) through (39). (39) is the motto of the elementary school, Rua Manu School, in the village of Tauhunu on Manihiki.

- (37) *Tērā ra, kia tiaki noti tātou i t-o tātou*
 But SBJV look after INT 3PL ACC DEF-POSS 3PL
- henua, eiaha tā-manamanatā hia, tā-kino~kino hia*
 land PROH CAUS-problem INCH CAUS-bad~REDUP INCH
- ‘But we have to look after our land, so that it will not become a problem and be ruined.’
 [009-03]

- (38) *I teia tuātau, kia mārohirohi ra i-a*
 LOC DEM.PROX time SBJV strong DIST LOC-PERS
- mātou te au fāmā i te*
 1PL.EXCL DEF PL farm/farmer LOC DEF

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>kimi-rāvenga-hanga.</i> | <i>Kia</i> | <i>rau</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>ngāhi,</i> |
| search for-way to do something-NMLZ | SBJV | be able | hither | SPF | place |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|------------|-------------|----------|
| <i>mēkore</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>tūhanga</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>hopo</i> | <i>i</i> |
| or | SPF | way | SBJV | sell | ACC |

| | | |
|------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>t-a</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>poe.</i> |
| DEF-POSS | 1PL.EXCL | pearl |

‘At this time, we farmers had to be strong in order to find a way (to make a living). In order to be able to get some places or some ways to sell our pearls.’ [013-01]

(39) *Kia* *hua,* *kia* *tata!*
 SBJV bear fruit/flower SBJV bear plenty fruit/flower a lot
 ‘Let us be fruitful, let us be very fruitful!’

(motto of Rua Manu School in Tauhunu on Manihiki)

It also occurs in the standard greeting upon meeting someone, *kia orana*, said to be derived from the phrase in (40) and in the standard farewell greeting *kia manuia*, 'may (you) be lucky/receive good luck'.

(40) *kia ora t-o hou na*
 SBJV live DEF-POSS 2SG peace⁹⁰
 ‘May your peace live!’

Its desiderative/optative function in subordinate clauses are exemplified in (41) through (43), where the complement clause is either the subject or the direct object of the main verb of the sentence.

(41) *Ka hinangaro hia kia haka-topa mai na paunu.*
 INCEP wish PASS SBJV CAUS-fall hither DEF.PL pounds
 ‘It is desirable [for the women of Manihiki] to lose weight.’

⁹⁰ In traditional pre-Christian/pre-missionary Manihiki society, public discussion of sexual matters was not frowned upon. The word *na* was explained to me by one of my consultants, Jean Marie Williams, as referring specifically to the peace one feels after a sexual orgasm.

(42) *Kua manako au e mea puapinga*
 PFV think 1SG INDF thing important

kia ātoro atu au i te āpī
 SBJV visit thither 1SG ACC DEF school

i te tuātau āpī.
 LOC DEF time school

‘I decided it was important for me to visit the school during school hours.’ [011-01]

(43) *E ko tētahi mea puapinga i reira*
 and PRV SPF thing important LOC there

kia haka-mātūtū i te kōpapa
 SBJV CAUS-strong LOC DEF body

o te vahine, i te haere i na pōpongi...
 POSS DEF woman COMP DEF go/come LOC DEF.PL morning

‘It is another important thing for the women to strengthen their body, to walk in the morning...’ [011-01]

Kia can also be used in adverbial clauses to express purposive as in (44) and (45). In this function, the subordinate clause always follows the main clause of the sentence.

(44) *Manako au i reira, ka hoki au ki Manihiki,*
 think 1SG LOC there INCEP go/come back 1SG ALL Manihiki

noho ai i tētahi tuātau, kia riro au ei nēti
 sit/live APH LOC SPF time SBJV become 1SG RES nurse

no te hiti tangata o Manihiki.
 BEN DEF people POSS Manihiki

‘I decided that I would go back to Manihiki and live there for some time, in order to become a nurse for the people of Manihiki.’ [011-01]

(45) ... *kia kore na rango e kati~kati i te pakia nei,*
 SBJV NEG DEF.PL fly TNS bite~REDUP ACC DEF wound PROX

kia kore e riro mai ei manamanatā rahi.
 SBJV NEG TNS become hither RES problem big/large

‘... so that the flies won’t bite this wound, so that it won’t develop into a big problem.’

[011-01]

Finally, I have at least one example of *kia* being used to form a temporal adverbial clause. This is given in (46).

(46) *Kia tāre ra hoki au i na forā,*
 SBJV count DIST INT 1SG ACC DEF.PL hour

t-a haku i kite e, ka tae noti
 DEF-POSS 1SG TNS see SUBR, INCEP arrive INT

ki te pōpongi.
 ALL DEF morning

‘When I checked the time, I knew that (the baby) would arrive the next morning.’

[011-01]

5.3.1.7 The conditional

The preverbal particle *me* marks the conditional mood. Unlike clauses marked with *kia*, conditional clauses marked with *me* usually occur before and not after the main clause of the sentence. Examples can be found in (47) through (49).

(47) *Pēnei ake, me rauka mai t-a tātou*
 perhaps upwards COND be able hither DEF-POSS 3PL

tamariki i teia tūranga,
 child.PL ACC DEM.PROX way

na rātou noti ei tauturu i-a tātou.
 EMP 3PL INT RES help ACC-PERS 1PL.INCL

‘Perhaps, if our children are able to do this way (of marketing our pearls), (then) they will become a help to us.’ [013-01]

- (48) *Me kore mātou e rave teia tūranga,*
COND NEG 1PL.EXCL IPFV do DEM.PROX way
e kore manuia i te noho-hanga o te
IPFV NEG good/fortunate LOC DEF sit/live-NMLZ POSS DEF
fāmā-hanga i te au poe Manihiki.
farm-NMLZ ACC DEF PL pearl Manihiki

‘If we don’t do things this way, it wouldn’t be good for the life of (the people) farming the Manihiki pearls. [013-01]

- (49) *Me haka-tika hoki tātou i te au tū-hanga,*
COND CAUS-true INT 3PL ACC DEF PL stand-NMLZ (= way)
te au henua ki roto i t-o tātou au
DEF PL island ALL inside LOC DEF-POSS 3PL PL
pae moana, ka riro te iku i-a tātou
group ocean INCEP become DEF teach ACC-PERS 3PL
tamariki a tātou mokopuna i teia au tuātau
child.PL POSS 3PL grandchild LOC DEM.PROX PL time
ki mua, kāre ika i roto i te moana.
ALL front NEG fish LOC inside LOC DEF ocean

‘If we allow these things/ways (to happen), if we allow other islands (i.e., countries) (to fish) inside our island nation, it will happen (at some point) that we will have to teach our children and grandchildren in the future, that there are no fish in the ocean because of this.’

[013-02]

5.3.1.8 The imperative

Imperatives are expressed by using the verb stem without any verbal particles. In other words, they are zero-marked:

- (50) *Ono* *iho* *i* *t-o-na* *āhua*.
look downwards ACC DEF-POSS-3SG face
‘Look at her face.’ [006-02]

- (51) *Hoki* *mai*, *e* *Tu*, *kave* *atu* *au*.
come/go hither VOC Tu take thither 1SG
‘Come back, Tu, take me with you.’ [006-02]

- (52) *Hoki* *mai* *ki-a* *haku*, *e* *Tu*.
come/go hither ALL-PERS 1SG VOC Tu
‘Come back to me, Tu.’ [006-02]

5.4 Postverbal Modifiers

Manihiki has a rather elaborate system of postverbal modifiers. The exact order of these may in some cases be difficult to work out, as not all combinations occur in my data. A further complication is that some of the postverbal modifiers may occur in more than one position, seemingly without any difference in meaning. This is the case, e.g., with the nominalizing suffix in relation to the directional markers (see 5.5.2).

The nominalizing suffix will be discussed in 5.5, together with the only two other derivational affixes, namely the two causative prefixes. The deictic particles *nei*, *ana* and *ra* are sometimes used postverbally in the verb complex with the preverbal imperfective marker *e* (see 5.3.1.2) and the progressive marker *te* (see 5.3.1.5). They appear at the end of the verb complex, just before the anaphoric particle *ai*. As their meaning is closely linked to that of the preverbal particles with which they co-occur, they have already been discussed in the section on the preverbal aspect/mood markers (see 5.3.1.1). The other postverbal modifiers will be discussed in the following sections, the passive/inchoative marker *hia* in 5.4.1, the postverbal modifiers in 5.4.2, the directional markers in 5.4.3, incorporated nouns in 5.4.4, and the anaphoric particle *ai* in 5.4.5.

5.4.1 The passive/inchoative marker *hia*

The postverbal clitic *hia*, which appears immediately following the main verb in the verb complex, usually marks the verb as being in the passive voice, although in certain instances, it is used instead to mark inchoative aspect (see 5.4.1.1). This marker is invariable in form, unlike, e.g., its New Zealand Māori counterpart. In rapid speech, the initial *h*-sound of the Manihiki form is often deleted, just as this sound is often deleted elsewhere in rapid speech in Manihiki.

The function of this particle is for the most part like a typical passive marker in that it is used to promote the direct object of a clause to the status of subject. The original subject of the clause may also be demoted to the status of an oblique adjunct, marked by the agentive preposition *e*. In (53) is an example of a passive verb whose agent is marked by *e*, and in (54) a passive verb with no overt agent.

- (53) *Tuku hia mai au e t-o-ku pāpā*
 send PASS hither 1SG AGT DEF-POSS-1SG father

kia haere mai au ki Tereora.
 ALL go/come hither 1SG ALL Tereora
 ‘I was sent by my father to go to Tereora College.’ [015-01]

- (54) *Ko te kātotoa-hanga o te poe*
 PRV DEF all-NMLZ POSS DEF pearl

fake hia nei e te hoko hia nei
 harvest PASS PROX and PROG sell PASS PROX

i roto i te māketē i teia tuātau nei,
 LOC inside LOC DEF market LOC DEM.PROX time PROX

kua topa roa mai tēnā ki raro hoki
 PFV fall INT hither DEM.MED ALL down INT

i te half a million tārā i te matahiti.

ACC? DEF half a million Dollar LOC DEF year

‘For all of the pearls that are harvested and are being sold on the market today, this [= their price] falls by half a million dollars (NZD) a year.’ [021-01]

5.4.1.1 The inchoative

Besides the usual function of *hia* to denote the passive, i.e., promoting an object to subject-status, this marker can also occasionally be used where no such change of syntactic roles takes place. In (55), *hia* has an inchoative meaning, i.e., it signifies a sense of ‘becoming’. The stative verb *maki* has the usual meaning of ‘be ill’, but when reduplicated and used with the *hia* suffix, there seems to be a sense of ‘become ill’. Owing to the small number of examples that have been found of the *hia* construction with an inchoative meaning, it is hard at this point to make too many generalisations about this use of *hia*, but it may be that it can only be used in this sense with stative verbs.

- (55) *Kua maki~maki hia t-o-na kōpapa.*
 PFV ill~REDUP INCH DEF-POSS-3SG body
 ‘His body became ill.’ [011-01]

The exact function of reduplication in the above example is not clear, it may have an intensifying function. Further examples of reduplicated verbs, whose meaning and function is often obscure, will be given in 5.8.

A similar use of the cognate passive⁹¹ suffix with stative verbs has been noted in Tahitian by Lazard and Peltzer (2000:68-69). According to them, “it confers a dynamic sense to [stative verbs], i.e., it transforms the expression of a state to that of a process” (Lazard and Peltzer 2000:68, my translation⁹²). They give, among other examples, the ones reproduced here in (56) through (59).

- (56) ‘Ua poria ‘o Vahine.
 PFV fat PRV Vahine

⁹¹ Lazard and Peltzer label the cognate Tahitian suffix *-hia* as ‘pseudo-passive’ (*pseudo-passif*), even when used with active verbs.

⁹² Original French text: *Il leur confère un sens dynamique, c’est-à-dire transforme l’expression d’un état en celle d’un processus.*

‘Vahine is big.’ [Lazard and Peltzer 2000:68, my glosses and translation]

- (57) ‘Ua *poria-hia* ‘o *Vahine*.
 PFV big-INCH PRV Vahine
 ‘Vahine has gotten bigger.’ [Lazard and Peltzer 2000:68, my glosses and translation]

- (58) ‘Ua *nehenehe* *te* *fenua*.
 PFV beautiful DEF land
 ‘The land is beautiful.’ [Lazard and Peltzer 2000:68, my glosses and translation]

- (59) ‘Ua *nehenehe-hia* *te* *fenua*.
 PFV beautiful-INCH DEF land
 ‘The land has become beautiful.’ [Lazard and Peltzer 2000:68, my glosses and translation]

5.4.2 Postverbal modifiers

This class of words, which I have termed postverbal modifiers, includes words such as the ones given in (60).

- (60) *hoki* ‘intensifier’
roa ‘intensifier’
noti ‘intensifier’
hua ‘only’
takere ‘already’
akahou ‘again’
katoa ‘also’

At least one of these postverbal modifiers may also be used in a verbal function, namely *roa*, which is identical in form to the stative verb *roa*, ‘be long’. The others seem to only occur as adverbs, and any semblance in form to verbs (e.g., to the verb *hoki*, ‘go/come back’) must be considered coincidental. Examples of the use of some of these postverbal modifiers are given in (61) through (63).

- (61) *Kua* *kite* *hoki* *tātou* *i-a* *Tāringavaru*.
 PFV see/know INT 3PL.INCL ACC-PERS Taringavaru
 ‘We all know (the story of) Taringavaru.’ [012-01]

- (62) ... *mākona* *roa* *te* *au* *henua* ...
 plenty INT DEF PL island
- te* *fāmā* *nei* *rātou* *i* *te* *poe*...
 PROG farm PROX 3PL ACC DEF pearl
- ‘... There are very many islands ... that farm pearls...’ [021-01]

- (63) *E* *tahi* *hua* *tamaiti* *i* *hano* *mai*.
 IPFV one only child TNS go/come hither
- ‘Only one child came (lit.: ‘It was only one child that came’).’ [011-02]

5.4.3 Directional markers

Manihiki contains four postverbal directional markers, all inherited from PPN (Clark 1976:34). They are used with verbs of movement to describe the direction of this movement, but can also occasionally be used with other verbs where no actual movement occurs, such as verbs of perceiving. Their forms are given in (64).

- (64) *mai* ‘hither’, ‘direction towards speaker’
atu ‘thither’, ‘direction away from speaker’
ake ‘upwards’
iho ‘downwards’

Examples of their use are given below in (65) through (68), the last of which is repeated from (50).

- (65) *I* *te* *matahiti* *ono* *ngahuru* *ma* *fa*, *kua* *tere*
 LOC DEF year six ten with four PFV sail
- mai* *mātou*, *o-ku* *matua e* *na* *tamariki*,
 hither 1PL.EXCL POSS-1SG parent and DEF.PL child.PL
- i* *henua* *nei* *ki* *Rarotonga*.
 LOC island PROX ALL Rarotonga
- ‘In the year 1964, we, including my parents and the children, sailed here to the island of Rarotonga.’ [013-01]

(66) *Kia tiro~tiro ake i na mea*
 SBJV look at~REDUP upwards OBJ DEF.PL thing

o te fare.
 POSS DEF house

‘So that (we) can look up at the things around the house (i.e., the things hanging on the walls).’ [004-01]

(67) *Vahia ake te pa!*
 open upwards DEF door
 ‘Open up the door!’ [004-01]

(68) *Ono iho i t-ō-na āhua.*
 look downwards ACC DEF-POSS-3SG face
 ‘Look at her face.’ [006-02]

The same verb can often be used with either of the particles *mai* and *atu*, according to whether the implied direction is towards or away from the speaker. For example, the verb *mau* can be translated as ‘borrow’ when used with *mai*, as in (69), and as ‘lend’ when used with *atu*, as in (70).

(69) *Kua mau mai e henu aronga ke,*
 PFV transfer hither INDF other people different

henu henua ke,
 other island different,

i te hupahupa Manihiki, kua vero atu
 ACC DEF drum dancing Manihiki PFV join thither

ki roto i t-a rātou.
 ALL inside LOC DEF-POSS 3PL

‘Other people, other islands, borrowed the drum dancing from Manihiki, and joined it to their own.’ [010-02]

(70) *Kua mau atu rauara Manihiki i te hupahupa*
 PFV transfer thither people Manihiki ACC DEF drum dancing

a henu aronga, kua vero mai ki roto
 POSS other people PFV join hither ALL inside

i t-a rātou.
 ACC DEF-POSS 3PL

‘The people of Manihiki lent the drum dancing to other people, and they (in turn) joined it to their own.’ [010-02]

At least one of the directional markers, namely *iho*, which implies a downward motion, can also be used in a reduplicated form as a full verb, with the meaning ‘go/climb downwards’. This appears to be a case of ‘reverse grammaticalization’.

(71) *Kia iho~iho atu maua ki raro i Havaiki.*
 SBJV go/climb down~REDUP thither 2DU ALL under LOC Havaiki.

‘So that we can climb down to Havaiki⁹³.’ [004-01]

5.4.4 Incorporated nouns

While noun incorporation is not often used, it does occur. It is used to refer to generic rather than specific activities. In (72) the word *kakahi*, ‘tuna’, is used without the definite article *te* or the accusative preposition *i*, indicating that it has been incorporated into the verb complex with the verb *hi*, ‘pull (as with a fishing line)’.

(72) *Kua haere atu a Hoerapa,*
 PFV go/come thither PERS Hoerapa

e t-a-na tamaiti, hi kakahi.
 and DEF-POSS-3SG son pull tuna

‘Hoerapa and his son went tuna-fishing.’ [006-01]

⁹³ In this instance, Havaiki refers to a mythical underground kingdom. The mythical ancestral homeland of the Polynesian peoples is also called by the name Havaiki, but refers to a different place.

The status of the noun *kakahi* as being incorporated into the verb complex in (72) is indicated not only by the lack of the accusative preposition or the definite article, but also by the prosody, as *hi kakahi* is pronounced as one phonological word: ['hi:ka,kahi]. More research is needed to determine what kinds of nouns can be incorporated, as well as if and how incorporated nouns are used in the verb complex when other postverbal modifiers appear, such as deictics, directionals and postverbal modifiers.

Other examples of nouns being incorporated into the verb complex are given in (73) with *fāmā pārau*, ‘farm pearl shells’ and (74) with *hakateretere pahī*, ‘sail (toy) ships’. Example (74) was given earlier as (19) and (36).

(73) *E kore hoki ko maua hua taua tuātau ra*
 IPFV NEG INT PRV 2DU.EXCL only DEM.RETR time
 DIST

i te hoki mai mei Nu Tīrani, te hano
 COMP DEF go/come back hither ABL New Zealand PROG go/come

i te fāmā pārau.
 COMP DEF farm pearl shell

‘It was not only us during that time who returned from New Zealand, in order to do pearl shell farming.’ [013-01]

(74) *Tētahi ra, te haka-tere~tere pahī ra*
 SPF day PROG CAUS-sail~DUR ship DIST

teia tū-rua tamariki, kua pūai te tahiri
 DEM.PROX NUM-two child.PL PFV strong DEF blow

o te matangi.
 POSS DEF wind

‘One day, while the boys were playing with their (toy) ships, the blowing of the wind became very strong. [Kauraka 1982:5/8]

5.4.5 The anaphoric particle *ai*

The anaphoric particle *ai* is used in relative clauses, where it refers back to the relativized part when that part is an adjunct and not an argument in the relative clause (and usually in the main clause as well). Two examples are given in (75) and (76).

- (75) *Fānau hia au i te matahiti e tahi tauatini*
 bear children PASS 1SG LOC DEF year NUM one thousand

hiva hānere fa ngahuru ma tahi i te henua
 nine hundred four ten COM one LOC DEF island

ko Rakahanga, i te tuātau i tae mai ai
 PRV Rakahanga LOC DEF time TNS reach hither APH

te tere o te Paratāne i Rakahanga.
 DEF sail/swim POSS DEF Britain/British people LOC Rakahanga

‘I was born in the year 1941 on the island of Rakahanga, during the time when the sailing of the British people reached Rakahanga.’ [007-01]

- (76) *E teru o-ku matahiti, i noho ai au i te*
 NUM three POSS-1SG year TNS sit/live APH 1SG LOC DEF

āpī o te training college, terēni ai au.
 school POSS DEF training college train APH 1SG

‘I lived in the school of the training college, and I was trained there, for three years.’ (lit.:

‘Three were the years that I lived and that I trained in the school of the training college.’)

[007-01]

Occasionally, *ai* is used in clauses other than relative ones, as in (77) through (79). The exact meaning of the particle in these instances is not entirely clear, although one can say that it usually refers back to a time, as in (77), a place, as in (78), or an indirect/dative object, as in (79). In (78), the clause in which *ai* appears could possibly, but not necessarily, be analysed as a relative clause.

(77) *Ko t-o-ku ingoa ko Jane Kora,*
 PRV DEF-POSS-1SG name PRV Jane Kora

i tae mai ai ki teia ra.
 TNS reach hither APH ALL DEM.PROX day

‘My name has been Jane Kora (and still is) up till today.’ [014-01]

(78) *Kua kimi au tētahi rāvenga⁹⁴, kia kore au*
 PFV search for 1SG SPF way to do something SBJV NEG 1SG

e hano ki Suvaru, noho hua ai au,
 TNS go/come ALL Suwarrow sit/live only APH 1SG

kāre a-ku moni.
 NEG POSS-1SG money

‘I looked for something to do, so that I wouldn’t have to go to Suwarrow, and sit around there with no money.’ [014-01]

(79) *“Maui e, haka-kite atu nei au te tika~tika*
 Maui VOC CAUS-see/know thither PROX 1SG DEF true~REDUP

ai ki-a koe.
 APH ALL-PERS 2SG

“Maui, I’m telling you the truth.” [014-02]

⁹⁴ Concerning the noun *rāvenga*, ‘way to do something’, one may speculate that it derives etymologically from an original verbal nominalization:

rave-hanga

do-nmlz

‘doing, way of doing’

5.5 Derivational Affixes

There are only three derivational affixes in Manihiki: the two causative prefixes (5.5.1); and the nominalizing suffix (5.5.2).

5.5.1 The causative prefixes

Manihiki has two verbal prefixes, which may both be classified as causative: *haka-* and *tā-*. The exact functional difference between these two prefixes is not entirely clear at this stage. Examples of the prefix *haka-* can be seen in (80) and of *tā-* in (81).

(80) *haka-viviki*

CAUS-fast

‘make fast’ (e.g., make a drumbeat go faster than usual)

haka-ora

CAUS-live

‘enliven, keep alive’

(81) *tā-manako*

CAUS-think

‘figure out’ (not ‘cause to think’)

tā-marō

CAUS-dry

‘wipe dry’

tā-mate

CAUS-die/be dead

‘kill’

tā-manamanatā

CAUS-be a problem

‘create problems’

tā-kino~kino

CAUS-bad~REDUP

‘cause to go bad, destroy’

tā-kore

CAUS-NEG

‘stop doing something’, ‘stop someone else from doing something’

Sometimes either of the two causative prefixes can be used with the same verb, with only a slight variation in meaning, as in (82).

(82) *haka-pe~peka*

CAUS-REDUP~??

‘hold on to’

tā-peka

CAUS-??

‘catch, tie’

Examples of their use can be found in (83) through (89).

(83) *Kua riro te hupahupa ei mea tā-mataora*
PFV become DEF drum dancing RES thing CAUS-happy

i na tourist.

ACC DEF.PL tourist

‘The drum dancing has become a thing to entertain the tourists.’ [010-02]

(84) *E na teia maki i tā-mate i te*
and EMP DEM.PROX sick/illness TNS CAUS-die/be dead ACC DEF

rahi-hanga o te pārau e tupu ana i roto
big-NMLZ POSS DEF shell IPFV grow MED LOC inside

i te moana.

LOC DEF ocean

‘It was this disease that killed most of the shells that grew in the ocean (should be: lagoon).’

- (85) *I te reira tuātau, kua haka-tupu hia*
 LOC DEF there TIME PFV CAUS-grow PASS
- te angaanga poe pārau i roto i te moana*
 DEF work pearl shell LOC inside LOC DEF ocean
- o Rakahanga.*
 POSS Rakahanga

‘At that time, the work of farming pearl shells was made to grow in the ocean (should be: lagoon) of Rakahanga.’ [021-01]

- (86) *Kua riro mātou teia tuātau*
 PFV become 1PL.EXCL DEM.PROX time
- ei te tā-mā i t-o mātou au ngūtuare.*
 RES DEF CAUS-clean ACC DEF-POSS 1PL.EXCL PL home

‘This became a time for us to clean up our homes.’ [013-01]

- (87) *Kua tā-kore tētahi au fāmā, haere*
 PFV CAUS-NEG SPF PL farmer go (= leave)
- i t-a rātou fāmā.*
 ACC DEF-POSS 3PL farm

Some farmers stopped (farming), and left their farm.’ [013-01]

- (88) *Kua rauka mai mātou i te kite,*
 PFV be possible hither 3PL.EXCL COMP DEF know
- ka haka-pēhea mātou i runga i te*
 INCEP CAUS-do how 3PL.EXCL LOC above LOC DEF
- tūhanga o te fāmā-hanga i te pārau.*
 job POSS DEF farm-NMLZ ACC DEF shell

‘We managed to discover how we should do the job of farming the pearl shells.’ [013-01]

(89) ... *i mua ake ka haka-hoki mai rātou*
 LOC before upwards INCEP CAUS-return hither 3PL

ki te henua.
 ALL DEF island

‘... before you could bring them (foreign workers) back to the island.’ [013-02]

In closely related Rarotongan, one finds the cognate prefixes ‘*aka-*’ and ‘*tā-*’. Buse (1965:37) has described ‘*aka-*’ as signifying ‘causative-simulative’ and ‘*tā-*’ as signifying ‘causative-completive’. He gives the following examples to illustrate the completive sense of the second prefix⁹⁵:

kī ‘full’
‘*aka-kī*’ ‘fill’
‘*tā-kī*’ ‘fill right up’

pē ‘rotten’
‘*aka-pē*’ ‘allow something to go rotten’
‘*tā-pē*’ ‘to rot something down, to ret fibre’

He also mentions an at times unpredictable semantic variation between the two prefixes:

‘*inu*’ ‘oil, grease (n.)’
‘*inu~inu*’ ‘oily, greasy (of hair or skin)’
‘*aka-‘inu~‘inu*’ ‘to oil (the hair or skin)’
‘*tā-‘inu*’ ‘to oil (a machine)’
‘*aka-tā-‘inu*’ ‘to anoint (a monarch)’

Savage (1962:322) writes of *tā-* that it is “an emphasising prefix: is more intensive or has more causative force or effect than the prefix [*‘aka-*]; it also denotes or implies finality or conclusiveness, or implies or definitely indicates a state or condition of completeness, or modulates an action or actions...”.

⁹⁵ I have used macrons to indicate long vowels, instead of Buse’s double vowels.

Nicholas (2016:109) adds that “... the notional difference between ‘*aka-*’ and ‘*tā-*’ would seem to be the degree of volitionality, deliberateness or completed-ness, with ‘*tā-*’ resulting in higher degrees of these features than ‘*aka-*’.

5.5.2 The nominalizing suffix

Verbal nominalizations can be formed with the suffix *-hanga*, which usually appears directly after the verb stem, as in (90) and (91).

- (90) *tamaraka-hanga*
teach-NMLZ
‘what is being taught’ [003-01]

- (91) *ora-hanga*
live-NMLZ
‘life’ [011-01]

There are no examples of the nominalizing suffix being used with verbs that are modified by either a postverbal deictic, a postverbal modifier, or the anaphoric *ai*, but it does occur with the passive marker, with the directional markers, and with incorporated nouns. When occurring with one of these postverbal modifiers, the nominalizing suffix usually occurs last, as shown in (92) with the passive marker, in (93) with the directional marker *mai*, and in (94) with the incorporated noun *rāvenga*, ‘way to do something’.

- (92) *fānau-hia-hanga*
bear children-PASS-NMLZ
‘birth, i.e., being born’ [003-05]

- (93) *tae-mai-hanga*
reach/arrive-hither-NMLZ
‘arrival’ [009-02]

- (94) *kimi-rāvenga-hanga*
search for-way to do something-NMLZ
‘the act of searching for a way to do something’

However, when used with one of the directional markers, it can occur either before or after these, as in (95) and (96). In the former case, I have opted to write the directional marker as a separate word in the usual way.

- (95) ... *ko* *teia* *te* *tu* *i* *t-o-ku*
 PRV DEM.PROX DEF way LOC DEF-POSS-1SG

 tupu-hanga *mai*.
 grow-NMLZ hither.
 ‘... this is how I grew up.’ (‘lit.: ... this was the way of my growing up.’) [003-04]

- (96) ... *i* *t-o-ku* *rahi-mai-hanga* ...
 LOC DEF-POSS-1SG big-hither-NMLZ
 ‘... when I grew up...’ (lit.: ‘during my growing up.’) [003-04]

As an effect of the fluidity of word classes, and lack of clear distinction between nouns and verbs, one also frequently encounters zero-derived verbs being used as nominals, as in (97).

- (97) *t-a-ku* *i* *mārama*,
 DEF-POSS-1SG TNS know

 t-a-ku *i* *haka-kite* *mai* *ki-a* *haku*
 DEF-POSS-1SG TNS CAUS-know hither ALL-PERS 1SG
 ‘what I know, what was explained to me’ [003-05]

Quite frequently, one encounters examples of verbs with no nominalizing suffix being used after the preposition *i* and the definite article *te*, as in (98). This may at first glance appear to be a nominal construction, as it includes what is normally analysed as a preposition and an article, respectively. However, as this construction does not exhibit any other nominal properties, e.g., it is never used with a possessor noun phrase, I will regard it essentially as a verbal form. It will be described in further detail in 6.3.4.1.1, where it is referred to as the *i te* construction.

- (98) *Tārērē* *raua* *i* *te* *hi* *kakahi i* *Rakahanga*.
 compete 2DU COMP DEF pull tuna LOC Rakahanga
 ‘Those two people made a tuna-fishing competition in Rakahanga.’ [006-01]

5.6 Preverbal Particles in Subordinate Clauses

Of the preverbal mood particles discussed so far, the conditional *me* is the only one that can occur only in a subordinate clause (see 5.3.1.7). The subjunctive *kia*, on the other hand, may occur in both main and subordinate clauses (see 5.3.1.6). When it comes to the preverbal particles marking aspect in the indicative mood, only two special particles are used in subordinate clauses, *e* and *i*. Nicholas writes about the same two particles occurring in Rarotongan:

The TAM markers available in dependent clauses are reduced compared to those of main clauses. Generally, a past tense clause takes *i*, and a non-past clause takes *e*.

Nicholas (2016:141)

While it is true for Manihiki also that *e* is usually used for non-past, as in (99), it can also be used for past, as in (100). Likewise, while *i* is usually used for the past, as in (101), it can also be used for non-past, as in (102). Because of examples like these, I have chosen to gloss *e* and *i* simply as ‘tense’ for the time being.

- (99) ... *kia* *kore* *e* *riro* *mai* *ei* *manamanatā* *rahi*
 SBJV NEG TNS become hither RES problem big/large
 ‘... so that it won’t develop into a big problem.’ [011-01]

- (100) *Teia* *tuātau* *mua* *ra,* *e* *kore* *e* *tangata*
 DEM.PROX time front/before DIST IPFV NEG INDF person

e *haka-tika* *hia* *kia* *hano* *hua* *koe,*
 TNS CAUS-true (= allow) PASS SBJV go/come only 2SG

kia *use* *koe* *tēnā* *tank* *a* *hopu* *i* *te*
 SBJV use 2SG DEM.PROX tank POSS dive for COMP DEF

hopu *na* *pārau.*
 dive for DEF.PL pearl

‘In this first time, no one was allowed to go, and use this diving tank to dive for pearls.’

[013-01]

- (101) *I te hoki-hanga mātou ki Manihiki, te*
 LOC DEF return-NMLZ 1PL.EXCL ALL Manihiki DEF
tuātau mua tērā i kite ai au
 time before/first DEM.DIST TNS see APH 1SG
i te henua ko Manihiki.
 ACC DEF land PRV Manihiki
 ‘When we returned to Manihiki, that was the first time I saw the island of Manihiki.’
 [013-01]

- (102) *E kore i tūkē te kōriro i roto*
 IPFV NEG TNS different DEF slit drum LOC inside
i te pahu a te Manihiki ki te choir.
 LOC DEF beat drum POSS DEF Manihiki ALL DEF choir
 ‘There is no difference between the slit drum and the Manihiki drum in the choir’
 [010-03]

It should be noted here that subordinate clauses include not only relative clauses and the like, but also all clauses that are in the negative (see 7.4.1), as the negative particle (*kore* or *kāre*) acts as the main verb of the clause, whereas the original main verb of the positive clause is part of a subordinate clause embedded within this clause; see 7.4.1. Actor emphatic clauses using the emphatic pronouns are also included under clauses that make use of the subordinate particles *i* and *e* (see 4.9.3).

Finally, it should be noted that at least a few instances have been observed of preverbal *i* being used in what appears to be main clauses, when these follow sequentially after other main clauses. This can be seen in (103) where this phenomenon occurs three times. Leaving aside the first instance, where *i* is used before the English loan ‘retired’, one can see that *i* occurs first in front of *akaea*, ‘retire’, and then in front of *tauturu*, ‘help’. However, both of these examples could alternatively be interpreted as occurring inside of relative clauses, i.e., ‘the year 2009 when I retired from teaching’ and ‘the Rakahanga Hostel where I look after the hostel’. Although it is rare for a relative clause to contain neither a relativizing particle nor an anaphoric particle, at least one other example of this has been found, as described in 7.4.5.4.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| (103) | <i>Puāpī</i> teach | <i>atu</i> thither | <i>ai</i> APH | <i>au</i> 1SG | <i>i</i> LOC | <i>Rakahanga,</i> Rakahanga | <i>tae</i> reach | <i>atu</i> thither | |
| | <i>ki</i> ALL | <i>te</i> DEF | <i>tuātau, hoki</i> time | <i>go/come back</i> | <i>mai</i> hither | <i>ai</i> APH | <i>au,</i> 1SG | <i>i</i> TNS | retired <i>i</i> retire LOC |
| | <i>te</i> DEF | <i>matahiti</i> year | <i>rua</i> two | <i>tauatini</i> thousand | <i>e</i> and | <i>hiva,</i> nine | <i>i</i> TNS | <i>akaea ai</i> retire APH | |
| | <i>au</i> 1SG | <i>i</i> LOC | <i>te</i> DEF | <i>puāpī.</i> teach | <i>No reira,</i> so | <i>i</i> LOC | <i>teia</i> DEM.PROX | <i>tuātau</i> time | |
| | <i>te</i> PROG | <i>noho</i> sit/live | <i>nei</i> PROX | <i>au</i> 1SG | <i>i</i> LOC | <i>ko-nei,</i> DEI-PROX | <i>i</i> LOC | <i>te</i> DEF | <i>Rakahanga Hostel,</i> Rakahanga Hostel |
| | <i>i</i> TNS | <i>tauturu</i> help | <i>ana</i> MED | <i>au</i> 1SG | <i>i</i> ACC | <i>te</i> DEF | hostel. hostel | | |

‘I taught in Rakahanga, until the time that I returned (to Rarotonga) and retired in the year 2009, I retired from teaching. So, these days I live here in the Rakahanga Hostel, and I help (= look after) the hostel.’ [007-01]

5.7 Classes of Verbs

The main classes of verbs are:

- Active transitive verbs (5.7.1)
- Active intransitive verbs (5.7.2)
- Stative intransitive verbs (5.7.3)

There is no copula verb and no verbs of possession. For clauses expressing identity between two nouns, existence, or predicative possession, see 6.5.

5.7.1 Transitive verbs

For transitive verbs, which are always active, the direct object is marked with the accusative preposition *i*, which is also used to mark the locative, as in (104), where instances of both occurs. Further examples are given in (105) through (107).

- (104) *Kua ono~ono au i reira i te tu*
 PFV look~REDUP 1SG LOC there ACC DEF way

o te hiti tangata.

POSS DEF people

‘There I studied the lifestyle of the people.’ [011-01]

- (105) ... *kia kore na rango e kati~kati i te pakia nei.*
 SBJV NEG DEF.PL fly IPFV bite~REDUP ACC DEF wound PROX

‘... so that the flies won’t bite this wound.’ [011-01]

- (106) *I te hoki-hanga mātou ki Manihiki,*
 LOC DEF go/come back-NMLZ 1PL.EXCL ALL Manihiki

te tuātau mua tērā i kite au
 DEF time before/first DEM.DIST TNS see/know 1SG

i te henua ko Manihiki.

ACC DEF island PRV Manihiki

‘When we returned to Manihiki, that was the first time that I saw Manihiki.’ [013-01]

- (107) *I te matahiti varu ngahuru ma varu,*
 LOC DEF year eight ten with eight

kua hoki atu a Tāmu ki Manihiki,
 PFV go/come back thither PERS Sam ALL Manihiki

kua mahani i t-o maua fare pora,
 PFV build ACC DEF-POSS 2du.excl fare pora

| | | | | | |
|------------|------------------|----------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>kua</i> | <i>haka-mata</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>t-a</i> | <i>maua</i> | <i>fāmā.</i> |
| PFV | CAUS-start | ACC | DEF-POSS | 2DU.EXCL | farm |

‘In the year 1988, Sam returned to Manihiki, and built our fare pora [type of house], and started our farm.’ [013-01]

A few verbs are ditransitive, i.e., they take both a direct as well as an indirect object. In (108), the verb *hōronga* takes the direct object *tētahi tauturu na haku*, ‘some help of mine’. This direct object is, interestingly, *not* marked with the usual accusative/direct object marker *i*. *Hōronga* also takes the indirect object *ki te hiti tangata*, ‘to the people’, which, as is usual, is placed in an oblique position and marked with the indirect object/dative marker *ki*.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (108) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>rauka</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>haku</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hoki</i> |
| | PFV | be possible | ACC-PERS | 1SG | COMP | DEF | go/come back |
| | <i>ki</i> | <i>Manihiki</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hōronga</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>tētahi tauturu</i> |
| | ALL | Manihiki | LOC | DEF | give | thither SPF | help |
| | <i>na</i> | <i>haku</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hiti tangata.</i> | | |
| | BEN | 1SG | ALL | DEF | people | | |

‘I had the opportunity to return to Manihiki to give some help of mine to the people.’

[011-01]

On the other hand, in (109) and (110), the verb *tuku*, ‘give’, is used in both examples, but takes only one object in each, namely a direct one in (109) and an indirect one in (110). As can be seen from (109), the accusative marker *i* does occur before the direct object. This may be owing to the fact that the indirect object is not expressed in this sentence.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------|-------------|----------------|
| (109) | <i>“Ka</i> | <i>tuku</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>o-ku</i> | <i>rauru.”</i> |
| | INCEP | give | THITHER | 1SG | ACC | POSS-1SG | hair |

“‘I’ll give you my hair (to you).” [014-02]

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| (110) | <i>Tuku</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>ki-a</i> | <i>Maui.</i> |
| | give | thither | DAT-PERS | Maui |

‘She gives (her hair) to Maui.’ [014-02]

In (111), the same verb, *tuku*, ‘give’, is used. The indirect object is not marked with the usual *ki*, but rather with *ki runga i*, ‘on, on top of’. This usage may be calqued from the English expression ‘bestow a name upon someone’.

(111) *Na hana i reira e tuku mai teia ingoa*
 EMP 3SG LOC there TNS give hither DEM.PROX name

ki runga i-a haku, ko Jane Kora.
 ALL on LOC-PERS 1SG PRV Jane Kora

‘It was her who gave me this name, Jane Kora.’ [014-01]

The indirect object of *tuku* can also be marked with *na*, as in (112)

(112) *Kua hoki atu teia na toko-rua mātua,*
 PFV go/come back thither DEM.PROX DEF.PL NUM-two parent

kua pati atu mei fānau, kia tuku mai te pēpē
 PFV ask thither from birth SBJV give hither DEF baby

na raua. Koia, taua pēpē nei, ko au.
 BEN 3DU that is DEM.RETR baby PROX PRV 1SG

‘These two (adoptive) parents went back, and asked the birth (parents) to give them the baby. That is, this baby was me.’ [014-01]

5.7.2 Active intransitive verbs

Active intransitive verbs, such as *roro*, ‘go’, *hoki*, ‘go/come back’, *topa*, ‘fall’ and *kautā*, ‘speak’, are exemplified in (113) through (116).

(113) *Kua roro toko-rua nei ki te āpī i Tūkao.*
 PFV go NUM-two PROX ALL DEF school LOC Tukao

‘Those two both went to Tukao School.’ [011-01]

(114) *E hoki atu mātou ki Nu Tīrani.*
 IPFV go/come back thither 3PL.EXCL ALL New Zealand

‘We returned to New Zealand.’ [013-01]

- (115) *Āpī atu iēhenu tamāhine ra~rahi kia kite*
 teach thither some girl REDUP~big SBJV see/know
- rātou me topa tētahi tangata ki raro,*
 3PL COND fall SPF person ALL down/below
- me pakia ka mea pehea i te tāmā*
 COND have wound INCEP do something how COMP DEF clean
- i te pakia.*
 ACC DEF wound
- ‘(I decided) to teach some of the big girls, (so that they would) know, if someone falls down, and if he or she has a wound, how/what to do to clean the wound.’ [011-01]

- (116) *Kore e tano e ka rauka i tētahi*
 NEG IPFV be correct SUBR INCEP be able ACC SPF
- tangata i te kautā mai e:*
 person COMP DEF speak hither SUBR
- “kua mate o te mainga, kāre a-ku mea*
 PFV die POSS DEF starvation NEG POSS-1SG thing
- kia kai ai au.”*
 SBJV eat APH 1SG
- ‘People won’t be able to say (lit.: ‘It wouldn’t be correct if some people were able to speak”):
 “I died of starvation, there was nothing for me to eat.”’

[011-02]

5.7.3 Stative verbs

The class of stative verbs, which are always intransitive, includes such verbs as *mārohirohi*, ‘be strong’, *ki*, ‘be full (of)’, *mākona*, ‘be plenty’, *hapū*, ‘be pregnant’, and *mataora*, ‘be happy’.

- (117) ... *kia mārohirohi rātou...*

SBJV strong 3PL

‘... so that they may be strong...’ [011-01]

(118) ... *kua ki i te kai.*

PFV full LOC DEF food

‘... [Manihiki] is full of food.’ [011-02]

(119) *Mākona hoki rauara e roro ana ki roto i te*
plenty INT people PROG go MED ALL inside LOC DEF

tai-roto i te hopu i te pārau i te
sea-inside COMP DEF dive ACC DEF shell DAT DEF

angaanga o te poe.
work POSS DEF pearl.

‘Many people go into the lagoon to dive for shells for the pearl industry.’ (lit.: ‘Many are the people who go into the lagoon to dive for shells for the pearl industry.’) [011-01]

(120) *Mākona na pēpē i fānau hia*
plenty DEF.PL baby TNS give birth PASS

i t-o-ku matahiti mua i noho ai au
LOC DEF-POSS-1SG year front TNS sit/live APH 1SG

i Manihiki.
LOC Manihiki

‘Many babies were born in the first year that I lived on Manihiki.’ (lit.: ‘Many were the babies who were born...’) [011-01]

(121) *Mataora tikāi t-o-ku ora-hanga i noho ai au*
happy truly DEF-POSS-1SG live-NMLZ LOC sit/live APH 1SG

i Manihiki.
LOC Manihiki

‘I was really happy during the time I lived on Manihiki.’ (lit.: ‘My life when I lived on Manihiki was really happy.’) [011-01]

- (122) *Kore e mākona ana te tamariki e ka rauka*
 NEG IPFV plenty MED DEF child and IPFV be able
- i te roro hua, i te ono,*
 COMP DEF go only ACC DEF look
- e i te hoki mai.*
 and COMP DEF return hither

‘Not many children are able to go and look and then come back.’ [011-02]

- (123) *T-o-ku māmā fānau, te hapū ra ia.*
 DEF-POSS-1SG mother birth PROG pregnant DIST 3SG

‘My birth mother, she was pregnant.’ [014-01]

5.8 Verbal Reduplication

Verbal reduplication is a very common phenomenon, although it has only been observed to occur with what was originally bisyllabic words consisting of only light syllables, as can be seen in all the examples below. In these bisyllabic words, the reduplicated part can consist of either both syllables, as in (124) and (125) below (repeated from (104) and (105)), or only the first syllable, as in (126) through (128). In (128), but not in (126) and (127), the reduplicated syllable is lengthened, although it is not known at present what causes this lengthening. The exact meaning or function of reduplication in verbs is not entirely transparent, although in (126) it might indicate habitual action or that the subject is plural, and in (124) and (125) continuous or repetitive action. When stative verbs are reduplicated, the reduplication usually has an intensifying function; see 2.7.1. One thing worth noting, though, is that stative verbs denoting qualities such as colour, e.g., *hinahina*, ‘grey’, and other things to do with physical appearance, e.g., *viravira*, ‘shining’, are virtually always reduplicated.

- (124) *Kua ono~ono au i reira i te tu*
 PFV look~REDUP 1SG LOC there ACC DEF way

o te hiti tangata.

POSS DEF people

‘There I studied the lifestyle of the people.’ [011-01]

- (125) ... *kia kore na rango e kati~kati i te pakia nei.*
 SBJV NEG DEF.PL fly IPFV bite~REDUP ACC DEF wound PROX

‘... so that the flies won’t bite this wound.’ [011-01]

- (126) *te ngāhi o na tamariki e mo~moe ai*
 DEF place POSS DEF.PL child.PL TNS REDUP~sleep APH

‘the place where the children sleep’ [011-01]

- (127) *Na hana i haka-mata i te pate i te*
 EMP 3SG TNS CAUS-start COMP DEF beat ACC DEF

kōriro e fa, kōriro ri~riki.

slit drum NUM four slit drum REDUP~small

‘It was him who started beating four small slit drums at a time.’ [010-03]

- (128) *E aha te au angaanga meitaki*
 INDF what DEF PL work/task good

ka rauka i te rave hia, mēkore, na angaanga
 INCEP be possible COMP DEF do PASS or DEF.PL work/task

kua rave hia ana, kia kore e ngā~ngaro.
 PFV do PASS MED SBJV NEG TNS REDUP~lose/forget

‘What are the best tasks to do for maintenance, or the tasks that should be done and should not be forgotten.’ [011-01]

Reduplication, both partial and full, is a common feature of EPN languages. It is thus found in Rarotongan (Nicholas 2016:49-51, 118-23), New Zealand Māori (Bauer et al. 1993:525-528), Tahitian (Lazard and Peltzer 2000:214-23), Hawaiian (Elbert and Pukui 1979:64-67), Rapa Nui (Kieviet 2017:60-73) and Rapa Iti (Walworth 2015:60-1, 118-21). Various functions have been proposed for reduplication of verbs in the various languages, including, but not limited to:

plurality of the subject; intensity; frequency/repetition; diminutiveness; iteration; prolongation of action; speed of action; and metaphor.

In (125) through (127), plurality of subject could indeed be the determining factor in the use of reduplication, and also in (128), if one allows for *angaanga*, ‘tasks’, to be the subject of both *rave hia*, ‘be done’, and *ngāngaro*, ‘be forgotten’, although the passive suffix is only used on the former.

5.9 Nominal Use of Verbs

Besides the use of the nominalizing suffix *-hanga* to form nouns from verbs, several instances also occur of verbs in an underived form being used as nouns. In (129) the stative verb *tūkē*, ‘be different’ is used in a clearly verbal function with the inceptive preverbal particle *ka*. In (130), on the other hand, this same stative verb *tūkē* is clearly being used with the definite article *te* as a noun meaning ‘difference’. In (131), *tūkē* is first being used as a zero-marked verb in the imperfective, then as a noun with the definite article.

- (129) *E tahi hua kōriro, ka tūkē t-a-na tangi.*
 IPFV one only slit drum INCEP different DEF-POSS-3SG sound/cry
 ‘There is only one slit drum whose sound is different.’ [010-02]

- (130) *Korereka atu te tūkē.*
 big/huge thither DEF difference
 ‘There is a big difference.’ (speaking of two different types of drums) [010-02]

- (131) *No te mea, tūkē, korereka te tūkē*
 because different big/huge DEF difference

i te rākau me te rima.
 LOC DEF wood/stick COM DEF hand
 ‘Because it’s different, there’s a huge difference between (using) the stick (to beat the drum) and using the hands.’
 [010-02]

Fluidity between different word classes is discussed in 3.7.

5.10 Verbal Use of Nouns

Similar to how verbs are often used as nouns, prototypical nouns can also be used as verbs. In (132), the word *vahine*, ‘woman’, which has prototypical properties of being a noun, is used as the head of a verb complex, with the meaning ‘be a woman’, ‘become a woman’.

- (132) *I teia tuātau, kua vahine ia.*
 LOC DEM.PROX time PFV woman 3SG
 ‘During this time, she had become a woman.’ [013-01]

The word *vahine* is here used with the perfective verbal marker *kua*, and perhaps this partially explains why it is used to mean ‘become a woman’ with an inchoative sense. More examples will need to be elicited before it can be determined whether the basic meaning of *vahine*, when used as a verb, is ‘become a woman’ or ‘be a woman’, and whether the latter reading would be the prevalent one when the term is used, e.g., with the progressive marker *te*.

6 Clause Structure

6.1 Introduction

Two basic types of clauses exist: verbal and nominal. Verbal clauses always have a verb complex as the predicate. All verbal clause types apart from imperatives (see 6.6.1), i.e., declarative verbal clauses and interrogative verbal clauses are of the form:

Verb - Subj - (dirObj) - (indObj)

Nominal clauses, on the other hand, are characterised by having a noun phrase as their predicate, instead of a verb complex. Nominal clauses cannot occur in the imperative and cannot consist exclusively of a predicate, but must have an overt subject. They can be in either the declarative or the interrogative, and are of the form:

Pred - Subj

The major part of this chapter is devoted to describing how declarative clauses are constructed, both verbal and nominal. Clause types other than declarative ones (i.e., imperative and interrogative ones) exhibit only minor variations in relation to declarative ones, and are described in 6.6.

6.2 Verbal Clauses

Verbal clauses always contain a verb complex as their head, and can be subdivided on the basis of what kind of verb occurs as the main verb of their verb complex. The three classes of verbs, as outlined in Chapter 5, are: transitive; active intransitive; and stative. There are thus three types of verbal clauses corresponding to the three classes of verbs that occur in their verb complex. The three types of verbal clauses are outlined in the following sections: transitive ones in 6.2.1; active intransitive ones in 6.2.2; and stative ones in 6.2.3.

6.2.1 Transitive verbal clauses

Transitive verbal clauses are of the form Verb - Subj - dirObj - (indObj). The subject is unmarked by any preposition, and immediately follows the verb complex. The direct object is marked

with the preposition *i*. Examples of verbal clauses involving transitive verbs are given in (1) and (2).

- (1) [Ka aru]_{PRED} [te rima]_{SUBJ} [i te tāranga]_{OBJ}.
 INCEP follow DEF hand ACC DEF story
 ‘(The movement of) the hands follow the story.’ [011-01]
- (2) [Kua kite hoki]_{PRED} [tātou]_{SUBJ} [i-a Tāringavarū]_{OBJ}.
 PFV see/know INT 1PL.INCL ACC-PERS Taringavarū
 ‘We all know (the story about) Taringavarū.’ [012-01]

6.2.2 Active intransitive verbal clauses

Active intransitive verbal clauses are of the form Verb - Subj. As with the transitive clauses, the subject is unmarked. It may be followed by an adjunct. Examples of clauses with active intransitive verbs are given in (3) and (4).

- (3) [Te tere ana]_{PRED} [te tātāvere]_{SUBJ}.
 PROG swim MED DEF cornetfish
 ‘The cornetfish is swimming.’ [010-01]
- (4) [Ka kautā]_{PRED} [au]_{SUBJ} [no runga i te
 INCEP speak 1SG BEN above LOC DEF
 tārekareka Manihiki]_{ADJ}.
 entertainment Manihiki
 ‘I will [now] speak about the Manihiki way of entertainment (traditional singing and dancing).’ [010-02]

6.2.3 Stative verbal clauses

Stative verbal clauses contain stative verbs, which are used in Manihiki to refer to states and properties. The only distinction between active intransitive verbs and stative ones, which by their nature are always intransitive, is a semantic one. The subject of an active intransitive verb is an agent, as is the subject of a transitive verb, whereas the subject of an intransitive verb is an undergoer. The surface form of stative verbal clauses, however, is identical to that

of active intransitive ones, i.e., Verb - Subj⁹⁶, so there is no morphosyntactic way of distinguishing between the two. Examples of clauses with stative verbs are given in (5) through (7).

- (5) [Kua mataora tikāi]_{PRED} [au]_{SUBJ...}
 PFV happy truly 1SG
 ‘I was really happy...’ [011-01]

- (6) ... [kia mārohirohi]_{PRED} [rātou]_{SUBJ•}
 SBJV strong 3PL
 ‘... so that they may be strong.’ [011-01]

- (7) [Mākona hoki]_{PRED} [na māmā]_{SUBJ•}
 plenty INT DEF.PL mother

 [korereka]_{PRED} [t-o rātou kōpapa]_{SUBJ•}
 huge DEF-POSS 3PL body
 ‘Many of the mothers have huge bodies.’ (lit.: ‘The mothers are many, their bodies are huge.’
 or ‘Many are the mothers, whose bodies are huge.’) [011-01]

Stative verbs can be used with the directional marker *mai*, or with the passive marker *hia*, with an inchoative meaning, as in (8) and (9). See also 3.7.2 for the use of *hia* and *mai* with stative verbs.

- (8) [Māmā mai nei]_{PRED} [te rākau]_{SUBJ} [i te rutu]_{ADJ•}
 easy hither PROX DEF stick LOC DEF hit
 ‘The stick is easier for hitting (the drum) (than using the hands).’ [010-02]

- (9) [Kua maki~maki hia]_{PRED} [t-o-na kōpapa]_{SUBJ•}
 PFV ill~REDUP INCH DEF-POSS-3SG body
 ‘His body became ill.’ [011-01]

⁹⁶ I have noted at least one instance of Cook Islanders using their own native syntax for stative verbal clauses when speaking English. At one point, a young boy who was admiring the “fat tire” mountain bike that I had hired on Rarotonga exclaimed: “Big the wheels!”, i.e., “The wheels are big” using exactly the same syntactic structure as would have been used in Rarotongan or in Manihiki.

Manihiki numerals can also be used as predicates of stative verbal clauses, as in (10).

- (10) [Ka ono ngahuru ma iva]_{PRED} [o-ku matahiti]_{SUBJ...}
 INCEP six ten COM nine POSS-1SG year
 ‘I am 69 years old...’ (lit.: ‘My years are 69...’) [004-01]

6.3 Adjuncts

Adjuncts usually occur at the end of the clause, as illustrated in (4), repeated here as (11).

- (11) Ka kautā au no runga i te tārekareka Manihiki.
 INCEP speak 1SG BEN above LOC DEF entertainment Manihiki
 ‘I will speak about the Manihiki style of entertainment.’ [010-01]

However, adjuncts can occur both clause-initially and clause-finally, although the latter construction is more common. The only adjuncts that seem to be commonly used clause-initially are temporal ones, as in (12), although these can also be used clause-finally, as in (13).

- (12) Tuātau nei, kāre au tāranga e kite koe
 time PROX NEG PL story TNS see 2SG

 i roto i te hupahupa.
 LOC inside LOC DEF drum dance
 ‘Today, you don’t see any stories in the drum dance.’ [011-01]

- (13) Me ko te tu teia e tupu nei
 COND PRV DEF way DEM.PROX IPFV grow/happen PROX

 i te ra nei...
 LOC DEF day PROX
 ‘If this is the way things are happening today...’ [010-03]

6.3.1 Temporal adjuncts

(14) through (18) are examples of clauses with temporal adjuncts. As can be seen from these sample sentences, temporal adjuncts can be prepositional phrases headed by the preposition *i*, which is also used to mark locative, as well as accusative, although in (18) it is being headed

by *ki*, the preposition usually used to mark allative and dative. In (14) and (15), the temporal adjunct comes before the main clause, whereas in (16) through (18), it comes after.

- (14) *I tētahi tuātau roa ki reira, kua oti mai*
 LOC SPF time long ALL? there PFV complete/finish hither

i reira t-a-ku āpī nēti.
 LOC there DEF-POSS-1SG school nurse

‘For (= after) a long period there (in New Zealand), I completed my nursing school.’

[011-01]

- (15) *I te matahiti mua i-a haku i tae*
 LOC DEF year front LOC-PERS 1SG TNS reach/arrive

ki Manihiki, i te matahiti hiva ngahuru,
 ALL Manihiki LOC DEF year nine ten

tahi ngahuru pēpē, i fānau hia i Manihiki.
 one ten baby TNS bear children PASS LOC Manihiki

‘In the first year upon my arrival in Manihiki, the year 1990, ten babies were born on Manihiki.’ [011-01]

- (16) *Manuia ra, kua fā~na~nau hia mai*
 lucky DIST PFV bear children~REDUP PASS hither

na pēpē nei i te ao.
 DEF.PL baby PROX LOC DEF daylight

Luckily, the babies were born during daytime. [011-01]

- (17) *Kua tae mai hoki i te pōpongi roa.*
 PFV arrive hither INT LOC DEF morning long/INT (here: early)

‘(She) arrived early in the morning.’ [011-01]

- (18) *Kia tāre ra hoki au i na fora,*
 SBJV count DIST INT 1SG ACC DEF.PL hour

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| <i>t-a</i> | <i>haku</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>e,</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>tae</i> | <i>noti</i> |
| DEF-POSS | 1SG | TNS | see | SUBR, | INCEP | arrive | INT |

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pōpongi.</i> |
| ALL | DEF | morning |

‘When I checked the time, I knew that (the baby) would arrive the next morning.’

[011-01]

6.3.2 Locative adjuncts

In (19), the two locative adjuncts follow the main clause. One is being headed by the ablative preposition *mei*, ‘from’, and the other by the allative preposition *ki*, ‘to’.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|-----------|------------------|-------------|
| (19) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>reva</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>mei</i> | <i>Manihiki</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Rarotonga</i> | <i>nei.</i> |
| | PFV | come | hither | 1SG | ABL | Manihiki | ALL | Rarotonga | PROX |

‘I came from Manihiki here to Rarotonga.’ [011-01]

6.3.3 Adverbs of manner

It has been rather difficult to find adverbs of manner in my corpus. The ones that do occur, often appear as part of the verb complex directly after the verb, but before the directional particles. An example of such a verb is given in (20), where the adverb *vave*, ‘quick(ly)’ occurs after the main verb *tae*, ‘reach’, ‘arrive’, but before the postverbal directional particle *mai*. See also 5.4.2.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|----------|--------------|
| (20) | <i>No te mea,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pahī</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>tae</i> |
| | because | IPFV | NEG | DEF | ship | TNS | reach/arrive |

| | |
|-------------|-------------|
| <i>vave</i> | <i>mai.</i> |
| quickly | hither |

‘Because the ship does not arrive quickly (after it has left Rarotonga).’ [011-02]

6.3.4 Adverbial clauses as adjuncts

Adverbial clauses can also be used as adjuncts. They are usually introduced by a subordinating conjunction. They can be either purposive clauses (6.3.4.1), clauses expressing reason (6.3.4.2), or temporal clauses (6.3.4.3).

6.3.4.1 Purposive adverbial clauses

Those adverbial clauses expressing the purpose why something is being done are introduced by the subjunctive verbal particle *kia*, as in (21) and (22).

- (21) *Manako au i reira, ka hoki au ki Manihiki,*
 think 1SG then INCEP go/come back 1SG ALL Manihiki
noho ai i tētahi tuātau,
 sit/live APH LOC SPF time
kia riro au ei nēti no te hiti tangata
 SBJV become 1SG RES nurse BEN DEF people
o Manihiki.
 POSS Manihiki

‘I then decided that I would go back to Manihiki and live there for some time, in order to become a nurse for the people of Manihiki.’ [011-01]

- (22) *E kore ono hua te tūranga o te tamariki,*
 TNS NEG look/study only DEF way POSS DEF child.PL
kia meitaki, a ono katoa i te tūranga
 SBJV good but look also ACC DEF way
o na māmā, kia mārohirohi rātou,
 POSS DEF.PL mother SBJV strong 3PL
kia rauka i-a rātou i te ākono
 SBJV be able ACC?-PERS 3PL COMP DEF look after

i a rātou tamariki.

ACC POSS 3PL child.PL

‘Not only to study the habits of the children, so that they may have a good life, but also to study the habits of the mothers, so that they may be strong, so that they may look after their children well.’ [011-01]

6.3.4.1.1 The *i te* construction

Another construction, which is used to introduce purposive clauses, is the so-called *i te* construction, which is also found in Rarotongan (Nicholas 2016:303). The *i*, which is identical in form to the locative/accusative preposition is here used as a type of complementizer. Examples can be found in (23) and (24). As can be seen from these examples, the *i te* construction has no overt subject, but rather one that is understood to be coreferential with the subject of the sentence as a whole.

(23) *Kua hoki mai mātou i te rapakau*
 PFV go/come back hither 1PL.EXCL COMP DEF cure

i t-o hona maki~maki.
 ACC DEF-POSS 3SG sick~REDUP

‘We returned to cure/treat his illness.’ [011-01]

(24) *Teia tuātau mua ra, e kore e tangata*
 DEM.PROX time before DIST IPFV NEG INDF person

e haka-tika hia kia hano hua koe,
 TNS CAUS-true (=allow) PASS SBJV go/come only 2SG

kia use koe tēnā tank a hopu
 SBJV use 2SG DEM.MED tank POSS dive for

i te hopu na pārau.
 COMP DEF dive for DEF.PL pearl

‘During this time before, no one was just allowed to go, and use this diving tank to dive for pearls.’ [013-01]

A similar construction is also found in Boumaa Fijian, as seen in (25). Moyse-Faurie’s (2016) has here analysed the *i* as being a sort of locative preposition.

- (25) *Au* *mārau* *va’alevu* *i* *na* *omudou*
 1SG happy greatly at ART 2SG.POSS

yaco *mai* *qoo.*

arrive DIR DEIC

‘I’m very happy at your arrival here.’

[Boumaa Fijian, Moyse-Faurie 2016:174, my orthography and glosses]

Besides the regular construction with *i te*, there is also a less common form with *ki te*, as exemplified in (26), where it is used to introduce a complement of *hinangaro*, ‘want, wish’.

- (26) *Te* *rongo* *nei* *mātou* *e,* *te* *hinangaro* *nei*
 PROG hear PROX 1PL.EXCL SUBR PROG want/wish PROX

te *Pāniora* *ki* *te* *tautai* *i*
 DEF Spain/Spanish people COMP DEF catch fish LOC

t-o *tātou* *tai* *roto* *i* *te* *Kūki Airani* *nei.*
 DEF-POSS 1PL.INCL sea inside LOC DEF Cook Islands PROX

‘We are hearing that the Spanish people want to fish in here our lagoons of the Cook Islands.’

[013-02]

Nicholas (2016:304) mentions the same type of construction for Rarotongan, but goes on to say in this connection that “Although they are quite rare, and seem at this stage to be confined to historical texts, there are some examples of this type of infinitive complement that are introduced by **ki-te** rather than **i-te**...”. It would appear from the above example that the *ki te* construction is still being used productively in Manihiki, although it is not quite clear at present how it differs in meaning from the *i te* construction.

6.3.4.2 Adverbial clauses expressing reason

The subordinating conjunction *no te mea*, ‘because’, is used to introduce an adverbial clause expressing reason or cause, as can be seen in (27).

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (27) | <i>Mataora</i> | <i>tikāi</i> | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>ora-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>noho</i> | |
| | happy | truly | DEF-POSS-1SG | live-NMLZ | TNS | sit/live | |
| | <i>ai</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> | | | |
| | APH | 1SG | LOC | Manihiki | | | |
| | <i>no te mea,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>e,</i> | <i>t-a-ku</i> | <i>angaanga</i> |
| | because | PFV | see | 1SG | SUBR | DEF-POSS-1SG | work |
| | <i>e</i> | <i>rave</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>riro</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>ei</i> |
| | TNS | do | PROX | PROG | become | PROX | RES |
| | | | | | | | <i>tauturu</i> |
| | | | | | | | help |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hiti tangata.</i> | | | | |
| | LOC | DEF | people | | | | |

‘I was truly happy about my life on Manihiki (lit.: My life when I lived on Manihiki was really happy), because I knew that the work that I was doing was helping people (lit.: became a help for the people).’ [011-01]

In (28), besides the adverbial clause being introduced by *no te mea*, ‘because’, one can also find another adverbial clause, which is being introduced by *no atu e*, ‘although’, ‘in spite of the fact that’.

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| (28) | <i>No atu e</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>noho</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>Rarotonga</i> | <i>nei,</i> |
| | although | TNS | sit/live | PROX | 1SG | LOC | Rarotonga | PROX |
| | <i>ko</i> | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>pukuhatu,</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>hinangaro,</i> | <i>tei</i> | |
| | PRV | DEF-POSS-1SG | heart | PRV | DEF-POSS-1SG | wish/desire | LOC.PRED | |
| | <i>Manihiki,</i> | <i>no te mea</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tuātau</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>noho</i> | |
| | Manihiki | because | LOC | DEF | time | TNS | sit/live | |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>ai</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>reira,</i> | <i>hope~hope</i> | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>mataora.</i> |
| APH | 1SG | LOC | there | no end?~REDUP | DEF-POSS-1SG | happy |

Although I'm living in Rarotonga, my heart, my desire, is in Manihiki, because during the time I stayed there, my happiness had no end. [011-01]

6.3.4.3 Temporal adverbial clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses can be introduced by a variety of different subordinating conjunctions. In (29), the temporal clause is introduced by *i mua ake*, 'before'.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| (29) | <i>I</i> | <i>mua</i> | <i>ake</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>tuku</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>rima</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>roto</i> |
| | LOC | before | upwards | INCEP | put | ACC | DEF | hand | ALL | inside |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|----------|----------------|------------|------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>machine,</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>tā-mate</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>ana</i> |
| LOC | DEF | machine | NEG | IPFV | CAUS-be dead | PASS | MED |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| <i>te</i> | <i>paua,</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>motu.</i> |
| DEF | power | SBJV | NEG | APH | IPFV | cut |

'Before he put his hand in the machine, the power wasn't turned off, so that he wouldn't be cut.' [011-01]

Conditional adverbial clauses on the other hand, seem to mostly occur before the main clause of the sentence, as in (30).

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| (30) | <i>Mēkore,</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>hinangaro</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tōte</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>haku,</i> |
| | or | COND | want/wish | DEF | doctor | ACC-PERS | 1SG |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| <i>kua</i> | <i>tere</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>poti</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kave</i> | <i>atu</i> |
| PFV | sail | hither | DEF | boat | COMP | DEF | bring | thither |

| | | | |
|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|
| <i>i-a</i> | <i>haku</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Tauhunu.</i> |
| ACC-PERS | 1SG | ALL | Tauhunu |

'Or, if the doctor wants me to come, the boat would come to take me over to Tauhunu.'

[011-01]

Temporal and conditional adjuncts can also be used together in the same main clause as in (31). In this example, there is both a temporal adjunct, expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *i* and containing a relative clause, as well as a conditional adjunct clause, introduced by the preverbal particle *me*.

- (31) *I* *te* *tuātau* *i* *noho* *ai* *au* *ki* *Tūkao*
 LOC DEF time TNS sit/live APH 1SG ALL? Tūkao
- me* *tupu* *tētahi* *maki* *rahi*, *e* *kore* *e* *meitaki*
 COND grow/happen SPF sick large TNS NEG IPFV good
- kia* *noho* *hua* *i* *Manihiki*.
 SBJV sit/live only LOC Manihiki
- ‘During the period when I stayed in Tūkao, if some very serious illness would happen, it would not be good to stay in Manihiki.’ [011-01]

6.3.5 The order of different adjunct types

When both temporal and locative adjuncts occur in the same clause, by far the most common order is to have the temporal ones come before the locative ones, as in (32) through (34).

- (32) *T-o-ku* *hano-hanga* *ki* *Nu Tīreni*,
 DEF-POSS-1SG go/come-NMLZ ALL New Zealand
- kua* *noho* *au* *i* *tētahi* *ngāhi*,
 PFV sit/live 1SG LOC SPF place
- kāre* *Manihiki* *e* *noho* *ana* *i* *reira*.
 NEG Manihiki (people) IPFV sit/live MED LOC there
- ‘On arriving in New Zealand, I lived in a place where no Manihiki people lived.’ [011-01]

- (33) *Hinangaro* *au* *i* *te* *hoki* *mai*
 wish 1SG COMP DEF go/come back hither
- i* *tētahi* *ra* *ki* *Manihiki*.
 LOC SPF day ALL Manihiki

‘I wanted one day to return to Manihiki.’ [011-01]

- (34) *Kua noho au i tētahi tuātau roa i Marike.*
 PFV sit/live 1SG LOC SPF time long LOC America
 ‘I lived for a long time in America.’ [011-01]

However, one does also occasionally find examples of locative adjuncts occurring before temporal ones, as in (35) and (36).

- (35) *Kua noho au i Rarotonga nei*
 PFV sit/live 1SG LOC Rarotonga PROX

i tētahi tuātau poto.
 LOC SPF time short
 ‘I lived here in Rarotonga for a short period of time.’ [011-01]

- (36) *Kua hoki mai mātou i reira*
 PFV go/come back hither 1SG.EXCL then

ki Rarotonga nei
 ALL Rarotonga PROX

i te matahiti iva ngahuru ma teru.
 LOC DEF year nine ten COM three
 ‘We returned, then, here to Rarotonga in the year 1993.’ [011-01]

6.4 Marking of Adjuncts

Adjuncts can be expressed by prepositional phrases or by adverbial clauses. I will first describe the prepositional phrases. Manihiki makes use of a very limited number of prepositions, most of which are used to mark adjuncts. However, certain of them can also be used to mark syntactic constituents of the clause, like the particle *i* to mark the direct or accusative object, *ki* to mark the indirect or dative object, and *e* to mark the agent of a passive verb.

The ‘presentative’ particle *ko* is mainly used to mark grammatical topic, but is also included here under the prepositions, as it shares the same syntactic distribution with most of these.

Just like the other prepositions, *ko* can be used before all noun phrases that are definite. Also listed among the prepositions are the possessive particles *o* and *a*, as well the benefactive or emphatic particles *no* and *na*. Further, there is the comitative preposition (or perhaps conjunction) *ma*, which occurs only in numerals and may be a Tahitian borrowing. This is explained further in 4.10.1. Finally, there is the ‘resultative’ preposition *ei*, cognates of which are found in many EPN languages.

An exhaustive list of the prepositions of Manihiki is given in (37).

| | | |
|------|------------|---|
| (37) | <i>ko</i> | presentative, topic, appositional |
| | <i>i</i> | accusative, locative |
| | <i>ki</i> | allative, dative, comitative (also on certain occasions locative) |
| | <i>me</i> | comitative |
| | <i>ma</i> | used as comitative with numerals |
| | <i>o</i> | subordinate possessive |
| | <i>a</i> | dominant possessive |
| | <i>no</i> | subordinate benefactive/emphatic |
| | <i>na</i> | dominant benefactive/emphatic |
| | <i>e</i> | agentive with passive verbs, vocative |
| | <i>mei</i> | ablative |
| | <i>ei</i> | resultative |

Although some of these prepositions are used to mark adjuncts, and others to mark other syntactic constituents, they will all be discussed here in section 6.4 for ease of exposition. See sections 6.4.1 to 6.4.10.

6.4.1 The preposition *ko*

The preposition *ko* serves many important functions, but as it is most often used to introduce new nominals into the discourse as predicates, I will refer to it as the ‘presentative preposition’. Other important functions of this preposition are to mark topic, and to introduce the second of two nouns in apposition to each other. An example of its use for introducing the predicate in a nominal clause is given in (38). The order here is the usual *ko* Pred - Subj. Note

that in (38), *ko* is also used in front of a proper noun, which can be regarded as being in apposition to the pronoun introduced in the predicate.

- (38) *Ko au teia, ko Vaeau Temu Hagai.*
 PRV 1SG DEM.PROX PRV Vaeau Temu Hagai
 ‘This is me, Vaeau Temu Hagai.’ [007-01]

Its use for marking a noun phrase that has been fronted because it is topic⁹⁷ is shown in (39) through (41) below. In (40), where *ko* does not occur, we see the use of the regular word order, which is Pred - Subj - Obj. In (41), on the other hand, which is taken from the same traditional story as (40) and immediately following (40) we see that the subject, referring to a man called *Tamaro*, has been fronted to the first position in the clause because it is now topic. This fronted topical subject is now marked with *ko*, and the word order is now Subj - Pred. The predicate in (41) is best described as an existential possessive clause.

- (39) *Ko au, te noho nei au i ko-nei.*
 PRV 1SG PROG sit/live PROX 1SG LOC there-PROX
 ‘As for me, I live here (on Rarotonga).’ [011-02]

- (40) *Kua kite hoki tātou i Tamaro.*
 PFV see/know INT 1PL.INCL ACC Tamaro
 ‘We all know (the story of) Tamaro.’ [012-01]

- (41) *Ko Tamaro, e au tamariki t-a hana.*
 PRV Tamaro INDF PL child.PL DEF-POSS 3SG
 Tamaro has some children.’ (‘As for Tamaro, there are some children of his.’) [012-01]

In sentence (42), *ko* is used twice. In the first clause, it is used to introduce the predicate ‘me’, and in the second, to introduce the new topic ‘the doctor’.

- (42) *Ko au te nēti i Tūkao,*
 PRV 1SG DEF nurse LOC Tukao

⁹⁷ Focus, on the other hand, is marked using the emphatic prepositions. See 6.5.7.1.

| | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tōte,</i> | Doctor Collin, |
| and | PRV | DEF | doctor | Doctor Collin |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------------|
| <i>te</i> | <i>noho</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>Tauhunu.</i> |
| PROG | sit/live | DIST | 3SG | LOC | Tauhunu |

‘The nurse in Tukao was me, and as for the doctor, Doctor Collin, she was living in Tauhunu.’
[011-01]

The presentative preposition is occasionally used with non-fronted subjects of verbal sentences, as in (43). It may be that this only occurs with subjects that are pronouns. There is seemingly no real difference in meaning between when *ko* is used in this construction, and when it is not.

(43) ... *kia riro* *ko au te nēti i Manihiki.*
 SBJV become PRV 1SG DEF nurse LOC Manihiki
 ‘... so that I may become the nurse on Manihiki.’ [011-01]

The last function of *ko* is to mark the second of two nouns in apposition to each other. An example of this can be seen in the second use of *ko* in sentence (38), although the two nominals in apposition here are not positioned directly next to each other. A clearer example is given in (44).

(44) *Kua noho teia aronga ki te henua*
 PFV sit/live DEM.PROX people ALL DEF island

ko Rakahanga, i taua matahiti ra.
 PRV Rakahanga LOC DEM.RETR year DIST
 ‘These people lived on the island of Rakahanga in that year.’ [007-01]

6.4.1.1 The uses and meanings of cognates of *ko* in other Polynesian languages

Cognates of the preposition *ko* are found in Polynesian languages of all the three major subgroups – Tongic, Samoic/Outlier and EPN⁹⁸, and various terms have been used to describe

⁹⁸ In most of the languages that have changed the velar plosive to the glottal plosive (e.g., Samoan and Hawaiian), the form ‘o is used.

it. I have chosen to adopt the term ‘presentative’ from Cablitz (2006:153), who refers to the Marquesan cognate *o* as either ‘presentative’ or ‘topicaliser’. François (2004:194) also uses the terms ‘presentative’ or ‘identifier’⁹⁹ to describe a similar preposition *ko* in Wallisian/East Uvean. As it is often used before nouns that are predicates, in sentences which in many languages would contain a copula, it has also been called the ‘copular’ preposition (Cook 1999:63-64 for the Hawaiian cognate ‘*o*’). Finally, Broschart (1997:140) has referred to the Tongan cognate *ko* as both the ‘presentative’ and as the ‘essive’ preposition.

Elbert and Pukui (1979:131), however, refer to the Hawaiian particle ‘*o*’ simply as the ‘subject marker’. They mention that it is most commonly used in Hawaiian in front of the third person singular pronoun *ia*, when it is the subject.

- (45) *Ua 'ike 'o-ia.*
 PFV see PRV-2SG

‘He saw (something).’ [Elbert and Pukui 1979:131, my glosses and translation]

Coppenrath and Prévost (1975:33) call the Tahitian ‘*o*’ the ‘substantival (i.e., nominal) particle’¹⁰⁰.

As Clark (1976) notes, sentences with a fronted *ko*- or ‘*o*’-phrase are ambiguous in most Polynesian languages, in that it is impossible to tell, without inferring from the context, whether this phrase is topic or ‘predicate’ (I am assuming he means ‘focus’).¹⁰¹ According to Clark, Tongan is the only Polynesian language that marks these two functions in distinct ways. Example (46) shows the use of ‘*o*’ to mark topic in Samoan.

- (46) ‘*O loane sã soni le ufi.*
 PRV loane TNS chop DEF yam

‘As for loane, he was chopping the yam.’ or ‘It was loane, who was chopping the yam.’

[Samoan, Clark 1976:38, my glosses and translation]

⁹⁹ In French: *présentatif* and *identificateur*.

¹⁰⁰ In French: *la particule substantive*.

¹⁰¹ Although Clark does not explicit say so, I am assuming that intonation could be used to distinguish between these two different meanings in the spoken language.

Clark (1976:44-45) reconstructs a number of uses of the presentative preposition in Proto-Polynesian. First, it introduces the second element of an appositional construction, as in (47).

- (47) *me* *kāna* *wahine* *‘o* *Hina*
 COM 3SG.POSS woman PRV Hina
 ‘with his wife, Hina’

[Hawaiian, quoted from Clark 1976:45, my orthography and glosses]¹⁰²

Second, at least in Samoan and Tongan, a small number of verbs regularly take complements marked as presentative, as in (48) and (49). At least in (48), the Manihiki translation of this sentence would use the resultative preposition *ei* instead of *ko*.

- (48) *Na’a* *ne* *hoko* *ko* *hotau* *taki.*
 TNS 3SG become PRV 1PL.POSS leader
 ‘He became our leader.’ [Churchward 1953:102, my glosses]

- (49) *‘Oku* *tau* *lau* *ia* *ko* *hotau* *taki.*
 TNS 1PL regard 3SG PRV 1PL.POSS leader
 ‘We regard him as our leader.’ [Churchward 1953:102, my glosses]

6.4.2 The preposition *i*

The preposition *i* is used to mark both accusative phrases, as in (50) through (54), and locative phrases, as in (55) through (57). As can be seen from (55), it can be used both with nouns marking places as well as nouns marking time, when used in the locative function.

- (50) *Patu* *a-ia* *i* *te* *au* *tangata.*
 kill PERS-3SG ACC DEF PL person
 ‘He kills people.’ [012-01]

- (51) *Na,* *kua* *patu* *te* *pāpā* *i* *te* *tamaiti.*
 so PFV kill DEF father ACC DEF son
 ‘So, the father killed the son.’ [006-01]

¹⁰² Clark is quoting from Pukui and Elbert (1961:253), but I have not had access to the original example.

- (52) *Kua kimi te māmā i te tamaiti.*
 PFV search for DEF mother ACC DEF son
 ‘The mother went to look for her son.’ [006-01]

- (53) ... *kua kite tātou i t-o tātou henua,*
 PFV see 1PL.INCL ACC DEF-POSS 1PL.INCL island
kua ki te kai.
 PFV full/abundant DEF food
 ‘... (when) we look at our island, (we see that) it’s full of food (lit.: food is abundant).’
 [011-02]

- (54) ... *me kore tātou iakaora i te navānanga*¹⁰³
 COND NEG 1PL.INCL forget ACC DEF story
o Kupe.
 POSS Kupe
 ‘... lest we are going to forget the story of Kupe.’ [003-01]

- (55) *E fanau hia au i te henua ko Rakahanga,*
 IPFV bear children PASS 1SG LOC DEF island PFV Rakahanga
i te matahiti rima ngahuru ma rima.
 LOC DEF year five ten with five
 ‘I was born on the island of Rakahanga. In the year 1955.’ [013-01]

- (56) *I te matahiti ono ngahuru ma varu,*
 LOC DEF year six ten with eight
kua rauka mai t-o mātou fare i Ōtara.
 PRV get hither DEF-POSS 1PL.EXCL house LOC Otara

¹⁰³ The noun *navānanga*, ‘story’, may quite possibly be etymologically derived from the plural definite article *na* plus the noun *vānanga*, ‘word’. In contemporary Manihiki, though, the word is clearly a separate noun in its own right, as it co-occurs with the definite article *te*, this instance being an example of that. The definite article *te* and the plural definite article *na* never co-occur.

‘In the year 1968, we got our house in Otara.’ [013-01]

- (57) *Tē, māhine, aria, noho i ko-nei kia roa~roa*
 EXCLAM girl wait sit/live LOC DEI-PROX SBJV long~REDUP
- ake koe, eoti, ka kite koe e aha*
 upwards 2SG and then INCEP see/know 2SG INDF what
- te tumu i tunu ai au na faraoa faraipāni nei*
 DEF reason TNS make APH 1SG DEF.PL flour frying pan PROX
- i runga i te umu nei,*
 LOC above LOC DEF oven/stove PROX
- i roto i te ao nei, kore ai au*
 LOC inside LOC DEF cloud/smoke PROX NEG APH 1SG
- e tunu i runga i na mea.*
 TNS make LOC above LOC DEF.PL thing

‘Girl, hold on, stay here for a bit longer, and then you will know the reason why I cook pancakes (lit.: frying pan flour) on this stove in the smoke (lit.: cloud), why I don’t cook it on the other stoves (lit.: on the other things).’ [011-02]

In the examples above, *i* is heading prepositional phrases containing noun phrases preceded by the definite article *te*, but *i* can also head prepositional phrases where the complement is expressed by a place name without an article or by a common noun introduced by the specific determiner *tētahi*, both of which constructions are exemplified in (58).

- (58) *Kua noho au i Rarotonga nei*
 PFV sit/live 1SG loc Rarotonga
- i tētahi tuātau poto.*
 LOC SPF time short

‘I lived here in Rarotonga for a short period of time.’ [011-01]

It can also be used with noun phrases containing common nouns preceded by the plural definite article, as in (59), or by demonstratives, as in (60).

- (59) *Kia tāre ra hoki au i na forā...*
 SBJV count DIST INT 1SG ACC DEF.PL hour
 ‘When I checked the time...’ [011-01]

- (60) *Kua rave au i tērā.*
 PFV do 1SG ACC DEM.DIST
 ‘I accomplished that.’ [011-01]

However, when the complement of the preposition *i* is a noun phrase expressed by a personal name or a personal pronoun, it has the form *ia*, i.e., *i* is attached to the personal article *a*. See (61) and (62) for instances of this.

- (61) *Inā, manako mai i reira a Maui e,*
 so think hither then PERS Maui SUBR

ka hano ia ki ko
 INCEP go/come he ALL DEI

i t-o-na māmā rūhau, i-a Hina.
 LOC DEF-POSS-3SG mother old LOC-PERS Hina

‘So, Maui then thought that he would go over there to his grandmother, to Hina.’

[014-02]

- (62) *Uru atu Maui: “Kore. Kore mātou e tuku*
 call out thither Maui NEG NEG 1PL IPFV let go

i-a koe.”
 ACC-PERS 2SG

‘Maui called out: “No, we won’t let you go.”’ [014-02]

6.4.3 The preposition *ki*

The preposition *ki* is used to express the semantic role of goal, this can be either an indirect/dative object or an allative adjunct. As with *i*, this preposition can be used to head prepositional phrases where the complement is either a common noun as in (63) and (64), a place name as in (65), a personal name as in (66), or a personal pronoun, as in (67). When used with complements that are personal names or personal pronouns, *ki* has the form *kia*, in the same way that *i* has the form *ia*. In other words, *ki* as attached to the personal article *a*. This can be seen in (66) and (67).

- (63) *E hano ana au ki te āpī.*
 IPFV go MED 1SG ALL DEF school
 ‘I went to school.’ [014-01]

- (64) *Kua pati rātou ki t-o rātou metua tāne*
 PFV ask 3PL DAT DEF-POSS 3PL parent man/male

kia āpī mai i-a rātou.
 SBJV teach hither ACC-PERS 3PL
 ‘They asked their father to teach them (how to plant food crops).’ [004-01]

- (65) *Kua tere mai mātou ki Rarotonga nei.*
 PFV sail hither 1PL.EXCL ALL Rarotonga PROX
 ‘We sailed here to Rarotonga.’ [014-01]

- (66) *Kua haka-ipoipo atu au i te matahiti*
 PFV CAUS-marry thither 1SG LOC DEF year

hitu ngahuru ma ono ki-a Tāmu Karaponga.
 seven ten with six DAT-PERS Sam Karaponga
 ‘I was married in the year 1976 to Sam Karaponga.’ [013-01]

- (67) *Maui, e haka-kite atu nei au te tika~tika*
 Maui IPFV CAUS-see/know thither PROX 1SG DEF true~REDUP

ai ki-a koe.

APH ALL-PERS 2SG

‘Maui, I’m telling you the truth.’ [014-02]

It should also be noted that *ki* is sometimes used to express the comitative, as in (68)

- (68) *Noho atu au i reira ki t-a-ku tāne.*
 sit/live thither 1SG LOC there COM DEF-POSS-1SG man
 ‘I lived there with my husband.’ [014-01]

Finally, *ki* is sometimes used to mark the accusative with the verb *hinangaro*, ‘want, like’, as in (69).

- (69) ... *hinangaro noti au, ki o-ku mātua fāngai...*
 want/wish INT 1SG ACC POSS-1SG parent feed/raise
 ‘... I liked my feeding (i.e., adoptive) parents...’ [014-01]

6.4.4 The preposition *me*

The preposition *me* is most commonly used to express the comitative. Examples can be found in (70) through (72). In (70), it is used with two juxtaposed noun phrases as complements. In (71), the prepositional phrase *me na pēpē* is used post-head in the noun phrase, whose head is *na māmā*.

- (70) *Ko ai te tangata i Manihiki e rauka ana*
 PFV what DEF person LOC Manihiki IPFV be able MED
- pērā a-na moni? E rauka i-a koe i te*
 thus/that kind POSS-3SG money IPFV be able ACC?-PERS 2SG COMP DEF
- rere mai, me t-a-u vahine, a kōrua tamariki,*
 fly hither COM DEF-POSS-2SG woman/wife POSS 2DU child.PL
- i te roro mai ki Rarotonga nei, orotē?*
 COMP DEF go/come hither ALL Rarotonga PROX holiday
- ‘Who are the people in Manihiki that can afford that kind of money? To fly over with your wife and your children to come to Rarotonga, for a holiday?’ [011-02]

(71) *Kua ono katoa atu i te tūranga*
 PFV look/study also thither ACC DEF way

o na māmā me na pēpē...
 POSS DEF.PL mother COM DEF.PL baby

‘(I) also studied the lifestyle of the mothers with babies...’ [011-01]

(72) *Noho au i reira me t-a-ku tāne,*
 sit/live 1SG LOC there COM DEF-POSS-1SG man/husband

me a maua tamariki, i Tūkao.
 COM POSS 1DU.EXCL child.PL LOC Tūkao

‘I lived there with my husband and our children in Tūkao.’ [011-01]

As described in 5.3.1.7, *me* is also the form of the preverbal particle used to mark the conditional mood. However, a particle of this form can also be used with a conditional meaning in front of a nominal predicate, as seen in (13) repeated here as (73). In an instance like this, *me* can be thought of as being the comitative preposition, and the whole clause in (73) can be translated as something like: “With this being the way things are happening today...”.

(73) *Me ko te tu teia e tupu nei*
 COND PRV DEF way DEM.PROX IPFV grow/happen PROX

i te ra nei...
 LOC DEF day PROX

‘If this is the way (things) are happening today...’ [010-03]

6.4.5 The prepositions *o* and *a*

The possessive prepositions *o* and *a* are never used to introduce adjuncts at the clause level. They are exclusively used to mark the possessor inside the noun phrase, where they occur postnominally, as in (74).

(74) *te navānanga o Kupe*

DEF story POSS Kupe
 'the story of Kupe'

With the exception of *no* and *na*, which may occur either at the clause level or postnominally in the noun phrase, all other prepositions occur only at the clause level. This sets the possessive prepositions apart from all other prepositions. Their use is further described in 4.7.

6.4.6 The prepositions *no* and *na*

As mentioned in 6.4.5, the 'benefactive' or 'emphatic' prepositions *no* and *na* can occur either at the clause level or postnominally in the noun phrase¹⁰⁴. This means that they can occur in more positions than any other type of prepositions, with the possible exception of the presentative *ko*¹⁰⁵.

They combine characteristics of the possessive prepositions, i.e., their ability to be heads of prepositional phrases modifying noun phrases, with the characteristics of the other prepositions to head prepositional phrases, which fill in syntactic roles at the clause level, where they mark direct object, indirect object or adjuncts. The functions of *no* and *na* are:

- to mark benefactive
- in preposed pronominal noun phrases to mark focus or emphasis
- to signify 'belonging'
- postnominally inside the noun phrase to mark possession (in this case always used in conjunction with the specific determiner *tētahi*)
- with a limited number of words from the already limited class of locational nouns to signify a difference in meaning from when these are used with other prepositions such as *i* or *ki*.

The last two of these functions, i.e., their use to mark possession inside the noun phrase and their use with certain locational nouns, is described in 4.7.1.2 and in 4.9.3, respectively. In this

¹⁰⁴ They can possibly also be said to occur outside of the clause level when marking focus.

¹⁰⁵ The preposition *ko* also occurs outside of the clause level when marking topic.

chapter, I will limit myself to describing their use in marking the benefactive, in marking focus and to signify ‘belonging’.

6.4.6.1 Use of *no* and *na* to mark the benefactive

No and *na* can be used to mark the benefactive, as in (21) repeated here as (75).

(75) *Manako* *au* *i reira, ka* *hoki* *au* *ki* *Manihiki,*
 think 1SG then INCEP go/come back 1SG ALL Manihiki

noho *ai* *i* *tētahi* *tuātau,*
 sit/live APH LOC SPF time

kia *riro* *au* *ei* *nēti* *no* *te* *hiti tangata*
 SBJV become 1SG RES nurse BEN DEF people

o *Manihiki.*
 POSS Manihiki

‘I then decided that I would go back to Manihiki and live there for some time, in order to become a nurse for the people of Manihiki.’ [011-01]

6.4.6.2 Use of *no* and *na* to mark focus or to signify ‘belonging’

While topics are marked by the presentative preposition *ko*, the emphatic *na* is used for marking nominals that are in focus. If the nominal in focus is expressed by a pronoun, an emphatic form with *na* is used, and this is placed at the beginning of the sentence. The verb follows it, being marked with one of the same two preverbal particles that are also used in front of verbs in negative clauses and other subordinate clauses, as in (76).

(76) *Na* *hana* *i* *kave* *mai* *i* *te* *kite*
 EMP 3SG TNS bring/take hither ACC DEF see/know

no *teia* *angaanga* *e* *fāmā* *poe.*
 BEN DEM.PROX work TNS farm pearl

‘It was him, who brought the knowledge of this work of pearl-farming.’ [021-01]

If the nominal in focus is expressed by a noun, this noun is placed at the beginning of the sentence, being introduced by *ko* (i.e., in a position also used for topics). It is then followed by a coreferential emphatic pronoun, as in (77). Further examples are given in 4.9.3.

- (77) *E ko Tinitō, te pāsireia na hana te poe*
 and PRV China DEF country BEN 3SG DEF pearl
- mākona roa atu e hoko ai nei*
 plenty INT thither IPFV sell APH PROX
- i te māketē o teia-nei-ao.*
 LOC DEF market POSS DEM.PROX -PROX-world
- ‘It is China that is the country which has the most pearls that it sells on the world market.’
 [021-01]

In (77), one can also see an example of the use of *na* to signify a sense of ‘belonging’.

6.4.7 The preposition *e*₁

The preposition *e* can be used to express the agentive, i.e., to introduce the agent of a passive verb, as in (78), where the verb *tuku*, ‘send’, which is zero-marked for the imperfective, is modified by the passive enclitic *hia*.

- (78) *Tuku hia mai au e t-o-ku pāpā*
 send PASS hither 1SG AGT DEF-POSS-1SG father
- kia haere mai au ki Tereora.*
 ALL go/come hither 1SG ALL Tereora
- ‘I was sent by my father to go to Tereora College.’ [015-01]

Instances of this preposition are exceedingly rare in my corpus, and I have not been able to find any instances of this preposition occurring with a pronoun.

6.4.8 The preposition *e*₂

Another preposition of the same form, i.e., *e*, is used to express the vocative, as seen in examples (79) and (80). The first of these is taken from a traditional story about the hero Maui,

where he is catching the sun and making it promise to move slower across the sky. The second is taken from a song about a woman calling out for her husband Tu to take her with him as he is leaving in his canoe.

- (79) *Kite kōtou e, e aha, e te au taeake,*
 see/know 2PL SUBR INDF what VOC DEF PL friend
kua tika noti, kua haere māria hua te ra.
 PFV true INT PFV go slow only DEF sun
 ‘And you know what, friends, it's true, (from then on) the sun only went slowly.’ [014-02]

- (80) *Hoki mai, e Tu, kave atu au.*
 come back hither VOC Tu bring/take thither 1SG
 ‘Come back, Tu, take me with you.’ [006-02]

6.4.9 The preposition *mei*

The preposition *mei*, ‘from’, is used to express the ablative, as exemplified in (81) and (82).

- (81) *I muri mai, kua tā-kore atu te au fāmā*
 LOC behind hither PFV CAUS-cease thither DEF PL farmer
i teia tūhanga o te kave-hanga mai
 ACC DEM.PROX way/job POSS DEF take/bring-NMLZ hither
na aronga anga-anga mei na henua i voho.
 DEF.PL people work ABL DEF.PL island LOC outside
 ‘Afterwards, the farmers stopped this way of bringing in workers from outside islands.’
 [013-02]

- (82) *E kore hoki ko maua hua taua tuātau ra*
 IPFV NEG INT PRV 1DU.EXCL only DEM.RETR time
 DIST
i te hoki mai mei Nu Tīrani,
 COMP DEF go/come back hither ABL New Zealand

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>te</i> | <i>hano</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fāmā</i> | <i>pārau.</i> |
| DEF | go/come | COMP | DEF | farm | shell |

‘It was not only us during that time who returned from New Zealand, in order to do pearl shell farming.’ [013-01]

I have not been able to find any examples of this preposition being used with a pronoun, other than with the deictic *konei*, ‘here’, as in (83). This would seem to indicate that *mei* can only be used with nouns or pronouns that have place reference. In the two examples above, *mei* was used with a common noun with place reference and a place name respectively.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| (83) | <i>Ka</i> | <i>rere</i> | <i>tahi</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pahī</i> | <i>rere</i> | <i>mei</i> | <i>ko-nei,</i> |
| | INCEP | fly | one | POSS | DEF | ship | fly | ABL | DEI-PROX |

| | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>eoti,</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kave</i> | <i>mai.</i> |
| and then | COMP | DEF | bring | hither |

‘One of the planes will fly from here (i.e., from Rarotonga), and then bring (people) back.’

[011-02]

6.4.10 The preposition *ei*

The preposition *ei* appears in conjunction with the verb *riro*, ‘become’, and functions as a ‘resultative’ preposition. It marks a noun, which something or someone becomes or turns into, what Cook (1999:63) speaking of Hawaiian refers to as ‘resulting entities’. The noun phrases that are complements of this preposition always occur without a determiner. Cognates of this preposition exist in many Polynesian languages of the EPN and Samoic-Outlier subgroups. Cognates of this particle have been reconstructed back to the proto-form **sei*¹⁰⁶, with the meaning of “particle of future location, or purpose”. Examples are given in (84) through (88). Sentence (84) was given earlier as (21) and (75).

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| (84) | <i>Manako</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>i reira,</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> |
| | think/decide | 1SG | then | INCEP | go back | 1SG | ALL | Manihiki |

| | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|----------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>noho</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>tuātau,</i> |
|-------------|-----------|----------|---------------|----------------|

¹⁰⁶ See <https://pollex.shh.mpg.de/entry/sei.2/>.

sit/live APH LOC SPF time

kia riro au ei nēti no te hiti tangata
 SBJV become 1SG RES nurse BEN DEF people

o Manihiki.
 POSS Manihiki

‘I decided then that I would go back to Manihiki and live there for some time, in order to become a nurse for the people of Manihiki.’ [011-01]

(85) *Ka riro ei meitaki¹⁰⁷ no a tātou*
 INCEP become RES something good BEN POSS 1PL.INCL

tamariki, i na tuātau ki mua.
 child.PL LOC DEF.PL time ALL front

‘(This present documentary work) will become something good for our children in the future.’ [011-02]

(86) *... kia kore e riro mai ei manamanatā rahi.*
 SBJV NEG IPFV become hither RES problem big

‘... so that it won’t develop into a big problem.’ [011-01]

(87) *Kua riro teia tuātau ei tuātau*
 PFV become DEM.PROX time RES time

mareka kore no te au fāmā.
 happy NEG BEN DEF PL farmer

‘This time became an unhappy time for the farmers.’ [013-01]

(88) *Kua riro teia ei tūhanga rahi*
 PFV become DEM.PROX RES way/job big/large

ki te au fāmā.

¹⁰⁷ The Rarotongan stative verb *meitaki*, ‘be good’, is here used as a noun, ‘something good’.

ALL DEF PL farmer

‘This became a big job for the farmers.’ [013-02]

A similar particle of the form ‘*ei*’¹⁰⁸ has been described for Tahitian by Coppenrath and Prévost (1975:178). They refer to it simply as ‘the mixed particle’¹⁰⁹, as it can be used with both nouns and verbs. They do not describe its use in much detail, but give the sample sentences reproduced here in (89) and (90).

(89) ‘*Ua tae mātou ‘ei tāvini nō ‘oe.*

PFV arrive 1PL.EXCL RES serve/servant BEN 2SG

‘We have come to be your servants.’

[Tahitian, Coppenrath and Prévost 1975:178, my glosses]

(90) ‘*Ua tae mātou ‘ei tāvini i-ā ‘oe.*

PFV arrive 1PL.EXCL RES serve/servant ACC-PERS 2SG

‘We have come to serve you.’ [Tahitian, Coppenrath and Prévost 1975:178, my glosses]

From the above examples, and from the shape of the particle, it is clear that it is used in a similar function as the Manihiki *ei*, although no examples occur in my Manihiki data of this particle being used before verbs.

For New Zealand Māori, Bauer et al. (1993:274-275) describe a similar particle, which is of the form *hei*. They gloss this as ‘future classifying particle’. Examples (91) through (93) illustrate its use. Note that it can occur in the same position as the indefinite article *he*, which Bauer et al. gloss simply as ‘classifying particle’.

(91) *He kaiako ia*

INDF teacher 3SG

‘She is a teacher.’

[New Zealand Māori, Bauer et al. 1993:274, my orthography and glosses]

(92) *Hei kaiako ia*

RES teacher 3SG

¹⁰⁸ Coppenrath and Prévost use the regular apostrophe to mark the glottal stop in Tahitian. I have here replaced it with an inverted apostrophe, similar to what is used in Rarotongan (Savage 1962; Buse and Taringa 1996) and in Hawaiian (Elbert and Pukui 1979; Pukui and Elbert 1986).

¹⁰⁹ French: *La particule mixte*.

‘She is going to be a teacher.’

[New Zealand Māori, Bauer et al. 1993:275, my orthography and glosses]

- (93) *I* *hiahia* *a* *Himi* *hei* *tākuta* *a* *Piri*
TAM want PERS Jim RES doctor PERS Bill
- inā* *tangata* *ia*
TAM adult 3SG

‘Jim wants Bill to be a doctor when he grows up.’

[New Zealand Māori, Bauer et al. 1993:419, my orthography and glosses]

When first encountering the particle *ei* in Manihiki, I had much trouble with correctly analysing it, especially since my main translator, Fever Taana, kept insisting that it was actually the accusative/locative particle *i*. I have since reached the conclusion that there probably is a particle, *ei*, which is cognate with the Tahitian ‘*ei* and the New Zealand Māori *hei*, which is used by some speakers at least. Other speakers, such as Fever Taana, use *i*, a preposition which is also used in Hawaiian in this function, as can be seen in (94) through (97).

- (94) *E* *lilo* ‘*oe* *i* *kumu*.
IPFV become 2SG RES teacher

‘You (should) become a teacher.’

[Hawaiian, Elbert and Pukui 1979:62, my orthography and glosses]

- (95) *Mai* *lilo* ‘*oe* *i* ‘*aihue*.
NEG.IMP become 2SG RES thief

‘Don’t become a thief.’

[Hawaiian, Elbert and Pukui 1979:62, my orthography and glosses]

- (96) *E* *lilo* *ana* *k-ō* *kaina* *i* *aha?*
IPFV become MED DEF-2sg.poss younger sibling RES what

‘What will your younger sibling become?’

[Hawaiian, Cook 1999:47, my orthography and glosses]

- (97) *Ua lilo 'o Pua mā i mau kauka.*
 PFV become PRV Pua PL? RES PL doctor
 'Pua and associates became doctors.'

[Hawaiian, Cook 1999:48, my orthography and glosses]

Interestingly, in Hawaiian, resulting entities, can also be marked with the indefinite article *he*, as in (98).

- (98) *... e lilo he mau kia'i no ke ali'i wahine.*
 INF become INDF PL guard BEN DEF chief female
 '... to become guards for the queen.' [Hawaiian, Cook 1999:63, my glosses]

Nicholas (2016) glosses the Rarotongan cognate *'ei* variously as 'complementiser' and 'subordinator'. An example from Rarotongan is given in (99).

- (99) *Kia mate te mērio, kā riro*
 SBJV be dead DEF mermaid INCEP become

t-ō-na kōpapa 'ei 'ukā tai.
 DEF-POSS-3SG body RES foam sea
 'When a mermaid dies, her body turns into sea-foam.'

[Buse and Taringa 1996:247-248, also quoted in Nicholas 2016:307, my glosses]

6.4.10.1 Is the resultative particle a preposition?

I have chosen to analyse the resultative particle *ei* as a preposition, although various objections can be raised to this analysis. One argument in favour of my analysis is that *ei* seems to be in more or less free variation with the accusative/locative particle *i*, which is clearly a preposition. One major argument against this analysis, however, is that *ei* is always used directly before a common noun, without any intervening article or other determiner. This is true for all the example sentences given in 6.4.10, both my own from Manihiki, and those given from Tahitian, New Zealand Māori, Hawaiian and Rarotongan.

In the New Zealand Māori examples in (91) and (92), one notices that the resultative particle occurs in the same position in the sentence as the indefinite article *he*. Likewise, from the Hawaiian sentence in (94) through (98) it appears that resulting entities in this language can

be expressed by either *i*, which is a preposition also used for accusative and locative like its Manihiki cognate, or by the indefinite article *he*.

However, my analysis has to be focused on Manihiki usage. In this language, the resultative particle is in free variation only with the accusative/locative particle, which is clearly a preposition. I have, therefore, chosen to also analyse the resultative particle as a preposition.

6.5 Nominal Clauses

Besides verbal clauses, where the predicate consists of a verb complex, Manihiki also makes use of nominal clauses, where the predicate consists of a noun phrase. The nominal clauses are used to express identity between two noun phrases (6.5.1), existence (6.5.2) or predicative possession (6.5.3).

6.5.1 Clauses expressing identity between two noun phrases

In this type of clause, both the predicate and the subject are expressed by noun phrases, and the clause functions to express the identity between the latter and the former. The predicate usually occurs first in the clause, just like in verbal clauses, and is preceded by the presentative preposition *ko* (see 6.4.1). Examples of this can be seen in (38), repeated here as (100), and in (101). In (100), there is an apposed noun phrase stating the name of the person mentioned. However, as can be seen from (102), it can also be the case that the nominal predicate occurs after the subject. What can further be seen in this sample sentence, is that the fronted subject of a nominal sentence does not necessarily have to be marked with the presentative preposition *ko*.

- (100) *Ko* *au* *teia,* *ko* *Vaeau Temu Hagai.*
 PRV 1SG DEM.PROX PRV Vaeau Temu Hagai
 ‘This is me, Vaeau Temu Hagai.’ [007-01]

- (101) *Ko* *George Karaponga* *t-o-ku* *pāpā.*
 PRV George Karaponga DEF-POSS-1SG father
 ‘My father is George Karaponga.’ [004-01]

- (102) *T-o-ku* *ingoa* *ko* *Arahu.*

| | | | |
|--------------|------|-----|-------|
| DEF-POSS-1SG | name | PRV | Arahu |
|--------------|------|-----|-------|

‘My name is Arahu.’ [003-03]

6.5.2 Existential clauses

As a cross-linguistic generalisation, existential clauses, i.e., clauses expressing existence or nonexistence in a place or in general, will usually involve an indefinite noun phrase as the subject/predicate of the clause. In Manihiki, indefinite subject noun phrases of existential clauses are also marked with the indefinite article *e* and placed at the very beginning of the sentence. An example of this is given in (103). In negative existential clauses, i.e., clauses stating the non-existence of a certain entity, this indefinite noun phrase is preceded by the negative (*e*) *kore*, as in (104).

(103) *Tuātau nei e henu kōriro.*
time PROX INDF other slit drum
‘These days, there is another (i.e., a different) slit drum.’ [010-03]

(104) *Teia tuātau mua ra, e kore e tangata*
DEM.PROX time before DIST IPFV NEG INDF person

e haka-tika hia kia hano hua koe,
TNS CAUS-true (=allow) PASS SBJV go/come only 2SG

kia use koe tēnā tank a hopu
SBJV use 2SG DEM.MED tank POSS dive for

i te hopu na pārau.
COMP DEF dive for DEF.PL shell
‘During this time before, there was no one who would just allow you to go and use this diving tank to dive for pearls.’ [013-01]

6.5.3 Clauses expressing predicative possession

The simplest form of clause expressing predicative possession is a nominal sentence, in which the subject expresses the possessor and the predicate the possessee. Such sentences are exemplified in (105) and (106).

- (105) ... *me manamanatā t-o rātou*
 COND¹¹⁰ problem DEF-POSS 3PL
 ‘... if they have a problem’ (lit.: ‘If theirs is a problem’) [015-01]

- (106) *E ingoa ke atu t-o hoku.*
 INDF name different thither DEF-POSS 1SG
 ‘I have another name.’ [014-01]

More examples are given in (107).

- (107) *E ono a-ku tamariki tamāroa,*
 IPFV six POSS-1SG child.PL boy

kāre a-ku tamariki tamāhine.
 NEG POSS-1SG child.PL girl
 ‘I have six boys and no girls.’ [014-01]

6.5.4 Clauses expressing predicative location

Predicative location can be expressed with the locative predicate marker *tei*¹¹¹, as in (108) through (110).

- (108) *No atu e te noho nei au i Rarotonga nei,*
 although PROG sit/live PROX 1SG LOC Rarotonga PROX

ko t-o-ku pukuhatu, ko t-o-ku hinangaro,

¹¹⁰ I have previously analysed *me* as a preverbal particle expressing the conditional mood. It normally appears immediately before the verb, in the same position as the other aspect/mood particles would appear. Here it appears directly before a noun phrase, and could possibly be regarded as a comitative preposition, in which case it should be glossed as COM instead of COND.

¹¹¹ Reflexes of this particle is found in several Tahitic languages, cf. <https://pollex.shh.mpg.de/entry/tei.1/>.

PRV DEF-POSS-1SG heart PRV DEF-POSS-1SG want/wish/desire

tei Manihiki.

LOC.PRED Manihiki

‘Although I’m living here on Rarotonga, my heart, my desire, is in Manihiki.’ [011-01]

(109) *Ko au, te noho nei au i ko-nei, t-o-ku*
 PRV 1SG PROG sit/live PROX 1SG LOC DEI-PROX DEF-POSS-1SG

pukuhatu tei Manihiki.

heart LOC.PRED Manihiki

‘As for me, I live here (on Rarotonga), (but) my heart is in Manihiki.’ [011-02]

(110) *E rua a maua tamariki tei Nu Tīrani*
 IPFV two POSS 1DU.EXCL child.PL LOC.PRED New Zealand

i taua tuātau ra.
 LOC DEM.RETR time DIST

‘We had two children in New Zealand during that time.’ [013-01]

6.6 Nondeclarative Clauses

The major part of this chapter has described how declarative clauses, whether verbal or nominal, are formed. Besides declarative clauses, Manihiki also has imperative clauses (6.6.1) and interrogative clauses (6.6.2).

6.6.1 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses have also been described in Chapter 5 on the Verb Complex, but their use is briefly summarised here. In these clauses, the verb complex is zero-marked for aspect and mood and there is no overt subject. In other words, the subject, which is implicitly understood to be in the second person, is not expressed overtly. Otherwise, imperative clauses exhibit the same structure as declarative ones. As is the case for other verbal clauses, imperatives may or may not have overtly expressed direct and indirect arguments, according to their level of transitivity. So, imperative verbal clauses will be of the form:

Verb - (dirObj) - (indObj)

Examples of imperative verbal clauses are given in 5.3.1.8, and repeated here in (111) through (113).

- (111) *Ono iho i t-o-na āhua.*
look downwards ACC DEF-POSS-3SG face
'Look at her face.' [006-02]

- (112) *Hoki mai, e Tu, kave atu au.*
come/go hither VOC (name) take thither 1SG
'Come back, Tu, take me with you.' [006-02]

- (113) *Hoki mai ki-a haku, e Tu.*
come/go hither ALL-PERS 1SG VOC (name)
'Come back to me, Tu.' [006-02]

6.6.2 Interrogative clauses

There are two types of interrogative clauses: closed-ended ones, also known as polar interrogative clauses, described in 6.6.2.1; and open-ended ones described in 6.6.2.2.

6.6.2.1 Closed-ended/polar interrogative clauses

As can be seen from (114) and (115), closed-ended interrogative clauses are of the same morphosyntactic structure as declarative clauses. The only thing distinguishing these two types of clauses is a rising intonation in the former.

- (114) *"Māmā, ka haka-tika koe?"*
mother INCEP CAUS-true 2SG
"'Mama, will you allow (me)?"' [014-02]

- (115) *"E tika t-a hau?", na Maui e.*
IPFV true DEF-POSS 2SG EMP Maui SUBR
'"'Is yours (i.e., what you're telling me) true?" asked Maui.' [014-02]

6.6.2.2 Open-ended interrogative clauses

Open-ended interrogative clauses make use of four different interrogative words, which are given in Chapter 4 on the Noun Phrase, and repeated below in (116).

- (116)
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| <i>ko ai, na hai</i> | ‘who’ |
| <i>e aha</i> | ‘what’, ‘why’ |
| <i>hea</i> | ‘where’ |
| <i>pēhea</i> | ‘how’ |

6.6.2.2.1 The interrogative words *ko ai* and *na hai*

The usual term for ‘who’ is *ko ai*, where *ko* is the presentative preposition, or alternatively *na hai*, where *na* is the benefactive/emphatic preposition. The form *ko ai* is used in nominal sentences, while *na hai* is used in verbal sentences. In (117) one can see an example of both *ko ai* and *na hai* occurring, while in (118) is a further example with *ko ai*.

- (117)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------------|------------|----------|-------------|
| <i>E</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>no~noho</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> |
| and | COND | INCEP | REDUP-sit/live | DEF.PL | child.PL | PROX | LOC | inside |
-
- | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|------------|----------|---------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Fuinga-o-Nīva,</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>hai</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>ākono?</i> |
| LOC | DEF | Fuinga-o-Niva | EMP | who | IPFV | look after |
-
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| <i>Ko</i> | <i>ai,</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tangata?</i> |
| PRV | who | PRV | who | DEF | person |

‘And if the kids lived inside the Fuinga-o-Niva (the Manihiki Hostel on Rarotonga), who would look after them? Who would be that person?’ [011-02]

- (118)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Ko</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tangata</i> | <i>mākona</i> | <i>a-na</i> | <i>moni</i> |
| PRV | who | DEF | person | plenty | POSS-3SG | money |
-
- | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|--------------|------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hoko,</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>mākona</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>mea?</i> |
| COMP | DEF | buy | SBJV | plenty | PL | thing |

‘Who’s the person with a lot of money to buy, so that he will have a lot of stuff?’

[011-02]

6.6.2.2.2 The interrogative word *e aha*

The term for ‘what’ is *aha*, which is always preceded by the indefinite article *e*, as in (119) through (123).

- (119) *E aha te au angaanga meitaki*
 INDF what DEF PL work/task good
- ka rauka i te rave hia, mēkore, na angaanga*
 INCEP be able COMP DEF do PASS or DEF.PL work/task
- kua rave hia ana kia kore e ngā~ngaro?*
 PFV do PASS MED SBJV NEG TNS REDUP~lose/forget
- ‘What are the best tasks to do for maintenance, or the tasks that can be finished and should not be forgotten?’ [011-01]

- (120) *E aha tikāi teia tu?*
 INDF what truly DEM.PROX way
- ‘What’s this way really all about?’ [011-02]

- (121) *E aha t-a tātou rāvenga ka rauka*
 INDF what DEF-POSS 3PL way to do something INCEP be able
- i te tauturu, i te haka-hoki mai*
 COMP DEF help COMP DEF CAUS-go/come back hither
- i o tātou aronga Manihiki, te hiti tangata Manihiki,*
 ACC POSS 1PL people Manihiki DEF people Manihiki
- kia fo~foki mai ki Rarotonga nei,*
 SBJV REDUP~go/come back hither ALL Rarotonga PROX
- kia fo~foki atu ki Manihiki?*
 SBJV REDUP~go/come back thither ALL Manihiki

‘What’s our thing to do to be able to help, to be able to bring back our Manihiki people, for them to come back (from New Zealand and Australia) to Rarotonga and then go back to Manihiki?’ [011-02]

- (122) *Mākona te kōpū tangata hinangaro nei te tari*
 plenty DEF family want/wish PROX DEF take/bring
- i-a rātou tamariki. A mea pēhea e tari ai?*
 ACC-PERS 1PL child.PL but thing how TNS take/bring APH
- E aha te tu ka tari ai?*
 INDF what DEF way INCEP take/bring APH

‘There are many families that want to take their children (back to Manihiki). But how are they going to take them? In what way are they going to take them?’ [011-02]

- (123) *Ka riro ra te puka nei ei te haka-ari*
 INCEP become DIST DEF book PROX RES DEF CAUS-see?
- ki a tātou tamariki, e aha te i tupu*
 DAT POSS 1PL.INCL child.PL INDF what DEF TNS happen
- i t-o rātou henua.*
 LOC DEF-POSS 3PL island

This book has made it possible to show our children what has happened to their island (during the cyclone Martin). [011-02]

This interrogative word, *e aha*, can also be used to mean ‘why’ as in (124).

- (124) *E aha kore koe i tunu i na faraoa*
 INDF what NEG 2SG TNS make ACC DEF.PL flour (= pancakes)
- nei, i runga i na umu nei?*
 PROX LOC above LOC DEF.PL oven/stove PROX
- ‘Why didn’t you fry the pancakes on these stoves?’ [011-02]

Perhaps this use of *e aha* should be regarded as a shortened form of *e aha te tumu*, ‘what is the reason’, as seen in sentences such as (57), repeated here as (125), which is taken from the same dialogue as (124).

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|------------------|
| (125) | <i>Tē,</i> | <i>māhine,</i> | <i>aria,</i> | <i>noho</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>ko-nei</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>roa~roa</i> | |
| | EXCLAM | girl | wait | sit/live | LOC | there-PROX | SBJV | long~REDUP | |
| | <i>ake</i> | <i>koe,</i> | <i>eoti,</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>koe</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>aha</i> | |
| | thither | 2SG | and then | INCEP | see/know | 2SG | INDF | what | |
| | <i>te</i> | <i>tumu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>tunu</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>faraoa</i> | <i>faraipāni</i> |
| | DEF | reason | TNS | make | APH | 1SG | DEF.PL | flower | frying pan |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>runga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>umu</i> | <i>nei,</i> | | | |
| | LOC | above | LOC | DEF | oven/stove | PROX | | | |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ao</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>au</i> |
| | LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | cloud/smoke | PROX | NEG | APH | 1SG |
| | <i>e</i> | <i>tunu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>runga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>mea.</i> | | |
| | TNS | make | LOC | above | LOC | DEF.PL | thing | | |

‘Girl, hold on, stay here for a bit longer, and then you will know the reason why I cook pancakes (lit.: frying pan flour) on this stove, in the smoke (lit.: cloud), why I don’t cook it on the other stoves (lit.: in the other things).’ [011-02]

6.6.2.2.3 The words *hea* and *pēhea*

In (126), both *hea*, ‘where’, *pēhea*, ‘how’ and *na hai*, ‘who (emphatic)’, occur. The term *hea* is used with the allative preposition *ki*. In (127) and (128), one can find additional uses of *pēhea*.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| (126) | <i>Ko</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>reira,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roro</i> |
| | PRV | DEF.PL | child.PL | LOC | there | IPFV | NEG | TNS | go/come |
| | <i>mai,</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hēkōkō</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>mātua</i> | <i>e,</i> | |
| | hither | BEN | DEF | uncertain/indecisive | POSS | DEF.PL | parent | SUBR | |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>ka</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>pēhea</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>nei,</i> |
| INCEP | thing | how | DEF.PL | child.PL | PROX |

| | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>haka-no~noho</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>hea?</i> |
| IPFV | CAUS-REDUP~sit/live | 3PL | ALL | where |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|----------|---------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>Na</i> | <i>hai</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>hākono</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>nei?</i> |
| EMP | who | IPFV | look after | ACC | DEF.PL | child.PL | PROX |

| | | | |
|----------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>E</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>ngatā</i> | <i>tērā.</i> |
| INDF | thing | difficult | DEM.DIST |

‘For the kids that did not come (from Manihiki to Rarotonga), because of the indecisiveness of their parents, what were they going to do with these kids, where were they going to live? Who was going to look after these kids? That was a difficult question.’

[011-02]

(127) *Kua ono hia atu no runga i te tūranga*
 PFV look PASS thither BEN above LOC DEF way/conditions

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|--------------------------|----------|----------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>aronga anga-anga,</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>runga i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ngāhi anga-anga,</i> |
| POSS | DEF | people work/job | LOC | above LOC | DEF | place work/job |

| | | | | |
|--------------|----------|---------------------|------------|------------|
| <i>pēhea</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>haka-meitaki</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>ai.</i> |
| how | IPFV | caus-good | PASS | APH |

‘We checked the conditions of the working people in the workplace, how they could be made better.’ [011-01]

(128) *Māri ra, na roto i te tautā-hanga,*
 but/only BEN inside LOC DEF try-NMLZ

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|---------------------------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kimi-rāvenga-hanga,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>rauka</i> | <i>mai</i> |
| LOC | DEF | search-way to do something-NMLZ | PFV | be able | hither |

| | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>mātou</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kite,</i> |
| 1PL.EXCL | COMP | DEF | know |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------------|
| <i>ka</i> | <i>haka-pēhea</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>runga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tū-hanga</i> |
| INCEP | CAUS-how | 1PL.EXCL | LOC | above | LOC | DEF | stand-NMLZ (= way) |

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fāmā-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pārau.</i> |
| POSS | DEF | farm-NMLZ | ACC | DEF | shell |

‘It’s only through trying, through searching for a way, that we managed to discover how we should do the job of farming the pearl shells.’ [013-01]

7 Complex Sentences

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will describe the use of complex sentences, i.e., sentences in which two or more clauses are combined. Manihiki is an analytic language, which uses small separate particles instead of bound morphemes to express grammatical functions. This is true also when it comes to complex sentences, where various conjunctions are used to combine clauses.

In coordinating constructions, two or more main clauses are linked together, using either a coordinating conjunction or no conjunction at all. Coordinating constructions that do not use any conjunctions are known as asyndetic constructions. The different types of coordinating constructions and the various conjunctions used in them will be described in 7.2. A small number of the coordinating conjunctions can also be used to combine noun phrases and prepositional phrases. This will be described in 7.3.

Subordinating constructions, on the other hand, are constructions in which one or more dependent clauses are linked to a main clause. When conjunctions are used in subordinating constructions, they are referred to as subordinating conjunctions. These will be described in 7.4.

7.2 Coordinating Constructions

Manihiki makes use of a very limited number of coordinating conjunctions, which are used to combine main clauses in coordinating constructions. They are given in (1). A few of these can also be used to combine noun phrases and prepositional phrases, as will be explained in 7.3.

| | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>e</i> | additive/cumulative/sequential | ‘and’ |
| | <i>(e) pērā katoa</i> | intensified additive | ‘and also’, ‘as well’ |
| | <i>mēkore</i> | disjunctive/alternative | ‘or’ |
| | <i>tērā (ra)</i> | contrastive adversative | ‘but’, ‘nevertheless’ |
| | <i>a</i> | corrective adversative | ‘but rather’ |
| | <i>kāreka ra</i> | intensified adversative | ‘even though, in spite of this’ |
| | <i>mārī (ra)</i> | intensified corr. adv? | ‘only’ |
| | <i>inārā</i> | sequential | ‘and then’ |

| | | |
|------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| <i>e oti</i> | sequential | ‘and then’ |
| <i>tērā ia i reira</i> | explicative | ‘that is (to say)’, ‘i.e.’ |
| <i>koia hoki</i> | explicative | ‘that is (to say)’, ‘i.e.’ |
| <i>(i)na</i> | | ‘so’ |
| <i>no reira</i> | | ‘so’, ‘that is why’ |

The uses of these coordinating conjunctions will be described in sections 7.2.1 to 7.2.11.

7.2.1 The additive/cumulative/sequential *e*

The conjunction *e*, ‘and’, can be used to join two clauses, as shown in (2), where it is used as a sequential conjunction. Its additive or cumulative function mostly occurs when it is used to coordinate noun phrases, as will be described in 7.3 below.

- (2) *Kua tātā mai au i reira i te tuku mai*
PRV wrote hither 1SG then COMP DEF send (here: express) hither
- i t-o-ku manako e, kia riro ko au*
ACC DEF-POSS-1SG thought/wish SUBR SBJV become PRV 1SG
- te nēti i Manihiki, e kua haka-tika*
DEF nurse LOC Manihiki and PFV CAUS-true (= allow/accept)
- hia mai.*
PASS hither
- ‘I then wrote (a letter) to express my wish to become the nurse for Manihiki, and it was accepted.’ [011-01]

7.2.2 The intensified additive (*e*) *pērā katoa*

In (3), one can see an example of *pērā katoa* being used, together with *e*.

- (3) *Kua rauka i-a haku i te hoki ki Manihiki*
PRV be able ACC-PERS 1SG COMP DEF go/come back ALL Manihiki
- i te hōronga atu tētahi tauturu na haku*
COMP DEF give thither SPF help EMP 1SG

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------------------|----------|-------------------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hiti tangata.</i> | <i>E</i> | <i>pērā katoa</i> |
| ALL | DEF | people | and | also |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|--------------------|------------|----------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>rauka-hanga</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>tauturu</i> |
| LOC | DEF | get-NMLZ | hither | ACC | SPF | help |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----------|---------------|-------------|----------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>ki-a</i> | <i>haku</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>t-a-ku</i> | <i>tāne</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>a-ku</i> | <i>tamariki,</i> |
| ALL-PERS 1SG | | and | DEF-POSS-1SG | man/husband | and | POSS-1SG | child.PL |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------------|--------------|----------|-----------|------------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kite-hanga</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ora-hanga</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> |
| LOC | DEF | see-NMLZ | 3PL | ACC | DEF | live-NMLZ | POSS | Manihiki |

‘I had the opportunity to return to Manihiki to give some help of mine to the people. And also, to receive some help for me, my husband and my children, so that they could see the way of life in Manihiki.’ [011-01]

7.2.3 The disjunctive *mēkore*

Disjunctive is expressed with *mēkore*, ‘or’. This particle is etymologically derived as in (4).

- (4) *me* *kore*
 COND NEG
 ‘or (lit.: if not)’

In other words, ‘A or B’ is expressed something like ‘A, (or) if not (A), (then) B’. An example is given in (5).

- (5) *Kua* *kite* *hoki* *tātou* *te* *moana* *teia,*
 PFV see/know INT 1PL.INCL DEF ocean DEM.PROX

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------------|-------------|----------|-----------------|
| <i>mēkore</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tai-roto</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>Manihiki</i> |
| or | DEF | sea-inside (= lagoon) | DEM.PROX | POSS | Manihiki |

‘We understand that this is the ocean, or rather, this is (actually) the lagoon of Manihiki.’

[009-02]

It should be noted, however, that *me kore* can also be used in the more original sense of ‘if not’, ‘unless’ or ‘lest’ as seen in (6). I have chosen to write *me kore* in two separate words

when used in this sense. The use of the conditional preverbal particle *me* will be further described in 7.4.2.2.

In (7), one can find first an instance of *mēkore* being used in the sense ‘or’, and subsequently an instance of *me kore* being used in the sense of ‘if not’, ‘unless’ or ‘lest’. In this example sentence, one can also see that *mēkore*, ‘or’ can be used to coordinate noun phrases as well as clauses, something that will be further described in 7.3.

- (6) *Me kore e haka-tano hia, ka rahi atu*
 COND NEG IPFV CAUS-correct PASS INCEP big/large thither
- te kino i teia au matahiti ki mua¹¹².*
 DEF bad LOC DEM.PROX PL year ALL before
- ‘Unless (the teaching of traditional dances) is corrected, the damage (to how these dances are being performed) will grow bigger in the years to come.’ [010-02]

- (7) *I teia tuātau, kia mārohirohi ra i-a*
 LOC DEM.PROX time SBJV strong DIST LOC-PERS
- mātou te au fāmā i te*
 1PL.EXCL DEF PL farm/farmer LOC DEF
- kimi-rāvenga-hanga. Kia rauka mai tētahi ngāhi,*
 search for-way to do something-NMLZ SBJV be able hither SPF place
- mēkore tētahi tūhanga kia hopo i*
 or SPF way SBJV sell ACC
- t-a mātou poe. Me kore mātou e rave*

¹¹² The common usage is for *mua*, ‘before’, to refer to previous time, as can be seen, e.g., in (14) below. *Muri*, ‘behind’, is generally used to refer to subsequent time. Here, however, *mua* is being used to refer to subsequent time. This may be a slip of the tongue, or it may be that *mua* can refer to either previous or subsequent time. Williams’ dictionary of New Zealand Māori (1871:88) gives the cognate *a mua* as ‘henceforth’ and *a muri* as ‘hereafter’. However, all examples that he gives has *mua* referring to former time and *muri* referring to subsequent time. More research will definitely be needed in order to establish the full range of meanings associated with *mua* and *muri* when used with reference to time.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|----------|-------------|---------------|-----------|-------------------|----|
| DEF-POSS | 1PL.EXCL | pearl | COND | NEG | 1PL.EXCL | IPFV | do |
| <i>teia</i> | <i>tūranga,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>manuia</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>noho-hanga</i> | |
| DEM.PROX | way | IPFV | NEG | good | DEF | sit/live-NMLZ | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------------|
| <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fāmā-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>poe</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> |
| POSS | DEF | farm-NMLZ | LOC | DEF | PL | pearl | Manihiki |

‘At this time, we farmers had to be strong in order to find a way (to make a living). In order to be able to get some places or some ways to sell our pearls. Unless we do things this way, it wouldn’t be good for the life of farming the Manihiki pearls.’ [013-01]

It seems that the meaning of *mēkore* has been generalised, so that *mēkore ... mēkore ...* has come to mean ‘either ... or ...’, as in (8), where this construction is used to combine two prepositional phrases. More examples of coordinating conjunctions being used to combine noun phrases and prepositional phrases will be given in 7.3.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (8) | <i>Teia</i> | <i>pātete,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>tahi</i> | <i>hua</i> | <i>terepū i</i> | <i>teia</i> |
| | DEM.PROX | fare | IPFV | one | only | trip | LOC DEM.PROX |
| | <i>pātete,</i> | <i>mēkore</i> | <i>mei</i> | <i>Manihiki</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Rarotonga,</i> | |
| | fare | or | ABL | Manihiki | ALL | Rarotonga | |
| | <i>mēkore</i> | <i>mei</i> | <i>Rarotonga</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> | <i>Me</i> | <i>hoki,</i> |
| | or | ABL | Rarotonga | ALL | Manihiki | COND | go/come back |
| | <i>ka</i> | <i>tūaki</i> | <i>akahou</i> | <i>i reira</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tūhanga.</i> |
| | INCEP | pay | again | then | PRV | DEM.PROX | part |

‘This fare, it’s just one trip for this fare, either from Manihiki to Rarotonga, or from Rarotonga to Manihiki. If you go back, then you pay for this part again.’ [013-02]

7.2.4 The two adversatives *tērā* (ra) and *a*

By far the most common way to express adversative coordination between clauses is with *tērā* (ra), which translates as ‘but’. Examples of its use are given in (9) and (10). However, it seems that only contrastive adversative coordination is expressed by *tērā* (ra), while corrective

adversative coordination is expressed by the much shorter particle *a*, an example of which is given in (11). This latter can be translated as ‘but rather’ or ‘but on the contrary’.

- (9) *T-o-ku hano-hanga ki Nu Tīreni, kua noho au*
 DEF-POSS-1SG go/come-NMLZ ALL New Zealand PFV sit/live 1SG
- i tētahi ngāhi, kāre Manihiki e noho ana*
 LOC SPF place NEG Manihiki IPFV sit/liv MED
- i reira. Tērā ra, e hoki ana au ki Ākarana*
 LOC there but IPFV go/come back MED 1SG ALL Auckland
- i te hārāvei i na Manihiki,*
 COMP DEF meet ACC DEF.PL Manihiki (people)
- i te rauka i reira i te kautā Manihiki,*
 COMP DEF be able then COMP DEF speak Manihiki (language)
- ki tētahi tangata kehe.*
 ALL/COM SPF people different

‘On arriving in New Zealand, I lived in a place where no Manihiki people lived. But I returned to Auckland to meet Manihiki people, so that I would then be able to speak Manihiki with different people.’ [011-01]

- (10) *E hinangaro hua ana au i te hoki*
 IPFV want/wish only MED 1SG COMP DEF go/come back
- ki Manihiki, tērā kāre moni.*
 ALL Manihiki but NEG money

‘All I want is to return to Manihiki, but there’s no money.’ [011-02]

- (11) *Kua mea i reira teia porokaramu nei na mātou.*
 PFV thing LOC there DEM.PROX program PROX BEN 1PL.EXCL
- E kore ono hua te tūranga o te tamariki*

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|-------------------|---------------|----------|------------|------------------------|
| IPFV | NEG | look/study | only | DEF | way | POSS | DEF | chil.PL |
| <i>kia</i> | <i>meitaki,</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ono</i> | | <i>katoa</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tūranga</i> |
| SBJV | good | but | look/study | | also | ACC | DEF | way |
| <i>o</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>māmā</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>mārohirohi</i> | <i>rātou,</i> | | <i>kia</i> | <i>rauaka</i> |
| POSS | DEF.PL | mother | SBJV | strong | 3PL | | SBJV | be able |
| <i>i-a</i> | | <i>rātou</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ākono</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>rātou tamariki.</i> |
| LOC-PERS | | 3PL | COMP | DEF | look after | ACC | POSS | 3PL child.PL |

‘This program was started (lit.: became a thing) for us. Not only to study the habits of the children in order (for them) to have a good life, but also to study the habits of the mothers, so that they may be strong, so that they may look after their children (well).’ [011-01]

7.2.5 The intensified adversative *kāreka ra*

The conjunction *kāreka ra*, ‘even though’, ‘in spite of this’, expresses an intensified form of adversative, as show in (12).

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|------------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| (12) | <i>No reira,</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>fāngai</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>au</i> | |
| | so | PRV | 1SG | PFV | feed/raise | PASS | thither | 1SG | |
| | <i>i</i> | <i>ngāhi</i> | <i>ke.</i> | <i>Kore</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>reira</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>kite</i> |
| | LOC | place | different | NEG | 1SG | LOC | there | TNS | see/know |
| | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>tuakana,</i> | | <i>e</i> | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>au</i> | | |
| | DEF-POSS-1SG | PL | older same-sex sibling | | and | DEF-POSS-1SG | PL | | |
| | <i>tuangāne</i> | | <i>fānau</i> | | <i>tikahai.</i> | | | | |
| | older opposite-sex sibling | | birth | | true | | | | |
| | <i>Kāreka ra,</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>t-o</i> | <i>hoku</i> | <i>hinangaro,</i> | <i>hinangaro</i> | <i>noti</i> | <i>au,</i> | |
| | in spite of this | PRV | DEF-POSS | 1SG | want/wish ¹¹³ | want/wish | INT | 1SG | |

¹¹³ The usual translation of *hinangaro* is ‘want’ or ‘wish’. Here, the appropriate translation would be something like ‘desire’ or ‘favourite’.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>o-ku</i> | <i>mātua</i> | <i>fāngai,</i> | <i>no te mea,</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>ake</i> |
| ACC | POSS-1SG | parent | feed/raise | because | see | upwards |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------|-----------|---------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>au</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>rangi</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>henua,</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>raua.</i> |
| 1SG | DEF | sky | and | DEF | island/land | PRV | 3DU |

‘So, I was raised in a different place. There, I didn’t know my true birth (i.e., biological) big sisters or big brothers. In spite of this, my feeding (i.e., adoptive) parents were my favourites, because I saw the sky and the land with them.’ [014-01]

7.2.6 The conjunction *mārī ra*

The conjunction *mārī ra* was always translated by my main translation consultant Piva Taana as ‘only’. In most instances, however, such as in (13) and (14), *mārī ra* could possibly be translated as a corrective adversative conjunction, like the particle *a*, which is mentioned above, but possibly with an intensified sense.

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------|
| (13) | <i>Ono</i> | <i>tātou</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Tinitō,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fāmā</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>i</i> |
| | look | 1PL.INCL | ALL | China | PROG | farm | PROX | ACC |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|------------|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>t-a-na</i> | <i>poe</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>kauvai,</i> |
| DEF-POSS-3SG | pearl | LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | PL | river |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|-----------|---------------|--------------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>mēkore</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>vai,</i> | <i>eiaha</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tai,</i> |
| or | LOC | DEF | (fresh) water | PROH | LOC | DEF | sea |

| | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-----------|---------------|----------|-------------|
| <i>mārī ra</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>vai</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> |
| but/only | LOC | DEF | (fresh) water | LOC | inside |

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>kauvai.</i> |
| LOC | DEF | PL | river |

‘(If) we look at China, they farm their pearls in the rivers, or in the fresh water, not the sea, only in the water in the rivers.’ [021-01]

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|---------------|------------|------------|----------|-------------|----------|----------------|
| (14) | <i>Teia</i> | <i>tuātau</i> | <i>mua</i> | <i>ra,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>tangata</i> |
|------|-------------|---------------|------------|------------|----------|-------------|----------|----------------|

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|------------|
| DEM.PROX | time | | front/before | DIST | IPFV | NEG | INDF | person |
| <i>e</i> | <i>haka-tika</i> | | <i>hia</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>hano</i> | <i>hua</i> | <i>koe,</i> | |
| TNS | CAUS-true (= allow) | | PASS | SBJV | go/come | only | 2SG | |
| <i>kia</i> | use | <i>koe</i> | <i>tēnā</i> | tank | <i>a</i> | <i>hopu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> |
| SBJV | use | 2SG | DEM.PROX | tank | POSS | dive for | COMP | DEF |
| <i>hopu</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>pārau.</i> | | <i>Mārī ra,</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>ruku,</i> | <i>tangata</i> | <i>hua</i> |
| dive for | DEF.PL | shell | | but/only | INCEP | dive | be person | only |
| <i>koe,</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tūranga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>rauaka</i> | | |
| 2SG | LOC | DEF | way | COMP | DEF | get | | |
| <i>i</i> | <i>t-a-u</i> | <i>pārau.</i> | | | | | | |
| ACC | DEF-POSS-2SG | shell | | | | | | |

‘During this first time, no one was allowed to go and use this diving tank to dive for pearl shells. But (on the contrary), you would skin dive only as a way to get your pearl shells.’

[013-01]

7.2.7 The sequentials *inārā* and *eoti*

An example of *inārā*, which translates as ‘and then’ is given in (15). An example of *eoti*, which also translates as ‘and then’, is given in (16).

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------|---------------|------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| (15) | <i>I</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>matahiti</i> | <i>rua</i> | <i>mano</i> ¹¹⁴ , | | <i>kua</i> | <i>tae</i> | <i>ria</i> ¹¹⁵ | <i>te</i> |
| | LOC | DEF | year | two | thousand | PFV | reach | PASS/INCH? | | DEF |
| | <i>hoko-hanga</i> | <i>poe</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>Manihiki</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>māketē</i> | <i>o</i> | | |
| | sell-NMLZ | pearl | POSS | Manihiki | ALL | DEF | market | POSS | | |

¹¹⁴ The most commonly used word for ‘thousand’ is either *tauatini* or *tauasini*. In what I have termed “the older system of numeration”, *mano* translates as ‘two thousand’. However, this particular speaker seems to use *mano* as part of “the modern numeral system” in the meaning ‘one thousand’.

¹¹⁵ This is the only instance I have encountered of a particle other than *hia*, in this case seemingly an allomorph thereof, being used to denote the passive, or possibly inchoative.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------|---------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>teia-nei-ao</i> | | <i>ki</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>tahi</i> | <i>ngahuru</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>varu</i> |
| DEM.PROX-PROX-day (= world) | | ALL | SPF | one | ten | with | eight |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------|-----------|------------------|---------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| <i>mirioni tārā</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>matahiti.</i> | <i>Inārā,</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>tae</i> | <i>ki</i> |
| million dollar | LOC | DEF | year | and then | ALL | reach | ALL |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|----------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>na</i> | <i>mārama</i> | <i>hopenga</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>matahiti</i> | <i>rua</i> | <i>mano,</i> |
| DEF.PL | month | end | POSS | DEF | year | two | thousand |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>kua</i> | <i>tupu</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>maki</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>moana,</i> |
| PFV | grow | SPF | sick/disease | LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | ocean |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------|----------|------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>tai</i> | <i>roto,</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> | <i>Inā,</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>maki</i> |
| sea | inside | POSS | Manihiki | so | DEM.PROX | sick/disease |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>tā-mate</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>rahi-hanga</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pārau</i> |
| TNS | CAUS-die | ACC | DEF | big-NMLZ | POSS | DEF | shell |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|------------|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>tupu</i> | <i>ana</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>moana.</i> |
| TNS | grow | MED | LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | ocean |

‘In the year 2000, the selling of Manihiki pearls on the world market reached some 18 million dollars a year. And then, when they reached the last months of the year 2000, some disease (started) growing in the ocean, (or rather) the lagoon, of Manihiki. So, this disease killed most of the shells that grew in the ocean (should be: lagoon).’ [021-01]

(16)

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>Ka</i> | <i>rere</i> | <i>tahi</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pahī</i> | <i>rere</i> | <i>mei</i> | <i>ko-nei,</i> |
| INCEP | fly | one | POSS | DEF | ship | fly | ABL | DEI-PROX |

| | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>eoti,</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kave</i> | <i>mai.</i> |
| and then | COMP | DEF | bring | hither |

‘One of the planes will fly from here (i.e., from Rarotonga), and then bring (people) back.’

[011-02]

7.2.8 The explicative *tērā ia i reira*

The explicative *tērā (ia) i reira* can be translated as something like ‘that is (to say)’ or ‘i.e.’ Examples are given in (17) and (18).

- (17) *Rau ma rima te takau. Rua ta¹¹⁶ rau, hānere akahou.*
 200 with five DEF 20 two DEF 200 100 again

Tērā ia i reira, rua ta rau ma rima te takau:
 that is to say two DEF 200 with five DEF 20

e rima hānere.
 IPFV five hundred

‘*Rau* plus 5 *takau*. 2 *rau*, and another hundred (comes on top). That is to say, 2 *rau* plus 5 *takau* (equals): 500.’ [020-02]

- (18) *Haka-tupu raua i te pekapeka. Pekapeka mua,*
 CAUS-grow 2DU ACC DEF problem problem front/before

tērā ia i reira, kua tomo te ika, maratea.
 that is to say PFV go in DEF fish wrasse

‘Those two (villages) grew a problem. (Here is) the first problem, that is to say, that the fish, the wrasse, went (into their traps).’ [020-03]

7.2.9 The explicative *koia hoki*

Another explicative with pretty much the same meaning as *tērā (ia) i reira* is *koia hoki*. It can be analysed as in (19).

- (19) *ko-ia hoki*
 PRV-3SG INT
 ‘that is’

¹¹⁶ The definite article here has the variant form *ta*, and not the usual *te*, probably due to assimilation with the following vowel. This might be analogous to *takau*, ‘twenty’, which is cognate with New Zealand Māori *tekau*, ‘ten’. The *te*- in *tekau* is likely a trace of the definite article.

Examples are given in (20) through (23).

- (20) *Noho atu au i reira i te henua ra ko*
 sit/live thither 1SG LOC there LOC DEF island DIST PRV

Rakahanga, koia hoki ko Tāpuahua.

Rakahanga that is PFV Tapuahua

‘I then lived on that island of Rakahanga, that is, Tapuahua¹¹⁷.’ [007-01]

- (21) *Mārama mai au i reira, ko teia mangō,*
 be clear/understand hither 1SG LOC there PFV DEM.PROX shark

na-na i tauturu i-a haku.

EMP-3SG TNS help ACC-PERS 1SG

Koia hoki e tuahine no t-o-ku pāpā.

that is INDF sister BEN DEF-POSS-1SG father

‘I understood that this shark was here to help me, that is, it was actually my father’s sister.’

[007-02]

- (22) *Kāre e Mata Hōrua akahou, uru hia ko Tūkao,*
 NEG INDF Mata Horua again/anymore call PASS PRV Tukao

koia hoki, te kao-hanga o te Evangeria, mēkore

that is DEF sprout-NMLZ POSS DEF Gospel or

i reira, te haka-mata-hanga o te Evangeria

LOC there DEF CAUS-begin-NMLZ POSS DEF Gospel

ki Manihiki.

ALL Manihiki

‘No more using the name Mata Horua, it is now called Tukao, that is to say, the sprouting of the Gospel, or the beginning of the Gospel in Manihiki.’ [009-02]

117 Tapuahua is another name for Rakahanga.

(23) *Ko Tauhunu, i rauka mai i t-o-na ingoa te*
 PRV Tauhunu TNS get hither ACC DEF-POSS-3SG name DEF

rahī o te rākau e tupu nei i
 big/large POSS DEF tree TNS grow PROX LOC

Tauhunu. Koia hoki e ‘tauhunu’, t-a tātou
 Tauhunu that is INDF mahogany DEF 1PL.INCL

ingoa tērā i te au rākau e tupu ra
 name DEM.DIST LOC DEF PL tree TNS grow DIST

i Tauhunu.
 LOC Tauhunu

‘Tauhunu got its name because of the size of the trees growing in Tauhunu. That is to say, *tauhunu*, that is our name for the (mahogany) trees growing in Tauhunu.’ [009-02]

Sometimes, the last part, *hoki*, is left out, as in (24).

(24) *Kua hoki atu teia na toko-rua mātua,*
 PFV go/come back thither DEM.PROX DEF.PL NUM-two parent

kua pati atu mei fānau, kia tupu mai te pēpē
 PFV ask thither from birth SBJV give hither DEF baby

na raua. Koia, taua pēpē nei, ko au.
 BEN 3DU that is DEM.RETR baby PROX PRV 1SG

‘These two (adoptive) parents went back, and asked the birth (parents) to give them the baby. That is, this baby was me.’ [014-01]

7.2.10 The conjunction (i)na

The conjunction *na*, ‘so’, is used to link clauses, as in (25). Occasionally, the form *inā* is used instead of *na*, as in (26).

(25) *Kua mate t-a-ku tāne, kua haka-hoki atu mātou*

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------|-----|-----|-------------------|---------|-----|
| PFV | die | ART-POSS-1SG | man | PFV | CAUS-go/come back | thither | 3PL |
|-----|-----|--------------|-----|-----|-------------------|---------|-----|

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>henua, te</i> | <i>hipukarea</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> | <i>no te mea,</i> | <i>ko</i> | |
| ALL | DEF | island | DEF | home island | Manihiki | because | PRV |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|----------|------------|
| <i>t-o</i> | <i>hona</i> | <i>ngāhi</i> | <i>noti</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>hinangaro</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kia</i> |
| DEF-POSS | 3SG | place | INT | DEM.PROX | want/wish | SUBR | SBJV |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| <i>haka-hoki</i> | <i>a-ia</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>henua</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> | <i>Na,</i> | <i>kua</i> |
| CAUS-go/come back | PERS-3SG | ALL | DEF | island | Manihiki | so | PFV |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|----------------|------------|---------------------|--------------|----------|
| <i>kave</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>i-a-ia,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>haka-tika</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>i</i> |
| bring | 1PL.EXCL | ACC-PERS-3SG | PFV | CAUS-true (= allow) | 3PL | ACC |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|-----------|----------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|
| <i>t-o</i> | <i>hona</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>hinangaro,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>haka-hoki</i> |
| DEF-POSS | 3SG | PL | TNS | want/wish | PFV | CAUS-go/come back |

| | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>hia</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>henua</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> |
| PASS | 3SG | ALL | DEF | island | Manihiki |

'My husband died, we brought him back to the island, the home island of Manihiki, because this is the exact place he wanted to go, (he wanted) that we bring him back to the island of Manihiki. So, we brought him, we allowed what he wished for (to be fulfilled), he was brought back to Manihiki. [014-01]

(26)

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------|----------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|
| <i>Te</i> | <i>haere</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tangata</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tanu~tanu,</i> |
| PROG | go | PROX | DEF | person | COMP | DEF | plant crops~REDUP |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------|----------------|----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>te</i> | <i>haere</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tangata</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tautai,</i> |
| PROG | go | PROX | DEF | person | LOC | DEF | catch fish |

pō~pō.
be night~REDUP

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Te</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fare,</i> | <i>pōpongi.</i> |
| DEF | go/come back | hither | ALL | DEF | house | be morning |

Pērā hua te ora-hanga.
 thus only DEF live-NMLZ

Kāre ora-hanga meitaki. Inā, manako mai i reira
 NEG live-NMLZ good so think hither then

a Maui e, ka hano ia ki ko i
 PERS Maui SUBR INCEP go/come he ALL DEI LOC

t-o-na māmā rūhau, i-a Hina.
 DEF-POSS-3SG mother old LOC-PERS Hina

‘The people would go to plant food, the people would go fishing, and then it would already be night. They would return home, and it would be morning. The life was like that. Life wasn’t good. So, Maui then thought that he would go over there to his grandmother, to Hina.’ [014-02]

7.2.11 The conjunction *no reira*

The conjunction *no reira* can be translated as ‘so’ or ‘that is why’. *No reira* is often followed by a brief pause, indicated by a comma in the orthography.

(27) *Puāpī atu ai au i Rakahanga, tae atu*
 teach thither APH 1SG LOC Rakahanga reach thither

ki te tuātau, hoki mai ai au, i retired i
 ALL DEF time go/come back hither APH 1SG TNS retire LOC

te matahiti rua tauatini e hiva, i akaea ai
 DEF year two thousand and nine TNS retire APH

au i te puāpī. No reira, i teia tuātau
 1SG LOC DEF teach so LOC DEM.PROX time

te noho nei au i ko-nei, i te Rakahanga Hostel,
 PROG sit/live PROX 1SG LOC DEI-PROX LOC DEF Rakahanga Hostel

i tauturu ana au i te hostel.

TNS help MED 1SG ACC DEF hostel

‘I taught in Rakahanga, until the time that I returned (to Rarotonga) and retired in the year 2009, I retired from teaching. So, these days I live here in the Rakahanga Hostel, and I help (= look after) the hostel.’ [007-01]

- (28) *Kore te aronga pate e tāmau ana i na ati-hanga*
 NEG DEF people drum TNS learn MED ACC DEF.PL have rhythm?-NMLZ

o te pate. No reira, te pate ai pērā.

POSS DEF drum so PROG drum APH thus/like that

‘The drummers don’t learn to drum the (right) rhythm/tempo of the beat. That is why they drum like that.’ [010-02]

- (29) *Ko te hupa Manihiki e kore te hupa māmā*
 PRV DEF dance Manihiki IPFV NEG DEF dance easy

i te āpī. E kore hoki te hupa māmā
 COMP DEF teach IPFV NEG INT DEF dance easy

i te hupa, i te rave ki roto i te
 COMP DEF dance COMP DEF do ALL inside LOC DEF

tārērē. No reira, te pahu Manihiki, e kore
 competition so DEF drum Manihiki IPFV NEG

te pahu Manihiki e rutu ana kia viviki hua,
 DEF drum Manihiki IPFV hit MED SBJV fast only

mei t-o te tuātau nei.
 ABL DEF-POSS DEF time PROX

‘The Manihiki dance is not an easy dance to teach. It’s not an easy dance to dance, or to do for a competition. That is why, with the Manihiki drums, they don’t only (= just, always) hit

the drums fast these days (as that would be too difficult for the dancers to follow along with).’

[010-03]

7.3 Coordination of Noun Phrases and Prepositional Phrases

At least three of the conjunctions used in coordinating constructions involving clauses can also be used to link noun phrases and prepositional phrases. These are given in (30).

- (30) *e* ‘and’
pērā katoa ‘and also’
mēkore ‘or’

The additive/cumulative conjunction *e*, ‘and’, which was previously shown to be able to combine clauses, can also be used to combine noun phrases, as shown in (31) and (32). However, it is often the case that several noun phrases, as in (33), or several prepositional phrases, as in (34), are simply juxtaposed, with no conjunction being used between them.

- (31) *Ko Pauro e matahiti e te āfa.*
 PRV Paul INDF year and DEF half
 ‘Paul was one and a half years (old).’ [011-01]

- (32) *Ko te t-a-ku teia i mārama*
 PRV DEF DEF-POSS-1SG DEM.PROX TNS clear/understand

no runga i o tātou ōhire
 BEN above LOC POSS 3PL village

o Tūkao e Tauhunu.
 POSS Tukao and Tauhunu.

‘This is what I understand about our villages Tukao and Tauhunu.’ [009-02]

- (33) *Ko te mea tūmatetenga ra, no te mea hoki*
 PRV DEF thing sad DIST because INT

ko Collin nei e Papa’a, kore rauka i te kai,

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|------|------|-----------|-----|---------|------|-----|-----|
| PRV | Collin | PROX | INDF | Westerner | NEG | be able | COMP | DEF | eat |
|-----|--------|------|------|-----------|-----|---------|------|-----|-----|

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>te</i> | <i>raitī,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>uto,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ika</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kai~kai</i> |
| DEF | rice | DEF | uto | DEF | fish | BEN | DEF | food~REDUP |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pōpongi,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>avatea,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ahiahi,</i> |
| LOC | DEF | morning | DEF | afternoon | DEF | evening |

| | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>mei</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Monitē</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Monitē.</i> |
| ABL | DEF | Monday | ALL | DEF | Monday |

| | | | | |
|------------|------------------|------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Kua</i> | <i>maki~maki</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>t-o-na</i> | <i>kōpapa.</i> |
| PFV | ill~REDUP | INCH | DEF-POSS-3SG | body |

‘The sad thing is that, because Collin is a Westerner, he couldn’t stomach eating rice, uto¹¹⁸ and fish as food for morning, afternoon and evening, from Monday to Monday. His body became ill.’ [011-01]

(34) *Noho au i reira me t-a-ku tāne,*
live 1SG then COM DEF-POSS-1SG man/husband

| | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|-------------|-----------------|----------|---------------|
| <i>me</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>maua</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>Tūkao.</i> |
| COM | POSS | 1DU.EXCL | child.PL | LOC | Tukao |

‘I then lived with my husband and our children in Tukao.’ [011-01]

The expression *e pērā katoa* can be analysed as in (35).

(35) *(e) pērā katoa(~toa)*
and thus all/also
‘also’

Examples of its use are given (5), repeated here as (36) and in (37) and (38).

(36) *Kua kite hoki tātou te moana teia,*
PFV see/know INT 1PL.INCL DEF ocean DEM.PROX

¹¹⁸ The term ‘uto’ is also used by Cook Islanders when speaking English. It refers to the spongy inner part of a coconut that has just started to sprout. It is also known as ‘coconut sprout’ or ‘coconut apple’ in English.

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>mēkore</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tai-roto</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> |
| or | DEF | sea-inside | DEM.PROX | POSS | Manihiki |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|--------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ngāhi</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pahī</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>tae</i> | <i>mai.</i> |
| LOC | DEF | place | POSS | DEF | ship | COND | reach | hither |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>Ko</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>i reira</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>tūtau</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pahī</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>voho.</i> |
| PRV | DEM.PROX | then | INCEP | anchor | DEF | ship | ALL | outside |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------|----------------------|
| <i>Ka</i> | <i>tari~tari</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>runga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>poti.</i> | <i>Pērā katoatoa</i> |
| INCEP | (un)load~REDUP | APH | BEN | above | ACC | DEF.PL | boat | also |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|----------|--------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>t-o</i> | <i>Tūkao,</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>haere</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pahī</i> |
| DEF-POSS | Tukao | TNS | go/come | hither | DEF | ship |

| | |
|-----------|----------------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>ko-nei.</i> |
| ALL | DEI-PROX |

‘We understand that this is the ocean, or (actually) this is the lagoon of Manihiki, the place where the ships arrive. This, then, is where the ships anchor outside (the reef). They load and unload the boats. And also (= the same is true) with Tukao, the ships come here.’

[009-02]

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|---------------|--------------|------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (37) | <i>Te</i> | <i>faonga</i> | <i>mua,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>tā-piri</i> | <i>hia.</i> | <i>Pērā katoa</i> |
| | DEF | faonga | front/before | PFV | CAUS-close | PASS | and also |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| <i>te</i> | <i>faonga</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>teru,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fa,</i> | and so on. |
| DEF | faonga | DEF | three | DEF | four | and so on |

‘The first faonga (= lot of protected land) is closed. Also the third and fourth faonga, and so on.’ [009-03]

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|
| (38) | <i>E</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>maua</i> | <i>hua</i> | <i>taua</i> | <i>tuātau</i> | <i>ra</i> |
| | IPFV | NEG | INT | PRV | 2DU | only | DEM.RETR | time | PROX |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>mei</i> | <i>Nu Tīrani,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hano</i> |
|----------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|------------|----------------------------|----------------|------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|
| COMP | DEF | go/come back | hither | ABL | New Zealand | DEF | go/come |
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fāmā</i> | <i>pārau.</i> | <i>Kua</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>mai</i> | |
| COMP | DEF | farm | shell | PFV | go/come back | hither | |
| <i>t-o-ku</i> | | <i>tuangāne</i> | | <i>i</i> | <i>Āpī</i> | <i>raua</i> | <i>ko Mehau.</i> |
| DEF-POSS-1SG | | older opposite-sex sibling | | LOC | Apī | 2DU | PRV Mehau |
| <i>Pērā katoa</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>Paul,</i> | <i>tamaiti</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>Pāpā</i> | <i>Kūki</i> | |
| and also | LOC-PERS | Paul | child | POSS | father | Kuki | |

e t-a-na vahine.
and DEF-POSS-3SG woman

‘It was not only us during that time who returned from New Zealand, in order to do pearl shell farming. My brother Apī returned together with (his wife) Mehau. And also Paul, the son of Papa Kuki, and his (Paul’s) wife.’ [013-01]

When the word for ‘also’ appears postverbally (or after the negative marker *kore/kāre*) it is shortened to *katoa*, literally ‘all’. In (39), one finds one instance of *pērā katoa* appearing in the first slot of the sentence, and two instances of *katoa* appearing after a verb and after the negative particle, respectively.

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| (39) | <i>E</i> | <i>toko-hia</i> | <i>hua</i> | <i>tangata</i> | <i>fāmā</i> | <i>toe,</i> | <i>i</i> | |
| | IPFV | NUM-few | only | person | farm | stay behind | LOC | |
| | <i>te</i> | <i>henua</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>Manihiki</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tuātau.</i> |
| | DEF | island | LOC | Manihiki | PROX | LOC | DEM.PROX | time |
| | <i>Pērā katoa,</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tūranga</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>poe,</i> | <i>ki</i> |
| | and also | BEN | DEF | way | POSS | DEF | pearl | ALL |
| | <i>te</i> | <i>moni</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>topa</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> |
| | DEF | money | TNS | DEF | TNS | drop | LOC | DEF |
| | <i>au</i> | <i>poe,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>riro</i> | <i>katoa</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>taitaiā</i> |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|
| PL | pearl | PFV | become | also | DEM.PROX | RES | loss | |
| <i>no</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>fāmā, kāre</i> | <i>pahuna</i> | <i>ana</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>t-o</i> | |
| BEN | DEF | PL | farm | NEG | be worth | MED | ACC | DEF-POSS |
| <i>rātou</i> | <i>tuātau,</i> | | <i>te</i> | <i>fāmā-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>poe,</i> |
| 3PL | time | | DEF | farm-NMLZ | ACC | DEF | PL | pearl |
| <i>kua</i> | <i>meitī</i> | | <i>roa</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>moni. Kāre</i> | <i>katoa</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>māketete</i> |
| PFV | small/little | | little | DEF | money NEG | also | DEF | market |
| <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>poe</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>meitaki</i> | <i>ana.</i> | | | |
| POSS | DEF | pearl | IPFV | good | MED | | | |

‘Only a few more farmers stayed in Manihiki during this time. And also, the ways of the pearls, the money dropped in the selling of the pearls, this also became a loss for the farms, it’s not worth their time, the farming of pearls, the money is very small. The market for pearls is also not good.’ [013-01]

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| (40) | <i>I</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tuātau,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>riro</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>māketete</i> | |
| | LOC | DEM.PROX | time | PFV | become | DEM.PROX | market | |
| | <i>katoa</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>māketete</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>haku</i> | <i>te</i> |
| | also | PROX | DEF | market | PROX | LOC-PERS | 1SG | DEF |
| | <i>kimi-rāvenga-hanga</i> | | | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hopo~hopo-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> |
| | search for-way to do something-NMLZ | | | LOC | DEF | sell~REDUP-NMLZ | ACC | DEF |
| | <i>au</i> | <i>poe,</i> | <i>tauturu i</i> | <i>t-a</i> | <i>maua</i> | <i>hānau</i> ¹¹⁹ | <i>Manihiki,</i> | |
| | PL | pearl | help | ACC | DEF-POSS | 1DU.EXCL | family | Manihiki |
| | <i>i-a</i> | <i>Tāmuera</i> | <i>raua</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>Nitika,</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>Mehau</i> | |
| | ACC-PERS | Samuel | 3DU | PRV | Nitika | ACC-PERS | Mehau | |

¹¹⁹ This is a variant form of the more common *fānau*.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>raua ko Mokoha.</i> | <i>Pērā katoa,</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>Kaina raua ko</i> |
| 3DU PRV Mokoha | and also | ACC-PERS | Kaina 3DU PRV |
| <i>Rēni, e t-o</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>noti ora-hanga</i> | <i>i runga</i> |
| Reni and DEF-POSS | 1PL.EXCL | INT live-NMLZ | LOC above |
| <i>i tua o te henua nei.</i> | | | |
| LOC ocean shore ¹²⁰ POSS | DEF island | PROX | |

‘At this time, this market also became a way for me to sell the pearls, to help our family in Manihiki, Samuel together with Nitika, and Mehau together with Mokoha. And also Kaina together with Reni, and our life on the shores of this island.’ [013-01]

When it comes to *mēkore* being used to combine noun phrases, an example of this was given in the first part of (7). Another example is given in (41).

| | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (41) | <i>Te pākiri, mēkore</i> | <i>te kiri mangō,</i> | <i>kua kite tātou</i> |
| | DEF skin or | DEF skin shark | PFV know 1PL.INCL |
| | <i>i te kiri mangō,</i> | <i>koia ai te taratara,</i> | |
| | ACC DEF skin shark | that is APH DEF rough | |
| | <i>e tika noti</i> | sandpaper. | |
| | IPFV true INT | sandpaper | |

‘(As for) the skin, or the shark skin, we know that the shark skin is rough, it’s really like sandpaper.’ [010-02]

It can also be used to coordinate prepositional phrases, as in (8), repeated here as (42), and (13), repeated here as (43). This ability to combine prepositional phrases has not been noted for either *e* or *pērā katoa*. Finally, *mēkore* can also be used to combine numerals, as in (44).

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| (42) | <i>Teia pātete,</i> | <i>e tahi hua terepū i</i> | <i>teia</i> |
| | DEM.PROX fare | IPFV one only trip | LOC DEM.PROX |
| | <i>pātete, mēkore</i> | <i>mei Manihiki</i> | <i>ki Rarotonga,</i> |
| | fare or | ABL Manihiki | ALL Rarotonga |

¹²⁰ The most commonly found meaning of *tua* is ‘oceanward’.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|------------|------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>mēkore</i> | <i>mei</i> | <i>Rarotonga</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> | <i>Me</i> | <i>hoki,</i> |
| or | ABL | Rarotonga | ALL | Manihiki | COND | go/come back |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|---------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>ka</i> | <i>tūaki</i> | <i>akahou</i> | <i>i reira</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tūhanga.</i> |
| INCEP | pay | again | then | PRV | DEM.PROX | part |

‘This fare, it’s just one trip for this fare, either from Manihiki to Rarotonga, or from Rarotonga to Manihiki. If you go back, then you pay again for this part.’ [013-02]

(43) *Ono tātou ki Tinitō, te fāmā nei i*
look 1PL.INCL ALL China PROG farm PROX ACC

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|------------|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>t-a-na</i> | <i>poe</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>kauvai,</i> |
| DEF-POSS-3SG | pearl | LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | PL | river |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|-----------|-------------|--------------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>mēkore</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>vai,</i> | <i>eiaha</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tai,</i> |
| or | LOC | DEF | freshwater | NEG | LOC | DEF | sea |

| | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-----------|------------|----------|-------------|
| <i>mārī ra</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>vai</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> |
| but/only | LOC | DEF | freshwater | LOC | inside |

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>kauvai.</i> |
| LOC | DEF | PL | river |

‘(If) we look at China, they farm their pearls in the rivers, or in the fresh water, not the sea, only in the water in the rivers.’ [021-01]

(44) *T-o-ku manako i te matahiti nei,*
DEF-POSS-1SG think/thought LOC DEF year PROX

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>matahiti</i> | <i>ono</i> | <i>ngahuru</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>ono,</i> | <i>mēkore</i> |
| LOC | DEF | year | six | ten | with | six | or |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>ono</i> | <i>ngahuru</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>hitu,</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>ture</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tini.</i> |
| six | ten | with | seven | SBJV | make a law | PASS | DEF | tin |

'I think it was in this year, in the year 1966, or 1967, that they made the law (prohibiting the use of) tins (while playing the slit drum at traditional dances).' [010-03]

7.4 Subordinating Constructions

In subordinating constructions, a dependent clause is embedded within a main clause, or, more rarely, within another dependent clause. Three types of dependent clauses exist in Manihiki: adverbial clauses, complement clauses and relative clauses. The adverbial clauses can again be broken up into five subtypes: temporal; conditional; causal; concessive; and purposive ones. Adverbial clauses, as the name implies, have an adverbial function within a larger main clause. Complement clauses function as arguments, usually direct objects, of certain types of verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, etc. Relative clauses are clauses that are embedded within noun phrases, where they modify the head noun. Just like other modifiers do, relative clauses occur post-head in the noun phrase. The various types of adverbial clauses will be described in 7.4.2, complement clauses in 7.4.4 and relative clauses in 7.4.5.

Not included in the discussion below is the *i te* construction, which is also used to introduce a type of purposive clauses. The *i te* construction differs from the constructions discussed below in that it does not contain an overt subject, as the subject is understood to be co-referent with the subject of the main clause. For a description of the *i te* construction, see 6.3.4.1.1.

7.4.1 Negation

Negation is expressed with the negative particle or what is perhaps better termed the negative existential verb *kore*, 'be not', which appears at the very beginning of the clause with the rest of the material being in a subordinate clause functioning as the subject of the verb *kore*. Sometimes, the negative particle is preceded by the imperfective verbal particle *e*, which shows that the negative particle definitely has verbal properties. There does not appear to be any difference in meaning according to whether or not the imperfective marker is used. It is very common to use the Rarotongan negative particle *kāre*, instead of the Manihiki one.¹²¹ There is inversion of subject and verb in negative clauses, i.e., the subject of the clause usually

¹²¹ It is believed that the form *kāre* is derived from *ka kore*, i.e., from the inceptive preverbal particle plus a verb, *kore*, meaning "be non-existent or lacking, disappear, cease, fail" (Nicholas 2016:368, quoting from Buse and Taringa 1996:193).

follows directly after the negative particle *kore*, and the main verb then follows, preceded by one of the two verbal particles used in subordinate clauses (see 5.6). For instances of negative sentences, see (45) through (48).

- (45) *Kore Nu Tīrani i kite hia i mua atu*
 NEG New Zealand TNS see PASS LOC before thither

i-a Kupe.

ACC-PERS Kupe

‘New Zealand had not been seen by anyone before Kupe.’ [003-05]

- (46) *Kāre t-o-ku pāpā e t-o-ku māmā i haka-tika*
 NEG DEF-POSS-1SG father and DEF-POSS-1SG mother TNS CAUS-true

kia kave i teia tangata i-a haku
 SBJV take ACC DEM.PROX person ACC-PERS 1SG

ki Paratāne.

ALL Britain

‘My father and mother did not allow this person to take me to Britain.’ [007-01]

- (47) *... kāre e tangata e ti~tika hua*
 NEG INDF man TNS REDUP~true/right only

i roto i t-ō-na ora-hanga...
 LOC inside LOC DEF-POSS-3SG live-NMLZ

‘No man is only right (about everything) in his life.’ [003-05]

- (48) *E kore tātou e hano putuputu ana*
 IPFV NEG 1PL.EXCL TNS go often MED

ki runga i na ngāhi nei...

ALL above LOC DEF.PL place PROX

‘We don’t go regularly inside these places...’ [009-03]

Note that certain verbs follow *kore* directly. This is true at least for *rauka*, ‘be possible, be able to’, which always takes a clause as its complement. Examples can be found in (49) and (50).

- (49) *Kore rauka i rātou i te hopu mai*
 NEG be possible ACC 3PL COMP DEF get hither

a tātou vānanga...

POSS 1PL words

‘They would not be able to get the meaning of our words...’ [003-01]

- (50) *Kore rauka ana i te neke.*
 NEG be possible MED COMP DEF move
 ‘(Many dancers today) cannot move (correctly).’ [010-03]

The negative particle *kore* can also be used after stative verbs to denote their opposite, as in (51).

- (51) ... *kua puapinga kore.*
 PFV important NEG
 ‘... it’s unimportant.’ [010-03]

7.4.1.1 The negative subjunctive and the prohibitive

An alternative negative particle exists, *eiaha*, which is used for the negative subjunctive, and also for the prohibitive or negative imperative; see (52) and (53).

- (52) ... *eiaha rātou e tupu hia i te maki rahi.*
 PROH 3PL TNS grow PASS ACC DEF sick/disease big
 ‘... so that they won’t catch serious diseases.’ [011-01]

- (53) *Tērā ra, kia tiaki noti tātou i t-o tātou*
 But SBJV look after INT 3PL ACC DEF-POSS 3PL

henua, eiaha tā-manamanatā hia, tā-kino~kino hia
 land PROH CAUS-problem INCH CAUS-bad~REDUP INCH
 ‘But we have to look after our land, so that it will not become a problem and be ruined.’
 [009-03]

7.4.2 Adverbial clauses

As mentioned above, adverbial clauses have an adverbial function within a larger main clause. There are five subtypes of adverbial clauses. Temporal clauses relate to the time that a certain event takes place (when/while..., before..., after...). These are described in 7.4.2.1. Conditional clauses describe the conditions under which an event might take place (if...). These are described in 7.4.2.2. Causal clauses relate to the cause or reason why someone does something, or why a certain state of affairs is the way it is (because...). These are described in 7.4.2.3. Concessive clauses relate to a state of affairs, in spite of which some event takes place or might take place (although...). These are described in 7.4.2.4. Finally, purposive clauses relate to the purpose that someone wants to achieve by doing a certain thing (in order that...). These are described in 7.4.2.5.

7.4.2.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are usually formed with the phrase *i te tuātau ra...*, ‘during the time that...’ as in (54) below. This is syntactically a prepositional phrase being used as a temporal adverbial. Within the prepositional phrase the noun phrase is then modified by a relative clause. Alternatively, temporal clauses may also be formed with the subjunctive preverbal particle *kia*, as in (55).

- (54) *I te tuātau ra i noho ai au i Manihiki*
 LOC DEF time DIST TNS sit/live APH 1SG LOC Manihiki
- ei nēti ai, ko te tōte, te noho ra te tōte*
 RES nurse APH PRV DEF doctor DEF sit/live DIST DEF doctor
- i Tauhunu.*
 LOC Tauhunu.

‘When I lived in Manihiki as a nurse, as for the doctor, the doctor lived in Tauhunu.

[011-01]

- (55) *Kia tāre ra hoki au i na forā,*
 SBJV count DIST INT 1SG ACC DEF.PL hour

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| <i>t-a</i> | <i>haku</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>e,</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>tae</i> | <i>noti</i> |
| DEF-POSS | 1SG | TNS | see | SUBR, | INCEP | arrive | INT |

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pōpongi.</i> |
| ALL | DEF | morning |

‘When I checked the time, I knew that (the baby) would arrive the next morning.’

[011-01]

7.4.2.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are formed with the preverbal conditional particle *me*, ‘if’. All the conditional clauses that occur in my corpus are hypothetical ones. There are no instances of counterfactual conditional clauses. There is a tendency for them to occur before the main clause as in (56) through (58).

(56) *Me hinangaro au i te tōte i Tūkao,*
COND want 1SG ACC DEF doctor LOC Tukao

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>kua</i> | <i>haka-tere</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>poti,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>tere</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>poti</i> |
| PFV | CAUS-sail | DEF | boat | PFV | sail | DEF | boat |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|----------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>Tauhunu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kave</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tōte.</i> |
| ALL | Tauhunu | COMP | DEF | take | hither | ACC | DEF | doctor |

‘If I wanted/needed a doctor in Tukao, the boat would sail, the boat would sail to Tauhunu to bring the doctor.’ [011-01]

(57) *Mēkore, me hinangaro te tote i-a haku, kua tere*
or COND want DEF doctor ACC-PERS 1SG PFV sail

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| <i>mai</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>poti</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kave</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>haku</i> |
| hither | DEF | boat | COMP | DEF | take | thither | ACC-PERS | 1SG |

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>Tauhunu.</i> |
| ALL | Tauhunu |

‘Or, if the doctor wanted me to come, the boat would come to take me over to Tauhunu.’

[011-01]

(58) *Me mānako~nako ake tētahi aronga e, ka tere*
 COND think~REDUP upwards SPF people SUBR INCEP sail

rātou mei Manihiki ki Rakahanga
 3PL ABL Manihiki ALL Rakahanga

e hoki haka-manako,
 IPFV go/come back CAUS-think

teia te vānanga a te au pakari, te au
 DEM.PROX DEF word POSS DEF PL old DEF PL

rūhau, ka kautā mai: “haka-mahara e tuātau kati~kati
 old INCEP say hither CAUS-remember INDF time bite~REDUP

maikuku teia. E tuātau haka-mata-kite-hanga teia.
 nail DEM.PROX INDF time CAUS-eye-see-NMLZ DEM.PROX

Kore e tere~tere ana i teia tuātau.”
 NEG TNS sail~REDUP MED LOC DEM.PROX time

‘If some people thought they would sail from Manihiki to Rakahanga and come back, for those who want to do this, this is the saying of the old people, they would say: “Remember, this is the season for biting nails. This is the season for being careful. This is not a time for travelling.”’ [014-03]

7.4.2.3 Causal clauses

Causal clauses are formed with the subordinating conjunction *no te mea*, ‘because’. This conjunction is often followed by a slight pause before the rest of the clause, which I have marked with a comma in the orthography. The subordinating conjunction *no te mea* is used in a very similar way to *no reira* (7.2.11), which I have regarded as a coordinating conjunction. The main difference between the two is in the prosody. Whereas *no reira* is usually preceded

by a brief pause, separating it from the sentence that came before, no such pause occurs before *no te mea*, only the following brief pause occurs.

(59) *Mataora tika-i t-o-ku ora-hanga i noho*
happy truly DEF-POSS-1SG live-NMLZ TNS sit/live

ai au i Manihiki,
APH 1SG LOC Manihiki

no te mea, kua kite au e, t-a-ku angaanga
because PFV see 1SG SUBR DEF-POSS-1SG work

e rave nei, te riro nei ei tauturu
TNS do PROX PROG become PROX RES help

i te hiti tangata.
LOC DEF people

‘I was really happy about my life on Manihiki (lit.: my life when I lived on Manihiki was really happy), because I knew that the work that I was doing, was helping people (lit.: became a help for the people).’ [011-01]

(60) *No te mea, kua kite au i teia Manihiki*
because PFV see 1SG ACC DEM.PROX Manihiki

i taua tuātau i hano ai mātou
LOC DEM.RETR time TNS go/come APH 1PL.EXCL

ki Manihiki, kua hinangaro noti au i te
ALL Manihiki PFV want INT 1SG COMP DEF

hoki mai ki Manihiki, i te tīmata hoki
go/come back hither ALL Manihiki COMP DEF try INT

te tū-hanga o te fāmā pārau.
DEF stand-NMLZ (= way) POSS DEF farm shell

‘Because I saw Manihiki during this time when we came to Manihiki, I really wanted to return to Manihiki, in order to try the way of pearl shell farming.’ [013-01]

- (61) *Tērā ra, e hoki ana au ki Ākarana i te*
 but IPFV go/come back MED 1SG ALL Auckland COMP DEF
- hārāvei i na Manihiki, i te rauka*
 meet ACC DEF.PL Manihiki people COMP DEF be able
- i reira i te kautā Manihiki,*
 LOC there COMP DEF speak Manihiki
- ki tētahi tangata kehe,*
 ALL SPF person different
- no te mea, kāre tangata i te ngāhi e noho ai*
 because NEG person LOC DEF place TNS live APH
- au i Whakatāne no te haka-tūtū atu.*
 1SG LOC Whakatane BEN DEF CAUS-converse thither
- ‘But I returned to Auckland to meet people from Manihiki, so that I could speak the Manihiki language with other people, because there were no people where I lived in Whakatane to have a conversation with.’ [011-01]

7.4.2.4 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses use the conjunction *no atu*, ‘although’, ‘in spite of the fact that’. Examples are given in (62) and (63).

- (62) *Kua kite au e, no atu i te meiti ra Pauro,*
 PFV see 1SG SUBR although COMP DEF little DIST Paul
- pēnei a tētahi tuātau me hoki hia*
 maybe ?? SPF time COND go/come back PASS
- ki Manihiki, ka hoki mai teia au*
 ALL Manihiki INCEP go/come back hither DEM.PROX PL
- t-a hana i kite i te tuātau*
 DEF-POSS 3SG TNS see LOC DEF time

| | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------|---------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>noho</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>reira.</i> |
| IPFV | sit/live | APH | 3PL | LOC | there |

‘I knew that although Paul was little, maybe if he would sometime return to Manihiki, these things that he saw will come back from the time that we lived there.’ [011-01]

(63) *No atu e te noho nei au i Rarotonga nei,*
 although SUBR PROG sit/live PROX 1SG LOC Rarotonga PROX

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>ko</i> | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>pukuhatu,</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>hinangaro,</i> |
| PRV | DEF-POSS-1SG | heart | PRV | DEF-POSS-1SG | want/wish |

| | |
|------------|------------------|
| <i>tei</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> |
| LOC.PRED | Manihiki |

‘Although I’m living here in Rarotonga, my heart, my desire, is in Manihiki.’ [011-01]

7.4.2.5 Purposive clauses

Purposive can be expressed by the subjunctive preverbal particle *kia* (see also 6.3.4.1), as in (64).

(64) *Āpī atu i e henu tamāhine ra~rahi*
 teach thither ACC INDF other girl REDUP~big/large

| | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>kia</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>topa</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>tangata</i> |
| SBJV | see/know | 3PL | COND | fall | SPF | person |

| | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>raro,</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>pakia,</i> |
| ALL | down | COND | wound |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|--------------|----------|-----------|--------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>ka</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>pehea</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tā-mā</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pakia.</i> |
| INCEP | thing | how | COMP | DEF | CAUS-clean | ACC | DEF | wound |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|------------|----------------|------------|------------|----------|----------------|
| <i>E</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>tā-piri</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>tētahi,</i> |
| and | SBJV | CAUS-close | PASS | thither | ACC | SPF |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|------------|------------------|----------|-------------------|--|---------------|-----------|--|
| <i>te</i> | <i>vānanga</i> | | <i>Papaʻa,</i> | | <i>tētahi</i> | | plaster <i>ki</i> | | <i>runga,</i> | | |
| DEF | word | | Westerner | | SPF | | plaster ALL | | above | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>kia</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>rango</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kati~kati</i> | | | | | | |
| SBJV | NEG | DEF.PL | fly | TNS | bite~REDUP | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pakia</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>kore</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>riro</i> | | <i>mai</i> | <i>ei</i> | |
| ACC | DEF | wound | PROX | SBJV | NEG | TNS | become | | hither | RES | |

manamanatā rahi.

problem big/large

‘(It was important for me) to teach some of the big girls, so that they would know, if someone falls down, if there is a wound, how to clean the wound. So that they can close/cover it with some, to use an English term, “plaster” on it, so that the flies won’t bite the wound, so that it won’t develop into a big problem.’ [011-01]

As can be seen from (64), the negative purposive can be expressed with *kia kore*. However, occasionally one can find the prohibitive particle *eiaha* being used to express negative purposive, as in (65).

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|----------|--------------|
| (65) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>ono</i> | <i>katoa</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tūranga</i> | <i>o</i> | |
| | PFV | look | all/also | thither | ACC | DEF | way | POSS | |
| | <i>na</i> | <i>māmā</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>pēpē,</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | | |
| | DEF.PL | mother | COM | DEF.PL | baby | ACC | DEF | | |
| | <i>tūranga</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>paunu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tamariki,</i> | <i>i</i> | |
| | way | POSS | DEF | weigh | ACC | DEF | child.PL | LOC | |
| | <i>te</i> | <i>pātia</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>tamariki</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>rātou</i> |
| | DEF | vaccinate | ACC | DEF | PL | child.PL | SBJV | POSS | 3PL |
| | <i>pātia</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>pāruru</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>runga</i> | <i>i</i> | |
| | vaccinate | POSS | protect | PASS | 3PL | BEN | above | LOC | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------|-------------|------------|----------|
| <i>tētahi</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>maki,</i> | <i>eiaha</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>tupu</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>i</i> |
| SPF | PL | sick/disease | PROH | 3PL | IPFV | grow | PASS | LOC |

| | | |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>te</i> | <i>maki</i> | <i>rahi.</i> |
| DEF | sick/disease | big/large |

‘I also studied the lifestyle of the mothers with babies, the procedure for weighing the babies, the vaccinations for the children with vaccines for protecting them against certain diseases, so that they won’t get serious diseases.’ [011-01]

One also often finds the *i te* construction being used to express purposive. An example of this can be found in (61) above. For more on the *i te* construction, see 6.3.4.1.1.

7.4.3 The preverbal particle *me* as a type of conjunction

Although I have previously described *me* as a verbal particle, marking the ‘conditional mood’ (see 5.3.1.7), there is some indication that it is used as a subordinating conjunction under certain circumstances. Although *me* occurs directly before the main verb of a given verbal clause in most cases, I have found at least one instance of it occurring before another verbal particle, namely *ka*, which marks inceptive aspect, as in (66). In this example, *me* does not exactly mark the conditional mood either. It could possibly be termed an interrogative, as opposed to conditional, subordinating conjunction. In (67), *me* does have the function of expressing conditional, even though it is here used in front of a noun phrase, and therefore cannot be regarded as a preverbal particle. It could probably be termed a conditional conjunction here.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-----------|-----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|
| (66) | <i>I</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>matahiti</i> | <i>ono</i> | <i>ngahuru</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>varu,</i> |
| | LOC | DEF | year | six | ten | with | eight |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>kua</i> | <i>tae</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>tangata</i> | <i>Papa’a</i> | <i>no</i> | Australia. |
| PRV | reach/arrive | HITHER | SPF | person | Westerner | BEN | Australia |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>Na</i> | <i>hana</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>hakamata</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>angaanga</i> | <i>ranga~ranga,</i> |
| EMP | 3PL | TNS | start/begin | LOC | DEF | work | look around~REDUP |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>me</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>rau</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>manuia</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>fāmā</i> |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------------|----------|-----------|-------------|

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|------|-----|------|
| if/whether | INCEP | be able and | INCEP | lucky | COMP | DEF | farm |
|------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|------|-----|------|

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|------------|--------------|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>poe</i> | <i>pārau</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>rōtō</i> | <i>moana</i> |
| ACC | DEF | pearl | shell | LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | lagoon | ocean |

ko *Manihiki.*

PRV Manihiki

‘In the year 1968, some Westerner came from Australia. It was him who started the work of looking around (in order to see) whether we would be able to farm pearl shells, and receive good luck in the farming of pearl shells, inside the lagoon of Manihiki.’ [021-01]

(67) *Me* *ko* *te* *tu* *teia* *e* *tupu* *nei*

COND PRV DEF way DEM.PROX IPFV grow/happen PROX

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>nei...</i> |
| LOC | DEF | day | PROX |

‘If this is the way things are happening today...’ [010-03]

7.4.4 Complement clauses

Verbs that can take a complement clause as their object can be divided by their semantics into several different subtypes. However, since the various subtypes of complement clause taking verbs in Manihiki are all marked the same way, all these words will be regarded as being of the same type, regardless of their semantics. Of the semantic subtypes of complement clause taking verbs mentioned by Noonan (2007), I have been able to find the ones given in (68).

(68) Utterance predicates:

| | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| <i>kautā</i> | ‘speak’ |
| <i>uru</i> | ‘call’ |
| <i>kōreromotu</i> | ‘promise’ |

Predicates of knowledge:

| | |
|-------------|---------------|
| <i>kite</i> | ‘see’, ‘know’ |
|-------------|---------------|

| | |
|----------------|-----------|
| <i>manako</i> | ‘think’ |
| <i>rongo</i> | ‘hear’ |
| <i>irinaki</i> | ‘believe’ |

Desiderative predicates:

| | |
|------------------|--------------|
| <i>hinangaro</i> | ‘want, wish’ |
|------------------|--------------|

In Manihiki, complement clauses are marked with the subordinating particle *e*, which is prosodically part of the main clause preceding it, and not the subordinate clause coming after it. I have marked this in my orthography by a comma following, instead of preceding, the *e*. Sentences containing complement clauses thus have the following form:

Verb - Subj - *e* - Complement Clause

Two examples of sentences containing complement clauses are given in (69) and (70).

- (69) *Te rongo nei mātou e, te hinangaro nei*
 PROG hear PROX 1PL.EXCL SUBR PROG want/wish PROX
- te Pāniora ki te tautai i*
 DEF Spain/Spanish people COMP DEF catch fish LOC
- t-o tātou tai roto i te Kūki Airani nei.*
 DEF-POSS 1PL.INCL sea inside LOC DEF Cook Islands PROX
- ‘We are hearing that the Spanish people want to fish here in our lagoons of the Cook Islands.’
 [013-02]

- (70) *I te reira tuātau, e irinaki ana*
 LOC DEF there time IPFV believe MED
- rātou e, me hara te ingoa, ka tupu*
 3PL SUBR COND false DEF name INCEP happen/grow
- tētahi maki ki runga i te pēpē.*
 SPF sick/ill ALL above LOC DEF baby

‘In those days they believed that, if the name was wrong, the baby would catch some disease.’ [014-01]

It is interesting to note here that the subordinating particle *e* is also sometimes used after verbs such as *kite*, ‘see, know’, *uru*, ‘call’, etc., even when no complement clause follows. In (71) the clause *ia haku kua kite atu e*, ‘that I can see’, is a type of relative clause. In this clause, the subordinator *e* is used, even though its relativized object is not a complement clause, but a noun phrase, namely *ko tētahi mea*, ‘a certain thing’.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (71) | <i>E</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>haku</i> | | | |
| | and | PRV | SPF | thing | LOC-PERS | 1SG | | | |
| | <i>kua</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>e</i> , | | | | | |
| | PFV | see/know | thither | SUBR | | | | | |
| | <i>mea</i> | <i>puapinga</i> , | <i>e</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>tīmata</i> | <i>mātou</i> | | | |
| | thing | important | and | PFV | try | 1PL | | | |
| | <i>kia</i> | <i>rave</i> | <i>hua</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>tei</i> | <i>reira</i> , | <i>no te mea</i> , | <i>meitaki</i> |
| | SBJV | do | only | PASS | thither | LOC.PRED | there | because | good |
| | <i>no</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hiti tangata</i> , | <i>ko</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tūtaka</i> . | | | |
| | BEN | DEF | people | PRV | DEF | inspection | | | |

‘And another thing that I can see, which is very important, and which we try to get done because it is good for the people, is the (health) inspection.’ [011-01]

Similarly, in (72), the subordinating particle is used in *e uru hia ana e*, ‘is called’, although the complement is a prepositional phrase, *ko te cyclone shelter*, ‘a cyclone shelter’, and not a complement clause.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (72) | <i>E</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>rauka</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tuātau</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> |
| | and | PFV | become | DEM.PROX | time | ACC? | DEF |
| | <i>Kāvamani</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Kāvamani</i> | <i>Nu Tīrani</i> |
| | Government | BEN | inside | hither | DEF | Government | New Zealand |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------------|----------|-----------|---------------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tauturu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hiti tangata</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>tā-mahani</i> |
| COMP | DEF | help | ACC | DEF | people | TNS | CAUS-build |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------|--------------|-------------|----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>fare</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>uru</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>ana</i> | <i>e,</i> |
| ACC | POSS | 3PL | house | IPFV | call | PASS | MED | SUBR |

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>ko</i> | <i>te</i> | cyclone shelter. |
| PRV | DEF | cyclone shelter |

‘This became the time for the New Zealand Government to come and help the people, who were (re)building their houses, (which had been destroyed by the Cyclone Martin), with what’s called a cyclone shelter.’ [013-01]

Another example of a complement clause with the subordinator *e* is given below in (73), which was earlier given as (62).

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| (73) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>e,</i> | <i>no atu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>meiti</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>Pauro,</i> |
| | PFV | see | 1SG | SUBR | although | COMP | DEF | little | DIST | Paul |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|---------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| <i>pēnei</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>tuātau</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>hia</i> |
| maybe | ?? | SPF | time | COND | go/come back | PASS |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| <i>ki</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>au</i> |
| ALL | Manihiki | INCEP | go/come back | hither | DEM.PROX | PL |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>t-a</i> | <i>hana</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tuātau</i> |
| DEF-POSS | 3SG | TNS | see | LOC | DEF | time |

| | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------|---------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>noho</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>reira.</i> |
| IPFV | sit/live | APH | 3PL | LOC | there |

‘I knew that although Paul was little, maybe if he would sometime return to Manihiki, these things that he saw will come back from the time that we lived there.’ [011-01]

Examples with *manako*, ‘think’, ‘decide’, ‘wish’, both with and without the *e*:

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| (74) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>tātā</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>i reira</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tuku</i> |
|------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------------|----------|-----------|-------------|

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|-----------|------------|----------------------|--|
| PFV | write | | hither | 1SG | then | COMP | DEF | send/give | |
| <i>mai</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>t-o-ku</i> | | <i>manako</i> | | <i>e,</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>riro</i> | |
| hither | ACC | DEF-POSS-1SG | | thought | | SUBR | SBJV | become | |
| <i>ko</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>nēti</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>haka-tika</i> | |
| PRV | 1SG | DEF | nurse | LOC | Manihiki | and | PFV | CAUS-true (= accept) | |
| <i>hia</i> | <i>mai.</i> | | | | | | | | |
| PASS | hither | | | | | | | | |

‘I then wrote (a letter) to express my wish to become the nurse for Manihiki, and it was accepted.’ [011-01]

- (75) *Manako* *au* *i reira,* *ka* *hoki* *au* *ki* *Manihiki,*
 think/decide 1SG then INCEP go/come back 1SG ALL Manihiki
- noho* *ai* *i* *tētahi* *tuātau,* *kia* *riro* *au*
 sit/live APH LOC SPF time SBJV become 1SG
- ei* *nēti* *no* *te* *hiti tangata* *o* *Manihiki.*
 RES nurse BEN DEF people POSS Manihiki
- ‘I then decided that I would go back to Manihiki and live there for some time, in order to become a nurse for the people of Manihiki.’ [011-01]

The above examples have all been in reported, or indirect, speech. In (76), one can find an example of quoted, or direct, speech, where the subordinator particle *e* is also used. Some further examples of the use of the subordinating particle *e* in indirect speech are given in (77) through (80). Sentence (78) was given earlier as (59).

- (76) *Kore* *e* *tano* *e* *ka* *rauka* *i* *tētahi* *tangata*
 NEG IPFV be correct ?? INCEP be able ACC? SPEC people
- i* *te* *kautā* *mai* *e:* *“kua* *mate* *o* *te*
 COMP DEF speak hither SUBR PFV die/be dead POSS DEF

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-------------|-------------|------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>mainga,</i> | | <i>kāre</i> | <i>a-ku</i> | | <i>mea</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>kai</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>au.</i> " |
| starvation | NEG | POSS-1SG | thing | SBJV | eat | APH | 1SG | | |

'People (who visit Manihiki) won't be able to say: "I died of starvation, (because) there was nothing for me to eat."' [011-02]

- (77)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|--|---------------|--|-------------------|------------------|--|----------|---------------|
| <i>Me</i> | <i>tupu</i> | | <i>tētahi</i> | | <i>tupu-hanga</i> | <i>rikarika,</i> | | <i>e</i> | <i>tētahi</i> |
| COND | happen | | SPF | | happen-NMLZ | bad | | INDF | SPF |
- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--|--------------|--|-------------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|--------------|--|------------|----------|
| <i>maki</i> | | <i>rahi,</i> | | <i>kore</i> | <i>rau</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ākono</i> | | <i>hia</i> | <i>i</i> |
| ill/disease | | big/large | | NEG | be able | COMP | DEF | meet | | | PASS | LOC |
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>Manihiki,</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>rere</i> | <i>tahi</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>pahī</i> | <i>rere</i> | <i>mei</i> | <i>ko-nei,</i> |
| Manihiki | INCEP | fly | one | POSS | DEF | ship | fly | from | DEI-PROX |
- | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>e oti,</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>kave</i> | <i>mai.</i> |
| and then | COMP | DEF | take/bring | hither |
- | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| <i>Mākona</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>moni</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>pau.</i> |
| plenty | DEF.PL | money | INCEP | finish (here: be spent) |
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|----------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Kare</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>rāvenga,</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ora-hanga</i> | <i>tangata,</i> |
| NEG | DIST | INDF | way to do something | PRV | DEF | live-NMLZ | people |
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>ko</i> | <i>ia</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>mea</i> | <i>rahi</i> | <i>atu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>moni.</i> |
| PRV | 3SG | DEF | thing | big/large | thither | LOC | DEF.PL | money |
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------|-------------|----------|-------------|------------|-----------|
| <i>T-a</i> | <i>tātou</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>e.</i> |
| DEF-POSS | 1PL.INCL | DEM.PROX | TNS | see/know | PROX | SUBR |
- 'If something really bad (a disaster) happens, some serious disease, that cannot be met/taken care of in Manihiki, then one of the planes will fly from here (Rarotonga), and then take people back. A lot of money is being spent. There's no other way, it's the life of the person (that matters), that's the thing that's more important than money. That's what we see.' [011-02]

- (78)

| | | | | | |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|----------|-------------|
| <i>Mataora</i> | <i>tika-i</i> | <i>t-o-ku</i> | <i>ora-hanga</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>noho</i> |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|----------|-------------|

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------------|-----------|-----|----------|
| happy | truly | DEF-POSS-1SG | live-NMLZ | TNS | sit/live |
|-------|-------|--------------|-----------|-----|----------|

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------|------------------|
| <i>ai</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> |
| APH | 1SG | LOC | Manihiki |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>no te mea,</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>e,</i> | <i>t-a-ku</i> | <i>angaanga</i> |
| because | PFV | see | 1SG | SUBR | DEF-POSS-1SG | work |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>rave</i> | <i>nei,</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>riro</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>tauturu</i> |
| TNS | do | PROX | PROG | become | PROX | RES | help |

| | | |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hiti tangata.</i> |
| LOC | DEF | people |

‘I was really happy about my life on Manihiki (lit.: my life when I lived on Manihiki was really happy), because I knew that the work that I was doing, was helping people (lit.: became a help for the people).’ [011-01]

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| (79) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>pau</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | <i>rima</i> | <i>matahiti</i> | <i>tūmā</i> | <i>i-a-ia</i> |
| | PFV | finish | SPF | five | year | more than | LOC-PERS-3SG |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|--------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>rangaranga-hanga,</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>e,</i> |
| LOC | DEF | look around-NMLZ | and | PFV | see | PASS | hither | SUBR |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>ka</i> | <i>manuia</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>anga-anga</i> | <i>fāmā</i> | <i>poe,</i> |
| INCEP | successful | DEM.PROX | work | farm | pearl |

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------|-----------|-------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>rōtō</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>Manihiki.</i> |
| LOC | inside | LOC | DEF | lagoon | POSS | Manihiki |

‘He finished more than five years of the work of looking around, and then he saw that it would be good, this job of farming pearls in the Manihiki lagoon.’ [021-01]

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| (80) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>tātou</i> | <i>e,</i> | <i>tei</i> | <i>hea</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>ngāhi.</i> |
| | PFV | see/know | 3PL.INCL | SUBR | LOC.PRED | where | DEM.PROX | place |

‘We know where this place is.’ [003-05]

A particularly good source of sentences with complement clauses is the story of Maui catching the sun. This story was told to me by my consultant Jane Kora and involves the legendary hero Maui. As the story goes, it had previously been impossible for people to sleep at night or get any work done during the day, because the sun was moving too fast. Therefore, Maui decided to catch the sun in order to force it to move slower across the sky. All the example sentences (81) through (84) are taken from this story. These sentences provide a wide selection of possible types of constructions using complement clauses, particularly using quoted, or direct, speech.

In (81), one first finds an example of a complement clause that has been embedded within a clause, which is actually itself a relative clause. This relative clause, i.e., *ta te ra e uru mai e*, ‘what the sun called out’, contains the subordinating particle. The second complement clause is embedded as the direct object of the main verb of the sentence. The full verb complex of this sentence is *uru atu Maui*, ‘Maui called out’. Interestingly, in this instance, the subordinating particle is not used, even though there seems to be no reason why it would not be. In other words, it appears that the constructions with and without the subordinating particle are in free variation. In (81), it is the main clause in which *e* is not used, while in the examples above, one can find numerous examples of this particle being used in main clauses, e.g., in (69) and (70).

In (82), one can find an example where a complement clause is being used with the verb *kōreromotu*, ‘promise’. One can also see in this sentence that verbs of saying can sometimes be left out of a sentence. The clause *teia ta te ra* literally means ‘this was of the sun’, but can be better translated in this instance as ‘this is what the sun said’. Similarly, in (83), *ta hau*, literally ‘yours’, could better be translated as ‘what you are telling me’, and also *na Maui e* is best translated as ‘asked Maui’, even though the word for ‘ask’ does not appear. In (84), the subordinating particle is used with the verb *kite*, ‘see’, ‘know’.

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|-----------|
| (81) | <i>Teia</i> | <i>t-a</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>uru</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>e:</i> |
| | DEM.PROX | DEF-POSS | DEF | sun | IPFV | call out | hither | SUBR |
| | <i>“Maui e, tuku hia au.”</i> | | | | | | | |
| | Maui | VOC | let go | PASS | 2SG | | | |

Uru *atu* *Maui:*
call out thither Maui

“Kore. Kore mātou e tuku i-a koe.”
NEG NEG 1PL.EXCL TNS let go ACC-PERS 2SG

‘This is what the sun called out: “Oh Maui, let me go.” Maui called out: “No, we won’t let you go.”’ [014-02]

(82) *E oti, teia t-a te ra:*
and then DEM.PROX DEF-POSS DEF sun

“Maui, kōrero-motu atu nei au e, me tuku
Maui speak-promise thither PROX 1SG SUBR COND let go

kōtou i-a haku, ka haere māria hua au.”
2PL ACC-PERS 1SG INCEP go slowly only 1SG

‘So, this is what the sun (said): “Maui, I promise, that if you let me go, I will only go slowly.”’

[014-02]

(83) *“E tika t-a hau?” na Maui e.*
IPFV true DEF-POSS 2SG EMP Maui SUBR

“‘Is yours (i.e., what you are telling me) true?’ asked Maui.” [014-02]

(84) *Kite kōtou e, e aha, e te au taeake,*
see/know 2PL SUBR INDF what VOC DEF PL friend

kua tika noti, kua haere māria hua te ra.
PFV true INT PFV go slow only DEF sun

‘You know what, friends, it's true, (from then on) the sun only went slowly.’

[014-02]

7.4.4.1 Verbs that take complement clauses

A number of transitive verbs mostly or exclusively take complement clauses as their object. These verbs include the ones given in (85).

- (85)
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>tīmata</i> | ‘try’ |
| <i>rauaka</i> | ‘be possible’, ‘be able to’ (with nominal objects also ‘get’, ‘become’) |
| <i>hinangaro</i> | ‘want’, ‘wish’ |
| <i>irinaki</i> | ‘believe’ |

An example of the use of *tīmata*, ‘try’, is found in (86), where *rātou*, ‘they’, which is the grammatical subject of both the main and the complement clause, is overtly expressed in both clauses. As will be seen below, verbs like *rauaka* and *hinangaro* do not overtly express the subject of the complement clause when this is coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

- (86)
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>Te</i> | <i>tīmata</i> | <i>nei</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>kia</i> | <i>tae</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>roto</i> |
| PROG | try | PROX | 3PL | SBJV | reach | hither | 3PL | ALL | inside |
-
- | | | | |
|----------|------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>t-o</i> | <i>tātou</i> | <i>pae moana</i> |
| LOC | DEF-POSS | 3PL | island nation |
-
- | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Pasifika</i> | <i>nei.</i> |
| LOC | DEF | Pacific Ocean | PROX |

‘They (European fishing boats) are trying to come into our island nation here in the Pacific.’

[013-02]

The verb *rauaka* is a word with many, fairly different, translations. It can be used either with complement clauses in the two related meanings of ‘be possible’ or ‘be able to’, or with nominal complements in the meanings of ‘get’ or ‘become’. The latter two meanings may also very well be diachronically or even synchronically related. Examples of the use of *rauaka* with various meanings has previously been given in (87) through (90). Sentence (88) is repeated from (72).

- (87)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|------------|----------------|----------|---------------|------------|
| <i>Tuātau</i> | <i>mua,</i> | <i>mākona</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>ika</i> | <i>ra~rahi</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>rauaka</i> | <i>ana</i> |
| time | before | plenty | DEF.PL | fish | REDUP~big | IPFV | get | MED |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------|---------------------|----------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>t-o</i> | <i>tātou</i> | <i>hiti tangata</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Pae</i> | <i>Tokerau</i> |
| DEF-POSS | 1PL | people | LOC | DEF | island group | north |

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>me</i> | <i>roro</i> | <i>tautai.</i> |
| COND | go | catch fish |

‘Back in the days, plenty were the big fish that our people would catch in the Northern Group when they went fishing.’ [015-01]

(88)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------|-----------|
| <i>E</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>rauka</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tuātau</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> |
| and | PFV | become | DEM.PROX | time | ACC? | DEF |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Kāvamani,</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>roto</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>Kāvamani</i> | <i>Nu Tīrani,</i> |
| Government | BEN | inside | hither | DEF | Government | New Zealand |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------------|----------|-----------|---------------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tauturu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>hiti tangata</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>tā-mahani</i> |
| COMP | DEF | help | ACC | DEF | people | TNS | CAUS-build |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------|--------------|-------------|----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>fare</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>uru</i> | <i>hia</i> | <i>ana</i> | <i>e,</i> |
| ACC | POSS | 3PL | house | IPFV | call | PASS | MED | SUBR |

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>ko</i> | <i>te</i> | cyclone shelter. |
| PRV | DEF | cyclone shelter |

‘This became the time for the New Zealand Government to come and help the people, who were (re)building their houses, (which had been destroyed by the Cyclone Martin), with what’s called a cyclone shelter.’ [013-01]

(89)

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>Pēnei</i> | <i>ake,</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>rauka</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>t-a</i> | <i>tātou</i> |
| perhaps | upwards | COND | be able | hither | DEF-POSS | 3PL |

| | | | |
|------------------|----------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>tamariki,</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>teia</i> | <i>tūranga,</i> |
| child.PL | ACC | DEM.PROX | way |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-------------|-----------|----------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>na</i> | <i>rātou</i> | <i>noti</i> | <i>ei</i> | <i>tauturu</i> | <i>i-a</i> | <i>tātou.</i> |
| BEN | 3PL | INT | RES | help | ACC-PERS | 1PL.INCL |

‘Perhaps, if our children are able to do this way (i.e., market our pearls), they will become a help to us.’ [013-01]

- (90) *Kua rauka mai mātou i te kite,*
 PFV be possible hither 3PL.EXCL COMP DEF know
- ka haka-pēhea mātou i runga i te*
 INCEP CAUS-how/do how 3PL.EXCL LOC above LOC DEF
- tūhanga o te fāmā-hanga i te pārau.*
 job POSS DEF farm-NMLZ ACC DEF shell

‘We managed to discover how we should do the job of farming the pearl shells.’ [013-01]

Hinangaro, with the meaning ‘want’ or ‘wish’, is also used with complement clauses, as in (91) and (92).

- (91) *Hinangaro au i te hoki mai i tētahi*
 want 1SG COMP DEF go/come back hither LOC SPF
- ra ki Manihiki i te ākono*
 day ALL Manihiki COMP DEF visit
- i te hiti tangata o Manihiki.*
 ACC DEF people POSS Manihiki

‘I wanted one day to go back to Manihiki to visit the people of Manihiki.’ [011-01]

- (92) *Kua hinangaro t-a-ku tāne, a Tāmu,*
 PFV want DEF-POSS-1SG man/husband PERS Sam
- i te hoki ki Manihiki.*
 COMP DEF go/come back ALL Manihiki

‘My husband, Sam, wanted to return to Manihiki.’

[013-01]

And finally, there is the verb *irinaki*, ‘believe’, which always takes a subordinate clause as its object, as exemplified in (70), repeated here as (93).

(93) *I te reira tuātau, e irinaki ana*
 LOC DEF there time IPFV believe MED

rātou e, me hara te ingoa, ka tupu
 3PL SUBR COND false DEF name INCEP happen/grow

tētahi maki ki runga i te pēpē.
 SPF sick/ill ALL above LOC DEF baby

‘In those days they believed that, if the name was wrong, the baby would catch some disease.’ [014-01]

7.4.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses follow the noun they modify. They are not introduced by any relative particles or pronouns. Several types of grammatical functions can be relativized, including subject, direct object and oblique noun phrases. I have no examples of possessor noun phrases being relativized, with the possible exception of (94) below. In this example, both of the two clauses could either be asyndetically coordinated with each other, or the second clause could be a relative clause modifying *na māmā*, ‘the mothers’. If the latter analysis is accepted, then this would indeed be an example of a relativized possessor noun phrase. All the relative clauses that I have surveyed so far have been restrictive, as opposed to parenthetical.

(94) *Mākona hoki na māmā*
 plenty INT DEF.PL mother

korereka t-o rātou kōpapa.
 huge DEF-POSS 3PL body

‘Many of the mothers have huge bodies.’ (lit.: ‘The mothers are many, their bodies are huge.’ or ‘Many are the mothers, whose bodies are huge.’) [011-01]

7.4.5.1 Relative clauses with the anaphoric particle *ai*

Relative clauses where an object or oblique is being relativized can be expressed in a construction where they are not introduced by any type of relativizer, but instead contain the anaphoric particle *ai*, as in (95) and (96).

- (95) *Ko Tūherepunga, tēnā, e kave atu*
 PRV Tuherepunga DEM.MED TNS take way thither

ai koe.

APH 2SG

‘The one you are taking away is Tuherepunga.’ [006-02]

- (96) *E vahine ke, te vahine e uta*
 INDF woman different DEF woman TNS take away

atu ai koe.

thither APH 2SG

‘The woman that you are taking away is a different woman.’ [006-02]

7.4.5.2 Relative clauses with anaphora other than the particle *ai*

Instead of the particle *ai*, one occasionally finds some other pronominal phrase with anaphoric reference. In (97), e.g., the phrase *i reira*, ‘there’, is used anaphorically within the relative clause.

- (97) *T-o-ku hano-hanga ki Nu Tīreni, kua noho au i*
 DEF-POSS-1SG come-NMLZ ALL New Zealand PFV sit/live 1SG LOC

tētahi ngāhi, kāre Manihiki e noho ana i reira.

SPF place NEG Manihiki TNS sit/live MED LOC there

‘On arriving in New Zealand, I lived in a place where no Manihiki people lived.’ [011-01]

7.4.5.3 Relative clauses introduced by a relativizer but with no anaphoric particle

Relative clauses can also be introduced by a relativizer, without the anaphoric particle *ai* being used. This relativizer can be either the definite article *te*, as in (98) through (100), or a possessive determiner, as in (101). In this construction, the relativized noun can be either subject or object within the relative clause. This construction is similar to what Clark (1976:116-118) has termed “possessive-relative complexes”.

- (98) *I roto i teia tuātau, mākona o tātou*
 LOC inside LOC DEM.PROX time plenty POSS 1PL.INCL
tangata o te hiti tangata Manihiki, te i kore i
 people POSS DEF people Manihiki DEF TNS NEG TNS
hoki mai ki te henua...
 go/come back hither ALL DEF island
 ‘During this time, there were many of our people of Manihiki, who never returned to the island...’ [013-01]

- (99) *Ko mātou te i toko-hia te i noho tei*
 PRV 1PL.EXCL DEF TNS NUM-few DEF TNS sit/live LOC.PRED
runga i te henua o Manihiki, kua riro mātou
 above LOC DEF island POSS Manihiki PFV become 1PL.EXCL
i teia tuātau i te tā-mā
 LOC DEM.PROX time COMP DEF CAUS-clean
i t-o mātou au ngūtuare, te kino te i
 ACC DEF-POSS 1PL.EXCL PL home DEF bad DEF TNS
tupu ki runga i te henua.
 grow/happen ALL above LOC DEF island
 ‘For the few of us who stayed on the island of Manihiki, this became the time for us to clean up our homes, (to clean up) the damage that had happened on the island.’ [013-01]

(100) *Pērā, hoki i teia tuātau, te riro*
 also INT LOC DEM.PROX time PROG become

nei te au pahī tautai Tinitō,
 PROX DEF PL ship catch fish China/Chinese

te i haka-tika hia
 DEF TNS CAUS-true (= allow) PASS

e te Kāvamani kia tautai i t-o
 AGT DEF Government SBJV catch fish LOC DEF-POSS

tātou pae moana nei, o te Kūki Airani.
 1PL.INCL island nation PROX POSS DEF Cook Islands

‘Also, during this time, the Chinese fishing boats began to come, that had been allowed by the Government to fish here in our island nation of the Cook Islands.’ [013-02]

(101) *E tētahi angaanga meitaki t-a mātou*
 and SPF work good DEF-POSS 1PL.EXCL

i rave hua atu, e kua haka-noho ana i tētahi
 TNS do only thither and PFV CAUS-sit MED LOC SPF

taime poto, ko te haka-ariari a tātou pēpē. Te vānanga
 time short PRV DEF CAUS-see? POSS 1PL.INCL baby DEF word

Papa’a te “baby show”.
 Westerner DEF baby shoe

‘And some good work that we did, but stopped doing for a short period of time, was the showing of our babies. The English word (for it) is “baby show”.’ [011-01]

7.4.5.4 Relative clauses with neither relativizer nor anaphoric particle

There is at least one example in my data of a relative clause, in which neither any relativizer nor the anaphoric *ai* occurs. In this clause, the relativized noun is an object. This example is given in (102).

- (102) *Tuātau mua, mākona na ika ra~rahi*
time before plenty DEF.PL fish REDUP~big/large
- e rauka ana t-o tātou hiti tangata*
TNS get MED DEF-POSS 1PL.INCL people
- i te Pae Tokerau me roro tautai.*
LOC DEF Northern Group COND go catch fish
- ‘In the olden days, there were plenty of big fish that our people would catch here in the Northern Group when they went fishing.’ [013-02]

7.4.5.5 Relativized noun phrases with zero-head and no anaphoric particle

Relativized noun phrases can also occur without any overt noun phrase as head. In these cases, they are always introduced by either the definite article *te*, or by one of the possessive determiners. The anaphoric particle *ai* never occurs in the relative clause in these constructions. An example of this is given in (103), which was given earlier as the last part of (25).

- (103) *Na, kua kave mātou i-a-ia,*
so PFV bring 1PL.EXCL ACC-PERS-3SG
- kua haka-tika mātou*
PFV CAUS-true (= allow) 3PL
- i t-o hona au i hinangaro,*
ACC DEF-POSS 3SG PL TNS want/wish
- kua haka-hoki hia ia ki te henua Manihiki.*
PFV CAUS-go/come back PASS 3SG ALL DEF island Manihiki

‘So, we brought him, we allowed what he wished for (to be fulfilled), he was brought back to Manihiki. [014-01]

Another example of this is given in (104), which was given earlier as (62) and (73). In this example, the demonstrative determiner *teia*, ‘this’, and the plural marker *au* are used before a relative clause introduced by *ta hana i kite*, ‘that he saw’. It may be that the noun *mea*, ‘thing(s)’, is implied after *teia au*.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| (104) | <i>Kua</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>au</i> | <i>e,</i> | <i>no atu</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>meiti</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>Pauro,</i> |
| | PFV | see | 1SG | SUBR | although | COMP | DEF | little | DIST | Paul |
| | <i>pēnei</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>tētahi</i> | | <i>tuātau</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>hoki</i> | | <i>hia</i> | |
| | maybe | ?? | SPF | | time | COND | go/come back | | PASS | |
| | <i>ki</i> | <i>Manihiki,</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>hoki</i> | <i>mai</i> | <i>teia</i> | | <i>au</i> | | |
| | ALL | Manihiki | INCEP | go/come back | hither | DEM.PROX | | PL | | |
| | <i>t-a</i> | <i>hana</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>kite</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>tuātau</i> | | | |
| | DEF-POSS | 3SG | TNS | see | LOC | DEF | time | | | |
| | <i>e</i> | <i>noho</i> | <i>ai</i> | <i>mātou</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>reira.</i> | | | | |
| | IPFV | sit/live | APH | 3PL | LOC | there | | | | |

‘I knew that although Paul was little, maybe if he would sometime return to Manihiki, these things that he saw will come back from the time that we lived there.’ [011-01]

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