
Rapanui

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A detailed topographic map of the island of Oahu, Hawaii. The map uses contour lines to represent elevation, with major peaks labeled such as Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa, and Mauna Pū. Numerous place names are scattered across the island, including Honolulu, Hahaione, Kaneohe, and Kailua. A scale bar at the bottom indicates distances from 0 to 2 miles. A north arrow is located in the upper left corner. The map also shows various smaller islands and reefs surrounding Oahu.

RAPANUI

Introduction

I RAPANUI — THE PLACE AND THE PEOPLE

Easter Island, officially Isla de Pascua, but Rapanui to its native inhabitants, is a small island in the South Pacific, a triangle approximately 10 miles by 11 miles by 15 miles whose area is variously estimated between 47 and 53 square miles. In each corner is a mountain: in the south-west is [Rano Kau](#), with an impressive reed covered lake in its crater and on one side the [Oroño](#) site overlooking the sea and the three skerries where the frigate bird used to land and lay its eggs; in the north-west [Ma'uqa Terevaka](#), the highest point on the island — about 1700 feet; and alongside it is [Rano 'Aroi](#) — the source of water for an island that has no streams; in the east is [Poike](#), much eroded and now used mainly for grazing horses; the extinct volcano beside [Poike](#) is [Rano Raraku](#) where the famous *moais* were carved.

Rapanui is reputedly the most isolated inhabited place on earth, since it is some 1,200 miles from its nearest neighbour, Pitcairn Island, and some 2,500 miles from the coast of Chile. Its isolation combined with the fame of its stone statues — a few re-erected in the past forty years but most of the 500 or so of them still lying around in various stages of disintegration have made it an object of much archaeological and anthropological study.

Like New Zealand it has a subtropical climate, rather than the tropical climate that characterizes all other Polynesian-speaking areas. The main crops nowadays are bananas and sweet potatoes but fishing rather than planting is the main work and even the famous horses and sheep are not much in evidence today. The population of the Island is about 2,000 of whom some 1,500 are natives — the rest are Spanish speaking Chileans. Rapanui is understood by all of the native inhabitants but is not much spoken by children under ten or so. There is also a large number of Rapanui on the Chilean mainland, perhaps as many as 500 and possibly a similar number in Tahiti — exact figures are very difficult to come by.

It is not certain where the Rapanui came from or when they arrived in

their island home. South American origins proposed by Heyerdahl (1950) are doubtful. A not too controversial view is that there were immigrations from the west (the central Pacific area) and possibly later from the northwest (especially the Marquesas) and that the first wave was there by the fifth century AD, though Fischer (1992) proposes, the first century AD. In other words Bruce Biggs' statement of 1972 that 'we will have to substitute for long-discarded theories of successive migrations into Polynesia, a theory of multiple intra-Polynesian migration and settlement' (quoted by Langdon and Tryon 1983: 11) is still a reasonable view that is supported by a recent computer simulation of voyages (Irwin, 1992: 161, 215).

The Island was 'discovered' by the Dutchman, Roggeveen, on Easter Sunday 1722, and for the next hundred years or so had visits from various ships whose captains — notably Gonzalez, Cook and La Perouse — have bequeathed us notes and/or sketches. But from 1862 there was fairly continuous contact with outsiders — the Chileans and the missionaries (van Hoorebeeck, 1979: 79–99).

My encounter with Rapanui was fortuitous. In the early 1980s when I was teaching on the linguistics programme in the University of East Anglia, Norwich, a retired teacher, William Giles, who was attending my seminar on 'multilingualism', volunteered the information that an Easter Island lady was among the Chilean political refugees with whom he had contact in Norwich. He wondered if I would like to meet her to record some bits of her language. We met and that was the beginning of my friendship and collaboration with Erena Araki of [Haja Piko](#). I have spent two periods on the Island as a guest of her family and have had a lot of help from them especially from her mother, Avelina Riroroko (Nua), to whom this grammar is dedicated.

II THE LANGUAGE

Rapanui is classed as an East Polynesian language along with Maori, Rarotongan, Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Marquesan, Hawai'ian and Mangarevan. The geographical isolation of the Island has resulted in the retention of some old features, notably the glottal stop, and also in many specifically Rapanui innovations especially in vocabulary and morphology. But in general terms its structure — phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical — is typically Polynesian: there is a predominance of vowel sounds and a limited number of consonants; open syllables only are found; the morphological system uses lexemes and particles; syntactic units are contoured within verbal and nominal frames; there are many Rapanui cognates for lexical items found in other Polynesian languages even if they have often divergent meanings.

As far as Rapanui is concerned there have been influences — on the vocabulary — since the eighteenth century, first of English and to some

extent French, then since 1862 when the Island was taken over by Chile, we see the increasingly dominating position of South American Spanish. But equally important, from the mid-nineteenth century until the introduction of the vernacular into Roman Catholic services in this century has been the status of Tahitian which was the language of most of the early missionaries. Rapanui was in the diocese of the Bishop of Tahiti and the prayer books — an important factor — were and still are in Tahitian as are most of the hymns sung in church even today. In addition, after the tragic death of so many of the men of the Island on the guano workings in Peru, in the early 1860s, there was a repopulation from both Tahiti and the Marquesas. It is not surprising therefore that Tahitian has had a marked impact on the vocabulary.

The Rapanui are the only Polynesians to have had an ancient script, the *rongoroŋo*. Unfortunately, despite attempts by missionaries and scholars since the last quarter of the nineteenth century to discover the meaning of the signs, it remains undeciphered. The view put forward by Scoresby-Routledge (1919) that the symbols were mnemonics to help the bards recite the tables of genealogy still seems the most likely explanation but the significance of the symbols as words/phrases has been proposed more recently by Fischer (1996).

III PREVIOUS DESCRIPTIONS OF THE LANGUAGE

The first fairly lengthy account of Rapanui was by William Churchill in 1912; he had been US Consul General in Samoa and Tonga. It is set out as a dictionary but is full of chat and explanations and tentative etymologies and general Polynesian matters. In the following year Edgardo Martinez of the Meteorological Institute of Chile published a vocabulary and four years later Fr Félix Jaffuel issued Roussel's vocabulary, adding Spanish to the original Rapanui-French. Neither of these works has any grammatical information except incidentally. The two main descriptions we have are much later: Fr Sebastian Englert (d. 1969) published the first edition of his grammar (1977) in 1948 and twelve years later in 1960 Jordi Fuentes published a grammar and dictionary in English and Spanish. More recently the survey of the Polynesian languages by Krupa (1982) has included an up-to-date view of the structure of Rapanui.

IV ORTHOGRAPHY

The Latin alphabet is used for all the Polynesian languages. For Rapanui only two extra symbols are required: for the glottal stop, [ʔ], and the nasal velar [ŋ] although these are often simply represented by the apostrophe ['] and [g/ng] respectively. Until recently there was no writing tradition on Easter Island. But over the past twelve years or so, the American teachers,

Robert and Nancy Weber, working on a literacy project, a joint venture of the Summer School of Linguistics and the Catholic University of Valparaíso, have written a set of books and used them to teach in the Island school.

They mark vowel length, phonemic or allophonic, with the macron. They also use a special sign [ǵ] to distinguish the Spanish [g] from the Rananui [ŋ] but for a general linguistic description this specific circumstance is irrelevant.

Normally the stress is penultimate but where it is final, the vowel, in the present work, is marked with an acute accent. Such stressed final vowels are always long. Initial vowels can be long in certain words — trisyllabics, finally stressed words and reduplicated forms — but such lengthening is always discourse dependent (emphasis) and therefore long vowels will not be marked in the spelling.

There are very many combinations of two elements both having transparent meanings but which, when joined together have only one referent; in such cases, wherever the stress pattern is an unambiguous single penultimate stress this is taken as indicating that the two words are felt as a single unit and it is written as one word, for instance *vaikava* ‘sea’ (lit. ‘water bitter’). Otherwise the two elements are written separately for instance *ivi tika* ‘spine’ (lit. ‘bone straight’) which has two stresses.

V THE ALPHABET

<i>Orthographic symbol</i>	<i>IPA equivalent</i>
a	a
á	a:
e	e
é	e:
h	h
i	i
í	i:
k	k
ʻ	ʔ
m	m
n	n
ŋ	ŋ
o	o
ó	o:
p	p
r	r
t	t
u	u
ú	u:
v	β

The letters *d, f, g, s, t* and the digraphs *ch* and *ll* are used in foreign words, of which there are many, especially Spanish words, in the language.

VI ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost it is my pleasure to acknowledge my debt and express my gratitude to my friend and informant Erena Araki. Without her finely tuned appreciation of the niceties of her language and her infinite patience with my many problems I could not have undertaken this work let alone completed it. I owe a debt too, to Erena's family, who not only welcomed my husband and me on my first visit to the Island but agreed to allow the tape recorder to sit on the table for hours while they chatted and friends came in and out — thus giving me a great deal of real speech linguistic material. She also arranged for us to have some meetings with the well known informant José Fati (Piri) who has sadly since died; he recited stories and pointed out place names for us. I am deeply grateful to Norval Smith and Croom Helm that was, for agreeing to accept my grammar in the first place and to Bernard Comrie and Claire L'Enfant, of Routledge for taking it over. The framework, the Comrie-Smith *Lingua Questionnaire*, within which this series is presented is a remarkably searching examination of the mechanism of languages. I am glad to have worked with it and equally I am indebted to Bernard Comrie for the care with which he read the early drafts and for his many helpful critical suggestions.

The early work on the Grammar was done while I was at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, and I should like to say how vital was the encouragement of Brian Rowley and Michael Carr, successive Deans of the School of Modern History and European Languages. On the practical level it was the Senior Technician of the Language Centre, John Gray, who patiently copied and sorted all my precious cassettes, who managed our recording sessions and also drew the map of Rapanui. The University granted me study leave and contributed to the expenses of my second journey to the Island. For that journey the larger share of the expenses was underwritten by the British Academy whose support I hereby acknowledge with gratitude.

My first steps in Polynesian were guided, mostly at long distance, by Victor Krupa of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava; his interest and ever ready advice and help have been the foundations of my Rapanui studies and his comments on the present text which he so kindly agreed to read have been invaluable.

Discussions, correspondence and collaboration with Steven Roger Fischer have been of great assistance in clarifying many difficult points; I have benefited much from his scholarly expertise.

I was fortunate enough to be able to show the completed typescript to Dr H. G. A. Hughes of Afonwen. For his time and interest and precious comments and suggestions based on his vast knowledge and experience of Polynesia I am profoundly grateful.

Last but not least in this list of some of the many people who have helped on my Rapanui project is my husband, Alastair Graham Bryce. He has not only shared my enthusiasm for the Island, to the extent even of financing our first journey there, but has also done the best recordings and has acted as computer consultant, making the word processing seem easy. Alastair, many, many thanks.

VII ABBREVIATIONS

The following are the abbreviations used in the interlinear grammatical interpretations of the examples, and also in the text. The third column gives a brief indication of the Rapanui forms — where they are limited in number.

1de	1 pers. dual exclus.	<i>maua</i>
1di	1 pers. dual inclus.	<i>taua</i>
1pe	1 pers. plural exclus.	<i>matou</i>
1pi	1 pers. plural inclus.	<i>tatou</i>
1s	1 pers. sing.	<i>au</i>
2s	2 pers. sing.	<i>koe</i>
2p	2 pers. plural	<i>korua</i>
3s	3 pers. sing.	<i>ia</i>
3p	3 pers. plural	<i>raua</i>
ABL	ablative	<i>mai</i>
ACT	action	<i>he</i>
ADV	adverb/adverbial	
Adv.	adverb/adverbial	
AG	agentive	<i>e</i>
AWA	away from subject	<i>atu</i>
BEN	benefactive	<i>mo/ma</i>
BENa	benefactive alienable	<i>ma</i>
BENi	benefactive inalienable	<i>mo</i>
C	consonant	
CAUS	causative	<i>haka</i>
COL	numeral-collective	<i>hoko, aDUP</i>
COMP	comparative	<i>ata, haua'el'ihau, apa au</i>
COORa	adversative coordination	<i>pero, ho'i, pa'i</i>
COORc	copulative coordination	<i>e</i>
COORD	disjunctive coordination	<i>o</i>

DAT	dative	<i>ki</i>
DEM	demonstrative postnominal	<i>no/na, 'o/'a, ro/ra</i>
Demd	demonstrative — (distant)	<i>ai</i>
Demn	demonstrative — (near)	<i>'i</i>
demonstr.	demonstrative	
DO	direct object	
duo	dual	
DUP	reduplication	
EMP	emphasis	<i>ho'i, mau ('a), pa'i</i>
EX	existential	<i>ai</i>
EXC	exclamation	<i>e!</i>
exclus.	exclusive	
FOC	focus	<i>ko</i>
FREQ	frequentative	<i>vara</i>
GRP	group plural	<i>ŋa</i>
imperat.	imperative	
inclus.	inclusive	
INS	instrumental	<i>hai</i>
INT	interrogative	<i>aha, ai, he, hia</i>
interrog.	interrogative	
intrans.	intransitive	
IO	indirect object	
ITER	iterative	<i>oho</i>
HAB	habitual	<i>pura</i>
LIM	limitative	<i>no/na</i>
loc.	locational	
LT	loc./temp. prepositive	<i>na, ra, ni, hu</i>
MAN	manner of action	<i>-haŋa</i>
MOD	modal	<i>ana, mo, -Vŋa</i>
MOM	momentary } 1st/3rd pers.	<i>ki</i>
	2nd "	<i>ka</i>
moment.	momentary	
NEG	negative	<i>eko, 'ina, kai, 'o, ta'e</i>
NUM	numeral-counting	<i>ka</i>
Obs.	obsolete	
OSV	object-subject-verb	
OVS	object-verb-subject	
PA	past tense	<i>i</i>
pers.	person	
PFT	perfect tense	<i>ko</i>
PHO	phoric	<i>ai</i>
plur.	plural	
POS	possessive	<i>o/a</i>
POS1sa	poss. 1 sing. alienable	<i>ta'aku</i>

POS1si	poss. 1 sing. inalienable	<i>to'oku</i>
POS1de	1 dual exclus.	<i>temaua</i>
POS1di	1 dual inclus.	<i>tetaua</i>
POS1pe	1 plural exclus.	<i>tematou</i>
POS1pi	1 plural inclus.	<i>tetatou</i>
POS2p	2 plural	<i>tekorua</i>
POS2sa	2 sing. alienable	<i>ta'au/ta'u/ta'a</i>
POS2si	2 sing. inalienable	<i>to'ou/to'u/to'o</i>
POS3p	3 plural	<i>teraua</i>
POS3sa	3 sing. alienable	<i>ta'ana</i>
POS3si	3 sing. inalienable	<i>to'ona</i>
poss.	possessive	
postnom.	postnominal	
PPD	postpositive determinant	<i>nei, era, ena</i>
PPN	Proto-Polynesian	
PRS	person singular	<i>a</i>
PSG	persons group	<i>kuá</i>
Q	question	
QU	numeral-quantity	<i>e</i>
+ REA	realized action	<i>ro</i>
– REA	non-realized action	<i>ra</i>
RES	resultative	<i>'a/ana, 'avai</i>
REP	reply to vocative	<i>o!</i>
RLT	relational particle	
sing.	singular	
SPA	spatial particle	<i>to/ta</i>
+ SPE	specific	<i>te, tu/tou ... PPD</i>
± SPE	+/– specific	<i>he</i>
– SPE	– specific	<i>hai</i>
STA	state (verbal)	<i>e</i>
SUF	suffix	<i>-Vŋa</i>
SVO	subject-verb-object	
TA	tense/aspect marker	<i>e, he, i, ka, ki, ko</i>
temp.	temporal	
to + m	towards (+ movement)	<i>pe</i>
TO – m	towards (– movement)	<i>'a</i>
TOW	towards subject	<i>mai</i>
trans.	transitive	
V	vowel	
VOC	vocative	<i>e ... N ... e</i>
VSO	verb-subject-object	

Syntax

1.1. GENERAL QUESTIONS

(i) Summary of sentence structures

Statements can be simple or compound. Neither coordination nor subordination is systematically marked; demonstratives with appropriate juncture features — pause and intonation — can serve for both, although, under the influence doubtless of Spanish in this bilingual community, the younger generation is increasingly formalizing some of these strategies.

Questions — the yes/no type differ from statements in their intonation. In Q-questions (that is those containing an interrogative particle) the Q-phrase is fronted.

Positive orders and obligations are expressed in a variety of ways. Obligations are signalled by prepositive *e*, the marker of ‘state’, sometimes reinforced with the benefactive particle *mo/ma*; an unfulfilled obligation is marked by fronted S preceded by *a* and the past tense with the particle *i*. The ‘imperative’ is signalled by the prepositive verbal particles *ka* and *ki* which also serve to express momentary/contiguous actions.

Negations — the use of the particles *eko*, *kai*, *'o*, *'ina* depends on the tense and aspect of the verb and also on the presence or absence of a verbal group.

Modals — possibility, realization, wish are also expressed by particles, mostly *ana* and *mo* associated with the verbal frame; the affix *ja* that forms nouns also has modal meanings.

Emphasis in the broadest sense, including topic and focus, affects suprasegmentals, wordorder and/or the determinants of the noun; it may also be (expressed by emphatic particles or by duplication of the first vowel.

(ii) Word order in simple statements

VSO — this is the neutral order. Where all three constituents are present

the subject is zero marked and the object marked by the relational particle *i* for all except the verbs of sensing.

- (1) He hakahu koe i te rama.
 ACT light 2s RLT +SPE torch
 ‘You light the torch.’

In sentences with verbs of sensing the object is zero marked and the subject is marked by the agentive particle *e*. The association of the agent marker with the subject of verbs of sensing is probably to be explained by the fact that the two common verbs of this category: *tikea* — ‘see’ and *ɣaro’a* — ‘hear, smell’ are, historically, reflexes of passive forms [PPN — C((c)i)a] with which the particle would have been a marker of the oblique subject (V. Krupa, personal communication).

- (2) He tikea e au te poki.
 ACT see AG 1s +SPE child
 ‘I can see the child(ren).’

VS — there is no structural marker of an intransitive construction; the V is followed by S which has a zero determinant.

- (3) He oho au i te hora nei.
 ACT go 1s RLT +SPE hour PPD
 ‘I’m going now.’

V(S)(O) — the structure of a statement does not require the expression of either S or O if these are evident from the context.

- (4) I haka emu ‘i haho era.
 PA CAUS sink DEMn outside PPD
 ‘(The salvage people) sank (the ship) out at sea.’

The O alone can be omitted where the referent is clear from the context.

- (5) He poŋa koe kiruŋa i te ‘amurama’a.
 ACT put 2s above RLT +SPE table
 ‘You put (the lobster) on the table.’

The omission of S entails various configurations which mark different pragmatic values of topic and focus. These are dealt with in 1.10–15.

(iii) Noun phrase and verb phrase

Lexical morphemes have no formal class markers in Rapanui — with the exception of a few derived types (see 2.2.1.1–2.2.3.3). On the other hand the syntactic units NP and VP are marked by their determinants — the particles which precede and/or follow the lexical item and define it as nominal or verbal. It is true that there is overlap between these two

functions: they have some particles in common: *era, ena, nei, ra, ro, 'a, 'o, na, no*; in addition, categories such as tense, modality and aspect are not necessarily verbal, while plurality — typically a nominal category — is more often expressed in the action than the actors. Nevertheless, despite this lack of rigid distinctions, the NP-VP dichotomy remains an important factor, so it would seem descriptively desirable to set out the nominal and verbal frames as a preliminary to the account of the mechanisms of the syntax.

NOMINAL FRAMES

These have *four positions*.

<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>Four</i>
sintactic markers	discourse markers:	lexical item	markers of:
	± specific		± distant
	possessives		± visible
	locationals		± known

PREPOSITIVE

POSITION ONE: SYNTACTIC MARKERS

sentential	0	subject/object
	<i>e</i>	agentive/instrumental
	<i>ko</i>	focus
	<i>i</i>	relational
	<i>o/a</i>	possessive/genitive/locative
	<i>mo/ma</i>	benefactive
	<i>hai</i>	instrumental
	<i>ki</i>	dative
	<i>mai</i>	ablative
	<i>to</i>	locative (total)
	<i>pe</i>	inessive
non-sentential	<i>e ... e</i>	vocative

POSITION TWO: DISCOURSE MARKERS

defining	0	+ known
	<i>te</i>	+ specific, ± plural
	<i>tou/tu</i>	+ specific ... (PPD)
	<i>he</i>	± specific, ± plural
	<i>hai</i>	– specific, – known
possessive	<i>t</i> or ' +	
	<i>o'oku/ a'aku</i>	1st sing.
	<i>o'ou / a'au</i>	2nd sing.
	<i>o'ona / a'ana</i>	3rd sing.
	<i>te</i> +	

	<i>maua/taua</i>	1st dual (exclus./inclus.)		
	<i>matou/tatou</i>	1st plur. (exclus./inclus.)		
	<i>korua</i>	2nd plur.		
	<i>raua</i>	3rd plur.		
quantifier	<i>e</i>	quantitative		
	<i>ka</i>	counting		
	<i>te</i>	ordinal		
	<i>hoko</i>	collective (personal)		
	<i>ŋa</i>	group		
personal	<i>a</i>	persons		
	<i>kuá</i>	mutually related		
locational		distant	visible	known
	<i>na</i>	–	–	+
temporal	<i>ra</i>	+	–	+ / –
	<i>ni</i>	+	+ / –	+
	<i>hu</i>	–	–	+

POSTPOSITIVE

POSITION FOUR: LOCATIONAL/DEMONSTRATIVE

locational		distant	visible	known
+ SPEC ...	<i>nei</i>	–	+	+
	<i>era</i>	+	+ / –	+
	<i>ena</i>	+	+ / –	+ / –
demonstrative	<i>no</i>	limitative		
	<i>na</i>	indicative		
	<i>'o</i>	near (pointing)		
	<i>'a</i>	far (place or time)		
	<i>ro/ra</i>	interrog. (+ SPE/ – SPE)		

VERBAL FRAMES

These have *six positions*:

<i>One</i>	<i>Two</i>	<i>Three</i>	<i>Four</i>	<i>Five</i>	<i>Six</i>
tense	lexeme	adverbs	mood	direction	location
aspect	item	of:	of:	to/from	in
modal		quality	action	subject	time/space
negative		quantity			
subordinate		negat.			

PREPOSITIVE

POSITION ONE

tense	– tense	<i>he</i>	untensed action
		<i>e</i>	state

	+ tense	<i>i</i>	past
		<i>ko</i>	perfect (resultative)
aspect		<i>ka</i>	moment./contiguous/imperat.2
		<i>ki</i>	” ” ” 1/3
modality		<i>ana</i>	+ specific/ ± realized
		<i>mo</i>	– specific / ”
		<i>'o</i>	– volition/ ”
negation		<i>eko</i>	future
		<i>'ina (he)</i>	present/past
		<i>kai</i>	present/past
		<i>'ina (ko)</i>	future/imperative
		<i>'ina ...kai</i>	present/past
		<i>'o</i>	negative optative
		<i>'ina 'o</i>	negative question
POSTPOSITIVE			
POSITION THREE			
adverbs	quantitative	<i>etahi</i>	‘solely’
		<i>tahi</i>	‘all, wholly’
		<i>haka'ou</i>	‘again’
		<i>hia</i>	‘yet, hardly’
		<i>rahi</i>	‘much’
		<i>tahava</i>	‘in vain’
	qualitative	<i>riva riva</i>	‘well’
		<i>keke</i>	‘wrongly’
		<i>iho</i>	‘hardly’
		<i>ata</i>	‘more, better’, etc.
	negative	<i>ta'e ('o)</i>	after <i>i, ka, mo, ana</i>
		<i>'o</i>	after <i>kai</i> (emphatic)
POSITION FOUR			
mood		<i>ro</i>	realized
		<i>ra</i>	unrealized
		<i>no</i>	limited
		<i>na</i>	unlikely
POSITION FIVE			
direction		<i>mai</i>	towards subject
		<i>atu</i>	away from subject
POSITION SIX			
locational		<i>'a/ana</i>	resultative/ + visible/ + known
		<i>ai</i>	phoric

demonstrative	distant	visible	known
<i>nei</i>		+	+
<i>era</i>	+	+ / –	+
<i>ena</i>	+	+ / –	–

(for speaker or hearer)

1.1.1. Sentence types

1.1.1.1. Direct and indirect speech

The difference between direct and indirect speech is often not clear for statements and Q-questions. Even when the speaker has used the demonstratives such as *penei e* ‘like this here’ or *penei* ‘like this’ or *e* ‘here’, which might be considered as indicating indirect statements, the following dependent construction is as likely to be quoted as reported. Only the speech rhythm and intonation can in the last resort resolve the status of the noun clause — a longish pause after the demonstrative will precede quotation, a flat continuation at the level of the demonstrative will indicate a reported statement, a higher beginning points to quoted statement (see also 3.3.4 for intonation). A change of person can be an additional marker of indirect speech.

1.1.1.1.1. Direct speech

This is in the form of a noun clause which is the object of verbs such as *ki* ‘say’, *ha’aki* ‘tell’. The main clause may be prepositive or postpositive, though prepositive is more common; the noun clause may be a statement, question or order:

STATEMENTS

- (6) He ki e au: ‘‘a’au ’o, ta’aku poki.’
 ACT say AG 1s POS2sa NEG +SPE POS1sa child
 ‘I said: “She is not yours, she is my child.”’

- (7) ‘Pe tu taia tahi ‘a’, i ki mai ai.
 TO+m +SPE size all EMP PA say TOW PHO
 ‘They are all the same size”, she said.’

QUESTIONS

- (8) He ’ui mai ho’i a Chico: ‘E Nua, he aha
 ACT ask TOW EMP PRS Chico VOC Nua +SPE INT
 tu me’e ena?’
 +SPE thing PPD
 ‘Chico, you know, asks me “Nua what’s that thing there?”’

ORDERS

- (9) E ki atu era: 'ka oho mai koe ki tu'u
 STA say AWA PPD MOM go TOW 2s DAT POS2si
 mamatia nei ka 'aroha.'
 aunt PPD MOM greet
 'I was telling him: "Come here and greet your aunt!"'

NEGATIVE ORDER

- (10) Ko ki mai 'a 'ina ko haka tikea ki a Nua!
 PFT say TOW RES NEG NEG CAUS see DAT PRS Nua
 'She said to me: "Don't show it to Nua!"'

1.1.1.1.2. Indirect speech

This is most often introduced by *penei e* 'like this here', or *penei* 'like this' or *e* 'here'. The punctuation in the examples below is an attempt to indicate the sentence rhythms of these structures; since the conjunctions are strongly demonstrative they are always followed by a pause.

1.1.1.1.2.1. Indirect statements

They may have the same form as a direct statement or there may be a change of person; the tense is that of the original statement.

(i) Cataphoric *penei* 'like this' marks indirect speech.

- (11) Penei au e ki nei, a Rui ko hakaunga 'a e
 Like this 1s STA say PPD PRS Rui PFT send RES AG
 korua ki te me'e ho'o.
 2p DAT +SPE thing buy
 'I was saying you'd sent Rui to buy something.'

(ii) With change of person, third singular to second singular.

- (12) I papa'i ro mai 'a, penei e, ko hore 'a
 PA write +REA TOW RES like this here PFT cut RES
 to uaua o to'u va'e.
 +SPE veins POS2si leg
 'She wrote to me that you've had the veins in your leg operated on.'

1.1.1.1.2.2. Indirect Questions

(i) These have the same forms as direct.

'ihé 'where'

- (13) *Ko 'ite 'a koe 'ihé to'oku hare?*
 PFT know RES 2s where POS1si house
 'Do you know where my house is?'

aha 'which'

- (14) *Ka ki no, mahana aha ana e'a raua 'iruŋa i te vaka.*
 MOM say LIM day INT MOD go 3p above RLT +SPE boat
 'Just say, what day are they to go on the boat.'

pehe 'how'

- (15) *Ka 'ui, pehe ana kai te 'ura.*
 MOM ask how MOD eat +SPE lobster
 'Ask how they would like to eat the lobster.'

(ii) Yes/no type have the modal *ana* followed by existential *ai*.

- (16) *Ka 'ui, ana ai, he oho a ia apó.*
 MOM ask MOD EX ACT go PRS 3s tomorrow
 'Ask him if he's going tomorrow.'

1.1.1.1.2.3. Indirect orders

The positive orders are either introduced by the benefactive particle *mo*, in which case the subject is a possessive form, or, with the notion of obligation rather than instruction, they are marked by the STA particle *e*. In either case the dependent clause may be introduced by *penei e* 'like this'.

The negative is introduced by *'ina ko* or, emphatically, *'ina eko*. There is a change of person.

- (17) *Ka ki mo oho atu o ia.*
 MOM say BEN go AWA POS 3s
 'Tell him to go there.'
- (18) *Ka ki, penei e, e oho mai ia apó.*
 MOM tell like this EXC STA go TOW 3s tomorrow
 'Tell him that he is to come tomorrow.'
- (19) *Ka vanaŋa, penei e, mo oho ararua ko te*
 MOM talk like this EXC BEN go both FOC +SPE
taŋata era mo ruku.
 man PPD BEN dive
 'Tell him that he should go diving with that man.'

- (20) *Penei au i ki ai ki a Vero, 'ina ia 'eko*
 Like this 1s PA tell PHO DAT PRS Vero NEG 3s NEG
uru i ra kahu.
 wear RLT LT dress
 'I told Vero she was not to wear that dress.'

The type of direct orders on which these quoted orders are based would be: *e oho mai koe apo* 'You must come tomorrow', *'ina koe eko uru i te kahu era* 'You are not to wear that dress'; *ka oho mai koe apo* 'Come tomorrow'.

1.1.1.2. Interrogative

Intonation is the main marker that distinguishes yes/no questions from statements. A high rise of about a fifth with a steep fall of about an octave characterizes the final group of the question whereas the pattern of the statement is a slight rise of about a third/fourth and a fall of a fourth/fifth on the final (see 3.3.4.1–2).

1.1.1.2.1. Yes/no questions

1.1.1.2.1.1. Neutral question form

Where there is no expectation the form of the question is the same as a statement.

- (21) Q: *He hakaré ma po?* A: *Eee.*
 ACT leave BEN morning Yes
 'Shall (we) leave (it) till morning?' 'Yes'
- (22) Q: *Ma Rui na koe ka hakaré ena?*
 BEN Rui DEM 2s MOM leave PPD
 'Are you going to leave it for Rui to do?'
 A: *Eee. Ko hakaré 'a au ma Rui.*
 Yes PFT leave RES 1s BEN Rui
 'Yes. I have left it for Rui.'
- (23) Q: *'Ina he 'auke?* A: *E ai ro 'a.*
 NEG ±SPE seaweed STA EX +REA RES
 'Is there no seaweed?' 'There is.'
- (24) Q: *Ko mine 'a koe ki te nu'u ena?*
 PFT wink RES 2s DAT +SPE people PPD
 'Did you wink at those people?'
 A: *'Ina!*
 NEG
 'Of course not!'

- (25) Q: 'E ai no 'a te pipi i 'Anakena?
 STA EX LIM RES +SPE shells RLT 'Anakena
 'Are there still shells in Anakena?'

 (26) A: Ko ŋaro 'a ra pipi.
 PFT disappear RES LT shells
 'Those shells have disappeared.'

1.1.1.2.1.2. Leading questions

When a question is put expecting agreement, negative or positive, this is marked by *hoki* 'back, again' in initial position immediately preceding the segment questioned. On the last stressed syllable of the question there is a high rise — up to an octave:

- (27) Hoki kai takeo koe?
 Back NEG cold 2s
 'Aren't you feeling cold then?'

 (28) Hoki me'e pagaha'a?
 Back thing heavy
 'It's heavy isn't it?'

 (29) Hoki ko rohi rohi 'a koe?
 Back PFT tired DUP RES 2s
 'You must be tired?'

 (30) Pehe te pista? Hoki ko oti 'a te aŋa?
 How +SPE runway? Back PFT end RES +SPE work
 'How is the runway? I suppose the work is finished?'

1.1.1.2.1.3. Alternative questions

These are normally simply with *o* 'or' (Spanish) and the second alternative is specified. However among speakers who customarily use more Spanish than Rapanui the phrase *o 'ina* 'or not' is heard.

- (31) E oho ro koe o he noho koe?
 ACT go +REA 2s or ACT remain 2s
 'Are you going or staying?'

 (32) E haga ro mo oho mai, o 'ina?
 STA wish +REA BEN go TOW or NEG
 'Will she want to come or not?'

1.1.1.2.2. Q-questions

There are four basic forms used in interrogative Q-constructions:

- (i) The interrogative *ai* referring to persons and always preceded by a particle:

koai ‘who?’

This refers to the present or the future:

- (33) *Koai te me’e nei? Ko Vero.*
 FOCINT +SPE thing PPD FOC Vero
 ‘Who is this person?’ ‘Vero.’

’a’ai ‘who?’

This refers to the past. The action already ‘belongs’ to the subject. The insertion of the glottals here is discussed in 3.4.2.2.

- (34) *’A’ai i tunu te kai? O to’oku taina.*
 POSINT PA cook +SPE food POS POS1si sibling
 ‘Who has cooked the dinner?’ ‘My sister/brother.’

- (35) *Ki a ai koe ka ’avai ena i te puka?*
 DAT PRS INT 2s MOM give PPD RLT +SPE book
 ‘Who are you going to give the book to?’

ola + ai – ‘whose?’

The *ola* alternative is the inalienable/alienable marking (see 1.10.2).

- (36) *Oai te hoi era? ’O’oku.*
 POSINT +SPE horse PPD POS1si
 ‘Whose is that horse?’ ‘Mine.’

- (37) *’A’ai te poki nei? A ia.*
 POSINT +SPE child PPD POS 3s
 ‘Whose child is this?’ ‘Hers.’

ma/mo + ai – ‘for whom?’

- (38) *Ma’ai te kai ena? Ma Timo.*
 BENINT +SPE food PPD BEN Timo
 ‘Who is that food over there for?’ ‘For Timo.’

- (39) *Moai koe e aja ena? Mo to’oku taina.*
 BENINT 2s STA work PPD BEN POS1si sibling
 ‘Who are you doing that work for?’ ‘For my sister.’

(ii) The interrogative *he* used alone means non-specific ‘where’. In combination with prepositive particles such as *’a* ‘towards’, *’i* demonstrative (generally near) of time/place *ki* ‘to’, *mai* ‘from’, *ko* focus, it indicates expectation of precise time/place/name (not of a person). It is used in other formations such as *pehe* ‘how’; *moaŋahé* ‘for when’. Following a noun it has the sense of ‘which’ when the range of choice is known.

- (40) He ta'aku puka?
INT POS1sa book
'Whereabouts is my book?'
- (41) 'Ihé te pua'a?
DemnINT +SPE cattle
'Exactly where are the cattle?'
- (42) Heró te rou?
INTDEM +SPE hook
'Where are the hooks?'
(range known to Speaker)
- (43) Herá ta'a rou?
INTDEMPOS2sa hook
'Where on earth are those hooks?'
(range unknown to Speaker but known to Hearer)
- (44) 'Iherá Rui?
DemnINTDEM Rui
'Where on earth is Rui?'
- (45) Kihé koe ka oho ena apó?
DATINT 2s MOM go PPD tomorrow
'Where are you going tomorrow?'
- (46) Maiherá koe?
ABLINTDEM 2s
'Where on earth have you been?'
- (47) Pehé au ana tunu?
How 1s RES cook
'How am I to cook it?'
- (48) 'Ahé ka oho koe?
POSINT MOM2 go 2s
'Which day are you off?' (non-past)
- (49) 'Iajahé te pahí i tu'u mai ai?
INT +SPE ship PA come TOW PHO
'When did the ship arrive?' (past)
- (50) Moajahé te kahu nei?
BENINT +SPE dress PPD
'What day is that dress for?'
- (51) 'A ara he koe i oho ai ki te banko?
TO-m path INT 2s PA go PHO DAT +SPE bank
'Which way did you go to the bank?'

- (52) Ko henua he te henua era?
 FOC land INT +SPE land PPD
 ‘What is the name of that country?’

- (53) Kahu he to’ou kahu apí?
 Dress INT POS2si dress new
 ‘Which is your new dress?’

(iii) The interrogative pronoun *aha* never stands alone. In combination with the indefinite specifier *he* it means ‘what’ or ‘why’. ‘Why’ is also conveyed by other combinations such as *moaha, ki te aha, o te aha*.

- (54) He aha ta’a aña i te hora nei?
 ±SPE INT POS2sa work RLT +SPE time PPD
 ‘What do you work at nowadays?’

- (55) He aha i tañi ia?
 ±SPE INT PA cry PHO
 ‘Why was she crying?’

- (56) Ki te aha koe i oho mai ena?
 DAT +SPE INT 2s PA go TOW PPD
 ‘What did you go there for?’

- (57) O te aha koe i turu ai?
 POS +SPE INT 2s PA go down PHO
 ‘What caused you to go down there?’

- (58) Moaha e kume ena?
 BENINT STA undo PPD
 ‘What’s the idea of undoing that?’

(iv) *Hia* ‘how much/many’ is either preceded by the numeral quantity specifier *e* or the numeral group specifier *hoko* ‘with how many others’. (For the use of *hoko*, see 2.1.2.1.4.2.)

- (59) Ehia vaka era?
 QUINT boat PPD
 ‘How many boats are over there?’

- (60) Hokohia koe i oho ai?
 COLINT 2s PA go PHO
 ‘How many others did you go with?’

1.1.1.2.2.1. Constituents questioned

There is no restriction on the nominal, adjectival and adverbial constituents that can be questioned in the simple sentence. The questioning of the verb however can only be done by treating the interrogative *aha* as a verbal lexeme.

For Q-questions, the Q-phrase, whether interrogating the subject,

object, nominal complement or adverbial phrase, stands in initial place and is marked by a shallow rise followed by a shallow fall that continues to the end. But if a Q-phrase is emphatically questioned or if another phrase besides the Q-phrase is being questioned as well, then this is marked by intonation and/or word order and/or other topicalizing/focusing devices such as the focus particle *ko*, the third person pronoun *ia*, or the possessive.

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. Constituents of the main clause questioned:

THE SUBJECT QUESTIONED

(i) In Q-questions

koai ‘who?, what (is the name)?’

- (61) *Koai te me’e ena? Ko to’oku taina.*
 FOC/INT/ +SPE thing PPD FOC POS1s sibling
 ‘Who is that person there?’ ‘My brother/sister.’

- (62) *Koai te ava’e ko tara hao hai vanaja tire?*
 FOCINT +SPE month FOC tara hao INS language Chile
 ‘What is “tara hao” [‘January’] called in Spanish?’

he aha ‘what?’

- (63) *He aha to’o hau?*
 ±SPE INT PS2s people
 ‘Where are you from?’ (= ‘What are your people?’)

he aha ia ‘what?’ + EMP

- (64) *He aha ia te vanaja he huega?*
 ±SPE INT 3s +SPE talk ±SPE huega
 ‘What exactly does the word *huega* mean?’

’a’ai ‘who?’

- (65) *’A’ai i toke te maika? A Vero.*
 PRSINT PA steal +SPE banana PRS Vero
 ‘Who stole the bananas?’ ‘Vero.’

(ii) In Y/N questions

The interrogation depends on intonation in the following. In the second version of (66) the fronting of the subject, *a Rui*, is more emphatic.

- (66) *E ruku ro mai a Rui i te ’ura ma’aku?*
 STA dive +REA TOW PRS Rui RLT +SPE lobster BEN1sa

Compare:

A Rui e ruku ro mai te 'ura ma'aku?
 'Is Rui going to catch a lobster for me?'

There is even stronger contrast with *ko*:

- (67) Ko ia te me'e ena ka oho ena apó?
 FOC 3s +SPE thing PPD MOM go PPD tomorrow
 'Is he the one who is going tomorrow?'

THE OBJECT QUESTIONED

With persons, *ai* functions as an interrogative pronoun; with nonpersons, either prepositive *ko* and postpositive *he* can be used or else *me'e* 'thing', in which case the interrogative clause becomes a qualifying relative clause:

- (68) Koai i tikea ena e koe?
 FOCINT PA see PPD AG 2s
 'Whom did you see there?'
- (69) Ki a ai a koe i 'ui ai?
 DAT PRS PHO PRS 2s PA ask PHO
 'Whom did you ask?'
- (70) Ko auto he a koe e vanaŋa ena?
 FOC car INT PRS 2s STA talk PPD
 'Which was the car you were talking about?'
- (71) He aha ta'a me'e i ma'u mai ena?
 ±SPE INT POS2sa thing PA bring TOW PPD
 'What have you brought there?'

With *ki* 'say' the word *pehe* 'how' is used to question the object:

- (72) Pehé koe ka ki ena ki a ia?
 DemnINT 2s MOM2s say PPD DAT PRS 3s
 'What are you going to say to him?'

THE VERBAL ACTION QUESTIONED

The neutral questioning of the verbal action is only possible by using the interrogative *aha* as a verbal lexeme or in a copula context:

- (73) E aha 'a koe?
 STA INT RES 2s
 'What are you doing?'
- (74) Ko te aha te va'e o te taŋata era?
 FOC +SPE INT +SPE leg POSi +SPE man PPD
 'What happened to that man's legs?'

For questioning the *manner* of an action with the suffix *-haya* seen below, examples (87) and (88).
The third singular pronoun *ia* can refer to a verbal action in an elliptical context:

- (75) 'Ina kai ma'u mai? He aha ia?
NEG NEG bring TOW ±SPE INT PHO
'You haven't brought it? Why haven't you?'

ADVERBIAL PHRASES QUESTIONED

PLACE:

The interrogative *he* can question place implying the person or object is not where expected:

- (76) Q: He ta'aku puka? A: 'Inei!
INT POS1sa book DemnPPD
'Where's my book?' 'Right here.'

The same particle preceded by DEMn *'i* is a request for precise location when the general location is known.
The addition of the demonstrative *ra* indicates that the general location is not known:

- (77) 'Ihé te hoi?
DemnINT +SPE horse
'Where are the horses?'

[The horses are normally on Poike, the question is exactly where.]

- (78) 'Iherá Nua?
DemnINTDEM Nua
'Where on earth is Nua?'

The interrogative *he* can combine with other particles: *maihe* 'from where', *kihé* '(to) where'.

- (79) Maiherá koe?
ABLINTDEM 2s
'Where on earth have you been?' (= 'From where are you?')

- (80) Kihó koe ka oho ena apó?
DATINT 2s MOM go PPD tomorrow
'Where are you going tomorrow?'

TIME:

The compound *'ahé* refers to non-specified time in the future.

- (81) 'Ahé koe ka turu mai?
INT 2s MOM2s come down TOW
'When are you coming down?'

- (82) 'Ahé ana hoki mai a ia?
 INT MOD back TOW PRS 3s
 'When might he come back again to me?'

The compound particle *'iañahé(ra)* refers to specific time in the past or future. The particle *ra* marks the possibility of non-realization of the action.

- (83) 'Iañaherá a ia i oho ai?
 INTDEM PRS 3s PA go PHO
 'When is she supposed to have left?'

- (84) 'Iañhé te pahí i tu'u mai ai?
 INT +SPE ship PA arrive TOW PHO
 'When did the ship arrive?'

- (85) 'Iañahé koe ana oho mai?
 INT 2s MOD go TOW
 'When are you going to come and see us?'

MANNER:

The compound adverb based on *pe* 'towards with movement' + the interrogative particle *he* is the means of asking 'how?'

- (86) Pehé koe i aña ai?
 INT 2s PA work PHO
 'How did you do this work?'

If the *manner* of the verbal action is specifically being questioned then the suffix *-haja* (MAN) is appended to the verb (see 2.2.1.2):

- (87) Pehé te kai haja o Rui? Koroiti no.
 INT +SPE eat MAN POSi Rui Slowly LIM
 'How does Rui eat?' 'Slowly.'

- (88) Pehé te tai'o haja o Chico? E tano ro 'a
 INT +SPE read MAN POSi Chico STA fit +REA RES
 'How does Chico read?' 'Alright.'

1.1.1.2.2.1.2. Constituents of subordinate clauses questioned:

INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Given the structural ambiguity of indirect questions — reported or quoted speech, it is not surprising that questioning of subordinate constituents has a number of strategies to evade the problem. Expressions of opinion that in English use verbs such as 'think' or 'consider', are rendered in Rapanui by adverbial phrases ≈ 'in my/his/your etc. opinion'. Or the main clause is treated as an insertion, marked as such by intonation (final rise) and rhythm (pause before and after).

- (89) Hai kahu he, ki to'u mana'u, a au ana uru
 INS dress INT DAT POS2si mind PRS 1s MOD put on
 mo iri ki te pure?
 BEN go up DAT +SPE church
 'What dress do you think I should put on to go to church?'
- (90) He aha, ki to'ona mana'u, ta'aku me'e mo haka
 -SPE INT DAT POS3si mind POS1sa thing MOD CAUS
 ma'u ki a Nua?
 bring DAT PRS Nua
 'What does he think I should send to Nua?'
- (91) 'Ihé, i ki ai a ia, ana aja?
 INT PA say PHO PRS 3s MOD work
 'Where did he say he will be working?'
- (92) Ahé, i ki ai a Nua, ka topa mai te avione?
 INT PA say PHO PRS Nua MOM fall TOW +SPE plane
 'When did Nua say the plane will land?'

COMPLEMENT AND PURPOSE CLAUSES

Here the subject or object or adverbial phrases can be questioned. The questioned phrase stands initially but the strategies for the rest of the sentence vary.

- (93) Koai ta'a me'e ha'a mo ho'o mai i ta'a potu?
 FOCINT POS2s thing wish BEN buy TOW RLT POS2s cigarettes
 'Who do you want to buy you your cigarettes?'

The questioned subject in (93) has the focus particle *ko*, literally 'who is *your desired person*', of which the *mo* phrase is a qualifier.

The non-interrogative base for (93) might be:

- (94) Ko ha'a ro 'a koe mo ho'o mai e Rui i
 PFT wish +REA RES 2s MOD buy TOW AG Rui RLT
 ta'a potu.
 POS2sa cigarettes
 'You want *Rui* to buy you your cigarettes.'

Simply fronting:

- (95) Koai, ta'a me'e i ha'ati 'a mo e'a 'iru'a i
 FOCINT POS2sa thing PA allow RES MOD go on to RLT
 te vaka?
 +SPE boat
 'Whom did you allow to go out in the boat to fish?'

In example (96) there is inversion:

- (96) 1 2 3 4 > 4 3 1 2
 | 4 | | 3 | | 1 |
 He me'e aha mo ho'o i oho ai korua
 ±SPE thing INT MOD buy PA go PHO 2p
 | 2 |
 ki Haŋaroa?
 DAT Haŋaroa
 'What did you go to Haŋaroa to buy?'

- (97) Kihé i turu ai a Nua ki te pipi
 DATINT PA go down PHO PRS Nua DAT +SPE shells
 runu i tai?
 collect RLT shore
 'Where on the shore has Nua gone to collect shells?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. Constituents of the noun phrase questioned:

only possessives and adjectives/ demonstratives can be questioned here.

'A'AI/OAI 'whose?'

- (98) 'A'ai te poki nei? A ia.
 POSPHO +SPE child PPD POS3sa
 'Whose child is this?' 'His.'
- (99) Oai te hoi era? 'O'oku.
 POSPHO +SPE horse PPD POS1s
 'Whose horse is that?' 'Mine.'

HE 'which' (range of choice known)

- (100) Hare he to'ona hare? He hare ena na.
 House INT POS3si house +SPE house PPD DEM
 'Which is his house?' 'The one over there.'

NOUN + AHA 'what?' (range of choice unlimited)

- (101) Q: Hai kahu aha au ana uru?
 INS dress INT 1s MOD put on
 'Which dress shall I put on?'
- A: ŋai kahu 'uri 'uri ena 'o'ou.
 INS dress black DUP PPD POS2si
 'That black dress of yours.'

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. Constituents of the prepositional phrase questioned:

ma'ai/moai 'for whom?'

- (102) Ma'ai te kai ena? Ma Timo.
 BENINT +SPE food PPD BEN Timo
 'Who is that food for?' 'For Timo.'
- (103) Moai koe e aña ena? Mo to'oku taina.
 BENINT 2s STA work PPD BEN POS1si sibling
 'Who are you doing that work for?' 'For my sister.'

ki a ai 'to whom?'

- (104) Ki a ai koe ka 'avai ena?
 DAT PRS INT 2s MOM2 give PPD
 'Who are you going to give that to?'

hai aha 'with what?'

- (105) Hai aha ro i 'a'aru ai i te 'ura?
 INS INT PND PA catch PHO RLT +SPE lobster
 'What did he catch the lobsters with?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. Questioning coordinate structures:

the only formalized coordinate structures are with reference to persons, using the focus particle *ko*. These can be questioned using *ararua* 'both' or *ananake* 'together':

- (106) Ararua koai i oho ai koe?
 Both FOCPHOPA go PHO 2s
 'With whom did you go?'
- Ararua maua ko Vero.
 Both 1de FOC Vero
 'Vero and I went.'
- (107) Ananake koai a korua i oho ai?
 Together FOCINT PRS 2p PA go PHO
 'Who did you (plural) go with?'
- Ananake matou ko kuá Nua.
 Together 1pe FOC PSG Nua
 'We (went) with Nua and her lot.'
- (108) Ararua koai i tikea ai e koe a Nua?
 Together FOCINT PA see PHO AG 2s PRS Nua
 'With whom did you see Nua?'
- Ararua ko Papi.
 Together FOC Papi
 'With Papi.'

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. Questioning more than one constituent:

all the simple constituents of the simple Sentence can be questioned, i.e. the subject, object, indirect object, time and place. Combined with the emphatic intonation

of high rise-steep fall, the emphatic distant demonstrative particle 'o can signal one Q while the fronting of the subject gives another Q.

- (109) 'A'ai i tiŋa'i i a ai 'ihé?
 PRSINT PA hit RLT PRS PHO DemnINT
 'Who hit whom where?'

 (110) 'A'ai i va'ai te aha ki a ai iaŋahé?
 PRSINT PA give +SPE INT DAT PRS INT when
 'Who gave what to whom when?'

 (111) Puka he i va'ai ai koe ki a ai?
 Book INT PA give AWA 2s DAT PRS INT
 'Which book did you give to whom?'

1.1.1.2.2.2. Position of the questioned element

A single questioned element is always initial. In multiple questioning as in 1.1.1.2.2.1.6. above, the order is subject before object, direct object before indirect object and adverbial finally.

1.1.1.2.2.2.1. Changes in position:

the positioning for the multiple questioning means that the neutral positions of the nominal and adverbial phrases are retained, only the positions of the subject and verb are inverted — VS > SV.

1.1.1.2.2.2.2. Shift to initial position:

if there is just one questioned element it stands initially in the sentence.

1.1.1.2.2.2.3. Subject movement:

when the Q-element is non-subject the subject is placed immediately after it, thus moved from the neutral postverbal position.

- (112) Ahé te pahí ana tu'u mai?
 When +SPE ship MOD come TOW
 'When is the ship due?'

 (113) Ki a ai koe ka 'avai ena i te puka?
 DAT PRS INT 2s MOM2 give PPD RLT +SPE book
 'Whom are you giving the book to?'

1.1.1.2.2.2.4. Clefting:

one function of clefting in interrogatives is to bring the questioned form into prominence, this can be achieved by means of the +REA particle *ro* with the optional addition of *me'e* 'thing':

- (114) Ko ai ro (te me'e) i rava'a i te 'ura?
 FOC INT +REA PA catch RLT +SPE lobster
 'Who is the one who caught the lobster?'

- (115) He aha ro (te me'e) a Rui i rava'a?
 ±SPE INT +REA (+SPE thing) PRS Rui PA catch
 'What is it that Rui caught?'

1.1.1.2.2.2.5. Intonation:

where there is a final Q-element this carries a special intonation: after a pause, a shallow fall of a third followed by a rise of a seventh or octave and an octave fall.

- (116) Ki a ai ia i va'ai ai i te ika ihé?
 DAT PRS INT 3s PA give PHO RLT +SPE fish where
 'Whom did he give the fish to, where?'

1.1.1.2.2.2.6. Multiple movements:

these are noted above 1.1.1.2.2.2.2.–3. Where a number of constituents are questioned the order is S V DO IO Adv., which, as noted, is the same as statements, except for S V. If the subject is not Q then it will stand between the initial Q and the verb (see 115).

1.1.1.2.3. Echo questions

1.1.1.2.3.1. Yes/no echo questions

The whole phrase is echoed:

- (117) A: Era o ra hora.
 PPD POS LT time
 'That was from the old days.'
- B: Era o ra hora? Peaha.
 'That was in the old days?' 'Probably.'

The noun phrase echoed:

- (118) A: Ko papa'i 'a hai vanaga tahiti.
 PFT write RES INS language Tahiti
 'He has written in Tahitian'
- B: Vanaga tahiti?
- A: Kai 'ite au.
 NEG know Is
 'I don't know.'

A verb phrase echoed:

- (119) A: Ma'aku e ma'u atu te puté.
 BENIsa STA carry AWA +SPE sack
 'I have to carry the bag there.'
- B: E ma'u ro atu? Pagaha'a ri'a ri'a.
 STA take +REA AWA heavy very DUP
 'Carry it there?' 'It is very heavy.'

1.1.1.2.3.2. Word echo questions

The noun phrase echoed with an interrogative form:

- (120) A: E to'o ro a ia i a ia ena.
 STA take +REA PRS 3s RLT PRS 3s PPD
 'He is taking that man over there.'

B: I a ia he?
 RLT PRS 3s INT
 'What man?'

In the last example the object marker *i* is echoed along with the pronoun and interrogative particle.

The verb phrase echoed with an interrogative form is indicative of incredulity or indignation; if accompanied by a high rise-fall interrogative intonation it expresses surprise:

- (121) A: He turu au ki tai.
 ACT go down 1s DAT shore
 'I'm going down to the shore.'

B: (Pehe ana ai) he turu?
 (How MOD EX) ACT go down
 '(What do you mean), you're going down there?'

1.1.1.2.3.3. Yes/no question echo questions

- (122) A: He oho koe ki kampó?
 ACT go 2s DAT kampo
 'You are going to kampo?'

B: Ki kampó?
 DAT kampo
 'To kampo?'

A: Eee.
 'Yes.'

(*Kampo* is the area to the east and north of the Island. It is the area where crops are grown, animals are grazed and, on the coast, fish are caught. It contrasts with the south-west corner where people live grouped round the township of Haŋaroa.)

1.1.1.2.3.4. Q-question echo questions

- (123) A: Ki he koe?
 DAT INT 2s
 'Where are you going?'

B: Ki he au? Ki te hare hapí.
 DAT INT 1s DAT +SPE house learn
 'Me, where? To school.'

- (124) A: 'Ihé i hakaré ai?
 DEMINTPA leave PHO
 'Where did you leave it?'
 B: 'Ihé i hakaré ai? I te hare.
 DEMINTPA leave PHO RLT +SPE house
 'Where did I leave it?' 'At home.'

The difference between A and B is in the intonation. A simple final rise in the first and a high rise-steep fall in the second.

1.1.1.2.3.5. Questioned elements in echo questions

Phrases including adverbials can be questioned without restriction. This is evident from the examples above (1.1.1.2.3.2–4). But verbs can also be questioned with the interrogative *pehé* and the subordinating phrase *ana ai*:

- (125) A: 'I au e u'i atu ena ki te vaka o Rui.
 DEMn 1s STA look AWA PPD DAT +SPE boat POSi Rui
 'There I was gazing at Rui's boat.'
 B: (Pehe ana ai) e u'i 'a?
 (How MOD EX) STA look RES
 '(You were) gazing?'

1.1.1.2.3.6. Multiple echo questions

Noun phrases and adverbials can I appear in multiple echo questions. So also can verbal phrases but here there are limitations. Since the interrogative verbal phrase stands initially the subject cannot be questioned except by emphasis; the same is true of the object but not of other noun phrases. In other words the elements of the VSO sentence in the narrowest sense form an integral group for the purposes of this type of question.

It should be said that informants accepted these multiple echo questions with some reluctance — not 'wrong' but you just would not say them!

- (126) A: 'I au e u'i atu ena ki te vaka o
 DEMn 1s STA look AWA PPD DAT +SPE boat POS
 Rui 'iroto i te vaikava.
 Rui on RLT +SPE sea
 'I was gazing out at Rui's boat on the sea.'
 B: E u'i 'a e koe ki te vaka o ai 'ihé?
 STA look RES AG 2s DAT +SPE boat POS INT where
 'How is it you were gazing, at whose boat, where?'

- (127) A: 'I au e hure hure 'a i te maika 'irote umu.
 DEMn 1s STA peel DUP RES RLT +SPE banana inside umu.
 'Here I am skinning bananas in the umu.'
- B: E aha ra koe i te aha 'ihé?
 STA INT -REA 2s RLT +SPE INT where
 'What are you doing to what where?'

1.1.1.2.3.7. Questioning various word-types

From the preceding paragraphs it is clear that the verbal group behaves differently from the noun phrases and the adverbials, in that multiple echo questions cannot be extracted from their basic VSO structure.

1.1.1.2.4. Answers

1.1.1.2.4.1. Response *o*

The only special answer is in response to a vocative signal that you are listening.

- (128) E. E Vero e!
 VOC Vero
- V. O.
 Response (≈ 'I'm listening')

Otherwise answers are not marked as a distinct speech act. In most cases of course the questioning will be of one particular element and the response will emphasize that element, but the means used are the same as for any other EMP construction.

1.1.1.2.4.2. Non-sentential answers

1.1.1.2.4.2.1. Answers to yes/no questions:

since the subject and object can always be omitted in Rapanui wherever they are obvious from the context, the answer to a yes/no question that takes the form simply of the verbal phrase, is still 'sentential'.

- (129) Q: Ko 'avai 'a koe i te puka ki te ŋa poki?
 PFT give RES 2s RLT +SPE book DAT +SPE GRP child
 'Have you given the books to the children?'
- A: Ko 'avai 'a
 PFT give RES
 'I have.'

‘YES’ AND ‘NO’

The word for ‘yes’ is *eee*. The word for ‘no’ is *’ina*; ‘perhaps’ is *peaha*. There is also the expression *koi’ite* ‘who knows?’ which is used in the sense of ‘maybe’.

RESPONSES TO POS AND NEG QUESTIONS

Eee signifies agreement to a positive question whether or not it is introduced by *hoki*, the particle that expects a positive answer. When it indicates disagreement with a negative question it requires reinforcement (examples (138–43) below).

- (130) He oho to’ou taina ki te pure? Eee.
 ACT go POS2si sibling DAT +SPE church yes
 ‘Is your sister/brother going to church?’ ‘Yes.’

- (131) A: Hoki he oho to’ou taina ki te pure?
 Back ACT go POS2si sibling DAT +SPE church
 ‘I suppose your sister /brother is going to church?’

B: Eee.
 ‘Yes.’

The simple negative response *’ina* is not often politely used alone except by those speakers for whom Spanish is the dominant language. In the purely Rapanui context it is considered abrupt, so either *’ina* is used as part of a negative statement or some periphrastic strategy is employed.

- (132) A: Ko haŋa ’a koe mo oho mo mata’ita’i i te moai?
 PFT want RES 2s BEN go BEN visit RLT +SPE statues
 ‘Would you like to go and visit the statues?’

B: ’Ina au kai haŋa.
 NEG 1s NEG want
 ‘I don’t want to.’ (≈ ‘No thank you’)

A negative response indicates agreement with a negative question or disagreement with a positive question:

- (133) Q: ’Ina ’o koe kai piri ki a Se?
 NEG NEG 2s NEG meet DAT PRS Se
 ‘Didn’t you meet up with Se at all?’

A: ’Ina kai piri mai.
 NEG NEG meet TOW
 ‘We didn’t meet up.’

- (134) Q: E ai ro 'a te kona 'ori o nei?
 STA EX +REA +RES +SPE place dance POS PPD
 'Are there dance places around here?'
 A: 'Ina etahi. or Eee (e ai ro 'a).
 Not one YES (STA EX RES +REA)
 'Not one.' 'Yes, (there are).'
- (135) Q: Hoki kai takeo koe?
 Back NEG cold 2s
 'Are you sure you are not cold?'
 A: 'Ina kai takeo au.
 NEG NEG cold 1s
 'I'm not cold.'

1.1.1.2.4.2.2. Answers to question-word questions:

answers on the whole take up the form of the question. So, for example, *koai* 'who' will be answered with FOC *ko* plus noun or pronoun; *ki a ai* 'to whom' with DAT *ki* plus noun or pronoun.

- (136) Koai te ŋa poki vahine nui nui?
 FOCINT SPE GRP child female big DUP
 'Who are those big girls?'
 Ko Peŋa, ko Pikea.
 FOC Peŋa FOC Pikea
 'Peŋa and Pikea.'
- (137) Ki a ai koe ka 'avai ena? Ki a Timo.
 DAT PRS INT 2s MOM give PPD DAT PRS Timo
 'Who are you going to give it to?' 'To Timo.'
- (138) Maiherá koe? Mai 'Anakena.
 ABLINTDEM 2s ABL 'Anakena
 'Where on earth have you come from?' 'From Anakena.'

The vowels *o/a* in the possessives and benefactives follow the inalienable/alienable rules (see 1.10.1 and 2.1.2.4.1) which are reflected in question and answer:

- (139) O ai te hoi nei? 'O'oku.
 POS INT +SPE horse PPD POS1si
 'Whose horse is this?' 'Mine.'
- (140) 'a'ai te marení? 'A'au
 POSINT +SPE melon POS2sa
 'Whose is the melon?' 'Yours.'
- (141) Moai te kahu ena? Mo ia.
 BENiINT +SPE dress PPD BENi 3s
 'Who is the dress for?' 'For her.'

- (142) Ma'ai te kai ena? Ma Rui.
 BENaINT +SPE food PPD BENa Rui
 'Who is the dinner for?' 'For Rui.'

In response to the question 'a'ai 'who' (in the past), the answer can be preceded by either the personal *a* — there are only a limited number of nouns that can take this determinant (*nua* 'mother', *koro* 'father' and personal names) — or by the possessive *o* which otherwise signals an emphatic subject or the subject of the modal construction introduced by *mo*. (See 1.1.2.4.2.3 (ii).)

- (143) 'A'ai i tunu te kai? A Nua.
 POSINT PA cook +SPE food PRS Nua
 'Who cooked the dinner?' 'Nua.'
- (144) 'A'ai i toke? o to'oku taina / ta'aku poki.
 POSINT PA steal POS POS1si sibling / POS1sa child
 'Who stole it?' 'My brother' / 'My child.'

The other possible non-correspondence between question and answer is in response to *he aha* 'what (thing/person)' where the answer can be \pm SPE *he* plus a noun and not the +SPE *te*.

- (145) He aha te me'e ena? He 'uhi.
 \pm SPE INT +SPE thing PPD \pm SPE potatoes
 'What is that?' 'Potatoes.'

Again if the question requires a whole phrase as response there is no necessary structural parallel between question and answer:

- (146) Q: He aha ta'aku me'e mo mana'u?
 \pm SPE INT POS1sa thing BEN mind
 'What must I remember?'
 A: E mana'u koe mo tatau i te u.
 STA mind 2s BEN milk RLT +SPE milk
 'You must remember to milk the cow.'

The response to adverbial Q-questions is generally an open structure, but in some cases the Q-word dictates the form; for instance 'iajahé 'when' requires a precise time:

- (147) 'Iajahé a ia i oho ai? I tu tapati era.
 When PRS 3s PA go PHO RLT +SPE week PPD
 'When did she go there?' 'Last week.'

1.1.1.3. Imperative

There is no form that is exclusively 'imperative'. The 'momentary' particles (termed 'contiguity' particles by N. L. Weber, 1988: 22) *ka* (2nd person) and *ki* (1st and 3rd persons) have 'order' as one of their functions. This

MOM type of imperative is reserved for exercising authority or showing displeasure. Much more widely used are the modals *ana* and *mo* and the stative particle *e* which have connotations of volition and necessity. Again there is no negative construction which is exclusively ‘imperative’ but ‘order’ is one of the functions of *‘ina kol’ina eko* — the latter being the more emphatic form. The negative optative is one of the functions of the particle *o* ‘lest, may it not’.

1.1.1.3.1. Positive imperative

1.1.1.3.1.1. Orders for all persons and numbers

The MOM particles *ka* and *ki* indicate temporal relationships between actions — linguistic or nonlinguistic. Their function as imperative markers derives from the latter, i.e. a non-linguistic action is to follow the linguistic one. Number is not specified unless an ambiguity might arise, so the presence of the personal pronoun is not necessarily emphatic, it may simply be disambiguating. The action of an order has necessarily not yet been realized so the postpositive particle *ra* (–REA) may follow an imperative whose fulfilment is quite unpredictable. For the 1st and 3rd persons the speaker often has greater control over the realization so the particle *ro* (+REA) more often follows the lexical form here. The particle *no* (LIM) limits the force of the order.

- (148) *Ka amo te ‘ariŋa!*
 MOM2 clean +SPE face
 ‘Wipe your face!’
- (149) *Ka noho no korua!*
 MOM2 stay LIM 2p
 ‘Just wait a bit!’
- (150) *Ka ‘a’aru mai ra koe i te moa!*
 MOM2 catch TOW –REA 2s RLT +SPE hen
 ‘Get hold of those hens if you can!’
- (151) *Ki haka oti te taua aŋa!*
 MOM1 CAUS end +SPE 1di work
 ‘Let us two finish our work!’
- (152) *Ki oho ro a ia/taua!*
 MOM3/1 go +REA PRS 3s/1di
 ‘Let him/us two go!’
- (153) *Ki oho ra tatou ki kampó ki hopu!*
 MOM1 go –REA 1pi DAT *kampo* DAT bathe
 ‘Let’s see if we can go as far as *kampo* to swim.’

- (154) Ki oho a ia, he vanaja taua!
 MOM3 go PRS 3s ACT talk 1di
 'Let him go and we two will talk!'

This last example could also be interpreted as 'When he goes we'll talk' which demonstrates the contiguity meaning.

1.1.1.3.1.2. Modal imperatives

(i) With the particle *e*

The prepositive particle STA *e* preceding a lexeme may indicate a request, or probability, or suggestion or indication of an obligation. It is also a polite second person imperative as opposed to *ka* which, as mentioned above, often implies authority or annoyance, although such overtones can be cancelled by intonation or context. The realization is always open and so there is no *ro/ra* particle in position four.

- (155) Ka oho ena koe, e to'o mai te ika!
 MOM2 go PPD 2s STA bring TOW +SPE fish
 'When you go there, you could bring me the fish!'
- (156) I te mahana piti, a ia e tu'u mai nei.
 RLT +SPE day two PRS 3s STA come TOW PPD
 'He is to come on here on Tuesday.'
- (157) E oho koe.
 STA go 2s
 'You ought to go!'
- (158) E hapa'o koe i a koe!
 STA look after 2s RLT PRS 2s
 'Just look after yourself!'

(ii) With benefactive *ma*

This construction implies strong necessity; the subject, whether noun or pronoun, is fronted and preceded by the benefactive particle in its alienable form, *ma*. The singular pronouns are in the possessive form and coalesce with the particle. The verb phrase is again introduced by the particle *e*. Realization is not specified. The time relates always to non-past, i.e. present or future.

- (159) Ma'aku e oho.
 BENPOS1s STA go
 'I'm the one who's to go.'
- (160) Ma'ai e aja te aja? Ma'ana
 BENINT STA work +SPE work BENPOS3s
 'Who's to do the work?' 'He's got to.'

- (161) Ma Nua e runu hai pipi.
 BEN Nua STA collect –SPE shells
 ‘Nua’s the one who has to collect some shells.’

Relating to a past obligation it would be the ‘possession’ of the subject:

- (162) A Nua te runu te pipi.
 PRS Nua +SPE collect +SPE shells
 ‘Nua had to collect shells.’

(iii) With *ana*

A weaker and more generalized necessity is expressed by *ana* followed by an action lexeme; there is no tense or aspect marker.

- (163) Pehé ana tunu? Penei ana tunu.
 How MOD cook Like this MOD cook
 ‘How should this be cooked?’ ‘This is how to cook it.’

- (164) A koe ana tata i te paerā era.
 PRS 2s MOD wash RLT +SPE side PPD
 ‘You have to do your washing over there.’

1.1.1.3.2. Negative imperative

There is no negative structure that is exclusively imperative; the final high-rise steep-fall intonation is decisive. The particles *’ina (e)ko*, with the 1st and 3rd persons and with the 2nd when not imperative, indicate present or future negative.

1.1.1.3.2.1. *’ina ko* with second person in negative imperative

When the subject is expressed it usually comes between the two negators and the object is preceded by the relational particle *i*.

- (165) ’Ina ko horo horo te kai!
 NEG NEG swallow DUP +SPE food
 ‘Don’t scoff your food!’
- (166) ’Ina koe ko ’omo i te potu era!
 NEG 2s NEG smoke RLT +SPE cigarette PPD
 ‘Don’t smoke those cigarettes!’

1.1.1.3.2.2. Emphatic negative imperative

With *’ina eko*: again *’ina eko* is imperative only with the second person. With the first and third it is emphatic negative referring to the future.

- (167) ’Ina eko ’au ’au to’u mata.
 NEG NEG rub rub POS2si eyes
 ‘Stop rubbing your eyes!’

- (168) 'Ina koe eko oho vave ki Haŋaroa!
 NEG 2s NEG go yet DAT Haŋaroa
 'Don't you go to Haŋaroa yet!'

1.1.1.3.2.3. Negative optative

With the particle 'o 'O ... RO — 'let's hope that (not)'

- (169) 'O ata peore ro te va'e era!
 NEG COMP worse +REA +SPE leg PPD
 'Let's hope that leg doesn't get any worse!'

- (170) 'O rehu ro i a au!
 NEG pass by +REA RLT PRS 1s
 'Let's hope I don't forget!'

(For the 'relational' marking of *rehu* 'forget', see 2.1.1.2.2.2.)

1.1.1.3.2.4. Optative/imperative — *ma*;

This construction is limited to verbs of motion and to the first-person plural imperative; the particle stands immediately before *ki*:

- (171) E Nua e, mai ki turu tatou ki te rano.
 VOC Nua TOW MOM go 1pi DAT +SPE volcano
 'Nua, let's all go to the volcano.'

1.1.2. Subordination

1.1.2.1. Marking

There is no general marker of subordination; the marking depends on the type of clause. The order of the clauses is chronological in neutral phrases, hence expressions of condition and cause stand before the principal clause while result and purpose stand after it. Temporal expressions are both pre- and postpositive. Relatives are postpositive and stand as near the antecedent as possible.

Where the subordinating conjunctions *ana* and *mo* introduce a clause the verb has no TA particle in position one. However, *ana* carries the meaning of future or possible so it always refers to future events in these constructions. The benefactive *mo* can refer to the past. The subject of a 'clause' introduced by *mo* is neutrally marked by the inalienable possessive *o*.

1.1.2.2. Noun clauses

1.1.2.2.1. Marking and position

The most general marking is with a demonstrative *peni (e)/('o)* 'like this (here)/(there)' or the 3s *ia* or dummy lexemes such as *me'e* 'thing' or *ajā* 'work' in the main clause and *ajā* or *mo* introducing the noun clause,

With either *mo* or *ana* the subject or object may be fronted for emphasis. Both complement clauses and subject clauses usually follow the superordinate clause.

1.1.2.2.2. Types of noun clause

NOUN CLAUSE AS SUBJECT

(i) Predicative constructions with *ana*

- (172) *Peherá ia, au ana e'a mai mai te aña?*
 How DEM 3s 1s RES get up TOW ABL +SPE work
 'How on earth could I just go and leave my job?'

- (173) *Ki te aha, ana oho mai ki nei?*
 DAT +SPE INT MOD go TOW DAT here
 'What is the point of her coming here?'

Ki te aha ia ... in (173) would be more emphatic.

(ii) Tough constructions

As noted in 1.1.2.2.1 above, some nominal lexeme has to be used for this type.

With *aña*:

- (174) *Aña ri'ari'a te ika nei mo hi e koe.*
 Work muchDUP +SPE fish PPD BEN fish AG 2s
 'It is difficult for you to catch this fish.'

With *mau'a e* 'it's a pity':

- (175) *Mau'a e ta'e aña nei o te hare peira.*
 Waste EXC NEG work PPD RLT +SPE house like that
 'It's a pity they don't make houses like that here.'

(iii) Explicating a demonstrative

- (176) *Ta'e penei e, e kai tahaga no ana 'o.*
 NEG thus EXC STA eat pointless LIM MOD NEG
 'You can't just eat him like that for no reason.'

- (177) *Penei 'o, au i mana'u ai, ko 'ite 'a koe.*
 Thus DEM 1s PA mind PHO PFT know RES 2s
 'That was the reason I thought you knew.'

- (178) *Ka ki ia, 'ina a ia eko oho mai?*
 MOM say 3s NEG PRS 3s NEG go TOW
 'Does that mean, he really won't be back?'

- (179) Mo na 'o, e ha'ere ena, pahe ma'ama'a, 'iroto i te raá.
 BEN DEM DEM STA walk PPD like madDUP inside RLT +SPE sun
 'That was the cause, walking around like lunatics in the sun.'

(iv) Explicating a noun

- (180) Te tumu, ana oho mo moe 'irá, he oho no
 +SPE reason RES go BEN sleep there ACT go LIM
 'a ta'ana kenu ki te ika hi.
 RES PO3sa husband DAT +SPE fish fishing
 'The reason for going and sleeping there is simply that her husband goes there to fish.'

NOUN CLAUSE AS OBJECT

(i) Verbs of wishing

The verbal form is introduced by *mo*:

- (181) Ko haga 'a au mo u'i ki a Rui.
 PFT wish RES 1s BEN look DAT PRS Rui
 'I want to watch Rui.'
- (182) Ko pohe ana au mo ha'uru.
 PFT desire RES 1s BEN sleep
 'I want to go to bed.'

(ii) Verbs of sensing

The TA of the subordinate clause is *ka/ki* for the present/future and *i* for the past:

- (183) I tikea era e koe te koreha ka oŋa mai
 PA see PPD AG 2s +SPE eel MOM peep TOW
 he here e koe te ŋao.
 ACT tie AG 2s +SPE neck
 'When you saw the eel peep out, you strangled it.'
- (184) Kai ŋaro'a e au a ia, i o'o mai ai kiroto
 NEG hear AG 1s PRS 3s PA enter TOW PHO inside
 ki te hare.
 DAT +SPE house
 'I didn't hear him come into the house.'

(iii) As object of [VP + COMP] structure

The verbal form is introduced by *ana*:

- (185) 'Ina eko hini au, ana hoki ro mai.
 NEG NEG delay 1s MOD back +REA TOW
 'I won't delay in coming back.'

- (186) He oho au he u'i i a ia, ana keri i
 ACT go 1s ACT watch RLT PRS 3s MOD dig RLT
 te kumá.
 +SPE sweet potatoes
 'I shall go and watch him dig the sweet potatoes.'

1.1.2.2.3. Indirect statements

The demonstrative in the main clause can be the marker or there may be no marker. Emphatically the demonstrative may stand at the head of the sentence, i.e. before the superordinate clause.

- (187) Ko 'ite 'a koe peneié, ko aja 'a matou i
 PFT know RES 2s like this PFT work RES 1pe RLT
 te hare.
 +SPE house
 'You know that we have worked on the house.'
- (188) Peneié, i ki mai ai, he oho a ia após.
 Like this PA say TOW PHO ACT go PRS 3s tomorrow
 'He definitely told me he was going tomorrow.'
- (189) Ko 'ite 'a au e ha'uru ro a te ŋa poki
 PFT know RES 1s STA sleep +REA RES +SPE GRP child
 'I know the children are sleeping.'

1.1.2.2.4. Indirect questions

Compared with direct questions the intonation is different: there is usually a rise of a fifth on the last stressed syllable.

For Q-questions there is no marking in the superordinate clause and the person changes.

- (190) Mai ki 'ui taua peneié, koai te me'e ena?
 Let's MOM ask 1di like this FOCINT +SPE thing PPD
 'Come on let's ask who that person is.'
- (191) He maere koe, o te aha i ta'e oho ai.
 ACT wonder 2s POS +SPE INT PA NEG go PHO
 'You wonder why he didn't go.'

For yes/no questions either *ana* or *ana ai* or zero marking is used:

- (192) Ka 'ui ana ai he oho a ia após.
 MOM ask MOD PHO ACT go PRS 3s tomorrow
 'Ask him if he is going tomorrow.'

- (193) He ki mai ki a au, e, e ai ro 'a,
 ACT say TOW DAT PRS 1s EXC STA EX +REA RES
 ro te 'aku 'aku o nei?
 +REA +SPE 'aku 'aku POS here
 'She asked me are there really spirits round here?'

1.1.2.2.5. Marking indirect commands

(i) Positive commands

With *mo* the subject of a transitive is marked by AG *e*, of an intransitive by possessive.

- (194) Ka ki mo kai e ia i te monamona tuava.
 MOM say BEN eat AG 3s RLT +SPE sweetDUP guava
 'Tell her to eat the guava jam.'
- (195) Ka ki, mo oho atu 'o'ona.
 MOM say BEN go AWA POS3si
 'Tell him to go there.'

There are three possibilities for 'him': *'o'ona* indicates that the person is near or visible or has just been a subject in the conversation; *o ia* would be used if the speaker gestured in the direction of the person mentioned; *'a'ana* would indicate someone who had been mentioned at some point but was neither visible nor near. (See 1.5.2.3.)

The 'indirect' status of the following is indicated by the pronoun, but structurally it is closer to a direct command.

- (196) Ka mou au, e ki mai era.
 MOM silent 1s STA say TOW PPD
 'He told me to shut up.'

(ii) Negative commands

With *'ina (e)ko* as for direct commands:

- (197) Ka ki ki a Ari, 'ina eko 'omo hakaou.
 MOM say DAT PRS Ari NEG NEG smoke again
 'Tell Ari not to smoke any more.'

1.1.2.2.6. Non-finite verbal forms in noun clauses

As noted in 1.1.2 above, *ana* and *mo* functioning as subordinating conjunctions stand in the place of the tense/aspect markers.

1.1.2.2.6.1. Loss of TA markers

The TA markers *ko*, *he*, *e*, *i*, *kalki*, are lost in noun clauses except for indirect statements and indirect commands.

1.1.2.2.6.2. Finite to non-finite

To the extent that the TA markers indicate a ‘finite’ verb their omission makes the verb non-finite but, as stated above in 1.1.2, the particles *ana* and *mo* both have time connotations — future and present/past, respectively.

1.1.2.2.6.3–6. Changes of arguments

The subject of the *mo* clause becomes a possessive form of the pronoun or noun:

- (198) *Te me’e no onei, he hare ’o’ou mo aña*
 +SPE thing LIM here ±SPE house POS2si BEN work
riva riva o Timo.
 good DUP POS Timo
 ‘The only thing here is that Timo should build your house well.’

The markers of subordination *ana* and *mo* are additions. Adverbials do not change their form and intraverbal adverbials such as *tahi* ‘all’, *riva riva* ‘well’, *hoki* ‘again/back’ that normally occupy position three, i.e. immediately after the verbal lexeme retain that position in non-finite structures. (See (198) above.)

1.1.2.2.6.7. Nominalizations

These are forms in *-Vja*. They behave as verbs with the TA marking *he* indicating an unrealized action (see 2.2.2.1), or as nouns (see 2.2.1.2).

1.1.2.3. Adjective clauses

1.1.2.3.1. Relative clauses

The relative clauses are characterized by the *absence of any exclusively phoric form*. There is always some +specific marking such as personal marker or *te* ‘the’, *tu ... (era/ ena)*, *ra* or *ni* attached to the antecedent or a marker of the distant/visible/known type within the verb group of the relative clause.

1.1.2.3.2. Restrictive/non-restrictive

The only type of ‘non-restrictive’ relative is in fact a focus and is an interesting case of the dual function of the particle *ko* — focus and perfect, the former being the primary function. Non-restrictive relatives are reserved to cases of head noun = subject.

Compare:

- (199) *I tomo mai ai te vaka, e i ro ’a*
 PA anchor TOW PHO +SPE boat STA full +REA RES
i te ika.
 RLT +SPE fish
 ‘The boat which was full of fish arrived here.’

and

- (200) I tomo atu ai te vaka ko i 'a
 PA anchor AWA PHO +SPE boat PFT/FOC full RES
 i te ika.
 RLT +SPE fish
 'The boat arrived there, the one full of fish.'

Compare:

- (201) Tanjata era 'ite i to'oku taina e aña ro
 Man PPD know RLT POS1si brother STA work +REA
 a i te hare hapí.
 RES RLT +SPE house learn
 'That man who knows my brother works at the school.'

and:

- (202) Tanjata era, ko 'ite 'a i to'oku taina e
 Man PPD FOC know RES RLT POS1si brother STA
 aña i te hare hapí.
 work RLT +SPE house learn
 'That man, the one who knows my brother, his work is at the school.'

1.1.2.3.3. Position of head noun

The head noun — in its frame — usually stands immediately before the relative clause but this is not invariable; for instance an adverbial phrase may intervene (see (217) below).

- (203) Ko piri mai 'a tu tanjata era, 'ite i to'oku taina.
 PFT meet TOW RES DEM man PPD know RLT POS1si sibling
 'I met that man who knows my brother.'
- (204) Tanjata era i piri mai era ki a au, ko 'ite
 Man PPD PA meet TOW PPD DAT PRS 1s PFT know
 'a i to'oku taina.
 RES RLT POS1si sibling
 'That man who met me knows my brother.'
- (205) Ko ŋaro 'a i a au tu puka, va'ai mai
 PFT vanish RES RLT PRS 1s DEM book give TOW
 era e koe.
 PPD AG 2s
 'I have lost the book which you gave me.'

- (206) Ko recibe mai 'a au i ta'a karta, papa'i nei
PFT receive TOW RES 1s RLT POS2sa letter write PPD

'a'au i tu mahana piti era.
POS2sa RLT +SPE day two PPD
'I have received your letter which you wrote last Tuesday.'
- (207) Ko, 'avai 'a au i te puka ki ta'aku poki
PFT give RES 1s RLT +SPE book DAT POS1sa child

i tu'u mai ai iaŋataiahi.
PA come TOW PHO yesterday
'I gave the book to my son who arrived yesterday.'
- (208) Ko tu'u mai 'a a ia mai te kona aŋa era
PFT come TOW RES PRS 3s ABL +SPE place work PPD

o to'oku matu'a.
POS POS1si parent
'He has arrived from the place where my father used to work.'
- (209) Ko titi 'a i te 'aia ka vari ro
PFT straight RES RLT +SPE fence MOM surround +REA

te hare e tupuaki ro 'a ki taha tai.
+SPE house STA near +REA RES DAT edge shore
'They put up a fence to surround the house which was near the shoreline.'

1.1.2.3.4. Relativized element deleted

The relativized element is always deleted — see examples in preceding section 1.1.2.3.3.

1.1.2.3.5. Deleted element in focus

Given that we have *ko* in a dual function — focus and perfect in non-restricted relatives, then the deleted subject is 'pointed out' in these constructions but is not taken up by any linguistic element.

1.1.2.3.6. Headless relatives

Headless relatives are not found. Instead a **dummy head** is used: *me'e* 'thing or person', *kona* 'place', *hora* 'time', *aŋa* 'action' or the 3rd person pronoun *ia* as a phoric.

- (210) Ko tikea 'a e au te me'e i 'avai ki a ia.
PFT see RES AG 1s +SPE thing PA give DAT PRS 3s
'I saw what he was given.'

- (211) Te kona noho o te tanata era, kona ta'e
 +SPE place stay POS +SPE man PPD place NEG
 roaroa mai te kona poreko era o to'oku matu'a.
 longDUP ABL +SPE place born PPD POS POS1si parent
 'That man lives not far from where my father was born.'

The interrogative may be used as a headless relative but always followed by the phoric or by a dummy word.
 Interrogative 'a'ai taken up by phoric ai:

- (212) Ko tikea 'a e au ki a ai a ia i vanaja ai.
 PFT see RES AG 1s DAT PRS INT PRS 3s PA talk PHO
 'I saw whom he was talking to.'

Interrogative aha taken up by me'e 'thing':

- (213) Ko 'ite 'a au he aha ta'ana me'e haja.
 PFT know RES 1s ±SPE INT POS3sa thing want
 'I know what he wants.'

1.1.2.3.7. Relativized elements

Any nominal element, irrespective of its function — subject, complement, head of adverbial phrase or dummy noun such as *kona* 'place' may be relativized. Examples in 1.1.2.3.3 also:

- (214) Kona poreko era 'o'oku i te hora nei he hare hapi.
 Place born PPD POS1si RLT +SPE time PPD ±SPE house learn
 'Where I was born is now a school.'

The relative clause generally follows the antecedent, or its frame, immediately. Nevertheless, it may be separated from its head noun by a phrase, especially if the order of elements is not the neutral VSO. (See example (217) below.) There are no cross clausal links.

1.1.2.3.8. Position of relativized elements

Relativization does not affect the position of the elements of the sentence.
 VSO

- (215) He vanaja a ia o te kona ta'e ite e au.
 ACT talk PRS 3s POS +SPE place NEG know AG 1s
 'He was talking about a place that I didn't know.'

Predicate-Subject

- (216) Mai Hiva te mamoe e haka oho mai nei.
 ABL Chile +SPE sheep STA cause come TOW here
 ‘The sheep that arrive here are from Chile.’

- (217) 'Ina ho'i te miritonu toe o haho o
 NEG COORa +SPE seaweed remains DEM outside POS
 te tai, e noho mai ena.
 +SPE shore STA stay TOW PPD
 ‘There is really nothing left of the seaweed that used to be there, on the shoreline.’

1.1.2.3.9. Non-finite relative clauses

A relative clause expressing a characteristic of the present carries no tense / aspect markers, even when it has obviously been acquired in the past; if the ‘pastness’ is not important (210). Nor of course are there TA markers with the negative *kai*. The use of the tense marker *ko* in the focus function of restricted relatives means that it is not found as a marker of the perfect in other relative clauses.

1.1.2.4. Adverb clauses

1.1.2.4.1. General characteristics

Adverbial clauses are marked by a particle whether simple, e.g. *mo* ‘for’, *ana* ‘if/when’, or a compound such as *o te ai* ‘because’ (lit. ‘of the existence’) or *oira* ‘for that reason’ (lit. ‘of that there’).

Exceptions are the **clauses of time** which are generally expressed by correlation of tense/aspect/modal markers within the verbal clause.

1.1.2.4.2. Marking of adverbial clauses

1.1.2.4.2.1. Clauses of *time*

Past is marked by *i* and the **Future** by *ka/ki*.

When — indicated by the use of tenses:

Future ... modal + Volition

- (218) Ki oho mai a Vita, a koe ana oho.
 MOM go TOW PRS Vita PRS 2s MOD go
 ‘When Vita comes you can go.’

Future ... future perfect

- (219) Ka tu'u ena a raua, ko mate 'a.
 MOM arrive PPD PRS 3p PFT dead RES
 'When they arrive, he will already have died.'

Future ... modal + Necessity

- (220) Ka oho ena koe, e to'o mai te ika.
 MOM go PPD 2s STA bring TOW +SPE fish
 'When you go there, you might bring back the fish!'

Future ... present/future

- (221) Ka po nei, he turu tatou he hi.
 MOM night PPD ACT go down 1pi ACT fish
 'When it gets dark, we'll go down and fish.'

Past ... present

- (222) I turu ai a au ki tai, he tikea e au
 PA go down PHO PRS 1s DAT shore ACT see AG 1s
 a Nua e runu 'a i ta'ana pure.
 PRS Nua STA collect RES RLT POS3sa shells
 '(When) I went down to the shore, I saw Nua collecting cowrie shells.'

Past ... habitual

- (223) 'Ira te kona hakaré o te vaka e e'a
 DEMLT +SPE place leave POS +SPE boat STA get up
 era ki te kahi hi.
 PPD DAT +SPE tuna fish
 'That is where the men used to anchor their boats when they went off tuna-fishing.'

Future ... future in future

- (224) E tikea ro e korua, ka tu'u ena.
 STA see +REA AG 2p MOM come PPD
 'You will see when you get there.'

After and before — by the use of tenses:

- (225) Ko oho 'a Nua a ia i tu'u mai ai.
 PFT go RES Nua PRS 3s PA come TOW PHO
 'Nua had gone by the time he arrived.'
- (226) I tu'u mai ai, 'ina kai oti ia teraua kai.
 PA come TOW PHO NEG NEG finish 3s POS3p food
 'He arrived before they had finished dinner.'

- (227) Eko tu'u ia ki ra, a au ka oho ro nei.
 NEG come 3s DAT DEM PRS 1s MOM go +REA here
 'He won't get there before I leave.'

- (228) Ka horou mai mai ta'e tanj te oe!
 MOM hurry let's TOW NEG ring +SPE bell
 'Hurry up before the bell rings!'

Until particles *ata* and *'ahara* also by MOM *ka/ki*.

(i) *ata*

- (229) Ka noho no koe ata ki hoki ro mai au.
 MOM stay LIM 2s until MOM back +REA TOW 1s
 'Stay here until I come back.'

- (230) He ŋatu hai rima ata ka hio hio ro.
 ACT press INS hand until MOM hard DUP +REA
 'You work it with your hands until it is quite hard.'

(ii) *'ahará*

The use of this particle increases the distance, the possible time of waiting, and possibility of non-realization. Its position can be either before the 'subordinate' or before the superordinate.

- (231) Ki tiaki 'ahará ki tu'u mai a Nua.
 MOM wait until MOM come TOW PRS Nua
 'Let's wait until Nua comes.'

- (232) 'Ahará ka tiaki ki tu'u mai a Nua.
 Until MOM wait MOM come TOW PRS Nua
 'Wait until Nua comes.'

(iii) MOM *ka/ki* ...

- (233) He here hai niu niu, ka hio hio ro.
 ACT tie INS wire MOM tight DUP +REA
 'y Ou wind a wire round it until it is tight.'

- (234) He tata hai vai ka maitaki ro.
 ACT wash INS water MOM clean +REA
 'You washed them until they were quite clean.'

- (235) He toke mai e te tanjata o nei i te
 ACT steal TOW AG +SPE man POS here RLT +SPE
 me'e oruŋa ka oti tahi ro.
 thing above MOM finish all +REA
 'People from here stole the things from it until everything was gone.'

1.1.2.4.2.2. Clauses of manner

The particle *pehe/pahe* ‘like’ is used to indicate manner, either with a dummy word or with a nominalization.

- (236) Ko ha'ere 'a pehe me'e ena e titi ro 'a
PFT walk RES like thing PPD STA balance +REA RES
te puka 'iruŋa i to'ona pu'oko.
+SPE book on RLT POS3si head
'She walked as if she was balancing a pile of books on her head.'
- (237) E hore hore 'a a Vero i te kiko mamoe
STA cut DUP RES PRS Vero RLT +SPE meat sheep
pehe me'e ena 'a e hore hore 'a i te hukahuka.
like thing PPD EMP STA cut DUP RES RLT +SPE sticks
'Vero carves lamb just as you would chop firewood.'
- (238) Ko vanaŋa 'a pehe tahiti te vanaŋaiŋa.
PFT talk RES like Tahiti +SPE talking
'They were talking in the way the Tahitians talk.'
- (239) Ko topa 'a te avione te huru pehe topaiŋa
PFT fall RES +SPE aeroplane +SPE way like falling
era 'a o te manu tara kiruŋa ki Motu Iti.
PPD EMP POS +SPE bird spur on top DAT Motu Iti
'The aeroplane landed just like the landing of the frigate bird on Motu Iti.'

1.1.2.4.2.3. Clauses of purpose

Three particles are used to indicate purpose: the DAT *ki*, BEN *mo* and RES *ana*; in addition 'o is used for negative purpose 'lest'.

(i) *ki* is the most usual particle with verbs of motion. When the purpose clause includes an expressed object this generally stands immediately after *ki* and before the verbal element. But neither of these characteristics is invariably present.

- (240) He oho a Rui ki kampó ki te 'ura ruku mai.
ACT go PRS Rui DAT kampo DAT +SPE lobster dive TOW
'Rui went to kampo to dive for lobsters.'
- (241) I hakaŋa ro au i a ia ki te me'e ho'o mai.
PA send +REA 1s RLT PRS 3s DAT +SPE thing buy TOW
'I sent him to buy me something.'

But with postpositive object:

- (242) *Ka hakaré ho'i e Nua ki mata'ita'i i to'ona*
 MOM remain COORa AG Nua DAT visit RLT POS3si
henua, e, he hoki.
 land then ACT back
 'Nua will simply go there to see her country and be back.'

(ii) *Mo* takes the possessive form of subject noun or pronoun unless the agentive *e* is required by emphasis or the verbal structure.

- (243) *Ko tauaki 'a Rui i te korare mo haka tea tea.*
 PFT spread RES Rui RLT +SPE coral BEN CAUS white DUP
 'Rui spread out the coral to get white.'
- (244) *I oho ai mo ho'o 'o'oku i te hare.*
 PA go PHO BEN buy POS1si RLT +SPE house
 'I went to buy a house.'
- (245) *Ko 'avai mai ai i te puka mo tai'o e au.*
 PFT give TOW PHO RLT +SPE book BEN read AG 1s
 'He gave me a book for me to read.'
- (246) *'I a au e tunu 'a i te kai mo haka*
 DEMn PRS 1s STA cook RES RLT +SPE food BEN CAUS
koa i a ia.
 please RLT PRS 3s
 'Here I am cooking a meal to please him.'
- (iii) *ana* has the meaning of 'in case you want to' rather than definite purpose.
- (247) *E tuturi taua ana o'o, e raha ana uru kirototo*
 STA kneel 1di MOD enter STA stoop MOD go into
ki te 'ana.
 DAT +SPE cave
 'We have to crawl to get to the cave, we have to stoop to get into it.'
- (248) *Ka haka 'apa no te u ana huri mai.*
 MOM CAUS half LIM +SPE milk MOD pour TOW
 'Just halve the milk if you want to pour it over this.'

(iv) *'O* = 'lest' for negative result and is a very common use of the negative particle *'o*.

- (249) E papa'i ro, 'o rehu i a au.
 STA write +REA NEG forget RLT PRS 1s
 'I'll write it down so that I don't forget.'
- (250) Ka e'a ki te hoi u'i, 'o kai ro i
 MOM get up DAT +SPE horse look NEG eat +REA RLT

 te kumá.
 +SPE sweet potatoes
 'Go and make sure the horses are not eating the sweet potatoes.'

1.1.2.4.2.4. Clauses of cause

The particles used are POS *o* and less frequently RLT *i* and BEN *mo* followed by non-finite constructions. The compound particle '*oira*' can indicate cause as well as result.

With *o*:

o te ta'e

- (251) Ko riri 'a au mo'ou o te ta'e papa'i mai
 PFT angry RES 1s BEN2si POS +SPE NEG write TOW

 'o'ou ki a au.
 POS2si DAT PRS 1s
 'I'm cross with you because you did not write to me.'

o te ai

- (252) A Sunta i ta'o te umu, o te ai i
 PRS Sunta PA open +SPE *umu* POS +SPE EX REL

 tai a Rui e hi ai i te ika.
 shore PRS Rui STA fish PHO RLT +SPE fish
 'Sunta opened the *umu* because Rui was on the shore catching fish.'

o te ta'e ai

- (253) o te ta'e ai 'o'ona 'i ira, he hoki ro
 POS +SPE NEG EX POS3si DEMn there ACT back +REA

 mai ai au.
 TOW PHO 1s
 'Because he wasn't there, I came back.'

With *i*:

- (254) Ko ha'umani 'a i te hakarongo mai ki to tatou pongohe
 PFT bored RES RLT +SPE hear TOW DAT +SPE 1pi noise
 'She is fed up with listening to our noise.'

With *mo*:

- (255) Mo kore o te potu, he tere a Nua.
 BEN lack POS +SPE cigarettes ACT run PRS Nua
 ‘Because there are no more cigarettes, Nua has vanished.’

With ‘*oira*’ ‘for that there’:

- (256) o te tokerau rahi, ‘oira au i ta’e e’a ai
 POS +SPE wind lot for that 1s PA NEG go up PHO
 kiruŋa ki te vaka.
 on top DAT +SPE boat
 ‘It was because of the strong wind, that was why I was not on the boat.’

- (257) Ko oho ‘a ra ki kampó ‘oira ra i
 PFT go RES –REA DAT kampo for that –REA PA
 ta’e tu’u mai ena.
 NEG come TOW PPD
 ‘He apparently went to kampo, that was why, no doubt, he didn’t go back there.’

1.1.2.4.2.5. Clauses of condition

The real conditions are marked by the modal *ana*, sometimes followed by existential *ai* or by *mo*. The difference is in the degree of presumed realization $\pm R$, the highest +R is with *mo*, the lowest with *ana ai*. There is also the compound conjunction *korohaja ‘ina* used in the sense of ‘provided that not’. The MOM *ka/ ki* particles can also signal a condition which is then formally ambiguous as to real or unreal.

(i) Real

With *mo*:

- (258) He riri au mo ta’e papa’i mai ‘o’ou ki a au.
 ACT angry 1s BEN NEG write TOW POS2si DAT PRS 1s
 ‘I’ll be angry if you don’t write to me.’
- (259) Mo tu’u ‘o’oku ki Santiago, ‘ina he tajaata o
 BEN arrive POS1si DAT Santiago NEG +SPE man POS
 Santiago eko u’i mai ki a au.
 Santiago NEG look TOW DAT PRS 1s
 ‘If I go to Santiago, no one from Santiago will take any notice of me.’

With *ana*:

- (260) *Ana ta'e oho korua ki te aña, 'ina au eko*
 MOD NEG go 2p DAT +SPE work NEG 1s NEG

hañai i a korua.
 feed RLT PRS 2p
 'If you don't go to work I shan't feed you.'

- (261) *Ana iri koe ki 'uta e kerī mai hai kumá.*
 RES go up 2s DAT inland STA dig TOW –SPE sweet potatoes

'If you are going up there you could dig up some sweet potatoes for me.'

With *ana ai*:

- (262) *Eko roño atu au ki na, ana ai 'ina koe oná.*
 NEG come AWA 1s DAT DEM MOD EX NEG 2s POSDEM

'I won't come if it happens you are not there.'

- (263) *Ana ai e ai ro te sipi he oho matou ki kampó.*
 RES EX STA EX +REA +SPE jeep ACT go 1pe DAT *kampo*

'If by chance there *is* a jeep, we'll go to *kampo*.'

With *korohaña*:

- (264) *Korohaña 'ina ko hoa te 'ua ana oho matou ki tai.*
 Provided NEG NEG fall +SPE rain MOD go 1pe DAT shore

'Provided it doesn't rain, we'll go to the shore.'

With MOM *ka/ki*:

- (265) *Ka topa mai era te me'e arahu era, he hoa.*
 MOM fell TOW PPD +SPE thing charcoal PPD ACT throw

'If any charcoal happened to be in it, you threw that away.'

(ii) Unreal

Only '*ahani*' indicates unambiguously the 'unreal' of the condition; the tenses of the verbs have no modal markings.

- (266) 'Ahani 'ina he hoi, 'eko tu'u maua ki te rano.
 Unreal NEG +SPE horse NEG come 1pi DAT +SPE volcano
 'If there hadn't been any horses, we wouldn't have been able to go to the volcano.'

- (267) 'Ahani e ai ro 'a te tuava ko tunu atu
 Unreal STA EX +REA RES +SPE guava PFT cook AWA
 'a i te mona mona tuava ma'au mo ma'u ma Ari.
 RES RLT +SPE sweet DUP guava BEN2sa BEN take BEN Ari
 'If there had been any guavas I'd have cooked guava jam for you to take to Ari.'

- (268) 'Ahani ho'i ko te tetahi nu'u eko rogo mai au.
 Unreal COORa FOC +SPE other people NEG call TOW 1s
 'If it had been anyone else I would not have called in.'

With MOM *ka/ki*:

- (269) Ki ai ta'aku poki vahine, he ki atu au ko
 MOM EX POS1sa child female ACT say AWA 1s PFT
 ai 'a to'oku makupuna.
 EX RES POS1si grandchild
 'If I had a daughter I could say I had a grandchild.'

With *koi'ite* 'perhaps'

- (270) Koi'ite e haŋa ro mo oho ki Vaitea, ko tano 'a.
 Who knows STA wish +REA BEN go DAT Vaitea PFT agree RES
 'If someone perhaps wants to go to Vaitea, that's alright.'

1.1.2.4.2.6. Clauses of result

The compound particle '*o ira* 'for that there' expresses result as well as cause (see 1.1.2.4.2.4 above); in practice it is often difficult: to disentangle the two meanings, but order seems significant in that '*oira* at the beginning of the superordinate clause will generally indicate cause while at the beginning of a subordinate clause standing after the main it will indicate result.

- (271) He vara turu o Nua ki te pipi runu
 ACT FREQ go down POS Nua DAT +SPE shells collect
 'oira i mauiui ena.
 for that PA ill PPD
 'Nua often went collecting shells as a result she has become ill.'

- (272) Ko ai 'a to'oku mo'a ki a koe, 'oira au i
 PFT EX RES POS1si respect DAT PRS 2s for that 1s PA
 oho mai nei.
 go TOW PPD
 'I have respect for you, so I have come here.'

1.1.2.4.2.7. Clauses of degree

(i) Comparison

The adverb *'ihau* 'better' stands in the nominal group; there is no adverbial clause of comparison in the strict sense:

- (273) Te vi'e era mo vanaja mai, 'ihau i te
 +SPE woman PPD BEN talk TOW better RLT +SPE
 'ite ki a koe.
 know DAT PRS 2s
 'That woman knows better how to talk it than you do.'

- (274) 'Ihau te nga poki ena i 'ite te ra'e ki a koe.
 Better +SPE GRP child PPD PA know +SPE first DAT PRS 2s
 'Those children knew it better than you did.'

For the double comparative the frequentative *oho* is used:

- (275) E puhia e oho era pe roto pe te vaikava e oho era.
 STA blow STA go PPD along with +SPE sea STA go PPD
 'The further he went the faster he was carried out to sea.'

- (276) Mo vanaja koe mo oho, he rohi rohi koe i te vanajaina.
 BEN talk 2s BEN go ACT tired DUP 2s RLT +SPE talking
 'The longer you talk the more tired you get with talking.'

- (277) Mo 'ata tata mo oho, he 'ata nui nui he
 BEN COMP wash BEN go ACT COMP big DUP ACT
 oho te ierse.
 go +SPE jersey
 'The jersey gets longer the more it is washed.'

(ii) Equative

There is no fixed formula as English ‘as ... so’ but the use of the frequentative *oho* can yield types of equatives:

- (278) *Ka vae ka oho te maika ai ka kai ro.*
 MOM choose MOM go +SPE bananas DEMd MOM eat +REA
 ‘As you choose your bananas, so you must eat them.’

- (279) *He puhia te tokerau, he to’o he oho te vaka.*
 ACT blow +SPE wind ACT take ACT go +SPE boat
 ‘As the wind blows, so the boat goes.’

1.1.2.4.2.8. Clauses of concession

There are no concessive clauses as such but the compound particle *noatu* ‘no matter’ followed by a nominal group, always after the main clause, gives a concessive meaning.

- (280) *Pura oho au ki a ia mo u’i pauró te tapati,*
 HAB go 1s DAT PRS 3s BEN see every +SPE week
noatu te roa o te kona hare.
 no matter +SPE long POS +SPE place house
 ‘I visit him regularly every week even though he lives far away.’

- (281) *E aqiaqia no e ia tetatou vanaja, noatu to’ona iti iti.*
 STA understand LIM AG 3s POS1pi talking no matter POS3si small DUP
 ‘He understands our conversation even though he is only little.’

There is also the phrase ‘*ina ta’au*’ ‘all the same’ used in an adversative sense that could be interpreted as concessive. (See 1.3.1.1.2.)

1.1.2.4.3. Finite and non-finite in adverbial clauses

Clauses of **time**, **place**, **manner**, **cause** and **result**, that is relating to a specific time or circumstances, are finite. Clauses of **condition**, **purpose** and degree, that is relating to possible or future actions or subjective judgements, are non-finite.

1.1.2.5. Sequence of tenses

There is no sequence of tenses. In indirect speech the original tense is generally used. For conditions both *mo* and *ana* replace the TA particles so there is no sequence of tenses here either. The only ‘sequences’ result from the temporal meanings associated with the PA particle ‘*i*’, the

resultative perfect marked by *ko* and the MOM particle *ka/ki*. The first expresses past in relation to actual present of the speaker or to another action that is referred to; the second to the completion of an action that has a subsequent result and the third indicates a future action in the same way, in the speaker's world or in relation to another action that is mentioned.

1.2. STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS

1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence

1.2.1.1. Copular sentences

1.2.1.1.1. Copular with a nominal complement

1.2.1.1.1.1. The 'be' copula

EXISTENTIAL *ai*

The existential *ai* which is formally identical with the phoric *ai* and is used frequently in adverbial clauses of cause and condition (see 1.1.2.4.2.4 and 1.1.2.4.2.5) is used as a verb in the 'there is/ are' types of structure:

- (282) E ai ro 'a te vai o nei.
 STA EX +REA RES +SPE water POS here
 'There is water here.'

- (283) O Tire, ta'e a nei, ko ai 'a te mauuii
 POS Chile NEG POS here PFT EX RES +SPE ill

 etahi oroto i te fruta.
 one on RLT +SPE fruit
 'There has appeared in Chile, not here, a fruit disease.'

- (284) I ai ro te mamoe o Vaitea, i te
 PA EX +REA +SPE sheep POS Vaitea RLT +SPE

 hora nei 'ina etahi toe.
 time PPD NEG one remain
 'There used to be a lot of sheep in Vaitea, nowadays there are none left.'

In narrative style it can express circumstance.

- (285) I ai ai au he poki vahine 'ina koro he to'o
 PA EX PHO 1s ±SPE child female NEG father ACT take

 i a au ki te aña.
 RLT PRS 1s DAT +SPE work
 'I being a girl, my father did not take me along with him to work.'

- (286) *Ka ai 'iti 'iti era te hora, he noho te*
 MOM EX small DUP PPD +SPE time ACT stay +SPE
poki nei i te tapa o te ahi.
 child PPD RLT +SPE side POS +SPE fire
 'In the early hours the girl would sit by the fireside.'

It is used with possessive pronouns to express 'have':

- (287) *E ai ro 'a to'oku hare.*
 STA EX +REA RES POS1si house
 'I have a house.'

Apart from this existential *ai* there is no general copula. The notion of 'seem' is either expressed by *ki to'oku mana'u* 'in my opinion' or *ki a au* 'to me' or *peaha* 'perhaps'. The notion of 'become' is either *riro* 'turn into' or rendered by a word such as *ha'amata* 'begin' (see 1.2.1.1.6) or where the predicate is adjectival it is rendered by the verbal particle *ko*, for instance *ko hejaha'a 'a te rāji* 'The sky has become pink'.

1.2.1.1.1.2. Marking the predicate noun

There are a number of ways of marking the predicate noun depending on the \pm SPE marker.

With \pm specific particle *he*:

- (288) *To'oku taina he profesor.*
 POS1si sibling +SPE teacher
 'My brother is a teacher.'
- (289) *He hi ika te aja o to'oku taina.*
 +SPE catching fish +SPE work POS POS1si sibling
 'My brother's work is catching fish.'

With focus marker *ko*:

- (290) *To'oku ijoa ko Vero.*
 POS1si name FOC Vero
 'My name is Vero.'
- (291) *'O'ona hare ko te hare era.*
 POS3si house FOC +SPE house PPD
 'His house is the one over there.'

With the 'dummy' word *me'e* 'thing':

- (292) *Te kape me'e roroa perá.*
 +SPE wild taro thing DUPtall like this
 'Wild taro is quite high, like this!'

1.2.1.1.1.3. The order of constituents in a nominal predicate

Where both

subject and predicate are nominal phrases the order is decided by discourse focus.

- (293) He hare hapí te hare nei.
 ±SPE house learn +SPE house this
 'The school is this building.'
- (294) Te hare nei he hare hapí.
 ±SPE house PPD +SPE house learn
 'This building is the school.'

But where the subject is a pronoun this stands second except where the focus particle *ko* is used:

- (295) Tanjata riva riva a ia.
 Man good DUP PRS 3s
 'He is a good man.'
- (296) 'Iorana Vero, ko au nei ko Nua.
 Greeting Vero FOCUS 1s here FOCUS Nua
 'Hello Vero, it's me here it's Nua.'

1.2.1.1.2. The order of constituents with an adjectival complement

1.2.1.1.2.1. No 'be' copula with adjectival complement

As noted above the only copula-like form is the existential *ai*; there is no copula with an adjectival complement.

1.2.1.1.2.2. Marking the adjectival complement

(i) Repetition with duplicated forms

Where the adjective is of the duplication type and the subject stands in initial position then the subject noun is repeated in the predicate but with zero specifier; if there is a postnominal demonstrative in the subject specifier the prenominal element *te* indicates — visible.

- (297) (Te) kona era kona roa roa/roa rahi.
 +SPE place PPD place far DUP/far much
 'That place is far/very far away.'
- (298) (Te) hare nei hare tea tea.
 +SPE house PPD house white DUP
 'This house is white.'
- (299) Na hare hare 'iti 'iti.
 LT house house small DUP
 'That house is small.'

(ii) With non-duplicated forms.

Where the adjectival complement is not of the duplicated type there is no repetition:

- (300) Roa rahi te kona era.
 Long much +SPE place PPD
 'It is a long way away that place.'

- (301) Te vaikava korore moana.
 +SPE sea colour blue
 'The sea is blue.'

- (302) Te hai'a nei he nene no.
 +SPE haia PPD ±SPE sweet LIM
 'The haia fruit is delicious.'

1.2.1.1.2.3. The order of constituents in an adjectival predicate

From the examples in the previous paragraph it can be seen that the order can be subject-predicate or predicate-subject; the latter brings the predicate into focus and does not entail the repetition noted in section 1.2.1.1.2.2 (i).

1.2.1.1.3. With adverbial complement

There are no special markers for adverbial complements that distinguish them from adverbial phrases in other contexts:

- (303) Te hoi 'airuŋa i te ma'uŋa.
 +SPE horse DEMabove RLT +SPE hill
 'The horses are there on the hill.'

- (304) Te 'ura 'iroto i te parera.
 +SPE lobster inside RLT +SPE deep
 'Lobsters are in deep water.'

1.2.1.1.4. Tense/aspect marking in copular sentences

PAST

The simplest means to indicate past is PPD *era*:

- (305) Vi'e nehe nehe ta'a vi'e era.
 Woman pretty DUP DEM woman PPD
 'That woman used to be pretty.'

Otherwise there are periphrastic strategies:

- (306) He hare hapí i te mu'a 'a he hare
 ±SPE house learn RLT +SPE old EMP ±SPE house
 i te hora nei.
 RLT +SPE time PPD
 'The house was a school in the old days.'

- (307) Te aña ra'e he profesor.
 +SPE work first ±SPE teacher
 'He used to be a teacher.'

FUTURE

This is indicated by a form introduced by MOM *ka*:

- (308) Ka oti era te aña he tau no te hare era.
 MOM end PPD +SPE work ±SPE nice LIM +SPE house PPD
 'When it is finished that house will be beautiful.'
- (309) Tiare tea tea te tiare era ka ua'a era.
 Flower white DUP +SPE flower PPD MOM bloom PPD
 'That flower will be white when it comes out.'

MODALITY

This is expressed by particles such as *koi'ite* 'who knows' or *peaha* 'perhaps'.

- (310) Koi'ite ho'i ko Vaitea te kona haña mo oho peaha.
 Who knows COORa FOC Vaitea +SPE place wish BEN go perhaps
 'Who knows, Vaitea might be where they want to go.'

1.2.1.1.5. Existential copula

Where the copula is zero there is no difference in treatment which depends on person. But the existential copula is not often found in persons other than third, although the example *i ai ai au he poki vahine* 'I being a girl' in 1.2.1.1.1 shows that it is possible.

1.2.1.1.6. Other types of copula

BECOME

(i) + attribute = PFT + RES

This is a way of expressing quality and the sense of 'become' is not prominent.

- (311) Ko takeo ri'a ri'a 'a.
PFT cold very very RES
'It has become very cold.' (≈ 'It is very cold')

- (312) Ko po ro 'a.
PFT night +REA RES
'It is already dark.'

(ii) become = turn into — *riro*

- (313) Te poki he riro he ika.
+SPE child ACT change ±SPE fish
'The child became a fish.'

1.2.1.2. Verbal sentences

There are some verbal sentences which function as adverbials and have neither subject nor object: *I'oti* 'finally'; *Koi'ite* 'perhaps'.

1.2.1.2.1. Verbs without subjects

(i) Subject known

Whenever the subject of a verb is known from the immediate context, linguistic or pragmatic, it does not appear in the sentence:

- (314) Ahó ka oho?
POSINT MOM go
'When is (she) going?'

- (315) He heriki i te 'ana hai mauku.
ACT strew RLT +SPE cave INS tufted grass
'(We) used to cover the floor of the cave with tufted grass.'

(ii) Subject deletion = impersonal

The only sure test of impersonal interpretation is where an object is expressed. In neutral sentences, for all except a very limited number of verbs of sensing, the subject has zero marker and the object is marked by the relational particle *i* (though not before the indefinite specifiers *he* and *hai*).

Where the subject is deleted as in imperatives or in impersonal constructions the object takes the marking of the first valency element, i.e. the zero marking of the subject.

- (316) He heriki te 'ana hai mauku.
ACT strew +SPE cave INS tufted grass
'The cave was strewn with tufted grass.'

Compare this with the example (315) above where 'we' is known from the context.

Similarly:

- (317) He kontrata i te tanata i te ŋa poki.
 ACT hire RLT +SPE men RLT +SPE GRP child
 ‘(They) hired adults and children.’

1.2.1.2.2. Verbs without direct objects

As for subjects, if the object is known or retrievable, it does not appear in the sentence:

- (318) Pehe au ana tunu?
 How 1s RES cook
 ‘How am I to cook (this)?’

1.2.1.2.3. Indirect objects

The marker of indirect object is dative *ki* or else *mai* towards the speaker or *atu* away from the speaker and towards the listener. The last two particles are included in the ‘verbal frame’.

- (319) Ka ‘avai mai te puka!
 MOM give TOW +SPE book
 ‘Give me the book.’ (TOW ≈ ‘to me’)

- (320) Ka ‘avai mai te puka ki a au.
 MOM give TOW +SPE book DAT PRS 1s
 ‘Give the book to me!’

- (321) E haka ma’u ro atu au hai me’e tara.
 STA CAUS bring +REA AWA 1s –SPE thing money
 ‘I’ll send you some money.’ (AWA ≈ ‘to you’)

1.2.1.2.4. Other optional arguments

Instrument with *hai*:

- (322) Ko ‘o’oka ‘a hai patia.
 PFT DUPstab RES INS harpoon
 ‘He speared it with a harpoon.’

Benefactive with *mo/ma*

- (323) He ma’u takoa mai mo’oku.
 ACT bring also TOW BEN1si
 ‘He brought one in for me too.’

- (324) Ma’aku mau’a te haraoa nei i tunu ai.
 BEN1sa EMP +SPE flour PPD PA cook PHO
 ‘It’s for me that she, has baked the roll.’

Agentive *e* as obligatory subject marking:

The basic verbs of sensing *tikea* ‘see’ and *ηaro’a* ‘hear, smell’ have the AG *e* as subject marker. Otherwise *e* as subject marker is emphatic. (See 1.2.1.2.6.)

- (325) He tikea mai e au te hare o to’oku tupuna.
 ACT see TOW AG 1s +SPE house POS POS1si grandparent
 ‘I can see my grandmother’s house.’

Accompaniment with *ko*:

- (326) He turu matou ko ta’aku poki ki tai.
 ACT go down 1pe FOC POS1sa child DAT shore
 ‘My sons and I are going down to the shore.’

- (327) He oho mai a Vero ararua ko ta’ana kenu ki Rapanui.
 ACT go TOW PRS Vero COL FOC POS3sa husband DAT Rapanui
 ‘Vero and her husband are off to Rapanui.’

1.2.1.2.5. Combinations of arguments

There is no limit as to the arguments that may accompany the main sentential arguments of DO and IO, but changes of emphasis may require change of position and focus is signalled by fronting and *ko* (examples in 1.2.1.2.6).

1.2.1.2.6. Order of constituents

VSO is the neutral order of constituents in a sentence. The marking of S is zero, of O is *i* and of IO is *ki*, except in the verbs of sensing. (See 1.2.1.2.4.) Any other order involves shift of emphasis and generally change of marking.

- (328) Ko ’avai atu ’a a Nua i te puka ki a Pota.
 PFT give AWA RES PRS Nua RLT +SPE book DAT PRS Pota
 ‘Nua has given the book to Pota.’

- (329) Ko tikea ia e au te ηa poki.
 PFT see RES AG 1s +SPE GRP child
 ‘I have seen the children.’

VOS puts the subject in a more prominent position. It takes AG *e* marking; object takes zero marking:

- (330) I rava'a ro te ika e Rui.
 PA catch +REA +SPE fish AG Rui
 'Rui has definitely caught some fish.'

OVS — zero marker for the object and AG *e* for the subject:

- (331) Te 'ura i rava'a ai e Rui.
 +SPE lobster PA catch PHO AG Rui
 'The lobsters were caught by Rui.'

SVO — there are increasing degrees of emphasis:

(a) The subject is fronted with PRS *a* and the object is zero marked:

- (332) A Rui i rava'a te 'ura.
 PRS Rui PA catch +SPE lobster
 'Rui caught the lobster.'

(b) The subject is fronted with FOC *ko* and the object is marked by possessive *o*:

- (333) Ko Rui i rava'a o te 'ura.
 FOC Rui PA catch POS +SPE lobster
 'Rui is the one who has caught the fish.'

But if another constituent, e.g. instrumental stands between the verb and object then the latter is marked with RLT *i*:

- (334) Ko Rui i 'o'oka hai patia i te ika.
 FOC Rui PA DUPstab INS harpoon RLT +SPE fish
 'Rui has used his harpoon to spear the fish.'

(c) Demonstratives '*i* or *ai* with relational *i* marking the object:

- (335) 'I a Rui he 'o'oka i te ika.
 DEMn PRS Rui ACT DUPstab RLT +SPE fish
 'There's Rui about to stab the fish.'
 (+ visible, ± distant for speaker)

- (336) Ai a Rui he keri i te kumá.
 DEM PRS Rui ACT dig RLT +SPE sweet potatoes
 'Rui's gone over there to dig the sweet potatoes.'
 (± visible, + distant for speaker)

(d) Fronting of subject with obligation:

Weaker obligation:

- (337) Ko Rui mo e'a ki te kahi hi.
 FOC Rui BEN go off DAT +SPE tuna fish
 'Rui is the one to go tuna-fishing.'

Stronger obligation:

- (338) Ma Rui e oho ki te kahi hi.
 BEN Rui STA go DAT +SPE tuna fish
 'Rui has to go tuna-fishing.'

1.2.1.3. Adverbials

1.2.1.3.1. Types of adverbials

1.2.1.3.1.1. Adverbs

Uncompounded adverbs are not numerous; many of them can stand within the verbal piece in position three: *rahi* 'much'; *ata* 'more'; *ta'e* 'not', see also 2.1.7.

1.2.1.3.1.2. Compound adverbs

Much more numerous than the uncompounded are the compound adverbs though their formation is not always transparent. They are generally compounded with relational *i*, possessive *o/a*, dative *ki*, ablative *mai*, inessive *pe* and can refer to time or place; the list of place adverbs is given in 2.1.1.5.

EXAMPLES OF ADVERBS — SIMPLE AND COMPOUND

TIME:

apó 'tomorrow'; *ajataiahi* 'yesterday'; *ajapó era* 'the evening before last'; *ajanirá* 'today (up to now)'; *anirá* 'today (from now on)'; *ahiahi* 'evening'; *ao nui* 'around midnight'; *ao popohāna* 'from midnight to dawn'; *popohāna* 'dawn'.

PLACE:

Many compounds of: *haho* 'outside'; *mu'a* 'in front'; *raro* 'below'; *roto* 'inside' (= a little pool left by the receding tide); *ruŋa* 'top'; *tu'a* 'rear'.

MODALITY:

peaha 'perhaps'; *'avai* 'definitely'; *'iho* 'hardly/just'; *pura* 'regularly'; *vara* 'frequently'.

MANNER: *takoap* 'also'; *peira ('a)* 'likewise'; *haka'ou* 'again'; *keke* 'wrongly' (duplication of *ke* 'different').

1.2.1.3.1.3. Particle + NP as adverbial *i*

This is used in many expressions

of TIME: *i te mahana hopu* ‘on Saturday’, *i te toŋa* ‘in winter’, *i te ava’e ko hora nui* ‘in September’.

It also has the meaning of *cause*:

- (339) *I te me’e no era, he hakake o te*
 RLT +SPE thing LIM PPD ±SPE courage POS +SPE
taŋata nei i oho ai i ruku ai ki te ŋa
 man PPD PA go PHO PA dive PHO DAT +SPE GRP
poki nei.
 child PPD
 ‘Because of his courage that man was able to swim out and dive down for the children.’

PE

This particle meaning basically ‘in the direction of’ and by extension ‘like’ is used in adverbial phrases of

MANNER: *pe tu huru era* ‘in that manner’.

- (340) *Ko riro ‘a to’ona kahu pe tu huru era o*
 PFT change RES POS3si dress like +SPE way PPD POS
mu’a ‘a.
 front EMP
 ‘Her clothes went back to the way they were before.’

- (341) *Pe na ‘o he hiŋa!*
 Like DEM NEG ±SPE fishSUF
 ‘That’s not the way to fish!’

Mai ablative, *ki* in the sense of ‘near’ and the emphatic locative *to* ‘all over’ also introduce adverbial phrases:

mai te mu’a ‘a ‘from time immemorial’, *ki te ‘aua* ‘near the fence’, *to te rano* ‘all over the volcanic lake’.

- (342) *Maika ri’a ri’a to Rapanui.*
 Banana much DUP all over Rapanui
 ‘There are bananas all over Rapanui.’

1.2.1.3.1.4. Adverbial clauses as adverbs

Given the ambiguity of the particle *he* which can be preverbal (ACT) or prenominal (± SPE) it is not always possible to say whether or not an adverbial phrase is finite or nonfinite, for example in (339) *he hakake* (literally ‘causing different’) could be either nominal or verbal.

But apart from such cases, it has already been noted that adverbial clauses of time and place, manner, cause and result are normally finite and those of condition, purpose and degree are non-finite (see 1.1.2.4.3).

There are in addition some fixed expressions which are ‘clausal’: *ka ki*

‘apparently’, *koi’ite* ‘who knows’, *ko tano (mau)’a* ‘agreed’, and which function as adverbials.

1.2.1.3.2. Position of adverbials

Adverbials which are part of the verbal frame stand in position three. As noted above (1.2.1.3.1.1) these are non-compounded except for the comparatives. Outside the verbal frame they may be final or initial and there are few restrictions; however there are preferences for instance *takoa* ‘also’ is normally non-initial while *peira ’a* ‘likewise’ is generally initial.

ADVERBS IN THE VERBAL FRAME

These have been referred to above (see 1.2.1.3.1.1). Most of them stand in position three, i.e. immediately after the lexical element. They are adverbs of manner, negation, quality, quantity but not of precise time or or place.

Some of the more common adverbs of this type:

’iho ‘scarcely’; *keke* ‘wrongly’; *haka’ou* ‘again’; *hia* ‘yet’; *hoki* ‘back’; *horou* ‘quickly’; *koro’iti* ‘slowly’; *maneje* ‘a little’; *’o* ‘no’; *rahi* ‘much’; *ri’a ri’a* ‘very’; *riva riva* ‘well’; *tahaja* ‘to no purpose’; *tahi* ‘all’; *takoa* ‘also’; *ta’e* ‘no’; *taue* ‘by chance’.

- (343) He kontamina tahi ro ai a nei e te petroleo.
 ACT contaminate all +REA PHO POS PPD AG +SPE oil
 ‘Everything round here was polluted with the oil.’

- (344) E hapí riva riva ro ’a koe ’iroto i te hare hapí.
 STA learn well DUP +REA RES 2s inside RLT +SPE house learn
 ‘You are studying well at school.’

- (345) Ko tutu’u tahaja ’a te mekerá.
 PFT DUPslap to no purpose RES +SPE mortar
 ‘There was no point in rendering them.’

- (346) I oho taue no mai.
 PA go by chance LIM TOW
 ‘He came just by chance.’

Ata ‘more’ and *vara* ‘often’ stand *before* the lexical element:

- (347) Ko ’ata riri ’a ia.
 PFT more angry RES 3s
 ‘He got more angry.’

- (348) I tu'u ro matou ki te kona vara ha'ere
 PA come +REA lpe DAT +SPE place FREQ walk
 era a matou.
 PPD POS lpe
 'We came to those places where we used to walk.'

'Avai (≈ strongly resultative) stands *after* the verbal frame:

- (349) He hi'a ro atu 'avai au.
 ACT fall +REA AWA ++RES 1s
 'I fell and really hurt myself.'

1.2.1.3.3. Obligatory adverbials

The particles *mai* 'towards the subject' and *atu* 'away from the subject' may be necessary to the particular meaning of a verb — 'coming' or 'going' for instance; nevertheless, they cannot be, considered structurally necessary; the verbal piece as such is complete without them.

1.2.2. Adjectival phrases

1.2.2.1. Operational definition

Most adjectives are reduplicated forms such as: *riva riva* 'good'; *ʻa'e ʻa'e* 'exhausted'; *rake rake* 'bad'; *ʻa'a ʻa'a* 'hard working'; *tea tea* 'white'. But there are some which are not reduplicated, for instance *moana* 'blue', *panaha'a* 'heavy'.

It is also possible to express an attribute by means of noun + adjective or verb + noun, if we accept 'semantic' definitions of terms such as 'noun', 'verb', definitions which are not altogether satisfactory for a language where particle context is the only reliable criterion. Nevertheless, combinations such as *hi ika* 'catch fish' in the group *taŋata hi ika* 'fisherman' or *pu'oko riva riva* 'good head' = 'clever' are not only common but are the principal means of creating new concepts such as *hare taŋata tiŋa'i ahi* 'house man fight fire' = 'fire station'.

1.2.2.2. Dependent arguments expressed by verbs

Expressions such as *full of* or *pleased with* in Rapanui correspond to verbs.

- (350) Ko i riva riva 'a te puté i te ika.
 PFT fill good DUP RES +SPE bag RLT +SPE fish
 'The bag is full of fish.'
- (351) Ko koa 'a maua o te ora o to'ou mauiu.
 PFT please RES lde POS +SPE heal POS POS2si illness
 'We're glad you have recovered from your illness.'

1.2.2.2.1. Subjectless adjectival clauses

Circumstance can be expressed by the simple attribute but always modified by an adverb of degree such as *ri'a* 'extremely', or *rahi* 'very', or *no* 'rather', *mau 'a* 'really', *ena 'a* 'fairly':

- (352) *Karo ri'a ri'a o nei.*
 Expensive very DUP POS PPD
 'It is very expensive here.'

1.2.2.3. Adverbials modifying adjectives

1.2.2.3.1. Adverbials modifying adjectives

Adverbs of degree can modify adjectives. They are adverbs of the kind noted in 1.2.2.2.1.

- (353) *Ara nei ara roa rahi.*
 Road PPD road long very
 'It is a very long way.'

The EMP *mau 'a* can have the meaning 'own' when modifying a possessive:

- (354) *Ka mataki te kuenta 'iroto i te vanko hai*
 MOM open +SPE account in RLT +SPE bank INS

ijoa 'o'ou mau 'a
 name POS2si EMP
 'Open an account in the bank in your own name!'

The comparative *ata* 'more':

- (355) *Ata paŋaha'a te puté nei ki ta'a puté ena.*
 More heavy +SPE sack PPD DAT POS2sa sack PPD
 'This sack is heavier than yours.'

1.2.2.3.2. Postposed modifiers

(i) Comparative constructions are introduced by *ata* 'more', *'ihau* and *haua'e* 'better/more' (see 1.1.2.4.2.7). Of these *ata* is an adverb but the other two are adjectives; with both *'ihau* and *haua'e* the person or object compared with is introduced by *ki*; the attribute being compared is made nominal with the specifier *te*, whether it is attributive or verbal, and is introduced by the relational particle *i*.

- (356) *'Ihau a Ari i te roa roa ki te ta'ato'a.*
 More PRS Ari RLT +SPE long DUP DAT +SPE every
 'Ari is taller than all' (= 'the tallest').

- (357) Haua'e ta'ana aña i te riva riva ki to'ona taina.
 More POS3sa work RLT +SPE good DUP DAT POS3si sibling
 'His work is better than his brother's.'

(ii) Benefactive *mo* 'too/very'

- (358) Karo ri'a ri'a mo te nu'u o nei.
 Dear very DUP BEN +SPE people POS here
 'It is very/too expensive for people here.'

1.2.2.3.3. 'Cases' of NPs modifying adjectives

To the extent that 'cases' can be said to be expressed by particles, then the constituents governed by *ki* and *i*, noted in 1.2.2.3.2 above, might be considered under this rubric.

1.2.2.4. Order of modifiers of adjectives

From the examples in 1.2.2.3.2, it can be seen that both the adverbs of degree and the comparative constituents follow the adjective. But where both types are present the adverb follows immediately after that adjective and before the adverbial:

- (359) Haua'e rahi i te tau ki tu ŋa poki
 Better much RLT +SPE pretty DAT +SPE GRP child
 vahine era erua.
 female PPD two
 'She was much prettier than those two girls.'

1.2.3. Adverbial phrases

1.2.3.1. Operational definition

Adverbial phrases will include an adverbial and a modifier. An adverbial can be an adverb or preposed particle plus noun plus possible postposed particle *era*, *ena* 'a (see 1.2.1.3.1.2 above).

1.2.3.2. Modifiers of adverbials

Characteristics of these phrases, therefore, are the same as for adjectives. The modifiers will be intensifiers and they will modify postpositively only the adverbs of manner which coincide formally with adjectives, for instance *koro'iti* 'slow(ly)'. Compare (360) where *koro'iti* is an adjective:

- (360) I te ha'ereinga koroiti rahi, i tu'u mai ai
 RLT +SPE walking slow very PA come TOW PHO
 ko po ro 'a.
 PFT night +REA RES
 'Because of their walking very slowly they arrived after nightfall.'

and (361) where *koro'iti* is an adverb:

- (361) E ha'ere koro'iti rahi ro 'a i taha taha tai.
 STA walk slowly very +REA RES RLT edge DUP shore
 'They are walking very slowly along the edge of the sea.'

1.2.4. Prepositional/postpositional phrases

These phrases are the particles by which a nominal phrase is defined.

1.2.4.1. Operational definition

Since the nominal phrase is defined strictly speaking by the particles, pre-and post-, which surround it, it is not possible to define the prepositional/postpositional phrases *vis-à-vis* the nominal phrase. That would merely be circular.

1.2.4.2. Pre/postpositional phrases and their arguments

The simple particles that have their place in the nominal frame as described in section 1.1 are always attached to the frame and function within the nominal phrases. But there are a large number of compound particles of place that enter into adverbials and have their own structure. They have been mentioned in section 1.2.1.3.1.2 and are listed in section 2.1.1.5. They are compounded with the simple particles *ki*, *to*, *mai*, and the demonstratives 'o, 'a 'i and 'ai, preposed to forms which, preceded by a nominal specifier, indicate the space concerned. For example *te ruja* 'roof' but *mairuja* 'from the top of'. When they function as prepositions a simple particle is postposed; this is often the particle *i* but *ki* is duplicated, e.g. *kiruja ki* 'on top of (with motion)'.

- (362) I tikea ai e au te hoho'a nehe nehe 'iruja
 PA see PHO AG 1s +SPE picture lovely DUP DEMtop
 i te puka.
 RLT SPE book
 'I saw a lovely picture in the book.'
- (363) Ka to'o mairuja i te 'amurama'a!
 MOM take ABLtop RLT +SPE table
 'Take it off the table!'

- (364) **Ka** **keri** **kiraro** **ki** **te** **kumá!**
 MOM dig DATbottom DAT +SPE sweet potatoes
 ‘Dig down to get the sweet potatoes!’

1.2.4.2.1. Prepositional phrases as adverbs

In the following example the compounds *’oroto* and *’iroto* are adverbs and *roto* is a noun.

(In (365) the percipient reader might recognize the opening paragraphs of St Exupéry’s *Little Prince* which Erena Araki chose to turn into Rapanui for her grandsons and as an exercise in syntactic juggling. The native Rapanui stories apart from being hard to come by, are syntactically often cryptic, elliptic or paratactically repetitive.)

- (365) **He** **papa’i** **au** **i** **te** **hoho’a:** **’oroto** **te** **kopú**
 ACT write 1s RLT +SPE picture around +SPE belly

o **te** **koreha** **ηatu,** **mo** **tikea** **e** **te**
 POS +SPE boa constrictor BEN see AG +SPE

pa’ari **te** **roto** **a** **te** **koreha** **ηatu,** **’iroto,**
 grown ups +SPE inside POS +SPE boa constrictor inside

te **pua’a.**
 +SPE cow
 ‘I drew the picture: around was the body of the boa constrictor; inside was the cow so that the grown ups could see the inside of the boa constrictor.’

1.2.4.2.3. Prepositions with non-nominal arguments

The compound prepositions as adverbs can co-occur with verbs:

- (366) **Kiruŋa** **au** **he** **maroa** / He maroa au kiruŋa.
 DATtop 1s ACT stand
 ‘I stood up.’

As with other adverbials the choice of position is before or after the main frame. Prepositive it is emphatic ≈ ‘Up I got’; postpositive is the neutral position.

1.2.5. Noun phrase

1.2.5.1. Operational definition of NP

When a lexeme is preceded by a specifier — a defining particle such as *te* +SPE or *he* +SPE or *ηa* GRP or framed by *te/tu ... nei/era/ena* or any

of the definite possessives, i.e. those preceded by *t* or *te* or a quantifier *e/ka/te* + numeral, then it is a noun phrase. (See 1.1 for a description of the whole of the nominal frame.)

1.2.5.2. Modifiers of the NP

1.2.5.2.1. Adjectival modifiers of the NP

The adjectival phrase is postpositive whether it is a single lexeme such as *moana* ‘blue’, a duplicated form such as *rohi rohi* ‘tired’, a compound such as *haka kiva* ‘keeping silent’ or a group such as *hi ika* ‘catch fish’. (See 1.2.2.1.)

1.2.5.2.2. Relative clauses modifying the NP

The clause generally follows immediately after the noun. (See 1.1.2.3 for more details of relative clauses.)

- (367) *He oho te taina ta'ato'a mo aroha ki te*
 ACT go +SPE sibling every BEN greet DAT +SPE
poki, he oho ki Hiva.
 child ACT go DAT abroad
 ‘The brothers and sisters all went to see off the girl who was going abroad.’

1.2.5.2.3. Possessive adjectives modifying the NP

The ‘possessive’ adjectives are prepositive. The 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons singular and the emphatic *to/ta* ‘share of’ forms have the *o* ‘inalienable’ or *a* ‘alienable’ vocalism: *ta'aku poki* ‘my child’; *to'oku hoi* ‘my horse’; *ta'a me'e hana* ‘your wish’; *to'u mauui* ‘your illness’; *ta'ana kenu* ‘her husband’; *to'ona matu'a* ‘his parent’; *ta Erena* ‘Erena’s share’ (of jam); *to maua* ‘our one’ (boat) (see 1.10.1 and 2.1.2.4.3). In the case of the plural and dual the specific form of the possessive is simply the pronoun preceded by the +SPE, particle *te*: *te matou toya* ‘our winter’ etc.

1.2.5.2.4. Particles modifying the NP

There are five particles defining the nouns along the parameters of ± known and ± specific and non-singular:

- | | |
|------------|-------------------------|
| 0 | + known |
| <i>te</i> | + specific and ± plural |
| <i>he</i> | ± specific and ± plural |
| <i>hai</i> | – specific and – known |
| <i>na</i> | group or pair. |

In addition there is the prepositive particle *tou/tu* (past/ distant) which combines with the postpositive locational PPD markers, *nei, era, ena*, which mark the parameters of \pm distant, visible, \pm known. (See 1.1.)

1.2.5.2.5. Demonstratives modifying the NP

There are eight demonstratives that can modify nouns: *no/na, 'o/'a, ro/ra, hu* and *ni*.

Postpositive are: *no, ro*, and *'a*; Prepositive are: *ni, hu*;

Both prepositive and postpositive are: *na* and *ra* and *'o*.

As for the PPD particles with defining articles (1.2.5.2.4 above), the parameters are essentially distance/interest, known or unknown, visible or not visible.

No is limitative \approx 'only':

- (368) *Te me'e no he ʔaatu he mauku.*
 +SPE thing LIM \pm SPE reed \pm SPE tufted grass
 'The only things there are reeds and tufted grass.'

Na has the sense of 'unlikely' or 'unexpected':

- (369) *He aha ana ra na pahí i nei?*
 -SPE INT MOD DEM DEM ship RLT PPD
 'What on earth was that ship doing there?'

- (370) *Ka hakaré atu te me'e na!*
 MOM leave AWA +SPE thing DEM
 'Leave that thing (we've just come across) alone!'

'O when it precedes the noun is often reinforced by the exclamation *'i*. It points to the actual presence of a person or thing:

- (371) *'I 'o a Nua ka tu'u mai 'a.*
 DEMn DEM PRS Nua MOM arrive TOW RES
 'Here is mother arriving.'

Postpositively it stands alone:

- (372) *'O'ou 'o te 'ua, e Nua e, ko hoa 'a.*
 POS2si DEM +SPE rain VOC Nua PFT fall RES
 'Here's that rain of yours, Nua, it's started to pour.'

'A always follows the noun and refers to a past or distant person/object:

- (373) *Puhe ika 'a te me'e mau.*
 Like fish DEM +SPE thing carry
 'That thing over there he's carrying looks like fish.'

Ro modifies nouns only in questions. It is postpositive and indicates that the questioner is really interested in the reply (–distant):

- (374) *Hora aha ro?*
 Time INT DEM
 ‘What is it exactly?’

Ra postpositively is also used in questions and indicates a relative lack of interest in a precise answer:

- (375) *Hora aha ra?*
 Time INT DEM
 ‘What on earth’s the time I wonder.’

Ra prepositively indicates distant and/or past and known in the past to speaker and hearer:

- (376) *Ko ġaro ‘a ra pipi.*
 PFT vanish RES DEM shells
 ‘Those shells (we used to see) have vanished.’

Ni is prepositive and indicates a person/thing known to speaker and hearer but distant in time or interest:

- (377) *He aha ni me’e?*
 ±SPE INT DEM thing
 ‘What is this nasty thing here?’

- (378) *Ko tikea ‘a ro e koe ni pahī?*
 PFT see RES +REA AG 2s DEM boat
 ‘Did you in fact see that much talked of boat?’

Hu not a common modifier in the speech of the younger generation, indicates very recent past and known to both speaker and hearer:

- (379) *Oai hu vaka era i aġataiahi?*
 POSINT LT boat PPD RLT yesterday
 ‘Whose was that boat yesterday?’

1.2.5.2.6. Quantifiers modifying the NP

(i) Numerals

PREPOSITIVE:

Numerals up to ten are Rapanui: *tahi, rua, toru, ha, rima, ono, hitu, va’u/varu, iva, aġahuru*. The higher numerals are Tahitian. The Tahitian numbers for ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘four’, and ‘five’ — *ho’e, piti, maha, pae* are used in **dates** and in **the numbers beyond ten**:

te pae mahana o tara hau ‘the fifth day of January’; *i te matahiti ho’e tautini iva hanere e va’u a’ahuru ma ono* ‘in the year one thousand nine hundred and eighty six’.

POSTPOSITIVE:

In names of the days of the week and times of the day the numeral is postpositive: *hora piti* ‘two o’clock’; *hora iva e te ’afa* ‘half past nine’; *mahana pae* ‘Friday’. (See also 2.1.1.6.)

WITH DEFINING PARTICLES:

E + numeral + NP

This pattern indicates the cardinal numbers and is used for quantity. It can be prepositive or postpositive:

(380) *Eiva ’o’oku taina.*

Nine POS1si sibling
‘We are nine brothers and sisters.’

(381) *Etahi no ika i rava’a Ari.*

QUone LIM fish PA catch Ari
‘Ari caught only one fish.’

(382) *Pehe a koe i ’ite ai i te matahiti etahi?*

How PRS 2s PA know PHO RLT +SPE year QUone
‘How did you learn it in one year?’

ETAHI ‘ONE’ — prepositively

In a negative construction *etahi* ‘one’ can render the sense of ‘not any’:

(383) *Kai tikea mai e au etahi tanata.*

NEG see TOW AG 1s QUone man
‘I don’t see anyone.’

In a positive construction it means ‘a certain’:

(384) *He moe ki te ’uka etahi.*

ACT rest DAT +SPE girl one
‘He married a certain girl.’

KA + NUMERAL + NP

Ka is the counting particle for the numeral but modifying a nominal it is prepositive and emphatic:

(385) *Ka rua ika a Sito i rava’a!*

NUM two fish PRS Sito PA catch
‘Sito has caught some fish, two of them!’

- (386) Ka tahi 'a ra'á i raŋi riva riva mai.
 NUM one DEM sun PA call good DUP TOW
 'That was the very first time he spoke kindly to us.'

TE/HE + NUMERAL + NP

The specifiers indicate the ordinals which are normally postpositive:

- (387) E haŋa haka'ou ro 'a au ki te puka rima.
 STA wish again +REA RES Is DAT +SPE book five
 'I would also like to have the fifth book.'

- (388) 'Ina 'o he rua ruau era he himene?
 NEG NEG ±SPE two old woman PPD ACT sing
 'Was there not a second old lady who sang?'

The exception to the postpositive order is with *aore* still used by the older generation, which is the alternative to *hora* 'hour' for the exact hour in telling the time:

- (389) Piti ahuru ma pae minuti toe mo te ahuru aore /
 two ten and five minute lack BEN +SPE ten hour /
 te hora ahuru.
 +SPE hour ten
 'It is twenty-five to ten.'

(ii) Collectives

TETAHI — 'OTHER'; *TETAHI ... TETAHI* 'SOME ... OTHERS'

- (390) I Rapanui e tupu ro 'a tatahi huru o te maika.
 RLT Rapanui STA grow +REA RES +SPEone kind POS +SPE bananas
 'On Rapanui other kinds of bananas grow.'

- (391) He tikea te moai nui nui e ha'u ro 'a
 ACT see +SPE statues big DUP STA hat +REA RES
 tetahi moai, tetahi ko momore 'a te ŋau.
 +SPEone statue +SPEone PFT DUPcut RES +SPE neck
 'He saw great statues, some with hats on, others cut off at the neck.'

TERUA 'THE REST'

- (392) Te rua ŋa poki era kona ta'e roa teraua hare.
 +SPE two GRP child PPD place NEG far POS3p house
 'The other children's house was not far away.'

Hoko + NUMERAL + NP (with numbers up to nine)

This form means exclusive of the first person, except that *hokotahi* means ‘alone’ (see also 2.1.2.1.4.2).

- (393) Ko au e noho mai ena hokotahi no.
 PFT 1s STA stay TOW PPD COLone LIM
 ‘I live here all alone.’

- (394) E maroaroa ro 'a te moai hokohitu no.
 STA standDUP +REA RES +SPE statue COLseven LIM
 ‘The seven statues stand there alone.’

A + DUP + NUM + NP (with numbers two to five)

These collectives are inclusive of 1st person: *ararua, atatoru, ahahá, aririma*.

- (395) A maua ararua ko Erena e aja atu ena i te puka.
 PRS 1de COLtwo FOC Erena STA work AWA PPD RLT +SPE book
 ‘Erena and I are working together on the book.’

ANANAKE ‘TOGETHER’ (more than two including 1st pers.)

- (396) Ananake matou i kai ai ko kuá Ari.
 Together 1pe PA eat PHO FOC PSG Ari
 ‘We ate together, both of us with Ari.’

1.2.5.2.7. Adverbials modifying the NP

Two types of adverbials modify nouns:

- (i) Nominal phrases with particles indicating a relationship such as possessive, benefactive, ablative, dative: *te vaka o Rui* ‘Rui’s boat’; *te puka ma Sunta* ‘the book for Sunta’; *te karta ki a Vero* ‘the letter to Vero’; *te pu’ahu mai Nua* ‘the parcel from Nua’.
- (ii) Adverbial phrases of place: *ti miro 'imuri i te hare* ‘the tree near the house’; *te vaka 'oruja i te vaikava* ‘the boat on the sea’; *te paiheja 'iraro i te 'amurama'a* ‘the dog under the table’.

1.2.5.2.8. Emphatics modifying NPs

The only word that might be considered simply emphatic is *mau* ‘truth’, but it often has additional functions especially preceding *'a* equivalent to ‘self’ or ‘own’. It is postpositive to the NP. Both *ho'i* and *pa'i* which often

serve as emphatics carry also an adversative sense (see 1.3.1.1 below) and the demonstrative modifiers discussed above (1.2.5.2.5) are emphatic but always retain some specifically demonstrative force.

- (397) I te toŋa mau'a ka oho raua?
 RLT SPE winter EMP MOM go 3p
 'Are you really going in winter?'

- (398) A: Ka uru hai kahu ena!
 MOM put on INS dress PPD
 'Put that dress on!'

- (399) B: Hai kahu mau ena!?
 INS dress EMP here
 'This dress, you're not serious?!'

1.2.5.2.9. Comparative/superlative/equative

These structures have been discussed in sections 1.1.2.4.2.7 and 1.2.2.3.2.

The two adverbs used in **comparatives** are *'ihau* or *haua'e* and *ata*.

Haua'e 'more' modifies the noun (which may stand initially or finally in the sentence) and is followed by the relational particle *i* and the specifier *te* and then the quality being compared such as *roa roa* 'tall', which is therefore being nominalized. The object of comparison is introduced by *ki* ≈ 'than':

- (400) Hau'e au i te porio ki a koe.
 More 1s RLT +SPE fat DAT PRS 2s
 'I am fatter than you are.'

The construction with *ata* is different; the adverb precedes the adjective and the noun is repeated after *ki* ≈ 'than':

- (401) Ata roa roa Ari ki a Rui.
 More long DUP Ari DAT PRS Rui
 'Ari is taller than Rui.'

There is **no superlative**; the comparative is used and the person/object of comparison is 'others' or 'all' or the object is qualified as the 'first' *te ra'e*, or 'last' *te hope'a*. (See also 1.2.2.3.2.)

- (402) Te ma'uŋa Terevaka, he ma'uŋa nui nui ki
 +SPE mountain Terevaka ±SPE mountain big DUP DAT

 te ma'uŋa ta'ato'a.
 +SPE mountain every
 'Terevaka is the highest mountain of them all.'

- (403) Etahi opitara nui nui hope'a o te riva riva.
 One hospital big DUP last POS +SPE good DUP
 'There is one big hospital; it is the very best.'

The **equative** uses the particle *pe* ≈ 'like':

- (404) Pe tu huru 'a te kahu uru ararua.
 TO+m +SPE kind EMP +SPE cloth wear both
 'They both had the same kind of dress on.'

1.2.5.2.10. Apposition with focus particle *ko*

When naming a person or place FOC *ko* is used:

- (405) Ko 'ite 'a koe ko te korohu'a ko Piri?
 PFT know RES 2s FOC +SPE old man FOC Piri
 'Do you know the old man called Piri?'

1.2.5.3. Multiple modifiers

It is possible to have two adjectives postpositively — colour precedes other qualities *to'oku hare tea tea 'iti 'iti* 'my little white house' (lit. 'my house white small').

Another possible combination is prepositive possessive or quantifier with a postpositive adjective and/or adverbial and/or relative clause:

- (406) Ko piri 'a au ki te ha poki 'iti 'iti 'a'aku
 PFT meet RES 1s DAT +SPE four child small DUP POS1sa

 i mu'a o te hare hapí i aña era
 RLT front POS +SPE house learn PA work PPD

 e to'oku taina.
 AG POS1si sibling
 'I met my four small children in front of the school which was built by my brothers.'

1.3. COORDINATION

1.3.1. Coordinating conjunctions

There are no particles in Rapanui whose sole function is coordination, neither copulative, nor adversative, nor disjunctive. The modern language does have explicit means of expressing these notions but they have been developed in the bilingual milieu of Rapanui and Spanish.

1.3.1.1. Parataxis

This is by far the most common method of coordination, sentential and between constituents:

- (407) He e'a kiruŋa, he u'i u'i a te kona ta'ato'a.
 ACT get up ACT look DUP POS +SPE place every
 'She stood up and looked everywhere.'
- (408) He oho he tu'u he u'i, i oho era, i u'i era
 ACT go ACT arrive ACT see PA go PPD PA see PPD
 he ki mai ki a au...
 ACT say TOW DAT PRS 1s
 'I went off and came to see him and when I had got there and he had seen me, he said to me ... '

1.3.1.1.1. 'And' coordination

Apart from parataxis illustrated above, there are 'conjunctions' which serve as copulatives and, as noted in 1.1, those speakers who use Spanish, tend to use *e* as an equivalent to Spanish *y*.

E 'well'

It attracts the attention of the listener to the next event. As a coordinating conjunction it is always followed by a juncture pause.

- (409) E, he oho 'a ka ava ava ro, e he noho kiraro.
 Then ACT go RES MOM distance DUP +REA then ACT stay DATdown
 'Then he walked some distance away, next, he sat down.'
- (410) He more more i ta'ana maika, e, he kai etahi.
 ACT cut cut RLT PS3sa bananas then ACT eat QUone
 'He picked his bananas then ate one.'

Then same sentence (410) without *e* would be laying less emphasis on the second action.

Takoa 'also' is non-initial in its phrase:

- (411) E ai ro 'a te miritonu i Haŋa Piko, i
 STA EX +REA RES +SPE miritonu RLT Haŋa Piko RLT
 'Apina e ai ro 'a te auke takoa.
 'Apina STA EX +REA RES +SPE auke also
 'In Haŋa Piko there is light brown seaweed and in Apina there is also dark brown seaweed.'

Peira'a 'in addition' is initial in its phrase:

- (412) He oho au ki kampo apó peira'a a kuá
 ACT go 1s DAT kampo tomorrow in addition PRS PSG
 Nua e oho ro mai.
 Nua STA go +REA TOW
 'I am going to *kampo* tomorrow and Nua and the others are coming as well.'

1.3.1.1.2. 'But' coordination

There is no Rapanui word for 'but' and again parataxis can serve. However the Rapanui have in fact borrowed the Spanish *pero* which is very widely used. Other particles — '*ina ta'au, e, mau ena, ho'i, pa'i*' — can also convey the notion of adversative.

PARATAXIS:

- (413) He to'o mai te take he hore te take era
 ACT take TOW +SPE root ACT cut +SPE root PPD
 ai, he hoa, he to'o mai te uru he 'oka haka'ou.
 DEMd ACT throw ACT take TOW +SPE shoot ACT plant again
 'You take the root, you cut the root and throw it away *but* you take the shoot and plant it again.'

PERO (Spanish) 'but':

- (414) E ai ro 'a te puka 'inei pero he haka
 STA EX +REA RES +SPE book here but ACT CAUS
 reo reo mai.
 lies DUP TOW
 'The book is here but they're telling us lies about it.'

'INA TA'AU 'all the same':

- (415) E oho ro 'ina ta'au kai hapa au mo oho.
 STA go +REA NEG your NEG wish 1s BEN go
 'I will go but all the same I don't want to.'

E ‘well, then, but’:

- (416) *Mo rahi o te taŋata mo kai, ka oti te*
 BEN much POS +SPE man BEN eat MOM finish +SPE
kai, e, mo ta’e rahi ’ina ko oti.
 food then BEN NEG much NEG NEG finish
 ‘If there are a lot of people for the meal it is all eaten up, but if not, it is not finished.’

MAU ENA ‘to tell the truth’:

- (417) *E oho ro au ki te pure, e, ’ina mau*
 STA go +REA 1s DAT +SPE church then NEG truth
ena kai haŋa au mo oho.
 PPD NEG wish 1s BEN go
 ‘I’m going to church though to tell the truth I don’t want to go.’

Ho’i and *pa’i* – adversative and emphatic:

- (418) *I ki ro ho’i au mo oho mai, ’ina pa’i*
 PA say +REA COORa 1s BEN go TOW NEG COORa
kai haŋa.
 NEG wish
 ‘I did tell him to come but he didn’t want to.’

- (419) *Ko oho ana ho’i a ia ki kampó he*
 PFT go RES COORa PRS 3s DAT *kampo* ACT
mana’u ho’i ’o’oku ki Haŋaroa a ia i oho ai.
 mind COORa POS1si DAT Haŋaroa PRS 3s PA go PHO
 ‘He in fact went to *kampo*. I thought however that he had gone to Haŋaroa.’

- (420) *Ka horou mai pa’i to’ou va’e mai ta’e po taua.*
 MOM hurry TOW COORa POS2si foot TOW NEG night 1di
 ‘Just get a move on before darkness overtakes us.’

1.3.1.1.3. ‘Or’ coordination

Again there is no Rapanui word to express ‘or’ so it is rendered either by parataxis or by the Spanish *o*.

- (421) *He oro ki te po’e mo kai, he inaki koe*
 ACT grate DAT +SPE po’e BEN eat ACT accompany 2s
ki te kiko.
 DAT +SPE meat
 ‘You grate it to make *po’e* or you use it to accompany meat.’

- (422) Kai 'ite au ana ai, he oho ki a Tire o he
 NEG know 1s RES EX ACT go DAT POS Chile or ACT
 oho ki a Marite.
 go DAT PRS America
 'I don't know whether he has gone to Chile or to America.'

1.3.1.2. Coordinated elements

Where coordination takes place by means of a conjunction, especially *e*, only two elements are generally involved; any 'list' is going to be linked by parataxis. (Examples in 1.3.1.1 above.)

1.3.1.3. Coordinating the major categories

Two nouns or pronouns or two verbal phrases can be coordinated with *e*, but not adjectives:

- (423) Me'e nehe nehe iti iti era ko ia.
 Thing pretty DUP little DUP PPD FOC 3s
 'She was pretty and small.'

1.3.2. Omission of elements

This concerns omission of elements under identity in coordination.

1.3.2.1. Omission of elements under identity

There is no omission of elements under identity, all particles and lexemes are repeated.

1.4. NEGATION

1.4.1. Expressing negation

This is done by means of negative particles, the choice of which depends on tense and mood and emphasis. The particles, singly or combined, negate only the phrase/clause in which they stand.

1.4.2. Negative particles and their positions

The particles: *eko*, '*ina*, *kai*, *ta'e* 'o and combinations '*ina* ... *eko*, '*ina* ... *kai*, '*ina* ... *ko*, '*ina* ... 'o, *kai* ... 'o and *ta'e* 'o.

Eko, '*ina kai*, and '*ina* 'o are always initial in their phrase. *Ta'e* is initial

except if it occurs with the tense marker *i*. 'O is initial at the head of subordinate clauses but otherwise non-initial.

Eko and *kai* replace the position one tense/aspect markers. *Eko* carries the meaning of present and future (*he, e, ka/ ki*) and *kai* carries the meaning of perfect and narrative past (*ko* and *he*). *Ta'e*, *'ina* and *'o* do not carry time/aspect meanings (R. Weber, 1988: 48–58, 140–2).

The 'combined' forms can be and often are separated by the subject so that, except in the case of *ta'e* and *'o*, the VSO order changes to SVO.

1.4.3. Single and double negatives

(i) Single negatives

Kai — negation of past action:

- (424) *Kai* *iri* *au*.
 NEG go up 1s
 'I didn't go up from the shore.'

Eko — negation of present/future introduces an emphatic statement of negative intention:

- (425) *Eko* *iri* *au*.
 NEG go up 1s
 'I shall not go.'

'O — 'surely not!' carries no TA markers:

- (426) *Ka* *tau* *'o* *koe* *e* *ha'ere* *ena* *pe* *na*!
 FOC pretty NEG 2s STA walk PPD like DEM
 'Surely it wasn't nice of you to walk off like that!'

- (427) *I* *tu'u* *ro* *mai* *'o* *te* *karabinero* *ki* *nei*!
 PA arrive +REA TOW NEG +SPE police DAT here
 'Surely the police didn't come here!'

- (428) *Ma'au* *'o* *e* *haja* *ki* *te* *henua* *mo* *'avai*
 BEN2sa NEG ACT wish DAT +SPE land BEN give

 atu *e* *au*.
 AWA AG 1s
 'You surely don't expect *me* to give away some land to you.'

The last three sentences are spoken with marked intonation; (426) with rises of only a second on *'o* and *na* expresses annoyance. (427) with a curving high rise of a seventh and fall of a fifth expresses surprise; (428) also expresses annoyance with rises of a second on *'o* and *au*.

'O AS NEGATIVE OPTATIVE = LET'S HOPE THAT ... NOT ...

This use of 'o is related to the 'lest', negative purpose (1.1.2.4.2.3):

- (429) 'o ata peore ro te va'e era, 'o ata
 NEG more worse +REA +SPE foot PPD NEG more
 rahi ro pa'i te 'ahu.
 much +REA EMP +SPE swell
 'Let's hope the foot doesn't get worse, let's hope at least the swelling doesn't increase.'

'Ina — non-emphatic negative carries no TA marker.

- (430) 'Ina he aña mo te tanata.
 NEG -SPE work BEN +SPE man
 'People have no work.'
- (431) 'Ina koro he to'o i a au i ra hora.
 NEG father ACT take RLT PRS 1s RLT LT time
 'At that time father didn't take me with him.'

Ta'e — negates the constituent before which it stands — this may be adjectival, nominal or verbal.

- (432) Te kahu nei kahu ta'e mahana.
 +SPE cloth here cloth NEG warm
 'This is not a warm garment.'
- (433) Ta'e ma Timo e hanai atu i te moa.
 NEG BEN Timo STA feed AWA RLT +SPE chickens
 'It is not up to Timo to feed the chickens.'
- (434) Ta'e koe mo tiña'i i to'u taina!
 NEG 2s BEN hit RLT POS2si sibling
 'Don't you go hitting your brother!'
- (435) Ta'e e hi 'a.
 NEG STA fish RES
 'They are not fishing.'
- (436) He aha i ta'e turu mai ai?
 ±SPE INT PA NEG come down TOW PHO
 'Why didn't he come?'

(ii) Double negatives — emphasis

In combinations, prepositive 'ina and postpositive 'o are concerned with emphasis.

'Ina ...kai is denying an expressed or implied affirmation:

- (437) 'Ina kai turu.
 NEG NEG go down
 'No, I didn't go down to the shore.'

Kai ... 'o expresses surprise at non-realization:

- (438) Kai hini 'o koe!
 NEG delay NEG 2s
 'That didn't take you long!'

'Ina ... ko is less emphatic than *eko* and *'Ina eko* is more emphatic than simple *eko*.

- (439) 'Ina au ko iri.
 NEG 1s NEG go up
 'I'm not going up.'

- (440) Ina eko oho au!
 NEG NEG go 1s
 'I am definitely not going!'

The combination *'ina 'o (kai)* carries the force of 'it is not the case that ...'. The TA markers are present if *kai* is not.

- (441) 'Ina 'o he mona mona toe.
 NEG NEG -SPE sweet DUP remain
 'There are definitely no sweets left.'

(= 'It is not the case that some sweets are remaining')

- (442) 'Ina 'o kai piri atu ki a koe?
 NEG NEG NEG meet AWA DAT PRS 2s
 'Has he really not met you?'

(iii) Double negative = positive

Ta'e + 'o = 'surely'

- (443) Ta'e 'o 'a'au mau 'a i ma'u mai i te me'e.
 NEG NEG POS2sa true EMP PA bring TOW RLT +SPE thing
 'It was surely you who brought those things.'

- (444) Ta'e 'o ko ki atu era 'a au ki a koe.
 NEG NEG PFT say AWA PPD RES 1s DAT PRS 2s
 'Surely I told you that ages ago.'

(iv) Negative imperative

The most common is with *'ina ko*:

- (445) 'Ina koe ko pupura mai ki a au!
 NEG 2s NEG stare TOW DAT PRS 1s
 'Don't stare at me!'

Ta'e focuses on a particular constituent:

- (446) Ta'e koe mo pupura mai ki a au!
 NEG 2s BEN stare TOW DAT PRS 1s
 'Don't you stare at me!'

The 'obligation' meaning of *e* can be combined with 'o:

- (447) E 'ui koe 'o pupura ro mai!
 STA look 2s NEG stare +REA TOW
 'Don't you dare stare at me!'

1.5. ANAPHORA

1.5.1. Means of expressing anaphora

1.5.1.1. Deletion

In relative clauses, apart from those which contain *ai* as a postverbal particle (see below 1.5.1.5) cataphoric is expressed by deletion (see 1.1.2.3 on relative clauses).

1.5.1.2. Deletion with *mai* and *atu*

These particles in position five of the verbal group indicate towards/away from the speaker and refer to persons but since they do not *specify* a person they cannot be pointed to by anaphoric means unless the noun/pronoun is used alongside. For example:

- (448) Ka 'avai atu te puka!
 MOM give AWA +SPE book
 'Give him the book!'

But:

*Ka 'avai atu te puka, e tiaki no 'ihaho!

is not grammatical; it has to be something like:

- (449) Ka 'avai atu te puka ki a ia, e tiaki
 MOM give AWA +SPE book DAT PRS 3s STA wait
 no 'ihaho.
 LIM outside
 'Give the book to the man waiting outside!'

1.5.1.3. The third person *ia*

It is frequently used to point emphatically to a circumstance or event and in this function is, of course, not marked by personal *a*. (See also 1.12.1.1.)

- (450) Ko 'ite 'a ia koe, te ture a raua?
 PFT know RES 3s 2s +SPE quarrel POS 3p
 'You do know about it, this quarrel of theirs?'

- (451) Kai tu'u ia!
 NEG come 3s
 'She *didn't* come!'

- (452) Kai aŋa ia!
 NEG work 3s
 'He hasn't *done* it!'

Where *ia* refers to a person it can be taken up by *ko* to mark the animacy:

- (453) He aŋi aŋi ia e tu ŋa poki taina era
 ACT know DUP 3s AG +SPE GRP child sibling PPD

 ko tu vi'e tu'u atu era ki te 'ori.
 FOC +SPE woman arrive AWA PPD DAT +SPE dance
 'The sisters recognized her as the woman who had come to the ball.'

1.5.1.4. The reflexive

The reflexive has no special form, it is the pronominal form and may be followed by emphatic '*a*' (see 1.6). It is necessarily anaphoric in that it points to a previously mentioned element.

1.5.1.5. Phoric *ai*

(i) Demonstrative — phoric

Ai is a demonstrative pointing away from the speaker and listener (DEM_d). Strictly as a demonstrative, in absolute initial position, it is usually '*ai*', i.e. preceded by the glottal.

As a phoric it occurs in position six of the verbal group and is above all associated with the past marked by the prepositional particle *i*, but is found with other TA markers. It points to a time or place or person or object which has been or will be mentioned in connection with the action described or is known pragmatically (Chapin, 1974).

- (454) 'Ai, a kuá Rui e 'oka 'a i te maika.
 DEMd PRS PSG Rui STA plant RES PRS +SPE bananas
 'There's Rui and the others, planting the bananas.'

- (455) He ha'ere he aha ro mai ai ki nei.
 ACT walk ACT go +REA TOW PHO DAT here
 'He has walked all the long way here.'

- (456) Ka iri ro ai ki 'uta era!
 MOM go up +REA PHO DAT inland PPD
 'Go next door!'

- (457) I nape ai ko Ian te iŋoa.
 PA call PHO FOC Ian +SPE name
 'I called him Ian.'

- (458) I tu'u mai ai ki te henua ko Rapanui.
 PA arrive TOW PHO DAT +SPE land FOC Rapanui
 'He arrived at Easter Island.'

- (459) Te ha'u nei, ha'u mea mea i aŋa ai hai
 +SPE hat here hat red DUP PA work PHO INS
 hani hani maea ta'e paŋaha'a.
 volcanic stone stone NEG heavy
 'The hats are red and are made of red volcanic stone which is not heavy.'

Where *ai* is in a verbal group that forms a relative clause as in (459) it is strictly 'anaphoric'.

(ii) Existential *ai* (see 1.2.1.1.1.1)

This functions as an existential 'there is' etc. but as a cataphoric it has the sense of 'fact' introducing noun clauses and introducing clauses of purpose, cause and condition (1.1.2.4.2.3–5).

- (460) Koa rahi au o te ai, ko tu'u atu 'a
 Pleased much Is POS +SPE EX PFT arrive AWA RES
 te pu'ahu.
 +SPE parcel
 'I am delighted that the parcel arrived.'

- (461) Ana ai e ai ro 'a te sipi he oho
 MOD PHO STA EX +REA RES +SPE jeep ACT go
 matou ki kampó.
 Ipe DAT kampo
 'If a jeep is available we'll go to kampo.'

1.5.2. Domains of anaphora

1.5.2.1. Intraclausal anaphora

The 3s *ia* can be used cataphorically (and emphatically) within the clause. Sec (451) above and also:

- (462) Ma'ai ia a au e kokotero?
 BENPOS1sa 3s PRS 1s STA stab
 'Why should anyone want to mug me?'

- (463) Kiherá ia koe?
 DATINTDEM 3s 2s
 'Where on earth are you going?'

- (464) He aha ra ia te libreria i puru ai?
 -SPE INT DEM 3s +SPE bookshop PA close PHO
 'Why has the bookshop closed?'

1.5.2.2. Interclausal anaphora — coordinate structures

The coreference of subjects is indicated by leaving the subject unexpressed the second time:

- (465) A Rui i keri te kumá i ta'o i te 'umu.
 PRS Rui PA dig +SPE sweet potatoes PA cook RLT +SPE umu
 'Rui dug up the sweet potatoes and cooked them in the umu.'

But, in general anaphoric relations have to be deduced from the context. For example:

- (466) Ko ki 'a au mo oho 'o'ona, he ki mai kai
 PFT say RES 1s BEN go POS3si ACT say TOW NEG

 haŋa a ia mo oho.
 wish PRS 3s BEN go
 'I told him to go and he said he didn't want to go.'

There is no indication in (466) as to whether 'him' of the first clause is the same as 'he' of the second clause and there is also the possibility that the two he's of the second clause are not identical.

However it is sometimes possible to distinguish between *i* and *j* in the third person singular, by means of *ia* and '*a'ana*' in non-tensed clauses. In the following example *ia* is near and visible while '*a'ana*' is either +- distant or -visible.

- (467) Kai iri a ia ki 'uta 'a'ana e iri.
 NEG go up PRS 3s DAT inland POS3sa STA go up
 'He doesn't have to go up *he* does.'

1.5.2.3. Interclausal anaphora — subordinate structures

Again in general there is ambiguity:

- (468) Ko ki 'a Rui ko haŋa 'a ia mo turu mo ruku.
 PFT say RES Rui PFT wish RES 3s BEN go down BEN dive
 'Rui said he wanted to go diving.'

The form *ia* (3s) could refer to Rui or another. Disambiguation is possible by using the PRS *a* before *ia* with juncture and a slight rise or with a phrase such as *ra taŋata* 'that man' to indicate *j* — non-identity.

Again in (469) *a ia* could refer, emphatically, to Nua but non-emphatic coreference is deletion so with non-emphatic intonation it will refer to another smoker.

- (469) Penei e a Nua i ki mai ai, kai haŋa a ia
 Like this PRS Nua PA say TOW PHO NEG wish PRS 3s
 ki te potu.
 DAT +SPE cigarettes
 'Nua said she didn't want any more cigarettes.'

Similarly in the following a lack of phoric would presuppose an identity of subjects for both clauses:

- (470) I tu'u mai ai Rui 'ina hai ika ma'u.
 PA come TOW PHO Rui NEG -SPE fish bring
 'When Rui arrived he had not brought any fish.'

The compound 'conjunctions' introducing adverbial clauses of manner, purpose and result such as '*oira*' (see 1.1.2.4.2.2/4/6) and forms such as *penei e* introducing noun clauses (see 1.1.2.2.3) are in fact interclausal anaphora. They are always followed by a pause indicating their strong demonstrative function.

1.6. REFLEXIVE

1.6.1. No reflexive pronoun

There is no reflexive pronoun in Rapanui. The pronominal/possessive forms are followed by the emphatic demonstrative '*a*' for the third-person singular, dual and plural but for the first and second singular only the pronominal forms take '*a*'.

- (471) Ko u'i 'a i a ia 'a aroto i te hi'o.
PFT look RES RLT PRS 3s EMP inside RLT +SPE glass
'She looked at herself in the mirror.'
- (472) E hapa'o koe i a koe 'a!
STA care for 2s RLT PRS 2s DEM
'Look after yourself!'

1.6.2. The scope of reflexivity

The scope is intraclausal even if not expressed. In the following sentence for instance, the form *ma'ana 'a* has to refer to the subject of its clause.

- (473) Ko ki mai 'a, ko ho'o ai i te puka
PFT say TOW RES PFT buy PHO RLT +SPE book

ma'ana 'a.
BEN1sa DEM
'She told me she had bought a book for herself.'

1.6.3. Antecedent and reflexive

1.6.3.1. Antecedent

The antecedent is always the subject.

1.6.3.2. Reflexive

The reflexive can be direct object, 'indirect' object with *ki*, other complements such as ablative with *mai*, benefactive with *mo/ma*:

- (474) I toke ro au i te tara mai a au 'a.
PA steal +REA 1s RLT +SPE money ABL PRS 1s DEM
'I stole the money from myself.'
- (475) He aha ia, a koe e vanaja ena ki a koe 'a
±SPE INT 3s PRS 2s STA talk PPD DAT PRS 2s DEM
'What are you doing there talking to yourself?'
- (476) E tunu ro 'a au i te kai ma'aku.
STA cook +REA RES 1s RLT +SPE meal BEN1sa
'I am cooking a meal for myself.'

With possessives:

- (477) 'Irote raua piha 'a e ha'uru ro 'a.
 Inside 3p room DEM STA sleep +REA RES
 'They were sleeping in their own room.'

- (478) Ko tiŋa'i 'a a Rui i ta'ana paiheŋa.
 PFT hit RES PRS Rui RLT POS3sa dog
 'Rui hit his (own) dog.'

(someone else's dog would be *i te paiheŋa 'a'ana*)

- (479) E tai'o 'a ta'aku puka 'a.
 STA read RES POS1sa book DEM
 'I am reading my own book.'

- (480) Ko noho 'a koe 'iruŋa i to'o pepe 'a.
 PFT sit RES 2s above RLT POS2si chair DEM
 'You are sitting on your chair.'

Other 'reflexive' constructions:

- (481) Ko nua mau 'a Nua.
 FOC nua truth DEM Nua
 'Nua is always herself.'

'Of its own accord' is rendered by *tahaŋa no*:

- (482) E ai tahaŋa no 'a te vai.
 STA EX to no purpose LIM RES +SPE water
 'The water comes of its own accord.'

- (483) E ha'ere tahaŋa no 'a te moai.
 STA walk to no purpose LIM RES +SPE statue
 'The statues walked by themselves.'

1.7. RECIPROCAL

The same form i.e. pronoun followed by 'a is used for reciprocals as for reflexives. The subject is not necessarily expressed.

- (484) 'Ina he haŋa ki a raua 'a.
 NEG ACT wish DAT RLT 3p DEM
 'They didn't like each other.'

- (485) E hoŋi hoŋi ro a maua i a maua 'a.
 STA kiss DUP +REA PRS 1de RLT PRS 1de DEM
 'We shall kiss each other.'

1.8. COMPARISON

1.8.1. Structures of comparison

With attributes the comparative is either *ata* (more) + *attribute* + *ki* or *hau'e* (more/better) + *te* + *lexeme*. The latter construction is used with verbs; the verbal lexeme has to be in the nominal frame preceded by + SPE *te*. There is also a Tahitian form *apa au* 'better' and the form *ata mane'e* 'smaller'; both of these are postpositive (see 1.8.1.3). (See also 1.1.2.4.2.7, 1.2.2.3.2 and 1.2.5.2.9.)

- (486) *Ata roa roa a Ari ki a Rui.*
 COMP long DUP PRS Ari DAT PRS Rui
 'Ari is taller than Rui.'

but:

- (487) *Haua'e i te roa roa a Ari ki a Rui.*
 COMP RLT +SPE long DUP PRS Ari DAT PRS Rui
 'Ari is taller than Rui.'

Ata is used in verbalized adjectives:

- (488) *Ko ata nui nui a te hare o Rui i*
 PFT COMP big DUP RES +SPE house POS Rui RLT
te hora nei.
 +SPE time PPD
 'Rui's house is bigger now.'

- (489) *Ka haka ata roa roa te kahu!*
 MOM CAUS COMP long DUP +SPE dress
 'Lengthen the dress!'

The phrase 'less (quantity)' is *ata rehe* and 'more (quantity)' is *haua'e te rahi*:

- (490) *Ata rehe ta'aka puka ki a Ari.*
 COMP weak POS1sa book DAT PRS Ari
 'I have fewer books than Ari.'
- (491) *Haua'e te rahi o ta'aku kumá i keri*
 COMP +SPE much POS POS1sa sweet potatoes PA dig
ni ki te maika a Chico.
 PHO DAT +SPE bananas PRS Chico
 'I have dug up more sweet potatoes than Chico has bananas.'

It is the form *haua'e* that is used with most adverbial and verbal , comparisons.

- (492) Haua'e a ia i te riva riva mo aña hokotahi no.
 COMP PRS 3s RLT +SPE good DUP BEN work COLone LIM
 'He works better alone.'

- (493) Haua'e a Chico i te 'ite i te papa'i
 COMP PRS Chico RLT +SPE know RLT +SPE write
 ki a Papi.
 DAT PRS Papi
 'Chico can write better than Papi.'

There are other strategies such as:

- (494) A Ari me'e ta'e vara tu'u mai pe Erena.
 PRS Ari thing NEG FREQ come TOW TO+m Erena
 'Ari comes to see me less often than Erena.'

1.8.1.1. Comparative + parameter

These structures are used with *ata* + attribute + *ki* (see 1.8.1).

- (495) Te kahu nei ata nehe nehe ki tu kahu ra'e era.
 +SPE dress PPD COMP pretty DUP DAT +SPE dress first PPD
 'This dress is more lovely than the previous dress.'

1.8.1.2. Comparative + prepositional phrase

These structures are used with *'ihau/haua'e* + *i* + SPE + attributive or verbal lexeme + *ki*.

- (496) Haua'e a Ari i te roa roa ki a Vero.
 COMP PRS Ari RLT +SPE long DUP DAT PRS Vero
 'Ari is taller than Vero.'
- (497) 'Ihau a Erena i te 'ite i te tunu o
 COMP PRS Erena RLT +SPE know RLT +SPE cook POS
 te kai ki a Vero.
 +SPE eat DAT PRS Vero
 'Erena can cook better than Vero.'

1.8.1.3. 'Better' and 'smaller'

In these structures both the comparatives, *apa au* 'better' and *'ata manene* stand in the predicate, postpositively to the element compared.

- (498) Kahu nei kahu apa au ki te kahu era.
 Cloth this cloth better DAT +SPE cloth PPD
 ‘This dress is better than that one.’

- (499) A Uka vi’e ’ata maneje ki a Koreto.
 PRS Uka woman COMP small DAT PRS Koreto
 ‘Uka is smaller than Koreto.’

1.8.2. Omission of elements

Both adjectival and verbal lexemes are omitted (see (487), (490), (497) above).

1.8.3. Elements optionally omitted in comparative structures

Both with *ata* + adjective (see (488) and (489)) and with *haua’e* + *i* + adjective (see (487)) it is possible to omit any repetition of the adjective in the first case and to omit any standard of comparison in the second case.

1.8.4. Elements that cannot be omitted in comparative structures

When two persons or objects are compared as such, not their qualities or activities, then either the nouns are repeated (see (495)) or a dummy *me’e* ‘thing’, *kona* ‘place’, etc. is used (see (211)).

1.8.5. Elements that must be omitted in comparative structures

There are no elements that must be omitted.

1.8.6. Differences between types

The comparisons with *haua’e* and *’ihau* permit any type of standard of comparison — attributive or verbal. They are used only with persons. *Ata* is limited to an adjectival standard; it is used with persons and objects. *Apa au* and *ata maneje* carry only the meanings of ‘better’ and ‘smaller’ respectively; they can apply to persons or objects.

1.8.7. Correlative comparison

This is expressed with the verbal structure *he oho* ‘it goes’ (see 1.1.2.4.2.7). And in copular constructions simply by repetition of *ata*:

- (500) Te ata nui nui te sipi te ata pōgeha.
 +SPE COMP big DUP +SPE car +SPE COMP noise
 ‘The bigger the car the more noise it makes.’

1.9. EQUATIVES

These are with *pe*. They have been described, along with the superlatives in 1.1.2.4.2.7 and 1.2.5.2.9.

- (501) *Pehe rahi nei o ta'aku anani te rahi o ta'a ananá.*
 Like much PPD POS POS1sa oranges +SPE much POS POS2sa pineapples
 'My oranges are as big as your pineapples.'

1.10. POSSESSION

1.10.1. Expression of possession

Possession is expressed by the possessive pronouns, definite and indefinite, listed in 1.1. and 2.1.2.4.3. It is also expressed by the possessive particle *o/a*.

1.10.2. Alienable/inalienable possession

This dichotomy dominates possession and is marked not only in the simple possessive particles, *o* inalienable *a* alienable, but also in the possessive pronouns of 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons singular, in the benefactive particle *mo/ma* and in the interrogative particle *oai/a'ai* 'who, whose'.

The *O* inalienable series is used with parents, siblings, house, furniture, means of transport — cart, car, scooter, boat, aeroplane — clothes, car, feelings, native land, parts of the body (including one's mind), horse and its bridle.

The *A* alienable series refers to spouse, children, food, books, work, all animals except one's horse, all tools and gadgets (including the fridge), specified illnesses. Although there is some variation in usage for new items or subjective attitudes this is minimal.

1.10.3. Temporary/permanent possession

There are no markers distinguishing temporary and permanent possession.

1.10.4. Possession relative to different objects

There are no markers that distinguish the nature of the object possessed — person, animal or thing.

1.10.5. Past and present possession

There are no markers, as such, of past and present possession but to the extent that time and distance are reflected in the PPD particles, *nei* indicates present possession and *era* past or distant possession. Thus: *te puka nei 'a'aku* 'this book of mine' and *tupuka era 'a'aku* 'that book I used to have' or 'that is not here'. *Ena* on the other hand, indicates possession (past or present) by another: *tu puka ena 'a'au* 'that book you have there' or 'used to have'.

1.11. EMPHASIS/FOCUS

1.11.1. Sentential emphasis

The principal means of sentential emphasis is the use of the particles *ho'i*, *pa'i* which are never initial in the clause. These have been discussed in 1.3.1.1.2. There is also the particle *horoa* 'there's no denying' which is always initial in the clause.

1.11.1.1. Non-contradictory emphasis

Ho'i:

- (502) He aŋi na, ho'i, he taina 'o'oku.
 STA true LIM EMP –SPE sibling POS1si
 'It is true apparently, he is my brother.'

- (503) E haŋa ro ho'i au mo oho.
 STA wish +REA EMP 1s BEN go
 'I do want to go.'

Horoa is used for negative or positive emphasis:

- (504) Horoa ta'e 'o ŋa poki rahi ta Nua.
 EMP NEG NEG GRP child much POS Nua
 'It's not as if Nua didn't have a lot of children of her own.'

- (505) Horoa, roa roa ke te kona mo oho.
 EMP long DUP different +SPE place BEN go
 'It: really is a long way to go.'

1.11.1.2. Contradictory emphasis

Pa'i adversative, can also be contradictory:

- (506) 'Ina pa'i au kai oho!
 NEG EMP 1s NEG go
 'I did *not* go!'

- (507) A au pa'i ehá 'o'oku matahiti i aña ai i nei.
 PRS 1s EMP four POS1si year PA work PHO RLT PPD
 'But I've been working here four years.'

1.11.2. Constituent emphasis

This can be contrastive or non-contrastive.

1.11.2.1. Contrastive/non-contrastive emphasis

(i) Non-contrastive is with 'a

- (508) 'A'ana 'a i aña i te pahí i nei.
 POS3sa RES PA work RLT +SPE ship RLT here
 'He was the one who built the ship here.'

(ii) Contrastive is expressed by *mau* ('a)

- (509) He aña mau 'a pero 'ina au kai 'ite.
 ACT know EMP RES but NEG 1s NEG know
 'He knows it well but I don't know it.'

1.11.2.1.1. Stress patterns

For both *ho'i* and *pa'i* there is fall of a fifth on the stressed first syllable. For 'a the rise of a fifth is followed by a fall of a sixth at least.

1.11.2.1.2. Position of particles

For constituent emphasis particles are immediately after the constituent concerned; for sentential emphasis they stand after the first lexical form or frame.

- (510) Pehe ho'i koe?
 How COORa 2s
 'Well, how are you?'

As contrasted with the customary greeting:

Pehé koe?
 'How are you?'

It is also possible to use the +REA particle *ro* and a different TA marking to focus on the action. A second *ro* gives emphasis as well. In such cases there is no change of position of elements.

- (511) I takea ro e koe a Rui?
 PA see +REA AG 2s PRS Rui
 'Did you in fact see Rui?'

The non-focused question would be:

Ko tikea 'a e koe a Rui?

- (512) I to'o ro mai ro au i te hoe.
 PA bring +REA TOW +REA 1s RLT +SPE knives
 'I do hope I've remembered to bring the knives.'

- (513) I turu ro ro a Rui ki tai?
 PA go down +REA +REA PRS Rui DAT shore
 'Has Rui really gone down to the shore?'

1.11.2.1.3. Emphasis with movement

As discussed in 1.2.1.2.6, any alteration of the VSO order means emphasis of subject or object and generally involves alteration of marking.

1.11.2.1.3.1. Movement to initial position

Object fronting: If the object is fronted it has zero marking where the subject is emphasized by agentive *e*:

- (514) Te po'e kai ta'o e au.
 +SPE po'e NEG cook AG 1s
 'I didn't cook the po'e.'

If there is just one element emphasized then the fronting does not affect the marking:

- (515) Te vanaja ena, kai 'ite au.
 +SPE talk PPD NEG know 1s
 'That word I don't know.'

Subject fronting:

When the subject is fronted with possessive *o*, and demonstrative *'i*, then the object, if placed immediately after the verbal piece is zero marked; in any later position it is marked by *i*. (See also 1.2.1.2.6.)

- (516) O te tanjata i pu'a te poki.
 POS +SPE man PA slap +SPE child
 'It was the man who slapped the boy.'

- (517) O raua i ma'u i a au mo u'i 'o'oku i
 POS 3p PA bring RLT PRS 1s BEN look POS1si RLT
- to'ona hare.
 POS3si house
 'They brought me for me to see his house.' (The answer to 'A'ai ... 'who?')

- (518) Ta'e 'a'aku i ta'o te po'e.
 NEG POS1sa PA cook +SPE po'e
- 'I didn't cook the po'e.'

1.11.2.1.3.2. The VOS pattern

The final is not as strongly emphatic a position as the initial; the subject takes AG *e* marking.

- (519) I rava'a ro te ika e Rui.
 PA catch +REA +SPE fish AG Rui
- 'It's Rui that has caught some fish.'

1.11.2.1.4. Clefting

This is done with *me'e* or some other dummy lexeme (see 1.1.1.2.2.2.4).

1.11.2.1.5. Pseudoclefting

For pseudoclefting the same strategies are used as for clefting.

1.11.2.1.6. Dislocation

The demonstratives of near '*i*' and distant '*ai*' can stand in initial position to support a fronted emphatic subject:

- (520) 'I a Rui he keri i te kumá.
 DEMn PRS Rui ACT dig RLT +SPE sweet potatoes
- 'There's Rui digging up the sweet potatoes.'
- (521) 'Ai, a kuá Rui e 'oka 'a i te maika.
 DEMd PRS PSG Rui STA plant RES PRS +SPE bananas
- 'Over there Rui and the others are planting the bananas.'

1.11.3. Focus of yes/no question

The double negative *ta'e 'o* is a means of focus in this case (see 1.4.3):

- (522) Ta'e 'o a, Rui i rava'a te ika iaŋataiahi?
 NEG NEG PRS Rui PA catch +SPE fish yesterday
 'It was surely Rui who caught the fish yesterday?'
- Eee, a Rui mau 'a.
 Yes PRS Rui EMP RES
 'Yes, it was indeed Rui.'

1.12. TOPIC

1.12.1. Means of indicating topic

Primarily topicalization is by fronting, in so far as structures allow this. It may entail dislocation of the basic VSO order, altering the particles marking subject and object, using focus particle *ko*. Where the topicalized element cannot be fronted, the phoric *ia* is brought forward.

Emphasis/focus (see 1.11 above) often uses the same means but an important difference is that topicalization always involves fronting whereas focus does not depend necessarily on position.

1.12.1.1. The particle *ko* and the pronoun *ia*

The focus particle *ko* always stands before a noun or a pronoun or a nominalized adjective.

The third person singular pronoun *ia* always stands after the phrase it is topicalizing (see 1.5.1.3).

1.12.1.2. Movement

It is only in the case of the exclamations with *ko* where +SPE nominalizes the attribute that there is no dislocation:

- (523) Ko te nehe nehe!
 FOC +SPE nice DUP
 'Isn't it lovely.'

1.12.1.3. Dislocation

Dislocation is usually accompanied by changes of intonation and tone groups — a rise of a fifth at least and a break.

1.12.1.3.1. Dislocation to initial position

As noted in 1.12.1 above this fronting is the chief marker of topicalization.

1.12.2. Topicalized elements

Many elements can be topicalized, some only with *ko*, others with *ia* and yet others with simple fronting.

1.12.2.1. Noun phrases topicalized by *ko*

Given that VSO is the normal order the fronting of object or subject involves dislocation.

Object topic:

- (524) *Ko* *'Ure,* *mo* *ta'e* *tikea* *e* *tatou.*
 FOC 'Ure BEN NEG see AG 1pi
 'As for Ure, we're not likely to see him.'

Subject topic:

- (525) *Ko* *Rui,* *i* *'o'oka* *ai* *i* *te* *ika.*
 FOC Rui PA DUPspear PHO RLT +SPE fish
 'Rui is the one who has speared the fish.'

- (526) *Ta'e* *ko* *te* *moni* *haka* *reka* *ena.*
 NEG FOC +SPE money CAUS amuse PPD
 'That amount of money was no joke.'

1.12.2.2. Elements topicalized by *ia*

Adverbial, nominal and verbal phrases and also clauses are topicalized by means of *ia*.

Adverbial topic

- (527) *Oherá* *ia* *a* *ia!*
 POSINTDEM 3s PRS 3s
 'What's he got to boast about!' (lit. 'From where is it he is?')

Nominal topic

- (528) *He* *hope'a* *ia,* *koe* *ka* *oho* *ena.*
 -SPE end 3s 2s MOM go PPD
 'You'll be the last to go off.'
- (529) *Herá* *ia,* *he* *pahí* *i* *hoa* *i* *'aka?*
 INTDEMPHO ±SPE boat TA throw RLT anchor
 'Where is it, the ship that has anchored?'

Verbal topic

- (530) *Ma'ai* *ia* *a* *au* *e* *kokotero?*
 BENPHO 3s PRS 1s TA stab
 'Stab me, why should anyone do that?'

- (531) Heahará ia te libreria i puru ai.
 INTINTDEM 3s +SPE library TA close PHO
 ‘Why has the library closed then?’
- (532) Ina ko ma’oa ia te umu; ka hakahini iti!
 NEG NEG open 3s +SPE earth oven MOM wait small
 ‘Don’t open the earth oven now; wait a bit!’

Clausal topic

- (533) He rehu ia mo oho ki a ‘Apina.
 ACT forget 3s BEN go DAT PRS ‘Apina
 ‘We forgot that, to go to Apina.’

1.12.2.3. Elements topicalized by movement

Attributes and complement predicates use simple fronting for topicalization and here it is not always easily distinguishable from focus. The acid test is the prosodic one — the rise of a fifth and above all the break (see 1.12.1.3).

Attribute as topic

- (534) Moana te korore o to’oku kahu apí.
 Blue +SPE colour POS POS1si dress new
 ‘Blue is the colour of my new dress.’

Non-topicalized:

To’oku kahu apí kahu moana.

Predicate as topic

- (535) He hi ika te aña o to’oku taina.
 –SPE catch fish +SPE work POS POS1si sibling
 ‘A fisherman is what my brother is.’

Non-topicalized:

To’oku taina taŋata hi ika.

1.12.2.4. Other characteristics of topicalization

One topic per utterance

Nouns adverbs and verbs can be topicalized irrespective of non-topicalized function but only one ‘topic’ appears in a given utterance sentence.

Reduplication with *ia*

The pronoun/particle *ia* points cataphorically to the topicalized elements and so there is duplication of constituents (see 1.5.2.1).

1.12.3. Regular topicalization

The obligatory use of the focus particle *ko* when naming is a regular topicalization: *ta'aku kenu ko Ari* 'my husband Ari'.

1.13. HEAVY SHIFT

There is no heavy shift in the language.

1.14. MINOR SENTENCE TYPES

1.14.1. Exclamations with *ko* and *ka*

Ko is always followed by *te*. An example was given in 1.12.1.2 of the type: *Ko te 'aroha!* 'Poor thing!'

Ka introduces an exclamation passing judgements on outside phenomena rather than giving inward reactions:

(536) *Ka riva o koe i tu'u mai ena.*
 FOC good POS 2s PA come TOW PPD
 'How nice of you to come!'

(537) *Ka tau te mahana mo turu ki tai.*
 FOC nice +SPE day BEN go down DAT shore
 'It's a nice day for going to the beach.'

1.15. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

1.15.1. Noun

The identification of a lexeme as a noun (see Prolegomena 1.1) depends on the presence in position two, i.e. immediately before it, of one or more of the discourse markers: specifiers, possessive, quantifiers, personal markers and locational temporal markers.

1.15.2. Pronoun

Pronouns are marked (functionally) for number: singular dual and plural: for person 1st, 2nd and 3rd; the 1st persons dual and plural are marked for exclusive and inclusive.

They are preceded by PRS *a* after RLT *i* and DAT *ki*. The PRS particle distinguishes anaphoric *ia* from the third person *a ia*. (See 1.5.1.3)

1.15.3. Verb

The identification of a lexeme as a verb depends on the prepositive particles of tense, aspect, modality, and negation (see 1.1).

1.15.4. Adjective

Many adjectives are duplicated forms, but not all duplicated forms are adjectives. A lexeme postpositive to a noun and functioning as an attribute to it is an ‘adjective’: *tajata manu* ‘bird man’ (lit. ‘man bird’); *vi’e taji* ‘sad woman’ (lit. ‘woman cry’). There is therefore no very satisfactory definition for an adjective.

1.15.5. Pre/postposition

Particles stand before and after lexemes; they have different functional roles. See 1.1.

1.15.6. Numerals/quantifiers

Numerals up to nine have the special collective marker *hoko*. The formations with *a* plus reduplication of the first syllable are peculiar to numerals two to five. The particles *ka* and *e* marking counting and enumerating forms respectively are proper to numerals. The numbers eleven onwards use Tahitian *ka* and *ma* for ‘and’. The particle *ja* indicates a group.

Morphology

2.1. INFLECTION

2.1.1. Noun inflection

The only instance of ‘inflection’ is the plural *ɲaɲata* ‘men, people’ from singular *taɲata*.

2.1.1.1. Syntactic and semantic functions of the noun phrase

These are expressed by means of particles that have strictly defined positions before and after the lexical item in the nominal frame. (See 1.1.)

2.1.1.1.1. Bound affixes

There is only one word with an affix that might be considered as ‘bound’, *ɲaɲata* the plural of *taɲata* ‘man’.

2.1.1.1.2. Morphophonemic alternations

The only internal alternation concerns the glottal stop (see 3.1.2.4).

2.1.1.1.3. Clitic particles

The particles in position one are unstressed and so might be considered ‘clitic’. Their functions are mainly syntactic but the personal *a* (PRS) marks names of people and places: *a Erena*, *a Tire* ‘Chile’. The vocative particle *e*, generally duplicated after the noun, e.g. *E Vero e*, is also linked to a semantic category — persons.

2.1.1.2. Marking syntactic functions

2.1.1.2.1. Subject of intransitive verb

2.1.1.2.1.1. Subject as actor

The neutral marking is zero:

- (538) He oho au.
 ACT go 1s
 'I'm off.'

2.1.1.2.1.2. Emphatic subject

The marker *e* can be used to mark emphasis:

- (539) He oho ro e ia apó.
 ACT go +REA AG 3s tomorrow
 'He will go tomorrow.'

2.1.1.2.2. Subject of transitive verb

2.1.1.2.2.1. Subject as agent

The neutral marking is again zero:

- (540) E tarai ro 'a raua i te moai.
 STA carve +REA RES 3p RLT +SPE statue
 'They are carving statues.'

Emphasis/topicalization can be made by fronting the subject and marking it with possessive *o* — a marker which is neutral in the case of *mo* clauses (see 1.1.2.4.2.3).

- (541) O te taŋata i haka 'emu te vaka.
 POS +SPE man PA CAUS flood +SPE boat
 'It was the man who let water into the boat.'

Emphasis without topicalization is by means of *e* and final placing:

- (542) I haka 'emu i te vaka e te taŋata.
 PA CAUS flood RLT +SPE boat AG +SPE man
 'The boat was flooded by the man.'

2.1.1.2.2.2. Subject is not agent

(i) Verbs of sensing

The subject is not agent but it is obligatorily marked by the AG *e*:

- (543) Ko ŋaro'a 'a e au tu poŋeha era.
 PFT hear RES AG 1s +SPE noise PPD
 'I've been hearing that din going on.'

(ii) Verbs of ‘losing’

The object lost, whether mentally — *rehu* ‘forget’ — or physically *ɲaro* ‘lose’ — is the subject of the verb and the person deprived is the ‘object’.

- (544) *Ko rehu 'a i a au ta'aku puka.*
 PFT forget RES RLT PRS 1s POS1sa book
Ko ɲaro 'a i a au ta'aku puka.
 PFT lose RES RLT PRS 1s POS1sa book
 ‘I have forgotten/lost my book.’

2.1.1.2.3. The subject of a copular construction

The neutral marking referring to visible present is zero. See 1.2.1.1.2.1.

2.1.1.2.4. Direct object

In neutral constructions where the subject is zero marked the direct object is marked by the relational particle *i*:

- (545) *He tiɲa'i te ɲaɲata i te poki.*
 ACT hit +SPE men RLT +SPE child
 ‘The men were hitting the boys.’

But with emphasis, the direct object can be moved forward to second position and given zero marking, in which case the subject is marked by the agentive particle *e*:

- (546) *He tiɲa'i te poki e te ɲaɲata.*
 ACT hit +SPE child AG +SPE men
 ‘The boys were being hit by the men.’

For further permutations see 1.2.1.2.4.

2.1.1.2.4.1. Subject as free element

The subject when expressed is a free element. The exception is where a large number (not seen as a group) is concerned and this needs to be noted or emphasized. The plurality of the subject is then marked by reduplication of the verbal lexeme. (See 2.1.3.6.1.1.)

2.1.1.2.4.2. Subject expressed as bound element

The only case when the subject could be considered as ‘bound’ is with the particle *mai* expressing the first person plural or dual imperative, ‘let us’ (see 1.1.1.3.2.4).

2.1.1.2.4.3. Subject not expressed

The subject is frequently not expressed. If it is known or assumed from the context; the object will still have the *i*

marking. If no particular subject is presumed then the object will take the subject marking of zero. (See 1.2.1.2.)

2.1.1.2.5. Indirect object

The indirect object is marked by *ki*:

- (547) *Ka ki koe ki a ia!*
 MOM2 say 2s DAT PRS 3s
 ‘You tell him!’

- (548) *Ko 'avai 'a au i te puka ki a Sunta.*
 PFT give RES 1s RLT +SPE book DAT PRS Sunta
 ‘I have given the book to Sunta.’

2.1.1.2.6. Object of comparison

This is marked by *ki*:

- (549) *Haua'e ta'ana aya i te riva riva ki to'ona taina.*
 Better POS3sa work RLT +SPE good DUP DAT POS3sa sibling
 ‘His work is better than his brother’s.’

2.1.1.2.7. Object of equation

This is marked by *pe/pehe* (see 2.1.4.4.1).

- (550) *Pe au 'a te roa roa o to'oku taina.*
 Like 1s EMP +SPE long DUP POS POS1si sibling
 ‘My brother is as tall as I am.’

- (551) *Pehe rahi nei o ta'aku anani te rahi o ta'a ananá.*
 like big PPD POSi POS1sa orange +SPE big POSi POS2sa pineapple
 ‘Your pineapple is as big as my orange.’

2.1.1.2.8. Other types of object

There are none.

2.1.1.2.9. Complement of a copular construction

2.1.1.2.9.1. The defining complement

This is marked by *he* or by repetition. (See 1.2.1.1.1.2.)

- (552) Te nanue hatu he ika 'ehu 'ehu.
 +SPE nanue hatu ±SPE fish grey DUP
 'The nanue hatu is a grey fish.'

- (553) Tanjata nei 'o tanjata haka kiva kiva.
 Man PPD DEM man CAUS quiet DUP
 'This man here is a very quiet man.'

2.1.1.2.9.2. The identity complement

For this the focus particle *ko* is used:

- (554) Te poki nei ko Pota.
 +SPE child PPD FOC Pota
 'This boy here is Pota.'

2.1.1.2.9.3. Role complement

Here again *he* is used:

- (555) To'oku taina he tanjata hi ika.
 POS1si sibling ±SPE man catch fish
 'My brother is a fisherman.'

2.1.1.2.9.4. Complement of 'become'

'Become' in the sense of 'turn into' is *riro*. Its complement is introduced by *he*:

- (556) He riro tu ŋa kio'e era he hoi kihi kihi eono.
 ACT become +SPE GRP rat PND ±SPE horse dark grey DUP six
 'Those rats turned into six dapple grey horses.'

2.1.1.2.10. Subject complement

This is with the verb *riro* 'become'. (See 2.1.1.2.9.4.)

2.1.1.2.11. Object complement

Again with *riro*, but where there is an agent the causative can be used — *hakariro*:

- (557) He hakariro he tanata hakatere pereoa.
 ACT CAUSturn +SPE man drive cart
 ‘She made them into coachmen.’ / ‘They were made into coachmen.’

2.1.1.2.12. Objects governed by adjectives

There are two ways of expressing these constructions: either the adjective is verbalized:

- (558) Ko koa rahi a o te puka.
 PFT glad much RES POS +SPE book
 ‘I am very pleased with the book.’

Or in the case of ‘like’ and ‘different’, the particles *pehe/ta’e pe* ‘like/not like’ are used (see also 1.1.2.4.2.2).

- (559) Ta’e pe to’ona taina era ’e.
 NEG like POS3si sibling PND DEM
 ‘He is different from his brother.’

- (560) Pe te mata ’a o Pejo te mata o to’ona taina.
 Like +SPE eyes EMP POS Pejo +SPE eyes POS POS3si sibling
 ‘Pejo’s eyes are like her sister’s.’

- (561) Te rau’oho o Joshua ta’e pe to’ona taina.
 +SPE hair POS Joshua NEG like POS3si sibling
 ‘Joshua’s hair is different from his brother’s.’

2.1.1.2.13. Agent

The agent is expressed by the particle *e* and the order of constituents becomes VOS — the O is zero marked and the S is agent marked:

- (562) He kai koe e te nao nao e te roe.
 ACT eat 2s AG +SPE mosquito AG +SPE ant
 ‘You’ll be bitten by mosquitoes and ants.’

The ‘impersonal’ marker is simply omission of subject with zero marking of object (see 1.2.1.2.1).

2.1.1.2.14. Topic

The focus particle *ko* often accompanies fronting and *ia* as cataphoric is used especially to topicalize the verbal piece. (See 1.5.1.3–4).

2.1.1.2.15. Emphasized element

The most common way of emphasizing an element — and of indicating reflexives and reciprocals (see 2.1.2.2 and 2.1.2.3) — is with postpositive *'a/ana*, sometimes reinforced with *mau* ‘truth’ (see 1.11.2.1). But in the case of the subjects of both intransitive and transitive verbs the use of the agent marker *e* with persons is a form of emphasis, weaker than *mau 'a*.

Compare:

- (563) Ko 'a'aru 'a a Rui i te hoi.
 PFT catch RES PRS Rui RLT +SPE horse
 ‘Rui caught the horse.’

and:

- (564) Ko 'a'aru 'a te hoi e Rui.
 PFT catch RES +SPE horse AG Rui
 ‘Rui caught the horse.’

2.1.1.3. Syntactic expressions with non-finite verbs

There are three markings of non-finite: (i) the lack of TA markers; (ii) the presence of modal markers *ana* and *mo* and *-Vŋa*; (iii) nominalization with the suffix *-Vŋa*.

2.1.1.3.1. Absolute constructions

These are ‘finite’, that is marked for tense/aspect. (See 1.2.1.1.1.1.)

2.1.1.3.2. Subject of a non-finite verb

The markers that substitute for TA in position one of the verbal frame are: negative markers (see 1.4.1), the modal particle *ana*, the benefactive *mo* ‘for, if, etc.’, the suffix *-Vŋa* which forms nominals besides indicating non-realized action.

The marking of the subject is the same as for finite (i.e. zero) for negatives and *ana*; with *mo* and *-Vŋa* the subject is possessive (see 1.1.2.2.6.2).

2.1.1.3.3. Subject of nominalization

The subject is a possessive form, the inalienable *o*:

- (565) Ko tikea'a e au te teteriŋa o raua.
 PFT seeRES AG 1s +SPE DUPrunSUF POS 3p
 ‘I saw them all running away.’

- (566) I te ohoiŋa 'o'oku ki Vaitea, i takea ai
 RLT +SPE goSUF POS1si DAT Vaitea PA see PHO
- e au te viví.
 AG 1s +SPE partridge
- 'While I was on my way to Vaitea I saw some partridges.'

2.1.1.4. Expression of semantic functions

2.1.1.4.1. Benefactive

The benefactive particle is *mo/ma* — the vowel reflects inalienable/alienable (see 1.10.2).

- (567) Te kai nei ma Vero.
 +SPE food PPD BEN Vero
- 'This food is for Vero.'
- (568) Tu sipi era mo Ari.
 +SPE jeep PPD BEN Ari
- 'That car over there is for Ari.'

2.1.1.4.2. Source

(i) If there is notional movement, in time or space, then the particle used is *mai*.

- (569) Ko recibe 'a au te puka nei mai Erena.
 PFT receive RES 1s +SPE book PPD ABL Erena
- 'I have received this book from Erena.'

(ii) The notion 'made of' is rendered variously.

(a) Simply as identity = predicate:

- (570) Te moai nei he miro tahiti.
 +SPE statue PPD ±SPE wood Tahiti
- 'This statue is made of wood from the Tahiti tree.'
- (571) Puté kiri te puté nei.
 Bag skin +SPE bag PPD
- 'This is a leather bag.'

(b) By 'possession':

- (572) Te huru huru nei o te mamoe 'uri 'uri.
 +SPE growth DUP PPD POS +SPE sheep black DUP
- 'This wool is from a black sheep.'

(c) Where material \approx method then *hai* is used:

- (573) E aŋa era te ruŋa o te hare hai
 STA work PPD +SPE roof POS +SPE house INS
- mauka i te mu'a 'a.
 grass RLT +SPE front DEM
- 'In the old days they made the roofs of the houses from the tufted grass.'

2.1.1.4.3. Instrumental

This is marked by the particle *hai*:

- (574) Ko 'o'oka 'a i a ia hai ivi.
 PFT DUPstab RES RLT PRS 3s INS bone
- 'They gave him an injection.'

2.1.1.4.3.1. Negative instrumental

The word *kore* means 'without' but cannot be applied with 'instrument'; the expression is *ta'e hai* 'not with':

- (575) I aŋa ai te moai ta'e hai hamara.
 PA work PHO +SPE statue NEG INS hammer
- 'They made the statues without hammers.'

2.1.1.4.4. Comitative

The focus particle *ko* is used for this: *ko Erena* 'with Erena'.

2.1.1.4.5. Circumstance

The characteristic follows the noun as any other modifier: *poki pu'oko riva riva* 'a bright lad' (lit. 'child head good').

2.1.1.4.5.1. Negative circumstance

The postpositive particle *kore* 'without' is used with the characteristic: *taŋata rima kore* 'a man without hands' (lit. 'man hand without').

2.1.1.4.6. Possessive

This has been described in 1.10.

2.1.1.4.6.1. Alienable/inalienable

Inalienable is marked by the vocalism *o* and alienable with *a*. (See 1.10.2.)

These are the two forms of the simple possessive particle; they are also in compound adverbial particles such as *'aruŋa i te vai kava* 'on the sea' (+ contact) but *'oruŋa i te hare* 'above the house' (–contact). They are in the two forms of the benefactive *mo/ma* and in the possessive and benefactive forms of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person pronouns.

2.1.1.4.6.2. Temporary/permanent – no marking See 1.10.3.

2.1.1.4.6.3. Past and present possession

The postnominal determiners indicate this parameter: *nei* for the present, *ra* for the past and *ena* for the immediate past up to present (see 1.2.1.1.4 and 2.1.2.5.1.5–6).

2.1.1.4.7. Possessed — no marking

2.1.1.4.8. Quality

As for circumstance this is expressed by postposition of the relevant lexeme, verbal or nominal, e.g. *taŋata tiŋa'i ahi* 'fireman' (lit. 'man kill fire'); *taŋata reka* 'a humorous man' (lit. 'man amusement'); *vi'e taŋi 'aroto i a ia 'a* 'sad woman' (lit. 'woman cry inside herself').

2.1.1.4.9. Quantity

This is expressed by apposition: prepositive for the higher (mostly Tahitian) numbers: *e ho'e 'ahuru kiro puté* 'a ten kilo sack'; postpositive und marked by *e* for one to nine, the Rapanui forms: *he 'ipu erua litro* 'two litre bottle'; *he puté erima kiro* 'a five kilo bag'.

2.1.1.4.10. Material

The instrumental *hai* is used to render 'with' and *ta'e hai* 'not with' is the negative.

- (576) (Ta'e) hai puŋa te hare nei i aŋa ai.
 (NEG) INS cement +SPE house PPD PA work PHO
 'This house was built with (without) cement.'

- (577) Hai raparapa i aŋa 'a te ruŋa o tu
 INS corrugated iron PA work RES +SPE roof POS +SPE
 hare ena ta'e hai mauku.
 house PPD NEG INS grass
 'The roof of that house was made of corrugated iron not of grass.'

2.1.1.4.11. Manner

The focus particle *ko* is used here followed by the third person singular pronoun *ia* then taken up by *ko* again and finally a lexeme to indicate the manner such as *ko ia ko koa* ‘with pleasure’, *ko ia ko taji* ‘with sadness’.

- (578) He ki haka’ou ko ia ko taji ’aroto i a ia ’a ...
 ACT say again FOC 3s FOC cry inside RLT PRS 3s DEM
 ‘He added with sadness in his voice ...’

2.1.1.4.12. Cause

The RLT particle *i* is used to convey cause:

- (579) I hoki ro ai matou i te ’ua.
 PA back +REA PHO 1pe RLT +SPE rain
 ‘We turned back because of the rain.’

2.1.1.4.13. Purpose

The inalienable form of the benefactive, *mo*, is used here:

- (580) Ko haʻa ’a au te puka nei mo ta’aku aʻa.
 ACT wish RES 1s +SPE book PPD BEN POS1sa work
 ‘I want the book for my work.’

2.1.1.4.14. Function

The compound particle *pehe* ‘like’ is used to indicate function:

- (581) He noho ia ’iruʻa i te miro pehe pepe.
 ACT stay 3s above RLT +SPE tree like stool
 ‘He sat on the tree using it as chair.’

2.1.1.4.15. Reference

The possessive inalienable form *o* is used:

- (582) He vanaʻa maua o te me’e era.
 ACT talk 1de POS +SPE thing PPD
 ‘We’ll talk about those matters.’

2.1.1.4.16–17. Essive and translative

There is no specific method for rendering these functions. Some strategies:

- (583) He noho au 'iira mo hapí.
 ACT stay 1s DEMn BEN learn
 'I was there to learn/as a schoolboy.'
- (584) He haka ai i a ia he suerkao.
 ACT CAUS EX RLT PRS 3s ±SPE governor
 'They made him governor.'

2.1.1.4.18. Part/whole

The inalienable possessive form *o* is used.

- (585) he pu'oko o te paiheŋa/te hoi.
 'the head of the dog/horse.'
- (586) he hope'a o te ma'uŋa.
 'the top of the mountain.'

2.1.1.4.19. Partitive

2.1.1.4.19.1. Partitive numeral

The partitive is rendered by LIM *no*:

- (587) Hokoono no ŋa poki i oho.
 COLsix LIM GRP child PA go
 'Six of the children went.'
- (588) Piti 'ahuru ma pae no ŋa poki i oho.
 Two ten and five LIM GRP child PA go
 'Twenty-five of the children went.'

2.1.1.4.19.2. Non-partitive numeral

The numeral with its *e* marker is non-partitive:

chitu moai
 'seven statues'

2.1.1.4.19.3. Partitive quantifier

The specific compound of 'one' plus LIM *no* is used for partitive 'some': *tetahi no*:

- (589) Tetahi no i oho.
 Some LIM PA go
 'Some of them went.'

- (590) Ko 'avai 'a au i te maika ki tetahi no poki.
PFT give RES 1s RLT +SPE bananas DAT some LIM child
'I gave the bananas to some of the children.'

Without LIM *no* the last example would mean 'I gave the bananas to the other children.'

2.1.1.4.19.5. Partitive negative quantifier

'None' is rendered by the negative particle *'ina* and *etahi* 'one':

- (591) 'ina etahi tānata
'no one'

2.1.1.4.20. Price

The numeral particle *e* is used:

- (592) I ho'o mai ai e piti 'ahuru ma pae pesos.
PA buy TOW PHO NUM 2 ten and 5 pesos
'I bought it for 25 pesos.'

2.1.1.4.21. Value

This is also expressed with numeral marker *e*:

- (593) Te varoro o te auto nei e piti tautini pesos.
+SPE value POS +SPE car PPD NUM two thousand pesos
'This car is worth two thousand pesos.'

2.1.1.4.22. Distance

The numeral marker *e* is used for distance:

- (594) He tahuti au erua kirometro.
ACT run 1s NUMtwo kilometres
'I ran two kilometres.'

2.1.1.4.23. Extent

Expressed by the numeral marker plus possessive of the characteristic:

- (595) Te hare ehā metro o te roa roa.
+SPE house NUMfour metre POS +SPE long DUP
'The house is four metres long.'

2.1.1.4.24. Concessive

DEM 'a gives the concessive meaning 'even':

- (596) 'Irote 'ua 'a i oho mai ai.
 Inside rain DEM PA go TOW PHO
 'He came despite the rain.'

2.1.1.4.25. Inclusion

The compound particle *peira'a* 'also' is used:

- (597) 'Iira te ta'ato'a peira'a a Nua.
 There +SPE all also PRS Nua
 'Everyone was there including Nua.'

2.1.1.4.26. Exclusion

The word *kore* 'lack' indicates exclusion:

- (598) 'Iira te ta'ato'a ko Nua i kore.
 There +SPE all FOC Nua PA lack
 'Everyone was there except Nua.'

2.1.1.4.27. Addition

This is rendered by *ko*:

- (599) Etoru taŋata 'iira, ko ia ko Nua.
 NUMthree man there FOC 3s FOC Nua
 'Three people were there in addition to Nua.'

2.1.1.4.28. Vocative

The full form is *e* before and *e* after the name, but frequently the less formal vocative is used simply with the prepositive particle: *e Nua*.

2.1.1.5. Location in space

2.1.1.5.1. General

- **at rest** *i*: *i te hare hapí* 'at school'
- **motion to** *ki*: *ki te hare hapí* 'to school'
- **motion from** *mai*: *mai te hare hapí* 'from school'
- **past** *pe*: *pe te hare hapí* 'past the school'

2.1.1.5.2. Proximate

- at rest *'amuri i: 'amuri i te hare* 'near the house'
- motion to *kimuri ki: kimuri ki te hare* 'near the house'
- motion from *maimuri i: maimuri i te hare* 'from near the house'
- past *pemuri i: pemuri i te hare* 'by the house'

2.1.1.5.3. Interior

- at rest *'iroto i: 'iroto i te hare* 'in the house'
- motion to *kiroto ki: kiroto ki te hare* 'into the house'
- motion from *mairoto mai: mairoto mai te hare* 'out of the house'
- past *'avaeŋa o: 'avaeŋa o te hare* 'through the middle of the house'

2.1.1.5.4. Exterior

- at rest *'ihaho o: 'ihaho o te hare* 'outside the house'
- motion to *kihaho ki: kihaho ki te hare* 'outside'
- motion from *maihaho o: maihaho o te hare* 'from outside the house'
- past *pehaho o: pehaho o te hare* 'past the outside of the house'

2.1.1.5.5. Anterior

- at rest *'imu'a o: 'imu'a o te hare* 'in front of the house'
- motion to *kimu'a ki: ki mu'a ki te hare* 'in front of the house'
- motion from *maimu'a o: maimu'a o te hare* 'from in front of the house'
- past *pemu'a o: pemu'a o te hare* 'in front of the house'

2.1.1.5.6. Posterior

- at rest *'itu'a o: 'itu'a o te hare* 'behind the house'
- motion to *kitu'a ki: kitu'a ki te hare* 'behind the house'
- motion from *maitu'a o: maitu'a o te hare* 'from behind the house'
- past *petu'a o: petu'a o te hare* 'behind the house'

2.1.1.5.7. Superior

- at rest *'iruŋa i: 'i ruŋa i te hare* 'above the house'
- motion to *kiruŋa ki: kiruŋa ki te hare* 'above the house'
- motion from *mairuŋa mai: mairuŋa mai te hare* 'from above the house'
- past *peruŋa o: peruŋa o te hare* 'over the house'

2.1.1.5.8. Superior contact

For the 'at rest' meaning where there is contact the first particle is *'a*, so

'aruŋa i te hoi 'on horseback', *'aruŋa i te hoho'a* 'on the photo'. For the other location there is no distinction between contact and non-contact.

2.1.1.5.9. Inferior

- at rest *'iraro o: 'iraro o te hare* 'under the house'
- motion to *kiraro ki: kiraro ki te hare* 'under the house'
- motion from *mairaro o: mairaro o te hare* 'from under the house'
- past *peraro o: peraro o te hare* 'under the house'

2.1.1.5.10. Inferior contact

As for superior contact the first particle is *'a* for contact in the sense of place of activity rather than state: *'araro i te kumá* 'underneath the sweet potatoes'. The expression *'araro 'a* means 'on foot'.

For the other locations there is no distinction between contact and non-contact.

2.1.1.5.11. Lateral

- at rest *i te kau kau o: i te kau kau o te hare* 'at the side of the house'
- motion to *ki te kau kau o: ki te kau kau o te hare* 'to the side of the house'
- motion from *mai te kau kau o*
- past *pe te kau kau o*

2.1.1.5.12. Lateral contact

As for 2.1.1.5.11.

2.1.1.5.13. Citerior

- at rest *i te pa'ēja nei o: i te pa'ēja nei o te hare* 'on this side of the house'
- motion to *a te pa'ēja nei o* 'towards this side of'
- motion from *mai te pa'ēja nei o*
- past: *pe te pa'ēja nei o*

2.1.1.5.14. Citerior contact

As for 2.1.1.5.13.

2.1.1.5.15–16. Ulterior and ulterior contact

- at rest *i te pa'ēja era o: i te pa'ēja era o te hare* 'the other side of the house'
- motion to *a te pa'ēja era o* 'towards the other side of'
- motion from *mai te pa'ēja era o*
- past *pe te pa'ēja era o*

2.1.1.5.17–18. Medial: 'between' and 'among'

- at rest *i vaeja o*: 'between/among/in the middle'
- motion to *ki vaeja o: ki vaeja o te maea* 'between the stones'
- motion from *mai vaeja o*
- motion through *'avaeja o: 'avaeja o te miro* 'through the wood'

2.1.1.5.19. Circumferential

The verb *vari* 'go round' is used for 'rest' and 'motion'.

- **at rest** *hakavari*:

(600) E haka vari ro 'a a Rapanui e te vaikava.
 STA CAUS go round +REA RES PRS Rapanui AG +SPE sea
 'Rapanui is surrounded by the sea.'

- **motion** *vari*:

(601) Ka vari 'aroto o te hare.
 MOM go round around POS +SPE house
 'Go round to the back of the house.'

2.1.1.5.20. Citerior anterior

= anterior 2.1.1.5.5.

2.1.1.5.21. Interior (long object)

- through along *'avaeja* (See 2.1.1.5.17–18.)

2.1.1.5.22. Exterior (long object)

- past along *pemuri* (See 2.1.1.5.3.)

2.1.1.5.23–24. Movement above and on top of (long object)

- along the top of *peruŋa* (See 2.1.1.5.7.)

2.1.1.5.25–26. Inferior (long object)

- along the bottom of *peraro* (See 2.1.1.5.9.)

2.1.1.5.27–29. Movement at right angles

This is the same as 2.1.1.5.21, 2.1.1.5.23–4 and 2.1.1.5.25–6. That is *avaeŋa* ‘through’, *peruŋa* ‘above’ and *peraro* ‘below’.

2.1.1.6. Location in time

2.1.1.6.1. General

2.1.1.6.1.1. Time of the day

With the Rapanui term *hora* ‘hour/time/summer’ the marking is either zero or *i te*. Zero is more usual with the numbers 10, 11, 12.

(602) (I te) Hora hitu i oho ai ki te aŋa.
 (RLT +SPE) Hour seven PA go PHO DAT +SPE work
 ‘He went to work at 7 o’clock.’

(603) Ka hoki mai ‘ahuru ma ho’e!
 MOM back TOW ten and one
 ‘Come back at eleven!’

In the Tahitian system (still in use for precise time) the term *aore* is used and the particle *i* with +SPE *te* precedes *aore* and the number stands postpositively: *i te piti aore* (see 1.2.5.2.6).

(604) Piti ‘ahuru minuti (toe) mo te ‘ahuru aore.
 Two ten minute (lack) BEN +SPE ten hour
 ‘(At) 9.40.’

(605) Hora maha ka ho’e ‘ahuru ma pae.
 Hour four and one ten and five
 ‘(At) 4.15.’

The particles *ka* and *ma* in the two last examples are only found with the meaning ‘and’ in the Tahitian numbers. The pre-timepiece system, remembered by older Rapanui, was based on the position of the sun:

<i>ka tahi te ra'á</i>	one the sun
<i>ka rua te ra'á</i>	two " "
<i>ka toru te ra'á</i>	three " "
<i>ka ha te ra'á</i>	four " "
<i>ka rima te ra'á</i>	five " "
<i>ka ono te ra'á</i>	six " "
<i>ka ehitu te ra'á</i>	etc.
<i>ka iva te ra'á</i>	
<i>ka tahi te aŋahuru ra'á</i>	
<i>ka toru te aŋahuru ra'á</i>	

After twelve it was night. The old term for a day = 24 hours was *po tahi ra'á* and for 48 hours was *po rua ra'á*. *Mahina* 'moon' was another way of talking about month *ka tahi mahina* 'one month'. The modern term for 'month' '*ava'e*' was a general term for 'period'.

2.1.1.6.1.2. Period of the day

The marker is *i*:

<i>i te ao po</i>	in the early evening
<i>i te ao nui</i>	at midnight
<i>i te ao 'a</i>	early in the morning
<i>i te po 'a</i>	in the morning
<i>i te hora kai</i>	at midday
<i>i te ahi ahi</i>	in the afternoon/ evening
<i>i te po</i>	at night
<i>i te popohāŋa</i>	at dawn
<i>i te ao nui po</i>	at around midnight
<i>i te ao popohāŋa</i>	in the early hours before dawn

(606) I te ao 'a i 'ara ro ai.
 RLT +SPE dawn EMP PA awake +REA PHO
 'He woke very early.'

These expressions can be verbal lexemes:

(607) Ko ao nui 'a, i tu'u mai ai.
 PFT dawn big RES PA come TOW PHO
 'It was midnight when he arrived.'

To specify the period of the day the possessive particle *o* is used. For example, 'p.m.' is *o te po* 'in the night' or *o te ahi ahi* 'in the afternoon/evening'.

2.1.1.6.1.3. Days of the week — *mahana o te tapati*

The marker is again *i*:

<i>i te mahana moniré</i> (English?)	on Monday
<i>i te mahana piti</i> (Tahitian 'two')	on Tuesday
<i>i te mahana toru</i> (Rapanui 'three')	on Wednesday
<i>i te mahana maha</i> (Tahitian 'four')	on Thursday

<i>i te mahana pae</i> (Tahitian ‘five’)	on Friday
<i>i te mahana hopu</i> (<i>hopu</i> ‘bath(e)’)	on Saturday
<i>i te mahana tapati</i> (Sabbath?)	on Sunday

Expressions to indicate ‘next, last, etc.’ are based on the demonstratives (PPD):

<i>i te tapati nei</i>	this week
<i>i te tapati ena</i>	next week
<i>i tu tapati era</i>	last week
<i>i tu tapati raro era</i>	the week before last
<i>i tu tapati raro ena</i>	the week after next

2.1.1.6.1.4. Months of the year

There are three sets of names of the months — Rapanui, Spanish and English. They are all marked by *i* but the Rapanui names also have the ‘personal’ marker *a*, except *’anakena* ‘July/August’.

Examples:

in August	Rapanui <i>i a hora iti</i>	Spanish <i>i agosto</i>	English <i>i atete</i>
in February	Rapanui <i>i a tu’u a haro</i>	Spanish <i>i febrero</i>	English <i>i feruari</i>
in July	Rapanui <i>i ’anakena</i>	Spanish <i>i julio</i>	English <i>i tuai</i>

Most native speakers today are unsure of the Rapanui terms, they use the Spanish; the older generation knows the English.

Thomson presumes that the Rapanui terms were derived from names of the lunar months (Thomson, 1891: 546) and this might explain the discrepancy in the names between Thomson and Martinez who take *koro* as January and Englert and Fati who have *koro* as December.

Traditionally *’anakena* is linked to the landing of Hotu Matu’a in the bay of ’Anakena.

It is the Englert/Fati list that is taught today.

Rapanui names for the months:

<i>tua haro / tu’u a haro</i>	January	(Englert)	February	(Thomson)
<i>hetu’u pu</i>	February	”	March	”
<i>tata hao</i>	March	”	April	”
<i>vai tu’u nui</i>	April	”	May	”
<i>vai tu’u potu</i>	May	”	June	”
<i>maro</i>	June	”	July	”
<i>’anakena</i>	July	”	August:	”
<i>hora iti</i>	August	”	September	”
<i>hora nui</i>	September	”	October	”

<i>taŋarōa uri</i>	October	(Englert)	November	(Thomson)
<i>ko ruti</i>	November	”	December	”
<i>ko koro</i>	December	”	January	”

	Spanish names	‘English’ names
January	<i>enero</i>	<i>senuari</i>
February	<i>febrero</i>	<i>feruari</i>
March	<i>marzo</i>	<i>mari</i>
April	<i>abril</i>	<i>avril</i>
May	<i>mayo</i>	<i>me</i>
June	<i>junio</i>	<i>tuinu</i>
July	<i>julio</i>	<i>turai</i>
August	<i>agosto</i>	<i>atete</i>
September	<i>septiembre</i>	<i>tetepa</i>
October	<i>octubre</i>	<i>otopa</i>
November	<i>noviembre</i>	<i>noema</i>
December	<i>diciembre</i>	<i>titema</i>

2.1.1.6.1.5. The year — *te matahiti*

The marker is *i*:

i te matahiti e ho’e tautini eiva hanere eiva ’ahuru ma ho’e ‘in 1991’.

2.1.1.6.1.6. Festivals

The marker is *i*:

at Christmas *i te Noere*

in the New Year *i te Matahiti Apí*

There is also *pa(s)kua*, borrowed from Chilean Spanish to mean ‘feast’ including ‘Christmas’! The specific term for ‘Easter’ is *Viernes Santo* (lit.) ‘Good Friday’.

2.1.1.6.1.7. Seasons

There are only two seasons, summer and winter:

in winter *i te toŋa*

in summer *i a hora*

2.1.1.6.2. Frequentative

The only means of indicating precise intervals is with *pauró* ‘every’:

- (608) *Pauró te mahana moniré a au e tata nei.*
 Every +SPE day Monday PRS 1s STA laundry PPD
 ‘I do my washing on Mondays/every Monday.’

2.1.1.6.3. Punctual future

This is expressed by the limitative particle *no* plus the modal particle *ana*:

- (609) Erua no hora a au ana hoki ro mai.
 Two LIM hour PRS 1s MOD back +REA TOW
 'I'll be back in two hours.'

2.1.1.6.4. Punctual past

The limitative particle *no* is again used but this time in conjunction with the past tense, marked by *'i*:

- (610) Erua no matahiti i noho ai 'iira.
 Two LIM year PA stay PHO there
 'I lived there two years ago.'

2.1.1.6.5. Duration

In the past the time period is taken as inalienable possession of the subject:

- (611) E ho'e 'ahuru 'o'oku matahiti i noho ai 'iira.
 NUM one ten POS1si year PA stay PHO there
 'I stayed there for ten years.'

In the future the period of time has zero marking but the 'intentional' use of *oho* combined with the non-tensed TA marker *he* indicates the future in the past:

- (612) 'I au he oho he noho 'iira erua tapati.
 DEMn 1s ACT go ACT stay there two week
 'I went to stay there for two weeks.'

2.1.1.6.6. Anterior duration in the past

The particle *ata* 'until' is combined with a non-resultative verbal expression:

- (613) 'Ina kai tu'u mai ata ki te moniré.
 NEG NEG come TOW until DAT +SPE Monday
 'He didn't arrive until Monday.'
- (614) He noho nei ata ki te moniré.
 ACT stay PPD until DAT +SPE Monday
 'He stayed until Monday.'

2.1.1.6.7. Anterior duration in the future

The same *ata* is used but combined with a non-resultative future, here the negative *'eko*:

- (615) 'Eko tu'u mai ata ki te moniré.
 NEG come TOW until DAT +SPE Monday
 'He will not arrive until Monday.'

2.1.1.6.8. Posterior duration in the past

The ablative *mai* renders the notion of 'since':

- (616) I nei au mai te mahana moniré era 'a.
 RLT here 1s ABL +SPE day Monday PPD DEM
 'I've been here since last Monday.'

2.1.1.6.9. Posterior duration in the future

This is expressed by 'from ... onwards' i.e. *mai ...pe mu'a* with the momentary TA marker *ka*:

- (617) I nei au mai te moniré pe mu'a ka noho nei.
 RLT here 1s ABL +SPE Monday TO+m front MOM stay here
 'I shall be here from Monday onwards.'

2.1.1.6.10–11. Anterior and posterior general duration

These distinctions are not made; they are subsumed under 2.1.1.6.6. and 2.1.1.6.9 respectively.

2.1.1.6.12. Point in period past

Again the counting particle *ka* is used to indicate points within a period of past time:

- (618) I te hora erua a Rui ka rima irihāa ki 'uta era.
 RLT +SPE hour two PRS Rui NUM five go upSUF DAT shore PPD
 'In two hours Rui came from the shore five times.'

2.1.1.6.13. Point in period future

The benefactive particle *mo* is used here:

- (619) E u'i koe e hoki mai mo te hora kai!
 STA look 2s STA back TOW DAT +SPE hour eat
 'Make sure you come back by lunch time!'

2.1.1.7. Double case marking

There is no double case marking.

2.1.1.8. Number marking

2.1.1.8.1. Number marking in nouns

One noun in the language *taŋata* ‘man’ is conventionally considered as marked for ‘plural’ — *ŋaŋata*; in fact *ŋa* is not a plural marker but is a collective/group particle. Only in the case of *ŋaŋata* has it coalesced with the noun.

2.1.1.8.1.5. Collective

The particle *ŋa* indicates a group: *ŋa mamoe* ‘a flock of sheep’.

2.1.1.8.2. Number marking — optional

Number marking is not obligatory, where it is clear from the context — linguistic or pragmatic — it is not expressed; the only exception is the plural form *ŋaŋata* ‘people’.

However a group *can* be marked by *ŋa* standing before the lexeme, and a non-group plural by duplication of the first syllable of the verb.

(620) Ko tere ’a te hoi.
 PFT run RES +SPE horse

Ko (te)tere ’a te ŋa hoi.

Ko tetere ’a te hoi.

All three sentences can be translated as ‘The horses ran off’.

2.1.1.8.3. Number marking in the verb

The duplication of the first syllable (see 2.1.1.8.2) of the verb is a means of indicating plurality of the associated noun-subject of an intransitive verb or object of a transitive.

2.1.1.8.4. The collective *ŋa*

This is the only nominal marker concerned with number, except for numerals; plurality and dual are marked only in the pronouns.

2.1.1.8.5–6. *ŋa* as a particle

Prepositive to the noun *ŋa* as a collective retains its own phonological pattern (optional lengthening); it does not form a collective noun.

2.1.1.8.7. *ŋa* marking foreign nouns

It is used freely with foreign nouns:

- (621) *ŋa* *avione* *era* *orá* *o* *Tire*.
 GRP plane PPD over there POS Chile
 ‘That group of planes over there belongs to Chile.’

2.1.1.9. *Classes and genders*

Strictly speaking there are neither classes nor genders in Rapanui. But the division of nouns into alienable and inalienable might be considered a class distinction. (See 1.10.2.)

2.1.1.10. *Definiteness*

2.1.1.10.1. Marking definiteness

This is marked by +SPE *te*, ±SPE *he*, and combinations with *te* or *tu* and the postnominal determiners *nei*, *era* and *ena*, which define the parameters of known, visible and distant (see 1.1). Definiteness is also marked by zero with a noun already mentioned and initial in its clause.

- (622) *Te* *ika*, *kai* *era* *o* *matou* *iaŋataiahi* *he* *kahi*.
 +SPE fish eat LOC POS 1pe yesterday ±SPE tuna
 ‘The fish we ate yesterday was tuna.’

Definiteness + emphasis is marked by prenominal locational/temporal particles *na*, *ra*, *ni*, *hu* which take the place of the ±SPE particle *te* etc. (See 1.2.5.2.5.)

ZERO KNOWN

Zero marking implies ‘known’ from the context which may be linguistic — previously mentioned, or well known on the Island. For example the three vital geographical areas, *tai* ‘the shore’, *uta* ‘inland, away from the sea’ and *kampó* ‘the other side from the inhabited SW corner’ do not have any definite or indefinite markers; they are ‘known’. The same applies to *Hiva* ‘the Continent’ and to ‘Poike’, the mountain in the NE corner of the Island.

- (623) *He* *turu* *ki* *tai*.
 ACT go down DAT shore
 ‘They went down to the shore.’

- (624) *Eee*, *taŋata* *riva* *riva* *a* *ia*.
 Yes man good DUP PRS 3s
 ‘Yes he is good that man.’

Te +SPE –definite

- (625) 'Ihé te vaka? Te vaka 'irotō i te vaikava.
 Where +SPE boat +SPE boat on RLT +SPE sea
 'Where is the boat?' 'The boat is on the sea.'

2.1.1.10.2. Definiteness and the spatial parameter

The spatial relationship of the speaker and hearer plays a vital role in the markings of definiteness. The parameters of distance, visibility and \pm known are marked for nouns and verbs by the postpositive PPD series *nei*, *era*, *ena* (see 1.1). *Te* is generally correlated with *nei* and *tu/tou* with *era* and *ena* but all combinations are possible depending on distance in time or space and the knowledge of the matter by speaker and/or hearer.

Te ... nei — visible and near in time or place, to both speaker and hearer.

- (626) Te puka nei he puka atua.
 +SPE book PPD \pm SPE book God
 'These books (we've been talking about) are religious books.'

Tu ... era — distant from both speaker and hearer in time and/or place and possibly invisible:

- (627) He rehu i a ia tu ha'u era.
 ACT forget RLT PRS 3s +SPE hat PPD
 'He has forgotten that hat of his over there.'

Tu ... ena — distant from both but known to at least one.

- (628) A: I oti era tu kai ena.
 PA end PPD +SPE food PPD
 'That meal (known only to speaker) was over.'

- (629) B: Hora aha te hora ena?
 Time INT +SPE time PPD
 'What time was that?'

0 ... *Nei/era/ena*

- (630) Kona era kona roa rahi.
 Place PPD place far much
 'That place is a long way away.'

Marked strongly for both participants are *ni* — distant but known to both speaker and hearer and possibly visible to both, and *hu* near in time, not visible to either but known to both.

- (631) I hoa ro te 'ua i ni mahana.
 PA fall +REA +SPE rain RLT LT day
 'It poured with rain that day (you remember).'

- (632) I tikea ro 'a vaka e taua iaŋapó.
 PA see +REA RES LT boat AG ldi last night
 'We two saw that boat (they were all talking about) yesterday evening.'

2.1.1.10.3. Obligatory marking of definiteness

The marking of definiteness is obligatory.

2.1.1.10.4. Definiteness with selected types

2.1.1.10.4.1. Definiteness with proper names

The PRS particle *a* is in fact a definite particle for persons and places: *a nua* 'mother', *a Rapanui* 'Rapanui'.

- (633) A Rapanui henua ta'e nui nui.
 PRS Rapanui land NEG big DUP
 'Rapanui is not a big country.'

2.1.1.10.4.2. Definiteness with abstract nouns

These are generally of two kinds, either nominalized attributes, e.g. *te riva riva* 'the advantage' (lit. 'good') or are derived from mainly verbal lexemes: *te ohoiŋa* < *oho* 'go, journey' (see 2.2.1 for derivation). They are treated as any other 'noun' within the nominal frame.

2.1.1.11. Indefiniteness

2.1.1.11.1. Marking indefiniteness

Indefiniteness is marked by \pm SPE *he*, and $-$ SPE *hai*. *He* carries a certain definiteness, on the 'known' parameter and can be combined with the PPD *ena*:

He ... ena

- (634) A: He aha te karga o te pahí?
 \pm SPE INT +SPE cargo POS +SPE ship
 'What was the ship's cargo?'

B: He pou ena.
 log PPD DEM
 'Logs, like those.'
 (new to hearer, pointed out by speaker).

He

Otherwise *he* means 'indefinite':

(635) He aha te me'e ena? He ika peaha.
 ±SPE INT +SPE thing PND ±SPE fish perhaps
 'What is that thing over there?' 'Some fish perhaps.'

Hai

The indefiniteness of *hai* can be as far as zero:

(636) He turu ki tai mo ruku ruku hai ika hai 'ura.
 ACT go down DAT shore BEN dive DUP –SPE fish –SPE lobster
 'They are going down to the sea to go diving for fish and lobster (they might not catch any).'

2.1.1.11.2. Obligatory marking of indefiniteness

The marking of indefiniteness is obligatory.

2.1.1.11.3. Indefiniteness and spatial relationships

The indefiniteness relates to the lack of specific knowledge by the speaker concerning the quantity in available:

(637) Ka to'o mai koe hai me'e pakapaka ra.
 MOM2 take TOW 2s –SPE thing dryDUP DEM
 'Bring me some of those dry things (seeds).'
 (implying 'if you can find some')

2.1.1.12. Referential and non-referential indefiniteness

The 'referential' parameter is included in the 'known' parameter which is one of the parameters discussed for ±definite in 2.1.1.11 above. It is carried by the prepositive specifying particles and is obligatory.

2.1.1.13. Genericness in noun phrases

Genericness is not marked.

2.1.2. Pronouns

2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns are:

first singular	<i>au</i>
second singular	<i>koe</i>
third singular	<i>ia</i>
first dual exclusive	<i>maua</i>
first dual inclusive	<i>taua</i>
first plural exclusive	<i>matou</i>
first plural inclusive	<i>tatou</i>
second person plural	<i>korua</i>
third person plural	<i>raua</i>

2.1.2.1.1. Free pronouns

All pronouns in the language are free.

2.1.2.1.1.1. Optionality of pronouns

Pronouns are not obligatory in any person or in any sentential function — subject, object, direct or indirect. They are only used for emphasis or disambiguation. (See 1.2.1.2.)

2.1.2.1.1.2. Pronouns for emphasis

For example:

(638) He oho.
 ACT go
 'I'm off.'

but:

(639) He oho au.
 ACT go Is
 'I'm off.'

2.1.2.1.1.3. Pronouns with imperative

Where the STA TA marker *e* is used for obligation/order (see 1.1.1.3) the pronoun is indicated either in the phrase concerned or in the immediate vicinity (see examples in 1.1.1.3.1.2). Where the MOM type of imperative is used the presence of the pronoun is emphatic for the second person:

(640) Ka oho!
 MOM go
 'Go!'

but:

- (641) *Ka oho koe!*
 ‘You go!’

For the 1/3 persons it is often necessary to disambiguate the order but if the context is clear, the pronoun is not used. A common strategy for the 1st plural is the use of the exclamation *mai* ‘let’s’!

- (642) *Mai ki oho!*
 ‘Let’s go!’

2.1.2.1.1.4. Response pronouns

In this case the language uses the focus particle *ko*:

- (643) *Koai irá? Ko au.*
 FOCINT there FOC 1s
 ‘Who is there?’ ‘It’s me.’

2.1.2.1.2. Distinctions in pronouns

2.1.2.1.2.1. First, second, third persons

The first, second and third persons are distinguished.

2.1.2.1.3. Exclusion and inclusion

2.1.2.1.3.1. Exclusive and inclusive with plural and dual

The first persons plural and dual have the inclusive-exclusive distinction: *tatou* 1st plural inclusive, *matou* 1st plural exclusive, *taua* 1st dual inclusive, *maua* 1st dual exclusive.

2.1.2.1.4. Pronouns and number

2.1.2.1.4.1. Singular-dual-plural

There is singular-dual-plural but the dual is distinct from the plural only for the first persons.

2.1.2.1.4.2. Pronouns and numerals

There are a number of collective pronouns.

Ararua, atatoru, ahahá, ararima (see 1.2.5.2.6)

These can refer to persons or things. With reference to persons, one or more is specifically named, if they are not known from the context.

maua ararua ko Erena ‘Erena and I’

taua ararua ‘you (sing.) and I’

korua ararua ko Ari ‘you (plur.) and Ari’
raua ararua (ko ia ko Ari) ‘both of them (including Ari)’

- (644) *Aririma matou i turu ai ki tai ko kuá Nua.*
 COLDUPfive 1p PA go down PHO DAT shore FOC PSG Nua
 ‘Five of us went down to the shore, including Nua and her lot.’

With reference to things these collectives indicate a small group of the specified number.

- (645) *Atatoru hare era ’o’oku.*
 COLDUPthree house PPD POS1si
 ‘That group of three houses over there is mine.’

- (646) *I tikea ro e au ahahá hoi i ’uta.*
 PA see +REA AG 1s COLDUPfour horse RLT shore
 ‘I saw a group of four horses up from the shore.’

Ananake

This means ‘together’ and must refer to a minimum of three. Components of the group are not necessarily specified.

Hokotahi, hokorua, hokotoru, hokohá, hokorima, hokoono, hokohitu, hokova’u, hoko’iva

These refer only to people and except for *hokotahi* ‘alone’ do not specify any particular member of the group.

- (647) *I aña ai korua hokotoru no?*
 PA work PHO 2p COLthree LIM
 ‘Did just the three of you do it?’

- (648) *A matou hoko’iva taina.*
 PRS 1pe COLnine sibling
 ‘We are nine brothers and sisters.’

Kuá

This is a personal marker of a collective group — minimum of three — of relations or workmates or schoolmates, etc. but associated with pronouns it can mean the third:

matou ko kuá Ari ‘three of us (with Ari as third)’.

2.1.2.1.5. No further distinctions

There are no distinctions of gender or class or status.

2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

There are no reflexive pronouns (see 1.6.3.2).

2.1.2.2.5. The particle 'a marking reflexive

The emphatic particle 'a is used to indicate reflexive. It is always present with third person singular forms and the dual and plural forms (pronominal or possessive) but with the first and second persons singular it is only used with the pronominal forms *au, koe*.

- (649) Ko haŋa 'a Joshua mo hopu i a ia 'a.
 PFT want RES Joshua MOD wash RLT PRS 3s EMP
 'Joshua wants to wash himself.'

- (650) Ko ho'o 'a e au hai puka ma'aku.
 PFT buy RES AG 1s -SPE book BEN1s
 'I bought a book for myself (lit. 'for me').'

- (651) Ko ho'o 'a au i te puka ma'ana, e, ko ho'o
 PFT buy RES 1s RLT +SPE book BEN3s and PFT buy

 takoe 'a e ia i te puka ma'ana 'a.
 also RES AG 3s RLT +SPE book BEN3s EMP
 'I bought a book for him and he also bought a book for himself.'

- (652) Ko ho'o 'a koe i te puka ma'au.
 PFT buy RES 2s RLT +SPE book BEN2s
 'You bought a book for yourself.'

2.1.2.3. Reciprocal pronouns

There are none in Rapanui (see 1.7).

2.1.2.3.1. Marking reciprocity

(i) With particle 'a

- (653) E hakama'u ro 'a i te puahu ki a maua 'a.
 STA CAUSbring +REA RES RLT +SPE parcel DAT PRS 1de EMP
 'We send parcels to each other.'

- (654) E papa'i ro 'a korua ki a korua 'a pauró te tapati!
 STA write +REA RES 2p DAT PRS 2p EMP every +SPE week
 'You write to each other every week!'

(ii) With collectives

- (655) Hokorua raua e hapa'o era i te raua ŋapoki 'a.
 COLtwo 3p STA look after PPD RLT +SPE 3p child EMP
 'They used to look after each other's children.'

- (656) E kokori 'a te ŋapoki ararua.
 STA DUPplay EMP +SPE GRPchild COLtwo
 'The children were playing together.'

2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns

2.1.2.4.1. Alienable/inalienable

This distinction applies to both the definite and indefinite series with the exception of the definite plurals and dual. (See 2.1.2.4.3. below.)

2.1.2.4.2. Definite/indefinite series

The definite series is formed by preposing the specific marker *te* to the indefinite series in the singular where it coalesces with the pronominal form in the singular. For the dual and plural the indefinite series is simply the pronoun preceded by the possessive particle *o/a*; this is replaced by the specific particle *te* in order to form the definite possessive.

2.1.2.4.3. Use of possessive pronouns

The indefinite possessives are:

<i>'o'oku</i>	first singular inalienable
<i>'a'aku</i>	first singular alienable
<i>'o'ou</i>	second singular inalienable
<i>'a'au</i>	second singular alienable
<i>'o'ona</i>	third singular inalienable
<i>'a'ana</i>	third singular alienable
<i>o/a maua</i>	first dual exclusive
<i>o/a taua</i>	first dual inclusive
<i>o/a matou</i>	first plural exclusive
<i>o/a tatou</i>	first plural inclusive
<i>o/a korua</i>	second plural
<i>o/a raua</i>	third plural

The definite possessive pronouns are:

<i>tooku / to'oku</i>	first singular inalienable
<i>ta'aku</i>	first singular alienable
<i>to'ou / to'u</i>	second singular inalienable
<i>ta'au / ta'u</i>	second singular alienable
<i>to'ona</i>	third singular inalienable
<i>ta'ana</i>	third singular alienable
<i>temaua</i>	first dual exclusive
<i>tetaua</i>	first dual inclusive
<i>tematou</i>	first plural exclusive
<i>tetatou</i>	first plural inclusive
<i>tekorua</i>	second plural
<i>teraua</i>	third plural

2.1.2.4.4. Reflexive possessive pronoun

There is no special form but as for the reflexive pronouns the particle *'a* is used.

Compare:

- (657) He 'ata 'o'ou.
 ±SPE shadow POS2si
 'It's your shadow.'

and:

- (658) He 'ata 'o'ou 'a.
 'It's your own shadow.'

2.1.2.5. Demonstratives

There are no demonstrative pronouns. There are demonstrative particles (sec 1.2.5.2.5).

- (a) Postpositive (PPD) *nei*, *era* *ena* which stand in position four of the nominal frame (see 1.1) and have been discussed in relation to ± definiteness (see 2.1.1.10);
 (b) Prepositive (LT) locational and temporal particles: *na*, *ra*, *ni*, *hu* standing in position two of the nominal frame;
 (c) Postpositive (DEM) *no* 'o', 'a, and, in interrogative clauses, *na*, *ro*, *ra*.

There are also the demonstrative adverbs 'i 'here!', *na* 'there!' and 'ai 'over there!' ('ai is the phoric (1.5.1.5), the initial glottal indicating demonstrative function).

The only way to express a demonstrative 'pronoun' is by means of the noun *me'e* 'thing' which can refer to persons as well as objects, or *aja* 'work', or *kona* 'place'. These dummy words were noted with relatives (1.1.2.3.6–7) and adverbials of manner (1.1.2.4.2.2).

2.1.2.5.1. Parameters of demonstrative particles

2.1.2.5.1.1. Degrees of distance from speaker

The postpositive demonstrative particles, *nei*, *ena* and *era* indicate three basic distances from the speaker: near, away (but either known or visible), and distant.

nei

- (659) He aha te me'e nei?
 ±SPE INT +SPE thing PPD?
 'What's this?'

- (660) Koai te me'e nei?
 FOCINT +SPE thing PPD
 'Who's this?'

ena

- (661) E to'o ro ia i a ia ena.
 STA take +REA 3s RLT PRS 3s PPD
 'He will take that man (present).'

- (662) Ka haka mate te me'e ena 'a'au!
 MOM2 CAUS die +SPE thing PPD POS2sa
 'Turn that thing (visible) of yours off!'

The use of prepositive *tu* yields 'past':

- (663) Ka haka titika tu ŋa me'e ena 'a'ana he ra'e.
 MOM2 CAUS DUPstraight +SPE GRP thing PPD POS3sa ±SPE first
 'First correct what she's already done.'

era

- (664) Tu poki era ko riro 'a he ika.
 +SPE child PPD PFT turn into +RES ±SPE fish
 'The child turned into a fish (in the story).'

- (665) 'Ai, ho'i, te hare! I mu'a i tu hare era ai!
 DEMd COORa +SPE house In front RLT +SPE house PPD DEMd
 'Well there's the house! In front or that house over there! (visible but distant).'

2.1.2.5.1.2. Distance from hearer

The parameters are the same as for the speaker but in a given speech act the speaker can indicate what he thinks

is the hearer's knowledge or interest in an otherwise distant matter (with either *ena* or *era*); by the use of *tu* — distancing them both or *te* implying some association.

2.1.2.5.1.3. Distance from speaker and hearer

The basic distance parameters then for both speaker and hearer are: **distance**, **visibility**, **±known**; 'near' and 'far' can apply to time and space; 'visible' can mean pictorial, or known from context rather than strictly visible; they can apply to the mental distance: near = of real interest; visible = neutral as regards interest; far = wanting to distance oneself.

2.1.2.5.1.4. Equidistant from speaker and hearer

Of the three PPD demonstrative particles *nei*, *era* and *ena* the two last *can* refer to an object equidistant from both speaker and hearer but it is *necessarily* distant from the speaker.

2.1.2.5.1.5. Visible/invisible

2.1.2.5.1.5.1. Visible to speaker:

the particle *nei* indicates visible to the speaker; *era* can indicate also visible to speaker but it is always distant; where *ena* indicates a 'visible' object it has some past or distant associations:

- (666) I te vanaga ena kai 'ite au.
 RLT +SPE word PPD NEG know Is
 'That word (you've asked) I don't know it.'

- (667) 'Ina koe ko omo i te potu ena!
 NEG 2s NEG smoke RLT +SPE cigarettes PPD
 'Don't you smoke those cigarettes (you've got hold of).'

2.1.2.5.1.5.2. Visible to hearer:

nei does not necessarily mean visible to the hearer; it could mean at the end of a phone etc.

- (668) Ko topa 'a te hare nei mo'oku hokotahi no.
 PFT fall RES +SPE house PPD BEN1si alone LIM
 'This house is just for me now.'
 (on cassette)

Where *era* indicates near the hearer as opposed to the speaker rather than associations with a past activity, it denotes visible to the hearer:

- (669) Ka 'avai mai te puka ena!
 MOM2 give TOW +SPE book PPD
 'Hand me that book (near you)!'

2.1.2.5.1.5.3. Invisible to speaker and hearer:

the postpositive particles *ena* and *era* can both indicate invisible to both speaker and hearer but this is expressed more emphatically by prepositive *ni* and *hu* — invisible but recent past, and *ra*, invisible because distant past. Prepositive *tu/tou* reinforce the past/invisible sense with *ena* and *era*. (See 2.1.2.5.1.22.2–3.)

2.1.2.5.1.6. Known/unknown

This is another important parameter which often overlaps with \pm distant and \pm visible, just as the possessives as pronouns have \pm alienable overlapping with \pm visible.

2.1.2.5.1.6.1. Known to speaker:

prepositive *te* and *tu* and the postpositive *nei* assume +known to the speaker and usually to the hearer (since there is +visible for both) but the hearer can be confronted with something unknown:

- (670) A: *Pehe* *to'oku* *kahu* *nei?*
 How POS1si dress PPD
 ‘How do you like this new dress of mine?’

- (671) B: *Hoki* *kahu* *apí?*
 INT dress new
 ‘It’s new isn’t it?’

2.1.2.5.1.6.2. Known to hearer:

when *na* stands finally in an interrogative it emphasizes the request by the speaker for a reply from the hearer who ‘knows’.

- (672) *Hora* *aha* *na?*
 Time INT DEM
 ‘Tell me, what time is it?’

2.1.2.5.1.6.3. Known to speaker and hearer:

the locational/temporal markers *ni*, *hu* and *ra* emphasize shared knowledge. *Ni* relates to the present or a matter under discussion; *hu* relates to the recent past, *ra* to the distant past.

- (673) *Ka* *hoho'a* *pe* *ni* *ahu!*
 MOM2 picture TO+m LT ahu
 ‘Take the photo towards this ahu.’
- (674) *I* *hoho'a* *ai* *pe* *hu* *ahu* *era* *iaŋataiahi.*
 PA picture PHO TO+m LT ahu PPD yesterday
 ‘We took a photo towards that ahu yesterday.’
- (675) *He* *aha* *ra* *'ia,* *te* *me'e* *he* *keho?*
 \pm SPE INT DEM 3s +SPE thing \pm SPE *keho*
 ‘What on earth was it that thing culled keho?’

Keho: a complicated system of exchange gifts between in-laws.

2.1.2.5.1.6.4. Referred to in previous discourse:

zero marking for specific, combined with postpositive PPD indicates +known to both speaker and hearer from previous discourse:

- (676) Hare nei, hare hahine ki te hare era.
 House PPD house near DAT +SPE house PPD
 ‘This house (we were talking about) is near that house (that you know about).’

- (677) Korohu’a era ho’i ’ina etahi me’e ’i to’e, ’i ’ite
 Old man PPD COORa NEG one thing PA lack PA know
 tahi ’a mai te potu ki te hope’a.
 all RES ABL +SPE end DAT +SPE last
 ‘But that old man hasn’t forgotten anything, he knows everything from beginning to end.’

2.1.2.5.1.6.5. Time dimensions:

the PPD express temporal dimensions: *nei* — the present, *era* — present and past and *ena* — distant past. The prepositive *ra* also expresses distant past while *ni* relates to the present and *hu* refers to the recent past, often to the previous day or so.

2.1.2.6. Interrogatives

2.1.2.6.1. Interrogative particles

There are four interrogative particles.

2.1.2.6.1.1. Fields of interrogation

Of the four particles only three can stand alone. They distinguish persons from things but space and time are not distinguished and there is overlap between things and space/time. Numbers have their own interrogative. (See 1.1.1.2.2.)

2.1.2.6.2. The four interrogative pronouns

- (a) The particle *ai* preceded by the focus particle *ko* — *koai* or by the possessive *o/a* — *oai/’a’ai*;
- (b) The time/space interrogative *he* which alone indicates indeterminate space ‘whereabout?’ but is often used with other prepositive and postpositive particles questioning time and space relations. With a noun it can ask a question when the range of choice is limited (see 1.1.1.2.2.–1.1.1.2.4);
- (c) The enclitic *aha* does not stand alone, nor does it stand initially;
- (d) The numeral marker *hia* is always preceded by a numeral specifier,

either *e* or *ka* in counting or *hoko* referring to a collective (see 1.1.1.2.2 examples (59) and (60)). They apply equally to direct and indirect questions.

2.1.2.7. Relatives

There are no relative pronouns in Rapanui. For ‘relative’ strategies see 1.1.2.3.

2.1.3. Verb morphology

2.1.3.1. Voice

2.1.3.1.1. Passive

Rapanui does not have voice distinctions, although historically agentive *e* is passive.

(i) *E* with personal subjects

The personal subject marking of the subject with *e* is emphatic except for verbs of sensing. (See 1.11.2.1.3.2, 1.2.1.2.6 and 1.2.1.2.4.)

Compare:

- (678) Ko tiŋa'i 'a a Papi i te paiheŋa.
 PFT hit RES PRS Papi RLT +SPE dog
 ‘Papi hit the dog.’

and:

- (679) Ko tiŋa'i 'a te paiheŋa e Papi.
 PFT hit RES +SPE dog AG Papi
 ‘Papi hit the dog.’

Compare:

- (680) Ko pura 'a te opani.
 PFT close RES +SPE door
 ‘The door is closed.’

and:

- (681) Ko puru 'a te opani e ia.
 PFT close RES +SPE door AG 3s
 ‘He closed the door.’

(ii) With non-personal subjects

For non-persons the agentive particle *e* marks the means that caused the result.

- (682) He kontamina tahi ro ai a nei e te petroleo.
 ACT pollute all +REA PHO POS PPD AG +SPE oil
 'The oil polluted everything here.'

The following example is an interesting case of causative for middle voice; it is the usual way of saying 'surrounded by', although *haka vari* has also the causative meaning of 'make go round' as in *E haka vari i te hoi a tu'a o te hare* 'Lead the horses to the back of the house!'

- (683) E haka vari ro 'a a Rapanui e te vaikava.
 STA CAUS go round +REA RES PRS Rapanui AG +SPE sea
 'Rapanui is surrounded by the sea.'

2.1.3.1.1.1. Impersonal

2.1.3.1.1.1.1. Subject deletion:

this has been referred to above (see 1.2.1.2.1) with reference to object marking; wherever the subject is deleted and the object is not marked with relational *i*, the construction is to be interpreted as impersonal.

Compare:

- (684) He hiro a ia i to'ona pu'oko.
 ACT plait PRS 3s RLT POS3si head
 'She is plaiting/going to plait her hair.'

and:

- (685) E hiro 'a i to'ona pu'oko.
 STA plait RES RLT POS3si head
 'She is plaiting her hair (at this moment).'

with:

- (686) He hiro te pu'oko.
 ACT plait +SPE head
 'She is having/will have her hair plaited.'

and:

- (687) E hiro ro 'a to'ona pu'oko.
 STA plait +REA RES POS3si head
 'She wears her hair plaited.'

2.1.3.1.1.1.2. Static and dynamic impersonal:

the English translation of

the following constructions is ‘passive’ but they are better understood as static and dynamic resultatives. This interpretation rests on two markings, in the first place the tenses of the verbs — the perfect/resultative with *ko* and the actual present with *e* — and in the second place the omission of any agent.

- (688) *Ko aŋa 'a te hare.*
PFT work RES +SPE house
‘The house has been built.’

- (689) *E aŋa ro 'a te hare.*
STA work +REA RES +SPE house
‘The house is being built.’

2.1.3.1.2. Decreasing valency

Since the expression of subject or object (direct or indirect) is not structurally obligatory (see 1.1(ii)) mere omission is not necessarily a sign of decreasing valency.

2.1.3.1.2.1. Intransitive from transitive The omission of the subject with certain verbs *can* yield an intransitive from a transitive:

Compare:

- (690) *I hi ai a Rui i te nanue 'iruŋa i*
PA fish PHO PRS Rui RLT +SPE nanue above RLT
te toka.
+SPE middle depth waters
‘Rui fished nanue [‘yellow fish’] in middle-depth waters.’

but:

- (691) *Te nanue e hi ena 'iruŋa i te toka.*
+SPE nanue STA fish PPD above RLT +SPE toka
‘The nanue is fished in middle-depth waters.’

- (692) *Ko puru 'a te opani.*
PFT close RES +SPE door
‘The door is closed./The door closed.’

and:

- (693) *E puru ro 'a te opani.*
STA close +REA RES +SPE door
‘The door is being closed/is closing.’

But in other cases a causative is used. (See 2.1.3.1.3.1 below.)

2.1.3.1.3. Increasing valency

This is done by means of the causative construction.

2.1.3.1.3.1. Causative with *haka*

The causative prefix *haka* forms causative in either intransitive or transitive constructions:

Intransitive

- (694) Ko piha'a 'a te vai.
 PFT boil RES +SPE water
 'The water is boiling.'

Causative

- (695) 'I au he haka piha'a atu i te vai.
 DEMn 1s ACT CAUS boil AWA RLT +SPE water
 'I'm just going to boil the water for tea.'

Transitive

- (696) Ko tikea 'a e au te moai nui nui.
 PFT see RES AG 1s +SPE statue big DUP
 'I have seen a big statue.'

Causative

- (697) E haka tikea ro atu ki a koe i te
 STA CAUS see +REA AWA DAT PRS 2s RLT +SPE

 moai nui nui.
 statue big DUP
 'I'll show you the big statues.'

2.1.3.1.3.2. Omission of causee

Where the causee is a personal subject omission is always possible ((695) above).

2.1.3.2. Tense

2.1.3.2.1. Tenses formally distinguished

The tense/aspect markers are: *he*, *e*, *i*, *ko*, *ka/ki* (see 1.1 (iii)). There is no marker that is exclusively used for present but *e* is non-past (i.e. present or future) and *ko* as a perfect resultative describes a past action that refers to the present. The marker *i* refers to the past. The marker *he* refers to past, present or future. The marker *ka/ko* refers always to the future.

2.1.3.2.1.1. Past/present/future — *he*

Immediate unemphatic future, generalized present and narrative past are all marked by the TA prepositional particle *he* (ACT).

Immediate future

- (698) He oho au he ha'uru.
 ACT go 1s ACT sleep
 'I'm off to bed.'

Present

- (699) He aha 'a raua? He tutu i te 'o'one.
 ACT INT RES 3p ACT burn RLT +SPE dirt
 'What are they doing?' 'They're burning the rubbish.'

Narrative past

(i) In stories

- (700) I tu'u era ki tai, he to'o mai a Hina i
 PA come PPD DAT shore ACT take TOW PRS Hina RLT
 ta'ana poki, he haka noho 'iroto i te roto.
 POS3sa child ACT CAUS stay within RLT +SPE pool
 'When she had come to the shore, Hina took up her child and put him in a pool.'

(From 'The Yellow Fish', see Appendix).

(ii) Background to another action in the past

- (701) He mantia i te kahu i te paruija i te hare.
 ACT stain RLT +SPE clothes RLT +SPE paint+SUF RLT +SPE house
 'The clothes got stained in the course of painting the house.'

2.1.3.2.1.2. Present/future — *e*

Prepositive *e* (STA) indicates broadly some state of affairs in the present or future.

Obligation

Combined simply with the lexeme and optionally a directional particle *mai* or *atu* of position five (see 1.1 (iii)) *e* has the meaning of obligation with reference to the future .

- (702) E tunu au i te kai mo ta'aku poki.
 STA cook 1s RLT +SPE food BEN POS1sa child
 'I must cook a meal for my children.'

- (703) Ka oho ena koe, e to'o mai te 'ika.
 MOM go PPD 2s STA bring TOW +SPE fish
 'When you go there you must bring me some fish.'

Actual present

Combined with the RES particle '*a*, *e* indicates an action in the actual

present; it is often accompanied by some marker of time or place or circumstance. In narrative it can be an action contemporaneous with the story line.

- (704) E tunu 'a Nua i te kai 'iroto i te hare.
 STA cook RES Nua RLT +SPE food within RLT +SPE house
 'Nua is cooking the meal indoors.'

- (705) I ŋaro'a nei te re'o o te tau'a, e ŋe mai era.
 PA hear PPD +SPE voice POS +SPE fight STA noise TOW PPD
 'They hear the noise of the fight, there was a clanging of metal.'

Future

Combined with the +REA marker *ro*, the *e* tense has a future meaning, though precise time of action is indefinite. It can also have a modal sense (see 2.1.3.2.1.4.1).

- (706) E mana'u ro mai au ki a korua.
 STA mind +REA TOW 1s DAT PRS 2p
 'I shall be thinking about all of you.'

Present

Combined with *ro* (+REA) and *'a* (RES) the *e* tense indicates a state that includes the present. As for the actual present this can be action contemporaneous with a narrative relating to the past.

- (707) E tikea ro mai 'a te hare.
 STA see +REA TOW RES +SPE house
 'The house is visible.'

- (708) Ko rehu 'a i a ia te poki e noho
 PFT forget RES RLT PRS 3s +SPE child STA stay

 ro 'a 'iroto i te roto.
 +REA RES within RLT +SPE pool
 'She forgot about her child lying in the pool.'

Present limited

This is indicated by the particle *no* (LIM).

- (709) E noho no 'a.
 STA stay LIM RES
 'He is still waiting.'

- (710) Erua tapati he hoa te 'ua e hakamito no.
 NUMtwo week ACT throw ±SPE rain STA CAUSdrizzle LIM
 'It has been raining for two weeks but it has only drizzled.'

2.1.3.2.1.3. Past

2.1.3.2.1.3.1. Indicators of past action:

(i) Perfect — *ko*

This tense is marked by the TA prepositive particle *ko*; it indicates an action in the past ending in a state that is present. (See under 'aspect' below, 2.1.3.3.1.1). The English translation is sometimes present tense.

- (711) Ko amo 'a te ranj.
 PFT clear RES +SPE sky
 'It is getting light.'
- (712) Ko 'avai 'a au i te maika ki to'oku taina.
 PFT give RES 1s RLT +SPE banana DAT POS1si sibling
 'I gave the bananas to my brother.'

(ii) Past — *i*

This tense is marked by the prepositive particle *i*; it indicates an action in the past related to a specific time or object which may, of course, be simply understood from the context; or it may be a phrase or a sentence and in the latter case it is obligatorily taken up by the phoric *ai*.

- (713) A Papi i ma'u i te rama.
 PRS Papi PA take RLT +SPE torch
 'Papi took the torch.'
- (714) I tu'u ro atu a Rui ki a matou era, ki Tire.
 PA come +REA AWA PRS Rui DAT PRS 1pe PPD DAT Chile
 'Rui came over to see us in Chile.'
- (715) I topa ro mai te mana'u...
 PA fall +REA TOW +SPE mind
 'It has just occurred to me...'
- (716) I o'o ro au kiroto ki te 'ana.
 PA crawl +REA 1s into DAT +SPE cave
 'I crawled into the caves.'

- (717) Ka tahi matahiti i oti.
 NUM one year PA finish
 ‘A whole year has gone by.’

- (718) I tu’u ai matou i te mahana hopu.
 PA come PHO 1pe RLT +SPE day bathe
 ‘We arrived on Saturday.’
 (See 2.1.1.6.1.3. Days of the week. ‘Bathday’ is Saturday.)

- (719) I ma’u ro ‘a.
 PA bring +REA RES
 ‘He actually brought it.’

- (720) I ra matahiti ko ho’e ta’utini ehitu hanere piti ‘ahuru
 RLT DEM year FOC one thousand seven hundred two ten
 ma piti, i tu’u mai ai Roggeveen ki Rapanui.
 and two PA come TOW PHO Roggeveen DAT Rapanui
 ‘Roggeveen came to Rapanui in 1722.’

- (721) Kai ŋaro’a e au a ia, i o’o mai ai.
 NEG hear AG 1s PRS 3s PA enter TOW PHO
 ‘I didn’t hear him coming in.’

2.1.3.2.1.3.2. Relative tenses of the past:

(i) Past in the past

The following combinations are possible, depending on the topic clause:

‘i ... he ‘when’

- (722) I hoki era au, he takea e au a Erena.
 PA back PPD 1s ACT see AG 1s PRS Erena
 ‘When I had returned, I saw Erena.’

ko ... ka ‘until’

- (723) Ko titi a matou i te aua, ka oti riva riva ro.
 PFT straight RES 1pe RLT +SPE fence MOM end good DUP +REA
 ‘We straightened up the fence till we got it right.’

ko ... ‘i ‘after’

- (724) Ko oho ‘a Nua, a ia i tu’u mai ai.
 PFT go RES Nua PRS 3s PA arrive TOW PHO
 ‘After ‘Nua had just left, he arrived.’

(ii) Future in the past

This is expressed by the adverbial particle *iho* ‘scarcely’:

- (725) *E oho iho no a au mo moe, i tu’u*
 STA go scarcely LIM PRS 1s BEN lie down PA come
mai ai a Nua.
 TOW PHO PRS Nua
 ‘I was just going to bed when Nua arrived.’

2.1.3.2.1.4. Future

There is no exclusively future tense.

(i) Indefinite future — *he*

This is common as immediate future, though without certain commitment (see 2.1.3.2.1.1).

(ii) As noted in 2.1.3.2.1.2 above, the stative *e* combined with *ro* indicates future — of indefinite time but certain intention.

(iii) Definite future — *ka*

Another particle used to indicate future — of definite time — is momentary *ka/ki* (MOM) which is also a marker of the imperative.

- (726) *Matahiti ena a au ka oho ki Hiva.*
 Year PPD PRS 1s MOM go DAT Hiva
 ‘Next year I’m going to Chile.’

- (727) *I te mahana pae a au ka oho ki te pure.*
 RLT +SPE day five PRS 1s MOM go DAT +SPE church
 ‘I’m going to church on Friday.’

The person distinction of *ka* (second) and *ki* (first and third) is not strictly adhered to in the non-imperative uses of this momentary particle. *Ka* in the examples above is with the first person. It is increasingly used for all three. In (iv) below *ki* correctly refers to the third person but in 2.1.3.2.4.2 (i) it refers to the second.

(iv) Modal future — *ana*

Here *ana* can indicate a potential action:

- (728) *Ki tu’u mai no ho’i a ia ki nei, ana*
 MOM come TOW LIM COORa PRS 3s DAT here MOD
vanaja iho atu tetahi vanaja e rehu rehu ro ’a.
 talk scarcely AWA other word STA forget DUP +REA RES
 ‘But when she comes here we shall talk about other words that I have forgotten now.’

2.1.3.2.1.4.1. Modal future:

apart from the *ana* structures which are primarily modal, both the other tenses that have future as one of their functions also have modal values. As already mentioned the momentary forms serve as imperative (see 1.1.1.3.1.1). The stative form serves to indicate obligation and in this function it has no postpositive particles except the PPD which indicate habitual in present or past (see 1.1.1.3.1.2) and directional *mai* and *atu*. Also, one of the functions of the stative future *e ...ro* is modal — volition in questions:

- (729) E piri ro maua apó?
 STA meet +REA 1de tomorrow
 ‘Shall we meet tomorrow?’

2.1.3.2.1.4.2. Relative future tenses:

preceding and subsequent action:

(i) Future in the future

ka/ki ...he

- (730) Ki oho mai koe apó, he vanaʻa taua.
 MOM go TOW 2s tomorrowACT talk 1di
 ‘When you come tomorrow we’ll talk about it.’

- (731) Ka oho ena koe, e to’o mai te ika.
 MOM go PPD 2s STA bring TOW +SPE fish
 ‘When you go there you might bring me some fish.’

(ii) Past in the future

ka ...ko

- (732) Ka tu’u ena raua, ko mate era ’a.
 MOM come PPD 3p PFT dead PPD RES
 ‘By the time they arrive, he will have died.’

2.1.3.2.2. Tense markings with modals

Where tense markers also function as modal markers which is the case with *e* (STA) any tense marking overrides modality:

- (733) E oho era a ia ki kampó.
 STA go PPD PRS 3s DAT *kampo*
 ‘He used to go to *kampo*.’
 (not *He ought to have)

The past modal is expressed by the possessive:

- (734) A ia te oho ki kampó.
 POS3si 3s +SPE go DAT *kampo*
 ‘He ought to have gone to *kampo*.’

Where modals are introduced by the particles *mo* (time, purpose and condition), *ana* (condition and possibility), *ki* (purpose), there are no tense markings except where *ana* is followed by the existential *ai* + clause. (See 1.1.2.4.2–3.)

For tense marking with relatives, see 1.1.2.3.9.

2.1.3.2.3. Absolute tenses

The only ‘absolute’ tense is the PA *i* which always relates to real past. (See 2:1.3.2.1.3.1 (ii).)

2.1.3.3. Aspect

2.1.3.3.1. Perfect aspect

2.1.3.3.1.1. Formation of perfect

The aspect has no separate form; it is one of the functions of the *ko* particle, which conveys the meanings of past and resultative relative to another action or to the real present.

2.1.3.3.1.2. Form and tense

There is only one form; the real tense is present; it can be past and future in relation to another action.

2.1.3.3.1.3. Form and aspect

2.1.3.3.1.3.1. Present result:

the *ko* form can indicate present result:

- (735)

<i>E</i>	<i>tunu</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>ta’aku</i>	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>poki</i>
STA	cook	1s	RLT	+SPE	food	BEN	POS1sa	GRP	child
- ko* *marauki* *’ao*
PFT hungry RES
‘I must cook dinner for my children who are hungry.’

2.1.3.3.1.3.2. Limited action up to the present:

once the action is limited in the past it has to be expressed with *i* not *ko*.

- (736)

<i>I</i>	<i>noho</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>koe</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Tahiti?</i>
PA	stay	PHO	PRS	2s	RLT	Tahiti
- ‘Have you ever been in Tahiti?’

2.1.3.3.1.3.3. Action continuing into present

- (737)

<i>Ko</i>	<i>ha’uru</i>	<i>’a</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>poki.</i>
PFT	sleep	RES	+SPE	child
- ‘The children are still sleeping.’

2.1.3.3.1.4. Aspect and tense

The intersection of these two notions is obvious with the *ko* tense which is firmly focused on the present and always relates to a previous action.

2.1.3.3.2. Aspect and the whole action duration

2.1.3.3.2.1. Markings that apply generally

2.1.3.3.2.1.1. Perfective:

(i) Past perfective

The *i* tense also carries the perfective meaning but only related to the past.

(ii) Future perfective with *ro*

The particle *ro* has an aspectual function to the extent that it indicates realization. The difference between *he oho* 'I'm going' and *he oho ro* 'I shall go' is the firm intention of realization of the latter. Similarly this particle correlated with *e* makes obligation *e oho koe* 'you must go' into a guarantee of realization in the future *e oho ro koe* 'you will go'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.2. Imperfective:

(i) With STA *e*

The stative *e* tense also carries the meaning of imperfective — description : of action — when it is not followed by *ro* (+REA) and is not functioning as a modal of obligation.

As an aspect indicator it has the place/time PPD marking *nei/era/ena*, the limitative *no* or the actual present marking with the demonstrative/resultative particle '*a*'.

(738) E tunu 'a a Nua.
 STA cook RES PRS Nua
 'Nua is cooking.'

(739) E haka mito no te 'ua.
 STA CAUS drizzle LIM +SPE rain
 'It's only drizzling.'

(740) E moe era te anani irá.
 STA rest PPD +SPE oranges there
 'Oranges used to grow there.'

(ii) With suffix -*Vŋa*

This suffix can indicate either an action that is the 'background' to another action (see 2.2.2.1), or an action begun but not completed as yet (see 2.2.2.2).

2.1.3.3.2.1.3. Habitual:

(a) ‘Habitual’ is one of the functions of the stative *e* with verbs of motion. (See 2.1.3.2.2.)

(b) Habitual can be expressed with *pura* or *pura vara*; there are no TA markings and the action can refer to past or present. In the following example the past is indicated by *ra*.

(741) *Pura tai’o au i ra puka.*
 HAB read 1s RLT DEM book
 ‘I usually read that book.’

(742) *Pura vara tu’u mai a Nua.*
 HAB FREQ come TOW PRS Nua
 ‘Nua usually comes here.’

2.1.3.3.2.1.4. Iterative:

(a) The verb *oho* ‘go’ is used to indicate an action which is iterative in place or time.

(743) *E, koroiti koroiti i kai i oho mai ai.*
 EXC slow DUP PA eat PA go TOW PHO
 ‘Well they went on eating it and slowly they got used to it.’

(744) *I teki teki i oho ai.*
 PA tiptoe DUP PA go PHO
 ‘He went tiptoeing along.’

(745) *He ha’aki he oho penei e...*
 ACT announce ACT go like this
 ‘They went around announcing that...’

(746) *E ha’aki’aki koe e oho apó.*
 STA announceDUP 2s STA go tomorrow
 ‘You go and show them all around tomorrow.’

(b) The suffix *-hana* sometimes indicates iterative (see 2.2.2.2).

(c) Repeated action is indicated by complete duplication of the lexeme.

This applies to transitive and intransitive verbs.

(747) *Ko hana ’a maua mo ruku ruku.*
 PFT wish RES 1de BEN dive DUP
 ‘We want to go diving.’

(748) *Ki tunu tunu ta’a kai!*
 MOM cook DUP POS2sa food
 ‘Let’s get started with cooking your dinner.’

2.1.3.4. Mood

2.1.3.4.1. Indicative

The forms marked for tense and/or aspect, that is to say with the particles *e*, *he*, *ka/ki*, *ko*, *i*, can all function as indicatives.

2.1.3.4.2. Conditional

The forms marked with *ana* and *mo* can function as conditional. (See 1.1.2.4.2.5.)

2.1.3.4.3. Imperative

The forms marked with *ka/ki* can function as imperatives. The ‘obligation’ forms with *e* can also carry an imperative meaning.

2.1.3.4.3.1. Person and number of imperative

- *Ka* relates to the second person, singular and plural;
- *Ki* relates to the first persons singular, dual and plural and to the third person, singular and plural;
- *E* is normally accompanied by specification of the person and number.

2.1.3.4.4. Optative

Mai standing before the 1st plural/dual gives the meaning of wish ‘let’s...’ (see 1.1.1.3.2.4).

The negative particle *’o* can also have the meaning of ‘let us hope that not...’ (see 1.1.1.3.2.3).

2.1.3.4.5. Intentional

The use of the +REA *ro* in relation to a future action is in fact an indication of intention to bring about an action (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.1).

2.1.3.4.6. Debitive

Debitive is expressed in three ways:

(a) With the stative particle *e* followed by the lexeme:

- (749) *A Nua e runu te pipi.*
 PRS Nua STA collect +SPE shells
 ‘Nua is to collect the shells.’

(b) To express obligation in the past the possessive *a* is combined with the nominalized form of the verb:

- (750) A Nua te runu i te pipi.
 POS Nua +SPE collect RLT +SPE shells
 ‘Nua had to collect the shells.’

- (751) ‘A’ana te kai tunu i tu tapati era.
 POS3sa +SPE food cook RLT +SPE week PPD
 ‘She had to cook dinner last week.’

(c) With the stative *e* but with the subject marked for benefactive:

- (752) Ma Rui te hoi e ‘a’aru.
 BEN Rui +SPE horse STA catch
 ‘It is Rui’s job to bring in the horses.’

2.1.3.4.6.1. Physical and moral obligation

There is no distinction made between physical and moral obligation.

2.1.3.4.6.2. Degrees of obligation

The strongest obligation is expressed with both *e* and benefactive *ma* as in (752).

2.1.3.4.7. Potential

2.1.3.4.7.1. Physical ability and permission

Both physical ability and permission are expressed with *ana* (positive) *‘ina (e)ko/eko* (negative):

- (753) ‘Ina tatou ko hopu, vave ri’a ri’a.
 NEG 1pe NEG bathe wave very DUP
 ‘We can’t bathe today because of the rough sea.’

- (754) Eko ɲae’i a au i te maea, i a ia ana ɲae’i.
 NEG move PRS 1s RLT +SPE stone RLT PRS 3s MOD move
 ‘I can’t move the stone, he can.’

- (755) ‘Inei tatou ana hopu.
 Demnhere 1di MOD bathe
 ‘We’re allowed to bathe here.’

- (756) Ki tu’u atu a Vita, a koe ana oho.
 PFT come AWA RES Vita PRS 2s MOD go
 ‘You can/may go when Vita comes.’

2.1.3.4.7.2. Learned ability

This is expressed with the verb *'ite* 'know':

- (757) Ko 'ite 'a i te kau.
 PFT know RES RLT +SPE swim
 'He can swim.'

2.1.3.4.8. Degree of certainty in assertions

The *ro* +realization is used to affirm a statement (see also 1.11.2.1.2); a further reinforcement can be the presence of the personal pronoun. For example in response to the question:

- (758) I oho ro koe?
 PA go +RES 2s
 'Did you go?'

The answer could be:

- (759) Eee, i oho ro au.
 'I did go.' (a firm assertion)

or:

- (760) Ko oho 'a.
 'I went.' (laconic statement)

The anaphoric *ai* can reinforce the statement of the action on an object or in a place.

- (761) I kai ro au i te ika.
 PA eat +REA 1s RLT +SPE fish
 'I ate the fish.'

But:

- (762) I kai ai au i te ika i te hare o Vero.
 PA eat PHO 1s RLT +SPE fish RLT +SPE house POS Vero
 'I ate the fish in Vero's house.'

2.1.3.4.11. Monitory

(a) The negative particle *'o* serves as a monitory indicator:

- (763) Ka unu te kafé 'o takeo!
 MOM drink +SPE coffee NEG cold
 'Drink your coffee before it gets cold!'

(b) With the verb *hapa'o* 'guard':

(764) E *hapa'o* *koe* 'o *hiʻja* ro!
 STA guard 2s NEG fall RES
 'Be careful you don't fall!'

(765) E *hapa'o* *koe* 'o *ta'e* oho ro ki te hapi'
 STA guard 2s NEG NEG go RES DAT +SPE learn
 'Make sure you go to your lesson!'

(c) With the verb *u'i* 'look':

(766) E *uʻi* *koe* 'o *hiʻja* ro!
 STA look 2s NEG fall RES
 'Watch that you don't fall!'

(d) The negative particles '*ina ko*' can also have a monitory force:

(767) 'Ina *koe* ko oho ki ra!
 NEG 2s NEG go DAT DEM
 'Don't you go there!'

2.1.3.4.12. Narrative

The *he* marked form functions as the narrative tense for all stories or accounts of events in the past. The story of the child that turned into a yellow fish is one of the few that is currently known by all Rapanui. It is given in the Appendix in Erena Araki's version.

2.1.3.5. Finite and non-finite

The only distinction between finite and non-finite is the presence or absence of the TA markers standing before the verbal lexeme.

2.1.3.6. Person and number

2.1.3.6.1. Plurality of subject or object

The plurality of the subject of an intransitive verb and of the object of a transitive may be coded in the verb if they are not obvious from the context. This is usually done by duplication of the initial syllable of disyllabics and the final syllable(s) of polysyllabic lexemes.

2.1.3.6.1.1. Plurality of subject

- (768) **Ka** **himenemene** **korua!**
 MOM singDUP 2p
 ‘Sing up all of you!’

- (769) **Ko** **tetere** **’a** **te** **hoi.**
 PFT DUPrun RES +SPE horse
 ‘The horses ran off.’

2.1.3.6.1.2. Plurality of object

- (770) **A** **Piri** **ko** **hakatikeakea** **mai** **i** **te** **ahu** **ki** **a** **au.**
 PRS Piri PFT CAUSseeDUP TOW RLT +SPE *ahu* DAT PRS 1s
 ‘Piri showed me a lot of *ahus*.’
 (*ahu*: funeral platform for statues)

- (771) **Ka** **momore** **mai** **te** **maika!**
 MOM DUPcut TOW +SPE banana
 ‘Go and pick the bananas!’

2.1.3.6.10. Actions and speakers and hearers

2.1.3.6.10.1. Action towards the speaker

This is expressed by the particle *mai* which stands in position five in the verbal frame:

- (772) **Eko** **roŋo** **mai** **ra** **mo** **oho** **mai.**
 NEG respond TOW –REA BEN go TOW
 ‘She wouldn’t agree to come here.’

2.1.3.6.10.2. Action way from the speaker

This is expressed by the particle *atu*:

- (773) **Eko** **roŋo** **atu** **ra** **mo** **oho** **atu.**
 NEG respond AWA –REA BEN go AWA
 ‘She wouldn’t agree to go there.’

2.1.3.7. Marking of repetition of verbal strings

There is no omission of markers.

- (774) **He** **turu** **au** **he** **ruku.**
 ACT go down 1s ACT dive
 ‘I’m going down to the shore to dive.’

2.1.4. Adjectives

2.1.4.1. Predicative and attributive

There is no distinction between the two.

2.1.4.2. Absolute and contingent

It is sometimes possible to distinguish between the two; the attributive applies to the absolute and the perfect to the contingent:

- (775) *Taŋata mauiui te taŋata era.*
 Man sick +SPE man PPD
 ‘He is a sick man.’

but:

- (776) *Ko mauiui ’a te taŋata.*
 PFT sick RES +SPE man
 ‘The man is (= has become) ill.’

2.1.4.3. Adjectival agreement

There is no agreement between adjectives and nouns.

2.1.4.4. Comparison

2.1.4.4.1. Equality

Expressed by means of *pe* before nominal elements and by means of *pe* before clauses (see 1.2.5.2.9):

- (777) *Pe Rui ’a te roa roa o Chico.*
 TO+m Rui DEM +SPE tall DUP POS Chico
 ‘Chico is as tall as Rui.’

2.1.4.4.2. Comparative

Expressed by means of *ata* and *ihau* and *haua’e* and also the Tahitian *apa au*. (See 1.2.2.3.2; 1.2.2.4; 1.2.2.4.2.7; 1.2.5.2.9; 1.8.1.)

haua’e

- (778) *Haua’e a Rui i te roa roa ki to’ona ŋa taina era.*
 COMP PRS Rui RLT +SPE tall DUP DAT POS3si GRP sibling PPD
 ‘Rui is taller than his brothers and sisters.’

ata

- (779) Ata roa roa a Chico ki a Papi.
 COMP tall DUP PRS Chico DAT PRS Papi
 ‘Chico is taller than Papi.’

2.1.4.4.3. Superlative

There is no special form only various strategies.

2.1.4.4.3.1. Compared to other entities

Expressed with *haua’e* as in 2.1.4.4.2 above where (778) could also be rendered as ‘Rui was the tallest of the brothers and sisters’.

2.1.4.4.3.2. Compared to other points

There is only comparison:

- (780) Ata ‘ano ‘ano te vaenga o te vaka ki te poihoiho.
 COMP wide DUP +SPE middle POS +SPE boat DAT +SPE bow
 ‘The middle of the boat is wider than the bow.’

2.1.4.5. Degrees of quality

2.1.4.5.1. ‘Very’

rahi

- (781) Vaka nei vaka roa roa rahi.
 Boat PPD boat long DUP very
 ‘This boat is very long.’

ri’a ri’a

- (782) Ve’a ve’a ri’a ri’a a nei.
 Hot DUP much DUP POS PPD
 ‘It is very hot here.’

(See also 1.2.2.3.2.)

2.1.4.5.2. ‘Too’

There is no way of expressing excess only the following benefactive *mo* points back to this meaning (see 1.2.2.3.2).

2.1.4.5.3. ‘Rather’

The expression *ena* ‘a placed postpositively renders the sense of ‘rather’, ‘not too’, ‘so so’.

- (783) *Ve’a ve’a ena ’a.*
 Hot DUP PPD DEM
 ‘It’s not too hot.’

2.1.4.6. Predicative adjectives

The predicative adjectives do not differ in form from the attributive. (See 1.2.1.1.2.)

2.1.5. Prepositions and postpositions

Prepositional and postpositional particles form the bases of NPs and VPs.

The ‘syntactic’ prepositions of position one in the nominal frame have been listed and illustrated in 2.1.1.4 above. They are also listed in 1.1.

2.1.5.1. Preposition + pronoun with *mo/ma*

The preposition *mo/ma* combines with the 1st, 2nd, 3rd persons singular of the possessives to form compound prepositions: *ma’aku/mo’oku*, *mo’ou/ma’au*, *mo’ona/ma’ana*.

2.1.6. Numerals and quantifiers

2.1.6.1. Counting forms

The counting particle is *ka*. It is used before all numbers, whether Rapanui or Tahitian forms. So, ‘one to nine’: *ka tahi* (Tahitian *ka ho’e*), *ka rua* (Tahitian *ka piti*), *ka toru*, *ka ha* (Tahitian *ka maha*), *ka rima* (Tahitian *ka pae*), *ka ono*, *ka hitu*, *ka va’u* (*varu* is an older form), *ka iva*.

‘Ten’ is *’ahuru* but it is used with a prefix *aŋa* in counting: *aŋahuru* and this is used up to twenty.

For ‘teens’ and all the higher numbers, the numbers ‘one’ and ‘two’, ‘four’ and ‘five’ are Tahitian: *ho’e*, *piti*, *maha*, *pae*; the units are joined by *ma*. So — *ka aŋahuru ma ho’e* ‘eleven’, *ka aŋahuru ma piti* ‘twelve’, *ka aŋahuru ma toru* ‘thirteen’, *ka aŋahuru ma maha* ‘fourteen’, *ka aŋahuru ma pae* ‘fifteen’, etc.

‘Twenty’ is *ka piti ’ahuru*, ‘thirty’ is *ka toru ’ahuru*, ‘forty’ is *ka maha ’ahuru*, ‘fifty’ is *ka pae ’ahuru*, etc.

The units with the tens are joined by *ma*, so ‘fifty-one’ is *ka pae ’ahuru ma ho’e* and ‘eighty-eight’ is *ka va’u ’ahuru ma va’u*.

‘A hundred’ is *hanere* and again the Tahitian numbers are used for ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘four’ and ‘five’ so *ka ho’e hanere, ka piti hanere, ka maha hanere, ka pae hanere* (100, 200, 400, 500), but *ka toru hanere, ka ono hanere, ka hitu hanere* (300, 600, 700), etc. with the Rapanui forms.

The hundreds are put before the tens but the *ka* is repeated and the units are added with *ma*: *ka toru hanere ka iva ’ahuru ma iva* ‘three hundred and ninety-nine’.

‘Thousand’ is *tautini* and so the counting form for 4,568 is *ka maha tautini ka pae hanere ka ono ’ahuru ma va’u*.

The only **new number** is *’afa* ‘half’ — attached to any number as *e te ’afa* ‘and a half’.

- (784) He tiaki katahi ra’á, karua ra’á, katoru ra’á...
 ACT wait NUMone day NUMtwo day NUMthree day
 ‘They waited one day two days three days ...’
(ra’á ‘sun’ is the old word for day — this is a traditional story).

2.1.6.2. Cardinal numbers as attributes

In the attributive function the numbers up to nine are preceded by *e*: *etahi, erua, etoru, ehá, erima, eono, ehitu, eva’u, eiva*.

- (785) Ehia ’a’au mamoe? Ehitu ta’aku mamoe.
 INT POS2sa sheep Seven POS1sa sheep
 ‘How many sheep have you got?’ ‘Seven.’

- (786) Ehia moni o to’u kahu ena?
 QUINT money POS POS2si dress PPD

Eho’e tautini piti ’ahuru.
 QUINT thousand five ten
 ‘How much did your dress cost?’ ‘One thousand and fifty.’

In the same way as for the counting numbers, we have Rapanui 1 to 10 and Tahitian for the higher numbers.

When a unit is used in a higher number it is preceded by *ma* ‘and’ and the Tahitian forms are used for ‘one’ *ho’e*, ‘two’ *piti*, ‘four’ *maha*, ‘five’ *pae*. ‘Ten’ is *’ahuru*, ‘hundred’ is *hanere*, ‘thousand’ is *ta’utini*. The ‘teens’ are:

ten	<i>ho’e ’ahuru</i>
eleven	” ” <i>ma ho’e</i>
twelve	” ” ” <i>piti</i>
thirteen	” ” ” <i>toru</i>
fourteen	” ” ” <i>maha</i>
fifteen	” ” ” <i>pae</i>
sixteen	” ” ” <i>ono</i>

seventeen	<i>ho'e 'ahuru ma hitu</i>
eighteen	" " " <i>va'u</i>
nineteen	" " " <i>iva</i>

The 'tens' are:

twenty	<i>piti 'ahuru</i>
thirty	<i>etoru</i> "
forty	<i>emaha</i> "
fifty	<i>epae</i> "
sixty	<i>eono</i> " , etc.

The units are added with *ma* as for the 'teens':

twenty-one	<i>piti 'ahuru ma ho'e</i>
twenty-two	" " " <i>piti</i> , etc.

The 'hundreds' are:

one hundred	<i>ho'e hanere</i>
two hundred	<i>piti</i> "
three hundred	<i>etoru</i> " , etc.

The 'hundreds' and 'tens' are simply juxtaposed:

Four hundred and seventy *emaha hanere e hitu 'ahuru*.

The units are added as for the 'tens':

583 = *epae hanere eva'u 'ahuru ma toru*

2.1.6.3. Special numbers

For the use of Tahitian numbers in times of the day, see 1.2.5.2.6.

2.1.6.4. Ordinal numbers

These have a specifying particle either *te* (+SPE) or *he* (±SPE).

The only special ordinal is *te ra'e* 'the first' and it is postpositive *te poki ra'e* 'the first child'. After that follows *te rua poki*, *te toru poki*, etc. Subsequent firsts, eleventh, twenty-first, one hundred and first, etc. use *ho'e* for 'one': *te piti 'ahuru ma ho'e* (21st), *te ho'e hanere ma ho'e* (101st).

Again *'ahuru* 'ten' takes the prefix *aja* — *te ajahuru* 'the tenth': *te ajahuru poki* 'the tenth child'. The 'eleventh' is *te ho'e 'ahuru ma ho'e* but 'the twelfth, thirteenth', etc. (*te ajahuru ma piti*, *te ajahuru ma toru*) use the prefixed form of 'ten' and the 'Tahitian numbers for 2, 4, 5.

For the tens the form reverts to the simple *'ahuru*: *te piti 'ahuru* 'the twentieth', *te toru 'ahuru ma pae poki* 'the thirty-fifth child'.

(787) 'Ina 'o he rua ru'au era he himene?
 NEG NEG ±SPE two old woman PPD ACT sing
 'Wasn't there a second old woman, who sang?'

(788) I te ha planeta he ta'ero te me'e oru'a.
 RLT +SPE four planet ±SPE drunk +SPE thing on top
 'On the fourth planet was a drunkard.'

2.1.6.5. Numeral derivations

The derivation with *hoko* which can be prefixed to numbers up to nine means 'collection of': *hokotahi* 'alone'; *hokorua* 'a twosome'; *hokotoru* 'three' ... *hokoiva* 'nine'.

Based on *tahi* 'one' is *tetahi* 'some/ other(s)' (see 2.1.6.6).

With duplication: *ararua*, *atoru*, *ahaha*, *aririma* indicating collectives + 1 (see 1.2.5.2.6).

2.1.6.6. Other quantifiers

Group

The group indicator that can be used with all nouns is *ʻa*; it mostly indicates upwards of three except when referring to the fore legs or hind legs of large animals such as horses.

All

Within the verbal frame 'all' is *tahi*; but outside this frame it is *ta'ato'a*.

Some/other(s)

(a) The term *tetahi* is used for both 'some' and 'other(s)':

'Other'

(789) Ko haʻa rahi 'a au mo tikea mai e au tetahi
 PFT wish much RES 1s BEN see TOW AG 1s other
 ʻa poki era.
 GRP child PPD
 'I should like very much to see your other children.'

'some ... others'

(790) E maroa tahi ro 'a, tetahi ko momore 'a
 STA stand all +REA RES some PFT DUPcut RES
 te ʻa, tetahi e ai ro 'a te papa'i
 +SPE neck other STA EX +REA RES +SPE write
 i te manava i te tu'a ivi.
 RLT +SPE belly RLT +SPE back bone

‘They are all standing there, some are cut off at the neck, others have writing on their fronts or backs.’

(b) With reference to things rather than persons *to’ona* ... *to’ona* is used:

- (791) *To’ona maika he hakaré mo inaki o*
 POS3si banana ACT leave BEN accompaniment POS
- te kiko, to’ona he hakaré mo haka para*
 +SPE meat POS3si ACT leave BEN CAUS ripe
- ’iroto i te hare.*
 inside RLT +SPE house

‘Some bananas they leave to eat with meat, others they leave to ripen in the house.’

‘each’

This is rendered by *e/katahi etahi*:

- (792) *Katahi poki, etahi tenero.*
 NUMone child NUMone pair
- ‘To each child one pair (of animals).’

- (793) *Ko ’avai ’a e au ki te ŋa poki etahi etahi maika.*
 PFT give RES AG 1s DAT +SPE GRP child one one banana
- ‘I gave the children one banana each.’

The others ≈ the rest

This is *te rua*:

- (794) *Terua ŋa poki era, kona ta’e roa teraua hare.*
 +SPEtwo GRP child PPD place NEG long +SPEthey house
- ‘The other children’s house was not far away.’

Some ≈ indefinite

The counting particle *ka* is used for this:

- (795) *Ko mate ’a ka rua peaha ’ava’e.*
 PFT dead RES NUM two perhaps month
- ‘She died about a couple of months ago.’

- (796) *I iri ro tatou etahi vese ki ni kona pa’i*
 PA go up +REA 1pi one time DAT LT place COORa
- ka hia matahiti.*
 NUM INT year
- ‘We did go up to that place but goodness knows how many years ago.’

No ≈ not one

This is rendered with a negative particle and *etahi*.

- (797) Kai 'avai e au etahi maika.
 NEG give AG 1s one banana
 'I didn't give them a single banana.'

'Time' in set expressions

The verb *pae* 'pass' is used to express 'once upon a time':

- (798) Ko pae 'a te matahiti pe tu'a...
 PFT pass RES +SPE year TO+m behind
 'Once upon a time...'

The word *ta'u* 'time, period' or, in its Tahitian form, *anatau*, is used in some archaic expressions meaning 'time will pass':

- (799) E pae ro te ta'u
 STA pass RES +SPE time
 Me'e rahi te ta'u
 Thing much +SPE time
 E pae te anatau
 STA pass +SPE time
- } ana hoki mai koe ki nei.
 MOD back TOW 2s DAT PPD
- 'Time will pass and you'll come back.'

2.1.6.6.1. Compound quantifiers

There are no compound quantifiers. There are strategies such as the limitative particle for 'any' and the negative with a dummy noun or *etahi* for 'no...': *te kona no era* 'any where'; *te nu'u no era* 'anyone'; *'ina ... kona* 'nowhere'.

- (800) Te nu'u no era mo tu'u mai.
 +SPE people LIM PPD BEN come TOW
 'Anyone can come.'
- (801) 'Ina 'o'ona kona mo noho.
 NEG POS3si place BEN stay
 'He has nowhere to stay.'

For 'everything' and 'everyone' the terms are: *te me'e ta'a to'a* ≈ 'the thing(s) all', and *te nu'u ta'ato'a* ≈ 'the people all'.

2.1.7. Adverbs

Apart from adverbs of time and place there are relatively few adverbs in the language: *koroiti* 'slowly'; *horou* 'quickly'; *rahi* 'much'; *tahaja* 'to no purpose'; *peaha* 'perhaps'; *hoki* 'back'; *haka'ou* 'again'; *takoa* 'also'; *koi'ite* 'maybe'.

2.1.7.1. Comparison

This is done by paraphrase depending on the adverb in question.

2.1.7.1.1. Equative

Can be expressed by causative: *haka horou*.

- (802) *Ka haka horou mai koe ana oho mai.*
 MOM CAUS quickly TOW 2s MOD go TOW
 ‘Come as quickly as you can.’

But with *koroiti* this strategy cannot be used, it has to be:

- (803) *He ha’ere a koe koroiti no pehe to’o taina.*
 ACT walk PRS 2s slowly LIM like POS2si sibling
 ‘You walk slowly like your brother.’

2.1.7.1.2. Comparative

Again the causative is used.

- (804) *Ka ata haka horou mai to’u va’e.*
 MOM COMP CAUS quickly TOW POS2si foot
 ‘Walk more quickly!’

2.1.7.1.3. Superlative

As noted in previous discussions of comparison (1.2.2.3.2, 1.2.5.2.9, 2.1.1.2.6) there is no superlative form.

2.1.8. Clitics

There are no clitics in the language, unless the *unstressed prepositive* particles of the nominal and verbal frames can be considered as clitics; these are listed in 1.1.

2.2. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

2.2.1. Reduplication, causatives, deverbatives

There is relatively little derivation. The three main processes are:

- (a) reduplication — of the whole lexeme, or of the first syllable(s), or the last syllable(s), or of the last two syllables of a trisyllabic, especially though not: exclusively, where the first syllable is *ma*, *pa* or *ha*;
- (b) formation of causatives with *haka*;
- (c) formations with postpositive, *haya* or *Vya*.

This paucity of derivation is to be expected; only ‘meaning’ distinguishes the isolated lexeme as a ‘noun’ or a ‘verb’ or an ‘adjective’; none of these labels is strictly justified until the lexeme is in its nominal or verbal frame or functioning as an attribute, as the case may be.

2.2.1.1. Nouns from nouns

The suffix — *Vŋa* forms ‘abstract’ nouns. The vowel that precedes the suffix is usually *i* but it can also be *e* or an echo of the final vowel of the lexeme where this is *o* or *a*, occasionally *u*.

<i>kai</i>	‘food’	<i>kaiiŋa</i>	‘eating’
<i>mate</i>	‘death’	<i>mateiŋa/mateeŋa</i>	‘dying’
<i>ora</i>	‘life’	<i>oraŋa</i>	‘living, healing’
<i>papaku</i>	‘corpse’	<i>papakuiŋa</i>	‘low tide’
<i>puai</i>	‘strength’	<i>puaiiŋa</i>	‘(horse) power’
<i>hahatu</i>	‘fold up’	<i>hahatuuŋa</i>	‘folding up’

- (805) *Pe tu puaiiŋa ’a te ŋa auto nei.*
 TO+m +SPE strengthSUF DEM +SPE GRP car PPD
 ‘These cars are all equally powerful.’

The suffix *-haja* forms nouns indicating habitual or iterative action (see also 2.1.3.3.2.1.3):

kai ‘food’: *kaihaŋa* ‘way of eating’

- (806) *Te kaihaŋa o Pota koroiti no.*
 +SPE foodSUF POS Pota slowly LIM
 ‘Pota is a slow eater.’

Both these types are freely formed from native disyllabic and trisyllabic ‘noun’ lexemes, though necessarily the second type, with *-haja*, is associated with ‘action’ lexemes.

2.2.1.2. Nouns from verbs

The same suffixes, *-Vŋa* and *-haja* can be postponed to ‘verbal’ forms under the same conditions and with the same meanings as in 2.2.1.1 above.

aŋa ‘work’ (verbal? nominal?): *aŋaiŋa*:

- (807) *E hakaoti riva riva te aŋaiŋa o tekoria moai.*
 STA CAUSend good DUP +SPE workSUF POS POS2p statues
 ‘You must finish doing your statues properly.’

tunu ‘cook’: *tunuhaŋa* ‘way of cooking’:

- (808) Ko tunu ‘a au ‘a te tunuhaŋa o Sunta.
 PFT cook RES 1s DEM +SPE cookSUF POS Sunta
 ‘I also cooked it the way Sunta does.’

Formation of nouns from verbs by nominal frame is always possible. It is regularly done in comparisons (see 1.2.2.3.2) and to indicate past obligation (2.1.3.4.6).

2.2.1.2.1. Syntax of deverbal nouns

The syntax in the above examples is nominal but the same suffix postposed to nominal or verbal lexemes can also have a verbal syntax (see 2.2.2.1 below).

2.2.1.3. Nouns from adjectives

The formation of nouns from adjectives is not by derivation but simply by putting the adjective in a nominal frame:

roa roa ‘long’: *te roa roa o te vaka* ‘the length of the boat’.

2.2.1.4. Nouns from adverbs

The number of adverbs in the language is relatively small; not surprisingly therefore the nouns derived from adverbs are isolated forms.

With *-Vŋa*

hoki ‘back, again’: *hokiŋa* ‘return’;

With +SPE *te* i.e. nominal frame

rahi ‘much’: *te rahi* ‘the (large) size/number’

2.2.2. Derived verbs

2.2.2.1. Verbs from nouns

They are of two types.

(i) With *-Vŋa*

These formations can carry the meaning of imperfective (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.2).

- (809) He oraŋa te mauŋi.
 ACT lifeSUF +SPE illness
 ‘He is getting better.’

- (810) He papakuiŋa te tai.
 ACT corpseSUF +SPE shore
 'It is low tide (about to turn).'

(ii) With *haka*

roŋo 'message' : *hakaroŋo* 'obey'
reka 'amusement' : *hakareka* 'amuse'

2.2.2.2. Verbs from verbs

(i) With *-haŋa* and *-Vŋa*

These formations are the same as for the 'noun' lexemes. The suffix *-haŋa* more usually means 'manner of action'; here it is iterative. The *-Vŋa* form indicates 'as yet unrealized'.

- (811) I te hora erua a Rui ka rima irihaŋa ki 'uta.
 RLT +SPE hour two PRS Rui NUM five go upSUF DAT inland
 'In the space of two hours Rui came up from the shore five times.'

- (812) E hatihatiŋa no mai 'a i te ananá,
 STA breakDUPSUF LIM TOW RES RLT +SPE pineapples

i po ro ai.
 PA night +REA PHO

'We were in the middle of harvesting the pineapples when night fell.'

(ii) With causative *haka*

This is widely used to create new verbs.

<i>tikea</i>	'see'	<i>hakatikea</i>	'show'
<i>piri</i>	'meet'	<i>hakapiri</i>	'join'
<i>reva</i>	'dangle' (intrans.)	<i>hakareva</i>	'wave'
<i>iri</i>	'go up'	<i>haka iri</i>	'send up'

- (813) Ka haka iri a Chico ki 'uta!
 MOM CAUS go up PRS Chico DAT inland
 'Send Chico up to the neighbours!'

(iii) By reduplication

This indicates a repeated action:

- (814) E kume kume i te veo.
 STA undo DUP RLT +SPE nail
 'He is taking the nails out.'

- (815) 'Ina ko horo horo te kai!
 NEG NEG swallow DUP +SPE food
 'Don't scoff your food!'

2.2.2.3. Verbs from adjectives/adverbs

These are not very numerous. They are all associated with the prefix *haka*.

ra'e 'first' : *hakara'e* 'put first'

ke 'different(ly)' : *hakaké* 'be different/do differently'

2.2.2.4. Adjectives from adjectives

The attenuated form of adjectives '-ish' is derived by reduplication of the initial syllable or syllables: *memea* 'reddish', *moamoana* 'bluish' (see 3.4.3).

2.2.2.5. Complex pre/postpositions

2.2.2.5.1. Complex prepositions

All the complex prepositions are based on lexemes that have still a nominal sense, e.g. *tu'a* 'back', *ki tu'a ki* 'to the back or, except *imuri* 'near' which is a borrowing from Tahitian where it means 'behind'.

They are described in 2.1.1.5.

2.2.2.5.2. Complex postpositions

These are the same as the prepositions but are adverbials.

2.2.2.6. Compound morphology

(i) Nouns

Compounds are the most common way of creating new concepts. The nominal element stands first and the attribute stands second, although in the case of foreign words such as *kuki* in *'umu kuki* 'gas cooker' it is difficult to disentangle the functions.

patia ika 'spear fish = harpoon'

patia kai 'spear food = fork'

kiri va'e 'skin foot = shoes'

manu patia 'bird spear = wasp'

pepe hoi 'stool horse = saddle'

pepe noho 'stool stay = chair'

tanata manu 'man bird = birdman'

(ii) Verbs

These are not common:

tunu kiri ‘cook in its skin’ (of *kuma*, etc.)

tunu ahi ‘bake in ashes’.

Phonology

3.1. PHONOLOGICAL UNITS (SEGMENTAL)

3.1.1. Distinctive segments

There are five vowels which can be long or short — in circumstances described below — and ten consonants.

3.1.2. List of elements

3.1.2.1. *Non-syllabics*

3.1.2.1.1. Plosives and affricates

There are three unvoiced plosives:

labio-labial	p
apico-dental	t
dorso-velar	k

There are no affricates except in words borrowed from Spanish such as the lamino-postalveolar voiceless [ts] in ‘Chico’.

3.1.2.1.2. Fricatives

There is a fricative:

glottal-approximant	h
---------------------	---

which is voiced intervocalically.

There is also a voiced fricative

labio-labial	v
--------------	---

which is strongly labialized.

The lamino-post-alveolardental voiceless fricative [ɬ], also realized as palatal [ɬʲ], is found in foreign words especially, from Spanish.

3.1.2.1.3. Nasals

There are three voiced nasals:

labio-labial	m
lamino-dental	n
velar	ŋ

3.1.2.1.4. Liquids

There is only one liquid:

single flapped apico-alveolar	r
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3.1.2.1.5. Glides

Glides only occur allophonically. Combinations of stressed vowel + *u* or *i* as in *hau* ‘rope’ or *hoi* ‘horse’ are not diphthongs; both these are two syllable words. But where such combinations are followed by a stressed vowel, whether or not over a morphological boundary, for instance *haua’e* ‘more’ or *’ina kai aŋa* ‘They didn’t do the work’ then the *u* or *i* can become a glide in fast speech, though not in deliberate or emphatic contexts.

3.1.2.1.6. Glottal

There is the stop [ʔ]

Phonemically this is a true stop, distinguishing, for instance, *hau* ‘rope’ from *ha’u* ‘hat’ or *ara* ‘road’ from *’ara* ‘wake up’. But in any two-vowel sequence where the second vowel is stressed such as *ma’ea* ‘stone’ with the stress on *e*, there may be ‘creaky voice’ which shows up on the sonogram as white noise, or, especially in emphatic speech, a true stop, *ma’ea*.

3.1.2.2. Syllabics

There are five plain fully voiced vowels:

central	a
open	e
high front	i
open	o
high back	u

The vowels can be **short** or **long**; they are long in final stressed position in a word. Other conditions in which they are long are noted below (see 3.2.3).

Allophonically the vowel [o] may be **closed** in a prestressed position.

This is particularly the case for some speakers with the verbal particle *ko* which becomes [ku].

The creaky voice allophone associated with the glottal is noted in 3.1.2.1.6.

3.1.2.3. *Sounds only in loanwords*

Reference has been made above to [ts] (3.1.2.1.1) and [s] (3.1.2.1.2) found only in foreign words and some nicknames.

3.1.2.4. *Restrictions on occurrence in wordclasses*

To avoid vowel gemination (see 3.2.3.3), there is a wordclass restriction involving the use of the glottal stop in singular possessive pronouns. Hence: *oai* ‘whose (inalienable)’, but *’a’ai* ‘whose (alienable)’. In the case of *’o’oku/’a’aku* ‘my’ the intervocalic glottal is historical, the initial one is an addition.

A similar glottal insertion is found in verbs where an initial duplication indicating plurality (see 2.1.3.6.1) would yield a geminated vowel; this is avoided by use of the glottal. For example *anu* ‘spit’ but *’a’anu* ‘spit them out’. This is distinct from the reduplication for emphasis (see 3.3.1.1 (iv)) where we have the weak form of the glottal — double exhalation giving two *morae*.

3.2. PHONOTACTICS

3.2.1. Consonant combinations

3.2.1.1. *Word final consonants*

There are none.

3.2.1.2. *Word initial consonants*

All the ten consonants listed in 3.1 above can be initial in a word and there are no restrictions: *po* ‘night’; *tunu* ‘cook’; *kiko* ‘meat’; *ha’u* ‘hat’; *vai* ‘water’; *motu* ‘skerry’; *qao* ‘neck’; *re’o* ‘voice’; *’aja* ‘cave’.

3.2.2. Consonant clusters

There are no consonant clusters. Loanwords of long standing have vowels inserted, e.g. ‘Britain’ is *Paratane*. More recent acquisitions such as *litro* retain the cluster of the original.

3.2.3. Vowel combinations

3.2.3.1. Word final vowels

All five vowels, short and long, can stand in word final position: *maea* ‘stone’, *kumá* ‘sweet potato’; *mate* ‘death’, *puté* ‘sack’; *iri* ‘go up’, *apí* ‘new’; *koro* ‘father’, *titó* ‘chisel’; *tunu* ‘cook’, *kopú* ‘stomach’.

3.2.3.1.1. Restrictions on word final vowels

If the final vowels are stressed (normal stress is penultimate) they are long.

3.2.3.2. Word initial vowels

All five vowels can stand in word initial position: *ara* ‘road’; *eke* ‘ride’; *ika* ‘fish’; *oti* ‘end’; *uru* ‘enter’.

3.2.3.2.1. Restrictions on word initial vowels

They are not long except allophonically — where the final vowel of the word is long or where there is duplication of the final syllables (see 3.3.1.1). A type of double rather than long vowel is found in *eee* ‘yes’ and as a result of duplication (see 3.2.3.3 and 3.4.5).

3.2.3.3. Sequences of vowels

(i) Two vowel sequences

Most sequences are possible. An exception is *uo*. Apparently isolated examples are the sequence *ie* in the word *hiero* ‘first light’ and *ue* in *hue* ‘accumulate’. The only repetition sequence appears to be *eee* which occurs in *eee* ‘yes’. Here the articulation of the three vowels is clearly punctuated by slight exhalations that distinguish this sequence from long [e:] as in *puté* ‘sack’ and from [e’e] as in *me’e* ‘thing’; the final *e* is always on a different level, a tone or so up or down from the first two which are on the same level. It is this type of lengthening that is used in emphatic duplication such as *aaya* from *aya* ‘work’ (see 3.3.1.1 (iv) and 3.4.3 (iv) below).

(ii) Three vowel sequences

The possible combinations here are:

<i>aea</i>	as in <i>maea</i> ‘stone’
<i>au</i>	” ” <i>kaui</i> ‘sew’
<i>oi</i>	” ” <i>moai</i> ‘statue’
<i>aua</i>	” ” <i>aua</i> ‘fence’
<i>uau</i>	” ” <i>ruau</i> ‘old woman’
<i>aia</i>	” ” <i>maiare</i> ‘luckless’ (of fisherman)
<i>ae</i>	” ” <i>aué</i> ‘oh!’

The last combination *ae* seems to be rare; it is also in the word *kaue* ‘lasso’.

3.2.4. Lexical structure and word structure

The reduplication of the final syllables for forming attributes such as *maeaea* ‘stoney’ from *maea* ‘stone’ or to indicate an iterative action alters the stress patterns (see 3.3.1.1 (iii)) but not the segmental patterns.

3.2.5. Syllable structure

The syllable structure is (C)V.

3.2.5.1. Division into syllables

Morphological considerations do not affect the division into syllables. There are no closed syllables and no consonant clusters; the only divisions are before a consonant if there is one otherwise between vowels.

3.2.5.2. Canonical syllable types

Open syllables are the only type.

3.3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

3.3.1. Length

3.3.1.1. Length in vowels

(i) Phonemic length in final stressed vowels

As mentioned in 3.2.3.1.1 there are words with final stress and these stressed final vowels are always long: *matá* ‘axe head’; *puté* ‘bag, sack’; *hapí* ‘school’; *apó* ‘tomorrow’; *kopú* ‘belly’.

(ii) Allophonic length

(a) In any final stress word the prefinal syllable may be lengthened in deliberate speech. So for instance we have either [pute:] or [pu:te:].

(b) A limited number of common trisyllabics, notably the 1st plural pronouns *matou* and *tatou* and the word for ‘week’ — *tapati* can optionally have a long initial syllable.

(iii) Vowel length and duplication in trisyllabics

When the second two syllables of trisyllabic words are duplicated for intensity or plurality a different length/stress pattern emerges:

ma'neŋe ‘small’ > 'ma: neŋe neŋe ‘tiny’

ta'huti ‘run’ > 'ta: huti huti ‘all run away’

That is to say the initial syllable becomes stressed and long and the subsequent pairs are initial stressed. This only occurs where the duplicated word is recognized as a ‘formation’. Old words, often Tahitian, that are only found in the duplicated form have the normal penultimate stress: *hanua hua mea* ‘rainbow’; *mau ruru* ‘thanks’ *marama rama* ‘clever’.

(iv) Lengthening of initial vowel

Where the initial syllable of a word is a vowel which is lengthened for emphasis (see 3.4.3 (iv) below), this long vowel has two distinct *morae* which are spoken on a rising — *aaŋa* or falling — *peeira* sequence.

3.3.2. Stress*3.3.2.1. The role of stress*

The interaction between stress and length and between stress, length and duplication has been discussed above (3.3.1.1).

3.3.2.2. Stress and length

Where the stressed syllable of a word is final instead of the normal penultimate, that syllable is long. This pattern also, in deliberate speech, entails the lengthening of the pretonic, e.g. *hápi* ‘learn’.

3.3.2.3. Stress and duplication

In the case of the duplication of the two last syllables of a trisyllabic word, the first syllable becomes long and stressed and is followed by a slight hesitation (see 3.3.1.1).

(818)	Pe	ne	i	e	i	ki	ma	i	a	i...
	-	-	-	↑3	-	-	-	-	↑3 ↓2	↑3...
	TO+m	PPD		exc	PA	say	TOW		PHO	
	'He told me that...'									

Question

The nucleus is the final element of the verb:

(819)	I	tu	'u	ma	i	a	i	a	Nu	a?
	-	↑2	↓2	-	-	↑4	↓5	↑2	↑2	↓3
	PA	come		TOW		PHO		PRS	Nua	
	'Did Nua come?'									

If the nucleus is on the subject then this is marked emphatically by a rise of a fifth and fall of up to an octave, provided the question is simply focused on the subject, and by a shallow fall if there is an added element of surprise:

(820)	I	tu	'u	ma	i	a	i	a	Nu	a?
	-	↑2	↓2	-	-	↑4	↓5	↑2	↑5	↓7 (↓3 for surprise)
	PA	come		TOW		PHO		PRS	Nua	
	'Did Nua come?'									

Order

The nucleus is the final element of the verb. The presence of the subject; added after a short juncture (I), is slightly emphatic but does not alter the shape of the imperative.

(821)	Ka	o	ho	ma	i		[ko	e]!
	-	↑3	↓2	↑5	↓5		[↑3	↓2]
	MOM	go		TOW			2s	
	'Come here!'							

3.3.4.1. Intonation peak

As described in 3.3.4. above, the peak is the final stressed syllabic marked by the rise of a fourth and fall of a fifth, but where this is not the final of the verbal piece the latter has a secondary peak.

3.3.4.2. Emphatic

There is a characteristic emphatic intonation which is signalled by the high rise of a seventh followed by a shallow fall of a second; it is always final, whether in a statement or a question.

- (822) Pe e i ra!
 - ↓2 ↑ / 7 ↓2
 'Really!'

3.3.4.3. Syntactic repercussions

The final position of the strong emphatic intonation means that the neutral word order has to be juggled around to get the elements to be emphasized at the end of the sentence and this may involve a change in TA markers. For example with a neutral sentence such as:

- (823) Ko 'avai mai 'a Rui i te puka.
 PFT give TOW RES Rui RLT +SPE book
 'Rui gave me the book.'

If the object needs to be emphasized, then the emphatic intonation is applied; if the subject needs to be emphasized then it is put in final position and the object is somewhat emphasized by its change of position; if the verb needs to be emphasized, subject and object are fronted in that order; the object loses its marking because the subject is 'islanded' and followed by a pause; the object has then to be taken up by the phoric *ai* and the action has receded into the non-resultative past with TA marker *i*. The structure becomes:

- (824) A Rui, i, te puka i 'ava i ma i
 - ↑4 ↓3| ↓2 - - - ↓2 ↑ / 7 ↓2

3.4. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SEGMENTAL)

3.4.1. Metathesis

Historically and in the *ponoko* 'secret language' metathesis was obviously important but in the modern language it is rare. The only common example is the alternation of *va'ai* and *'avai* 'give'.

3.4.2. Deletion and insertion

3.4.2.1. Deletion processes

Intervocalic *r* is still being deleted in some words for instance *kumara/kumá* 'sweet potato'; *tikera/tikea* 'see'; the intermediary glottal stage can be seen in the alternation in *va'u/varu* 'eight'; the older generation tends to use the non-deleted form. The alternative forms *'a* and *ana* for the resultative/modal/demonstrative particle indicate the deletion of *n* and subsequent lengthening of the vowel which is in position of stress and has acquired a glottal. Historically, too, there has been deletion of intervocalic

v — *ri'a* is a neologism derived from *riva* — and of intervocalic *k* — *ho'i* is derived from *hoki* — but this does not appear to be an ongoing process.

3.4.2.2. Insertion processes

The glottal is the important insertion. It has replaced *v* and *k* (see 3.4.2.1) and has come into the pronominal system especially to separate two identical repeated vowels: *tooku* or *to'oku* 'my' but *'o'oku* 'my'; *ki a ai* 'to whom' but *'a'ai* 'who'. It distinguishes the demonstrative (*'ai*) from phoric (*ai*). Historically it seems to have been used to create new words, e.g. *'ua* 'rain': *u'a* 'high tide' but it is not productive in this way any more.

3.4.3. Reduplication

The picture for duplication is fairly complicated; not only are there a number of functions but there are also a number of constraints.

Reduplication:

- of the whole lexical unit: *hatu* 'weave' : *hatuhatu* 'fold';
- of the initial syllable of adjectives: *tea* 'early dawn' : *teatea* 'white' : *tetea* 'whitish';
- of the initial syllable of disyllabic verbs: *tere* 'run away' : *tetere* 'run away' (plural subject); *more* 'cut' : *momore* 'cut' (plural object);
- of the last two syllables of a trisyllabic word: *ɣarepe* 'wet' : *ɣareperepe* 'soaked to the skin';
- of the first vowel of disyllabic or trisyllabic words *'o'otu* 'burn' : *'o'o'otu* 'burn very much'.

(i) Reduplication of the whole lexical form

This only applies to disyllabic bases. In a few nouns it can indicate the essential plurality of the referant, e.g. *hukahuka* 'firewood' but such forms are few and unproductive.

The two important functions of total duplication are to form adjectives from nouns and to indicate an essentially multiple action. Both parts of the duplicated word have equal stress.

(a) To form adjectives

mea 'fish gills' : *mea mea* 'dark red'

kihi 'dried sea salt' : *kihi kihi* 'glistening grey-white'

'ehu 'mist' : *'ehu 'ehu* 'grey'

Sometimes the meaning of the base lexical unit has been lost but a duplicated form is still the norm for the adjective:

nehe nehe 'soft'

pea pea ‘messy’

hio hio ‘hard’

ajo ajo ‘skinny’

rohi rohi ‘tired’

(b) To indicate a multiple action:

kume ‘undo’: *kume kume* ‘take to pieces’

ruku ‘dive’: *ruku ruku* ‘go diving’

pu’a ‘cover’: *pu’a pu’a* ‘completely cover the *umu* with leaves, earth, etc.’

For example:

huri ‘pour’

(825) *Ka huri te vai kiroto ki te pani!*
 MOM pour +SPE water around DAT +SPE pan
 ‘Pour the water into the pan!’
 (single action)

(826) *Ka huri huri te kumá hai vai!*
 MOM pour DUP +SPE sweet potatoes INS water
 ‘Go and water your sweet potato plants!’
 (multiple action)

In the present-day language there is only the initial duplicated form *’a’aru* ‘catch’ but there can still be total duplication of the presumed base **’aru*:

(827) *Ka ’aru’aru te moa!*
 ‘Get all the chickens in!’

(ii) Reduplication of the initial syllable This only applies to disyllabic bases.

(a) In ADJECTIVES to indicate attenuation

The duplicated form is reduced to the base form and the initial is duplicated. This applies even to adjectives such *heŋa heŋa* ‘pink’ where the base form is not used.

heŋa heŋa ‘pink’

(828) *Ko heheŋa mai ’a te ra’á.*
 ‘Dawn is breaking.’

memea ‘reddish’

(829) *E memea no ’a te mareni.*
 ‘The watermelons have just turned slightly red.’

tetea ‘whitish’

(830) *Ko tikea e au to hare tetea i tai era.*
 ‘I could see the whitish houses by the shore.’

The non-duplicated form *moana* ‘blue’ has duplication of the first two syllables: *moamoana*.

(b) In VERBS for plurality of subject or object

Plurality of subject of transitive verb

'ori ‘dance’

(831) *E 'ori ro 'a.*

‘He/she/they is/are dancing.’

E 'o'ori ro 'a.

‘They are all dancing.’

Plurality of object

more ‘cut’

(832) *Ko more 'a to'oku rima.*

‘I’ve cut my hand.’

Ka momore te maika!

‘Go and pick the bananas!’

(iii) Reduplication of the last two syllables of a trisyllabic word

(a) **With adjectives to indicate intensity**

Since the vast majority of adjectives are of the duplicated type, there are not many that fit into this category.

ŋoio ‘ripe’ : *ŋoioio* ‘very ripe’

manene ‘small’ : *manenene* ‘tiny, smaller’

In the case of *maea* ‘stone’ this type of reduplication is used to form an adjective: *maeaea* ‘stony’.

(b) **With verbs to indicate plurality or intensity** depending on the meaning of the base form.

ha'aki ‘tell’

(833) *Ka ha'aki'aki!*

‘Tell the whole story!’

ma'eha ‘bright’

(834) *Ko ma'eha'eha 'a te mahina.*

‘The moon has become very bright.’

In the case of these trisyllabic words the duplication is accompanied by an **alternation of the stress pattern**.

(See 3.3.1.1 (iii)).

(iv) Reduplication of the first vowel (with the preceding glottal if there is one). The function is emphasis. The vowel, if there is no intervening glottal, is in fact lengthened into two *morae*.

'o'otu 'burn, cook'

- (835) *Ko 'o'otu era 'a te kai.*
'The meal was ready.'

Ko 'o'o'otu 'a.
'She's terribly sunburnt.'

- (836) *peira!* 'really!' *peeira!!* 'really!!'

In the case of reduplication of the first vowel of verbs, an element of the verbal piece which is not the lexeme might be emphasized. In the first two examples below the emphasis is on PPD *era*; in the third it is the +REA *ro* which is emphasized.

aja 'work'

- (837) *Ko aaaja era 'a.*
'That was done ages ago.'

tiaki 'wait'

- (838) *Ko tiaki era 'a au.*
'I've been waiting for ages.'

oho 'go'

- (839) *He ooho ro 'a a Nua.*
'Nua went ages ago.'

3.5. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SUPRASEGMENTAL)

3.5.1–2. Change of stress and stress assignment

Both of these occur in duplicated trisyllabics (see 3.3.1.1 (iii)).

Ideophones and Interjections

The language is not rich in either

4.1. Ideophones

ANIMAL SOUNDS

umó

meme

kiu kiu

ɲurɲu

hi

ɲaɲaɲa

pipi pipi

ku'u ku'u

miou miou

kikiu

OTHER SOUNDS

ke'i ke'i

tiɲi tiɲi

pakakina

pu'a pu'a

ɲa'ehe'ehe

maki'iki'i

heruru

'uu

puhi

hu

ɲe

low (of cattle)

bleat (of sheep)

twitter (of birds)

squealing (of rats)

grunt (of pig)

snort (of horse)

bark (of dog)

cheeping (of chicks)

clucking (of hen)

mewing (of cat)

screech (of birds)

gee up!

banging

lash (of sea etc.)

slap

rustle (of seeds etc.)

crunch (on small stones)

rumble (thunder)

throb (of engines)

thud (of hooves)

sound of fog horn

whistle

howl (of wind)

distant sound of movement, voices

4.2. INTERJECTIONS

There is the ubiquitous *aué* which can have negative and positive connotations and is normally followed by the focus expression *ko te* plus a relevant adjective: *ko te nene nene!* ‘lovely!’; *Ko te mamae!* ‘It hurts!’; *ko te hano hano!* ‘horrid!’.

As a gap-filling interjection there is *e*, which also functions as a coordinating conjunction (see 1.3.1.1.1).

Lexicon

5.1. STRUCTURED SEMANTIC FIELDS

5.1.1. Kinship

5.1.1.1. By blood

mother	<i>nua</i>	
father	<i>koro</i>	
parent	<i>matu'a</i>	
grandparent and great aunts and uncles	<i>tupuna</i>	
grandmother	<i>mamaruau</i> (modern)	
grandfather	<i>paparuau</i> (modern)	
uncle	<i>matu'a taina tane</i>	
aunt	<i>matu'a taina vahine</i>	
siblings	<i>taina</i>	
cousins (same generation)	<i>poki</i>	
children and nieces and nephews grandchildren and greatnieces and greatnephews		<i>makupuna</i>

5.1.1.2. By partial blood

The term *hua'ai* 'relatives' embraces partial blood relations. A 'half brother' and 'half sister' are still *taina*.

5.1.1.3. By marriage

husband	<i>kenu</i>
wife	<i>vi'e</i>
mother/father-in-law	
daughter/son-in-law	<i>hujuvai</i>
sister/brother-in-law (in both senses)	<i>ta'okete</i>

5.1.1.4. By adoption

mother by adoption	<i>nua haŋai</i>
father by adoption	<i>koro haŋai</i>
adopted child	<i>poki</i>

5.1.2. Colour terminology

This is limited. The duplication of the initial syllable gives an attenuated meaning ‘-ish’. The base word from which the colour is derived is given in brackets where this is known.

black	<i>'uri'ru 'uri</i> (<i>'uri</i> ‘darkness’)
blue	<i>moana</i> (sea)
crimson	<i>mea mea</i> (fish gills)
green	<i>rito mata</i> (new banana leaf)
grey (dark)	<i>'ehu'ehu</i> (<i>'ehu</i> ‘mist’)
grey (light)	<i>kiki kiki</i> (lichen on rocks)
pink	<i>heŋa heŋa</i> (<i>heŋa</i> ‘bright sky’)
red	<i>ura ura</i> (<i>ura</i> ‘flame’)
white	<i>tea tea</i> (<i>otea</i> ‘dawn’)
yellow	<i>toua mamari</i> (yolk of egg)

5.1.3. Body parts

ankle	<i>pukupuku va'e</i>
arm pit	<i>maŋa ha'iŋa</i>
back	<i>tu'a ivi</i>
back (small of)	<i>tua papa</i>
backside	<i>kauha</i>
belly	<i>kopú</i>
bladder	<i>taua mimi</i>
breast	<i>u</i>
buttocks	<i>uho eve</i>
cheek	<i>paŋa ariŋa</i>
” (bone)	<i>kukuma</i>
chest	<i>arouma</i>
” (upper)	<i>una</i>
coccyx	<i>eve</i>
collar bone	<i>keu</i>
ear	<i>tariŋa</i>
ear (lobe of)	<i>'epe tariŋa</i>
earhole	<i>pu tariŋa</i>
elbow	<i>turi rima</i>
eye	<i>mata</i>

eyeball	<i>matamoko</i>
eyebrow	<i>hihi</i>
eyelids	<i>veke veke</i>
face	<i>ariŋa</i>
finger	<i>maja maja rima</i>
” (index)	<i>rima tuhi henua</i>
” (middle)	<i>rima roa roa tahana</i>
” ”	<i>rima vaeŋa</i>
” (ring)	<i>rima tuhi ahua</i>
” (little of r/h)	<i>maniri</i>
” (” ” l/h)	<i>manara</i>
fist	<i>virī virī rima</i>
foot/leg	<i>va’e</i>
forehead	<i>tira</i>
” (skull of animal)	<i>kora’e</i>
gall / gall-bladder	<i>’au</i>
hair (of body)	<i>huru huru</i>
” (of head)	<i>rau’oho</i>
” (pubic)	<i>vere</i>
hand/arm	<i>rima</i>
head	<i>pu’oko</i>
” (top of)	<i>pakahera</i>
heart	<i>mahatu, inaja</i> (obs.)
intestines	<i>kokoma</i>
” (large)	<i>kokoma hio hio</i>
” (small)	<i>kokoma rehe rehe</i>
jaw/s	<i>kauva’e</i>
kidney	<i>mapé</i>
knee	<i>turi va’e</i>
knee (back of)	<i>pakoŋa va’e</i>
lip/s	<i>ŋutu</i>
” (lower)	<i>ŋutu raro</i>
” (upper)	<i>ŋutu ruŋa</i>
liver	<i>’ate</i>
lung	<i>’ate rehe rehe</i>
mouth	<i>haha</i>
nails	<i>ma’ikuku</i>
navel	<i>pito</i>
neck	<i>ŋao</i>
” (nape of)	<i>tukeŋao</i>
nose	<i>ihu</i>
nostril	<i>puiho</i>
palm (of hand)	<i>pararaha rima</i>
pelvis	<i>puku</i>

penis	<i>konoŋa, 'ure</i> (obs.)
ribs	<i>kavakava</i>
sex organs (female)	<i>tinu</i>
shin	<i>horeko va'e</i>
shoulder blades	<i>kekeu</i>
shoulders (span of)	<i>hoho</i>
skin	<i>kiri</i>
snout	<i>poŋa</i>
sole (of foot)	<i>pararaha va'e</i>
spine	<i>ivi tika</i>
stomach	<i>(aro) manava</i>
teeth/tooth	<i>niho</i>
thigh (inside of)	<i>kauhaŋa</i>
" (outside of)	<i>huhá</i>
throat	<i>ŋuru hara</i>
thumb	<i>rima matu'a mea mea</i> <i>rima tutuma</i>
toes	<i>maŋa maŋa va'e</i>
tongue	<i>'arero</i>
vagina	<i>tataki</i>
veins	<i>ua ua</i>
vulva	<i>komari</i>
waist	<i>kari kari</i>
wrist	<i>pukupuku rima</i>

5.1.4. Cooking terminology

Methods

cook	<i>tunu</i>
boil	<i>haka piha'a</i>
cook in earth oven	<i>ta'o</i>
earth oven	<i>umu</i>
fry	<i>pora</i>
cook in skin	<i>tunu kiri</i>
cook in ashes	<i>tunu ahi</i>

Other terms

stones and wood for <i>umu</i>	<i>pena pena</i>
wrap food in banana leaves	<i>ha'í</i>
put aside hot stones to put food in the <i>umu</i>	<i>uru</i>
put wrapped food in the <i>umu</i>	<i>popo</i>
cook, bake	<i>'o'otu</i>

open up <i>umu</i>	<i>ma'oa</i>
accompaniment to meat/fish	<i>inaki</i>
grate	<i>oro</i>
peel	<i>hohoni</i>
skin bananas	<i>huhure</i>
descale fish	<i>varu varu</i>
clean fish	<i>haka te'e</i>

5.1.5. Tools

axe	<i>ohio</i>
	<i>matá</i> 'obsidian'
barbed wire	<i>niu niu</i>
broom/brush	<i>purumu</i>
chisel	<i>titó</i>
chopper	<i>ohio</i>
crowbar	<i>koropá</i>
digger	<i>huki</i>
file	<i>matariki</i>
fork	<i>patia</i>
gouging axe	<i>kauteki</i>
hammer	<i>hamara</i>
hook	<i>rou</i>
knife	<i>hoe</i>
nail	<i>veo</i>
needle	<i>ivi</i>
plane	<i>hahu</i>
plough	<i>arote</i>
rope	<i>taura</i>
saw	<i>hia hia</i>
scissors	<i>pa'oti</i>
spade	<i>ope</i>
whetstone	<i>ma'ea poro</i>

5.1.6. Natural phenomena

bay	<i>haja</i>
cairn	<i>pipi horeko</i>
cave	<i>'ana</i>
cirrus	<i>hukuhiku</i>
cliff	<i>opata</i>
cloud	<i>kapua</i>
cumulo nimbus	<i>raji omoaja</i>
cumulus (light)	<i>pujapuja</i>

cumulus (dense)	<i>opatapata, kirikiri miro</i>
drizzle	<i>mihimihi</i>
earth	<i>'one</i>
flood	<i>'a'a</i>
grass (tufted)	<i>mauku</i>
lightning	<i>uira</i>
moon	<i>mahina</i>
mountain	<i>ma'uŋa</i>
pool (left by tide)	<i>roto</i>
rain	<i>'ua</i>
rainbow	<i>hanuanua mea</i>
sea	<i>vaikava</i>
sea edge	<i>tahataha tai</i>
shore (from land)	<i>tai</i>
” (from sea)df	<i>'uta</i>
skerry	<i>motu</i>
star	<i>hetu'u</i>
stone	<i>maea</i>
stratus	<i>motiho</i>
sun	<i>ra'á</i>
thunder	<i>patiri</i>
volcanic lake	<i>rano</i>
water (fresh) hole	<i>pu vai</i>
water spout	<i>'o'opo</i>

5.1.7. Stars

Belt of Orion	<i>He Tui</i>
Capella	<i>Ko Toe</i>
Centauri α and β	<i>ŋa vaka</i>
Gemini	<i>Hauá</i>
Mars	<i>Matamea</i>
Menkalian	<i>Ko peu Reŋa</i>
Milky Way	<i>He ŋoe</i>
Pleiades	<i>Matariki</i>
Sirius	<i>Tē Pou</i>
Southern Cross	<i>Tatauró</i>

5.1.8. Insults

You stink = Idiot!	<i>Ko te kakara i a koe!</i>
Stinking penis!	<i>'Ure piro!</i>
Smelly cunt!	<i>Tino piro!</i>

5.2. BASIC VOCABULARY

5.2.1.	all	<i>tahi</i>
5.2.2.	and	<i>0, 'e</i>
5.2.3.	animal	<i>animare</i>
5.2.4.	ashes	<i>'eo 'eo</i>
5.2.5.	at	<i>i</i>
5.2.6.	back	<i>hoki (mai)</i>
5.2.7.	bad	<i>rake rake</i>
5.2.8.	bark (of tree)	<i>kiri</i>
5.2.9.	because	<i>'oira</i>
5.2.10.	belly	<i>kopú</i>
5.2.11.	big	<i>nui nui</i>
5.2.12.	bird	<i>manu</i>
5.2.13.	bite (verb)	<i>ŋau</i>
5.2.14.	black	<i>'uri 'uri</i>
5.2.15.	blood	<i>toto</i>
5.2.16.	blow	<i>hu</i>
5.2.17.	bone	<i>ivi</i>
5.2.18.	breast	<i>u</i>
	(chest)	<i>uma</i>
5.2.19.	breathe	<i>haŋu haŋu</i>
5.2.20.	burn (trans)	<i>tutu</i>
	(intr)	<i>vera</i>
5.2.21.	child	<i>poki</i>
5.2.22.	claw	<i>ma'ikuku/va'e manu</i>
5.2.23.	cloud	<i>kapua</i>
5.2.24.	cold	<i>takeo</i>
5.2.25.	come	<i>oho mai</i>
5.2.26.	count	<i>tataku</i>
5.2.27.	cut	<i>hore</i>
5.2.28.	day	<i>mahana</i>
5.2.29.	die	<i>mate</i>
5.2.30.	dig	<i>keri</i>
5.2.31.	dirty	<i>'o'one</i>
5.2.32.	dog	<i>paiheŋa</i>
5.2.33.	drink	<i>unu</i>
5.2.34.	dry	<i>paka paka</i>
5.2.35.	dull (blunt)	<i>poro poro</i>
5.2.36.	dust	<i>puŋa 'ehu</i>
5.2.37.	ear	<i>tariŋa</i>
5.2.38.	earth	<i>'o'one</i>
5.2.39.	cat	<i>kai</i>
5.2.40.	egg	<i>mamari</i>

5.2.41.	eye	<i>mata</i>
5.2.42.	fall	<i>virī</i>
5.2.43.	far	<i>roa</i>
5.2.44.	fat/grease	<i>mori</i>
5.2.45.	father	<i>koro/matu'a tane</i>
5.2.46.	fear	<i>ri'a ri'a</i>
5.2.47.	feather (tail)	<i>huru huru</i> <i>vaero</i>
5.2.48.	few (here and there) (not many)	<i>vara vara</i> <i>ta'e rahi</i>
5.2.49.	fight	<i>moto</i>
5.2.50.	fire	<i>ahi</i>
5.2.51.	fish	<i>ika</i>
5.2.52.	five	<i>rima</i>
5.2.53.	float	<i>raŋa raŋa</i>
5.2.54.	flow	<i>'a'a</i>
5.2.55.	flower	<i>tiare</i>
5.2.56.	fly (insect) (in air)	<i>takaure</i> <i>rere</i>
5.2.57.	fog	<i>kapua</i> (= 'cloud')
5.2.58.	foot	<i>va'e</i>
5.2.59.	four	<i>ha</i> (Tahitian <i>maha</i>)
5.2.60.	freeze (very cold)	<i>maniri</i>
5.2.61.	fruit	<i>fruta</i>
5.2.62.	full	<i>i</i>
5.2.63.	give	<i>'avai/va'ai</i>
5.2.64.	good	<i>riva riva</i>
5.2.65.	grass	<i>mauku</i>
5.2.66.	green	<i>rito mata</i>
5.2.67.	guts	<i>kokoma</i>
5.2.68.	hair (head) (pubic) (body)	<i>rau'oho</i> <i>vere</i> <i>huru huru</i>
5.2.69.	hand	<i>rima</i>
5.2.70.	he (= she, = it)	<i>ia</i>
5.2.71.	head	<i>pu'oko</i>
5.2.72.	hear	<i>ŋaroa</i>
5.2.73.	heart	<i>mahatu</i>
5.2.74.	heavy	<i>paŋaha'a</i>
5.2.75.	here	<i>nei</i>
5.2.76.	hit	<i>tiŋi</i>
5.2.77.	hold/take	<i>ma'u/to'o</i>
5.2.78.	horn	<i>tara</i>
5.2.79.	how	<i>pehe/pahe</i>

5.2.80.	hunt (chase)	<i>tute</i>
5.2.81.	husband	<i>kenu</i>
5.2.82.	I	<i>au</i>
5.2.83.	ice	<i>hielo</i>
5.2.84.	if	<i>ana, mo</i>
5.2.85.	in	<i>'iroto</i>
5.2.86.	kill	<i>tiŋa'i</i>
5.2.87.	knee	<i>turi va'e</i>
5.2.88.	know	<i>'ite</i>
5.2.89.	lake (hollow)	<i>poko poko</i>
	(volcanic)	<i>rano</i>
	(water hole)	<i>pu vai</i>
5.2.90.	laugh	<i>kata</i>
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	(stay)	<i>noho</i>
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5.2.138.	seed	<i>karu</i>
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	(pointed)	<i>moko moko</i>
	(not thick)	<i>ta'e pejo pejo</i>
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5.2.201.	with (instrumental)	<i>hai</i>
	(accompany)	<i>ko</i>

5.2.202.	woman	<i>vi'e</i>
5.2.203.	woods	<i>miro</i>
5.2.204.	worm	<i>'oi 'oi</i>
5.2.205.	ye	<i>korua</i>
5.2.206.	year	<i>matahiti</i>
5.2.207.	yellow	<i>toua mamari</i>

Appendix

The Story of the Yellow Fish

As told by Erena Araki

NANUE TOUA MAMARI

He vi'e nei he turu ki tai mo tata i to'ona kahu

A woman went down to the shore to wash her clothes

'iroto i te roto, raua ko ta'ana poki.

in a pool, together with her child.

Te ijoa o te vi'e nei ko Hina.

The woman's name was Hina.

I tu'u era ki tai, he to'o mai e Hina i ta'ana

When she came to the shore, Hina took her

poki, he haka noho 'iroto i te roto.

child, she put it in a pool.

He haka tapa, he noho, he tata i to'ona kahu.

She turned aside, crouched down and did her wash.

Ko rehu 'a i a ia te poki, e noho ro 'a

She forgot about the child who remained

'iroto i te roto.

in the pool.

Ko rahi 'a te hora o to'ona tatai'a,

After she had been washing for some time,

i veveri ai, he taha, he u'i atu 'aroto

she suddenly started up, she turned, she looked

i tu roto era.

all round the pool.

'Ina he poki 'oroto i te roto.

There was no child in the pool.

He e'a kiruŋa, he u'i u'i 'a te kona ta'ato'a.

She got up, she looked everywhere.

Ko ŋaro 'a ta'ana poki.

Her child had disappeared.

I hira atu era to'ona mata 'arote vaikava,

When she gazed out over the sea,

he tikea e Hina te ika toua mamari.

Hina saw the yellow fish.

He raŋi mai ia e te ika nei:

The fish called out to her:

'Ka u'i mai koe, e nua e, ki a au.

'Look over here at me Mother.

He re'o o ta'a poki nei e raŋi atu ena.'

The voice of your child is calling out to you from here.'

Ko ia ka kau te ika nei kiroto ki te parera.

With that the fish swam off to the deep sea.

Mai 'uta te vi'e nei e taŋi atu era ki ta'ana poki.

From the shore the woman wept for her child.

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