Māori

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Abbreviations:

1, 2, 3: first, second, third person; A: adjective; AFF: affix; AG: agent marker; APH: anaphoric particle, used for *ai*; DET: determiner; DIR: directional particle; DU: dual; EXCL: exclusive; INCL: inclusive; lit.: (in glosses) literally; LN: locative noun; LOC: locational particle; MAN: manner particle; N: noun; NEG: negative; NP: noun phrase; OBJ: object marker; PA: personal article; PN: personal noun; PP: prepositional phrase; PoP: postposed periphery; PRED: predicate phrase; PREP: preposition; PrP: preposed periphery; R: reduplication element; SUBJ: subject; T/A: tense-aspect marker, verbal particle; VI: intransitive verb; VN: neuter verb; VP: verb phrase; VT: transitive verb;

In the Maori examples, a full-stop indicates a word division which is not reflected in the gloss or translation because the two words act as a single unit. With the exception of the forms *waiata-ā-ringa* etc. in section 2.2.2, where the hyphen is part of the conventional spelling, hyphens in Maori forms are not orthographic but represent morpheme divisions for which correspondingly divided glosses are given.

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0. Introduction

Maori, a member of the Eastern Polynesian subgroup of the Austronesian language family, is the main indigenous language of New Zealand, along with the now extinct Mōriori of the Chatham Islands. It is spoken fluently by some 30,000 people, though a much greater number of people, perhaps as many as 200,000, have some knowledge of the language. Until about 60 years ago, virtually the entire Maori population spoke Maori, most being bilingual with English as a second language. Since that time however, factors such as high urbanisation of the Maori population, more effective mass media and to some extent schooling, have led to a decline in knowledge and use of Maori to the point where some 90% of the ethnically Maori population are monolingual in English. The past 15 years have seen a resurgence of interest in the language and considerable efforts to ensure its survival. These include the founding of monolingual Maori preschools and primary schools, increased publication in Maori, especially for younger readers and learners, wider use of Maori in broadcasting, greater visibility for the language in the public sector, and its being made an official language of New Zealand in 1987. That year also saw the establishment of the Maori Language Commission, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, a statutory body charged with the maintenance and development of Maori as a living means of communication and the implementation of its official status.

There is some dialectal variation within Maori, in part phonological and phonetic in nature, but largely lexical. To the extent that there is a standard at all, it is the language of the Bible translation, which is based on the dialect of northern New Zealand, where the missionaries were first active.

There exists a plethora of course materials and books to help the learner; there have also been a number of doctoral and Master's theses[1] and articles written on the language. The main reference works are Williams' (1971) Maori-English dictionary, Biggs' (1981) and Ngata's (1993) English-Maori dictionaries, and Bauer's (1993) descriptive grammar of Maori, in which references to specific studies of aspects of Maori can be found.

1. Phonology and orthography

1.1 Phonology

Maori has five vowel phonemes, as do other Polynesian languages, /i, e, a, o, u/. All sequences of two short vowels occur and are phonemically distinct. Combinations of identical vowels result in a phonetically long vowel, and most combinations of a vowel and a second vowel of equal or greater closure result, at least within words, in a phonetic diphthong. Where unlike vowels are brought together by affixation and reduplication, there is considerable variation from speaker to speaker and from style to style as to whether the vowels form a diphthong or the second vowel is rearticulated as a full vowel. There are a few long diphthongs, all of them combinations of /aa/ and any one of the four higher vowels, as well as /eei/.

Phonetically, /u/ is [ʉ], while the other vowels occupy more or less the cardinal positions. The combination /au/ is pronounced with a centralised and raised allophone of /a/ not found elsewhere.

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[1]Bauer 1981, Biggs 1961, Hohepa 1967, Mutu 1982, Reedy 1979.

There are ten consonant phonemes:

	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p		t	k	
voiceless fricatives		f			h
nasals	m		n	ŋ	
flap (alveolar)			r		
approximant	w				

/p, t, k/ are usually unaspirated, but some native speakers do produce perceptible aspiration with these phonemes, especially with /t/. Further, /t/ is palatalised before high vowels. The flap /r/ can be heard sometimes with a lateral release as[l]. [f] is the most frequently heard realisation of /f/ in modern Maori, though, especially in the north of New Zealand, this phoneme is often heard as [ɸ] or [hʷ]. In a number of words there is a dialect alternation between /h/ and /f/, however, there are also many occurrences of /h/ on which all dialects agree, and similarly for /f/. The now extinct South Island dialect of Maori had merged /k/ and /ŋ/ as /k/, and in parts of the Bay of Plenty in the North Island a recent merger has occurred of /n/ and /ŋ/ as /n/. In parts of the West of the North Island, /f/ is realised as [ʔʷ] and /h/ as [ʔ].

1.2 Phonotactics

The surface syllable structure of Maori is (C)V(V(V)). On which combinations of vowels may act as rhymes, see above. The inadmissibility of final consonants and of consonant clusters has led, in the case of loans from English, to considerable phonological adaptation, e.g. /aihi kiriimi/ < *ice cream*. Some grammatical processes require the recognition of an underlying unit consisting of a single short vowel plus any preceding consonant, i.e. (C)V. This unit will be referred to as a mora. All lexical stems and words are at least bimoraic. The only words which are unimoraic are some of the grammatical particles.

1.3 Word stress

Word stress falls on one of the last four morae of a word. Within that domain:
(i) if there is a long vowel, it is stressed: /kau'maatua/, /tu'tuu/.
(ii) if there is a non-final diphthong, it is stressed: /fa'kaeke/ but /'marae/.
(iii) otherwise the first mora is stressed.
(iv) the prefix *whaka-* never bears stress on its first syllable: /faka'nui/ and bears stress on its second vowel only when this forms a long vowel or diphthong with an initial vowel in the following stem: /fa'kaako/.
(v) partially reduplicated stems are stressed on the root, not on the reduplication syllable: /pa'paki/.
(vi) completely reduplicated stems bear the main stress on the first occurrence of the stem and secondary stress on the second: /'taŋi,taŋi/.
In non-sentence-final phrases there is a strong tendency for phrase stress to override word stress and to be situated on the second-last mora of the last lexeme in the phrase.

1.4 Orthography

The Maori alphabet is: *a, e, h, i, k, m, n, ng, o, p, r, t, u, w, wh,* following the order of the Roman alphabet, and incorporating two digraphs: *ng* for /ŋ/, and *wh* for /f/. The orthography now in use was devised by missionaries in the early part of the nineteenth century. With the

exception of the use of the macron for long vowels, it had reached its present shape by the 1840s. The use of the digraph *wh* for /f/ is the result of the missionaries' hearing that phoneme as more similar to English dialectal /ʍ/, as in 'which', than to English /f/ in the region where they were initially most active.

The spelling system is phonemic, now that designation of long vowels by means of a macron (as in this book) has become an orthographic standard. Some writers use double vowels to designate long vowels, and in many texts, especially older ones, vowel length is not indicated at all. E.g. /faanau/ 'family' is variously spelt *whānau, whaanau, whanau*. Where a long vowel is the result of affixation or compounding, the morphemes are usually spelt separately, i.e. the long vowel is spelt double: *whakaaro* 'think' = /fakaaro/ = [faˈkaːro] < *whaka-* + *aro*.

2. Morphology

2.1 Word classes

The huge majority of words in Maori fall into two classes: particles, which have grammatical and/or modifying functions; and bases[2] or lexemes. These latter are further categorised into two open classes, both of which have subclasses. The personal pronouns, though strictly members of one of the subcategories of noun, are listed below (2.1.3). Numerals form a further closed word class.

2.1.1 Nouns

These subcategorise into common nouns, locative nouns and personal nouns on the basis of the determiners with which they occur:

(i) Common nouns are those bases which can occur following *ngā* 'the(PL)'[3] and the other determiners listed below, section 2.3.2, e.g. *ngā whare* 'the houses', *tōku ingoa* 'my name'. The distinction between mass and count nouns is not made in Maori, all common nouns being compatible with plural determiners and with the indefinite *he* 'a'. The interrogative *aha* 'what' is a common noun and thus does not occur without a DET, *ki te aha* (PREP DET what) 'to what'. For *aha* as the interrogative word for verbs, see below, section 2.1.2;

(ii) Locative nouns are those which, when complementing the preposition *ki* 'to' and some others, take no determiner, and include place names, some time expressions like *nanahi* 'yesterday' and *nāianei* 'now', and a closed set of nouns showing relative position, e.g. *ki Aotearoa* 'to New Zealand', *i waho* 'outside, lit. at outside'. There are two interrogative locative nouns, *hea* 'what place, what time (of present or future)', *nahea* 'what time(of past)': *i hea* 'where', *nō nahea* 'when, at what time (past)';

(iii) Personal nouns are those which when complementing the preposition *ki* 'to' and some others take the personal article *a*. They include personal names, names of tribes[4], personal pronouns (see below, section 2.1.3), and for some speakers, the names of the months, e.g. *ki a*

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[2]So called, following Biggs 1969.
[3]*Te* 'the(SG)' is not considered criterial here, because of its use in some clearly verbal contexts
[4]Tribes and subtribes are an extremely important aspect of Maori social organisation and self-identification.

Rei 'to Ray', *hei a Pipiri* 'in June (future)', *kei a rātou* 'is with them, they have'. The interrogative *wai* 'who' follows the syntax of personal nouns: *ki a wai* 'to whom'.

With the exception of the personal pronouns, locative and personal nouns take the personal article when used as subject, i.e. when unmarked by a preposition.

He	*tāone*	*nui*	*a*	*Kirikiriroa*		*Kua*	*mate*	*a*	*Pererika*
DET	town	big	PA	Hamilton		T/A	die	PA	Pererika
'Hamilton is a big town'						'Pererika has died'			

2.1.2 Verbs

These are all those words which are compatible with the verbal particles and form with them a verb phrase (see below, section 2.3.1). Five subcategories of verb must be recognised because of differences in the constructions they may enter into.

(i) Transitive verbs are those verbs which take an affected direct object, usually marked in Maori by the preposition *i*.

Kei.te	*patu*	*ia*	*i*	*t-ā-na*	*kurī*
T/A	beat	3SG	OBJ	SG-of-3SG	dog
'He is beating his dog'					

Bitransitives, those verbs which take both a direct and an indirect object, are a subgroup of transitives (see section 3.3.1).

(ii) Experience verbs, such as seeing, hearing, wanting. These are often called 'middle' in other discussions of Polynesian verb subcategorisation. This booklet follows the terminology of Bauer 1983. These verbs are recognised as a separate subcategory on the basis of their imperative marking (section 3.4.5), their incompatibility with the Actor Emphatic construction (3.4.3), and other features in which they different from transitives.

Kua	*rongo*	*koe*	*i*	*te*	*kōhimuhimu?*
T/A	hear	2SG	OBJ	DET	rumour
'Have you heard the rumour?'					

(iii) Neuter verbs.[5] These are a small set of verbs whose subject is typically a patient. An agent, if explicit, is marked as an oblique by the preposition *i*, e.g.

I	*pakaru*	*te*	*wini*	*i*	*a*	*Tamahae.*
T/A	break:VN	DET	window	AG	PA	Tamahae
'The window was broken by Tamahae, Tamahae broke the window'						

(iv) Intransitive verbs, those with only one undeletable argument.

I	*oma*	*atu*	*rātou*
T/A	run	DIR	3PL
'They ran off'			

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[5] Also called 'statives' in the literature, cf. e.g. Biggs 1969 *et alibi*.

Aha 'what' can be used with verbal particles to question VTs and VIs:

Kei.te	*aha*	*koe?*		*Kua*	*aha-tia*	*te*	*kurī?*
T/A	what	2SG		T/A	what-AFF	DET	dog
'What are you doing?'				'What has happened to the dog, lit. the dog has been "whatted"?'			

(v) Adjectives.

In Biggs 1969, this class is not regarded as distinct from neuter verbs, however, Hohepa 1969 shows that they are a distinct category. These words have three characteristic distributions:

a. as a following modifier to a noun or verb:

he	*tangata*	*pai*		*Hoki*	*pai*	*atu.*
DET	person	good		return	good	DIR
'a good person'				'Get home safely!'		

b. predicatively with *he* or with T/A particles:

He	*pai*	*te*	*whakaaro.*		*E*	*tika*	*ana*	*te*	*kōrero.*
DET	good	DET	thought		T/A	correct	T/A	DET	speak
'The idea is good'					'The statement is correct'				

c. following a DET, as the corresponding abstract noun:

te	*pai*	*o*	*tēnā*	*whakaaro*
DET	good	PREP	DET	thought
'the appropriateness of that thought of yours'				

The comparison of gradable adjectives is expressed by the directional particles *ake*, *atu* for comparative, and the combination of the manner particle *rawa* and the directional particle *atu* for superlative:

He	*pai*	*ake*	*tēnei*	*i*	*tēnā.*		*te*	*mea*	*pai*	*rawa*	*atu*
DET	good	DIR	DET	PREP	DET		DET	thing	good	MAN	DIR
'This is better than that'							'The best thing'				

The interrogative adjective is *pēhea* 'how, like what', which is most commonly encountered in construction a. and b. It is also used in a complex subordinating construction for adverbial 'how':

Me	*pēhea*	*rātou*	*e*	*mōhio*	*ai?*
T/A	how	3PL	T/A	know	APH
'How are they (supposed) to know?'					

2.1.3 Pronouns

Like most other Polynesian languages, Maori distinguishes three numbers in its pronouns and two subtypes of first person non-singular; inclusive (including the hearer) and exclusive (excluding the hearer).

Note that Maori makes no gender distinction in its pronouns. Pronouns can refer only to human beings or personifications. Anaphoric reference to non-human NPs is usually by zero or by a repetition of the NP using the anaphoric determiner *taua~aua*.

Table 1: personal pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1.INCL		tāua	tātou
1.EXCL	au, ahau	māua	mātou
2	koe	kōrua	koutou
3	ia	rāua	rātou

As mentioned above, section 2.1.1, personal pronouns (except *ahau*) take the personal article *a* after the prepositions *i, ki, kei, hei*. The use of the personal article before pronouns when these are subjects is optional, indeed unusual:

kei   a   tātou   *He   kaiako (a)   rātou.*
PREP PA 1PL.INCL   DET teacher PA   3PL
  'Is with us, we have'   'They are teachers'

Personal pronouns occur only as heads of NPs or as part of possessive determiners. Unlike some Polynesian languages, e.g. Tokelauan[6], Maori has no clitic subject pronouns inside the VP.

In most cases, a pronoun can be understood as coreferential with a preceding NP in the same sentence with which it shares number and person features or as free. Reflexivity can always be made explicit by the optional postposing to the pronoun of the particle *anō* 'self' or *ake* 'lit. upwards':

Kei.te   horoi a   Mere   i   a   ia   (anō)
T/A   wash   PA   Mere   OBJ PA   3SG self
  'Mere is washing herself'; without *anō*, the pronoun is ambiguous between reflexive and free reference.

Following the prepositions *a, o* 'of', *nā, nō* 'belonging to', *mā, mō* 'for', and the possessive markers *tā, tō, ā, ō*, the singular pronouns have suffixal allomorphs *-ku, -u, -na*, thus *mōku* 'for me', *tāna* 'his, her'.

Maori pronouns may not be coordinated. Where one has coordinate pronouns in English, say, 'he and I', one must choose the appropriate single pronoun for that meaning in Maori, i.e. *māua* '1DU.EXCL'. In the case of the coordination of a pronoun and a human NP or human NPs, one selects that pronoun which refers to the whole group intended and spells out the non-pronominal members by a succession of NPs marked with *ko*: thus

'Hēmi and I' =   *māua   ko   Hēmi*
                   1DU.EXCL   PREP Hēmi

'she and her friends' =   *rātou   ko   Ø-ō-na   hoa*
                      3PL   PREP PL-of-3SG friend

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[6]Hooper 1996.

Finally, personal names and even common NPs with human referents are usually coordinated in a similar way. The first coordinand is followed by a pronoun whose referent is the whole group and the other coordinand(s) marked with *ko*:

Pita   rātou ko   Mere   ko   Tāmati
Pita   3PL   PREP   Mere   PREP   Tāmati
'Pita, Mere and Tāmati'

2.1.4 Numerals

The numerals from 'one' to 'ten' are: *tahi, rua, toru, whā, rima, ono, whitu, waru, iwa, tekau*. The numbers between 11 and 19 are formed according to the formula: *tekau mā* Y; multiples of ten are formed thus: *e* X *tekau*; and other numbers from 21 to 99 according to the formula: *e* X *tekau mā* Y, where X and Y range over the numbers *tahi* to *iwa*. 100 is *kotahi rau*, 101 *kotahi rau mā tahi*, 121 *kotahi rau e rua tekau mā tahi*, and so on. The numerals constructed in this way are a further subtype of verb, and are not usually used without a verbal particle. E.g.

ngā   whare   e   rua
DET(PL)   house   T/A   two
'the two houses, lit. the houses which are two'

e   rua   Ø-ō-ku   whare
T/A   two   PL-of-1SG   house
'I have two houses, lit. my houses are two (in number)'

Hōmai kia   rua   ngā   pukapuka
Give   T/A   two   DET(PL)   book
'Give me two books, lit. give me that the books be two (in number)'

Ordinals are formed for the numbers 'one' to 'nine' by the prefixation of *tua-* to the cardinal. The resulting word is used either as an attributive A (*te rā tuatahi* 'the first day') or as the head noun of expressions like:

te   tua-tahi   o   ngā   N
DET   AFF-one   PREP   DET(PL)   N
'the first N'

Ordinals beyond nine are expressed by means of the corresponding cardinal used in this latter construction:

te   tekau-mā-rua   o   ngā   rā   o   Tīhema
DET   12   PREP   DET(PL)   day   PREP   December
'The twelfth of December'

2.2 Word formation

2.2.1 Inflectional morphology

There are only two instances of this in Maori, most other categories such as tense, case, etc., which are often expressed inflectionally in other languages, being expressed by particles.

Eight nouns only, all of them words for people and most of them kinship terms, have distinct PL forms. All other nouns are invariant. All but one of these nouns form their plural by lengthening the vowel of the antepenultimate mora. The nouns and their plurals are:

wahine	wāhine	'woman'
tangata	tāngata	'person, human being'
matua	mātua	'parent'
tuahine	tuāhine	'sister of man'
tuakana	tuākana	'elder sibling same sex'
teina	tēina	'younger sibling same sex'
tipuna	tīpuna	'grandparent, ancestor'
tamaiti	tamariki	'child'

The passive of verbs and of bases and particles modifying a passive verb (see below) is formed by a suffix which in Maori has 17 allomorphs. In Polynesian linguistics, this suffix is referred to as -Cia, and indeed most of the allomorphs in Maori are of the shape: consonant +ia. The rules governing this allomorphy are elusive,[7] and seem to involve partly phonological conditioning and partly lexical. Three allomorphs have become defaults, -tia, -ngia, -hia, with different dialects showing different preferences. One will often encounter verbs with etymological suffixes used with one or the other of these as well, thus, mahi-a ~ mahi-ngia 'be done, be made', and these are the suffixes usually used with new coinages and borrowings. Some verbs undergo some change in the stem, usually lengthening of the stem vowel, when suffixed. E.g.:

inu	inumia	'drink'
whakatū	whakatūria	'set up'
patu	patua	'strike'
hopu	hopukina	'grab'
tua	tuaina	'chop down'
tatari	tāria	'wait for'
mea	meinga	'say, do'

2.2.2 Derivation

Maori has a number of affixes which serve to derive new bases. Four only will be discussed here:

whaka- is a causative prefix, which derives transitive verbs from intransitives, neuter verbs, adjectives:

whaka-haere	whaka-tika	whaka-pau
AFF-go:VI	AFF-correct:A	AFF-exhausted:VN
'organise:VT'	'correct:VT'	'spend, expend:VT'

With nouns, it derives verbs which can be used either transitively or intransitively to mean 'make into an N' or 'become an N':

whaka-tangata	whaka-kūkupa
AFF-person:N	AFF-pigeon:N
'become a human being:VI'	'turn X into a pigeon:VT'

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[7]See Blevins 1994 for a recent contribution and summary of earlier discussion.

With locative nouns and with some NPs designating places, whaka- derives an adjective of direction:

whaka-runga	whaka-te-moana
AFF-up:LN	AFF-[DET-sea:N]:NP
'upwards'	'towards the sea'

Unlike other adjectives, words derived in this way can be used only attributively, as modifiers to a verb or noun, never predicatively, e.g. te tai whakarunga 'the South[8] coast, lit. the upwards sea', haere whakatemoana 'to go towards the sea'.

kai- derives agentive nouns from transitive verbs, thus:

kai-kōrero	kai-whaka-haere
AFF-speak:VT	AFF-AFF-go:VI
'speaker'	AFF-organise:VT
	'organiser'

ā- is a prefix which when attached to nouns derives adjective. These adjectives can be used only attributively, and typically qualify nouns or verbs, meaning 'in the manner of..., by means of..., as a...'. These derived adjectives are spelt with a hyphen between the prefix and the stem and are attached by means of a hyphen to the noun or verb they modify. That is to say that the hyphens in the following few examples are orthographic, not just morpheme divisions. E.g.

waiata-ā-ringa
song:N AFF-hand
'action song, lit. song in which hands (i.e. hand actions) are used'.

tae-ā-tinana
arrive:VI AFF-body
'arrive, be present physically "by means of one's body"',

tuku-ā-rorohiko
send:VT AFF-computer
'send by computer (e.g. e-mail, ftp, etc.)'

There is a nominalising suffix of the shape -Canga (see above, remarks on the allomorphs of the passive suffix). The default allomorph is -tanga. This suffix derives nouns from verbs, adjectives and other nouns. With verbs the derived noun designates a single occurrence of the verbal event, or a result of such an event, or the place where such events typically occur:

patu-nga	moe-nga	tae-nga	oti-nga	tuhi-nga
strike:VT-AFF	sleep:VI-AFF	arrive:VT-AFF	completed:VN-AFF	write:VT-AFF
'a striking'	'bed'	'arrival'	'completion, result'	'a writing'

With adjectives, the suffix derives corresponding abstract nouns:

pai-nga	tika-nga
good:A-AFF	correct:A-AFF
'goodness, benefit'	'custom, "right way to do things", meaning'

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[8]South is thought of as upwards in Maori, not downwards as in English.

Suffixed to a noun N, -*Canga* derives an abstract noun designating the quality of being an N:

rangatira-tanga	*koroua-tanga*
chief:N-AFF	old.man:N-AFF
'chiefliness, chiefly rank'	'old age'

As will be noted at a number of points below, zero-nominalisation of verbs also occurs, especially as a form of complementation and coordination, see below under *me* 2.3.3, and sections 3.5.2.4 and 3.5.2.5.

2.2.3 Reduplication

Bimoraic roots show two patterns of reduplication; partial, in which the first mora is reduplicated: *patu* 'stike' > *papatu*; and complete, in which the whole root is reduplicated: *hoki* 'return' > *hokihoki*. Trimoraic and longer roots show a variety of patterns, of which the most productive are: reduplication of the first two morae: *takahi* 'step, stamp' > *takatakahi*; reduplication of the last two morae (and lengthening of the first vowel, if not already long): *haere* 'go' > *hāereere*.

Many reduplicated words have idiosyncratic meanings, however a number of general functions of reduplication can be identified.

1. Partial reduplication of adjectives: a number of adjectives admit partially reduplicated forms as an optional plural: *pai* 'good' > *papai* 'good (of a plural N)'. The same forms can be used as intensives. With some colour adjectives, partial reduplication can express an attenuation of the meaning: *whero* 'red' > *whewhero* 'reddish'.

2. Partial reduplication of verbs: these forms are used either for reciprocal action: *tohe* 'argue' > *totohe* 'argue together', or a single forceful occurrence of an action: *kimo* 'blink' > *kikimo* 'keep eyes firmly closed'.

3. Complete reduplication of verbs characteristically expresses plurality of some kind, either of the action: *kimokimo* 'blink frequently', or of subjects acting individually: *hoki* 'return' > *hokihoki* 'return severally, each to his/her own place', or of objects severally: *kuru* 'throw' > *kurukuru* 'to chuck (several things all over the place)'.

2.2.4 Compounding

As will be seen, Maori can freely use a base to modify another base. The modifier follows the modified: e.g.

te	*whare nui*	*te*	*rā horoi*	
DET	house big:A	DET	day wash:VT	
'the big house'		'the washing day'		

However, many such sequences of two bases in fact form compounds in that the word which results has a meaning which is not directly calculable from the meaning of the parts:

te	*wharenui*	*te*	*Rāhoroi*
DET	house.big	DET	day.wash
'the meeting house'		'Saturday'	

Such compounds do not differ phonologically from the corresponding sequence of modified base + modifying base, though some do in spelling. Context must be relied on to disambiguate.

2.3 The structure of the phrase

As with other Polynesian languages, it is the **phrase** in Maori rather than the word which is the basic unit for the description of Maori syntax. Indeed it was for Maori in the first instance that Biggs (1961, 1969) developed the idea and approach. The phrase, as opposed to the word, is the level at which many of the categories expressed by inflection in other languages such as tense, aspect, case, are handled; it is an important unit for the operation of stress rules, in that a phrase will normally have only one fully stressed syllable (see above); sentence structure is most conveniently stated by reference to phrases.

Three categories of phrase will be distinguished: NP, PP, VP; however some generalities of phrase structure apply to all three types. Phrases in Maori consist of three positions: a nucleus and two peripheries, one preposed (PrP), and one postposed (PoP). In the following example sentence, there are three phrases, one in fact of each type :

E	*haere mai ana te*		*ope rā ki*		*te*	*marae*	
T/A	go DIR T/A DET		party LOC PREP		DET	marae[9]	
'That party (of guests) is coming (on)to the marae.'							

[[*E*]PrP [*haere*]NUCLEUS [*mai ana*]PoP]VP [[*te*]PrP [*ope*]NUCLEUS [*rā*]PoP]NP [[*ki te*]PrP [*marae*]NUCLEUS [Ø]PoP]PP

The nucleus of a phrase is occupied by one or more bases. With very few exceptions, the first is the head and subsequent bases each modify the immediately preceding base:

(*he*)	*pukapuka reo*	*Māori*
DET	book language	Maori

'A Maori language book', in which *Māori* modifies *reo*, and then *reo Māori* modifies *pukapuka*.

A handful of bases[10] **precede** the base they modify:

(*he*)	*whare tino*	*nui*
DET	house very	big

'a very big house', in which *tino* modifies *nui*, and *tino nui* modifies *whare*.

A particularly frequent and important type of base + base combination in Maori is object-incorporation in verb phrases. As will be seen, prepositions, including OBJ, are incompatible

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[9]A marae is the open space in front of the meeting house on which formal ceremonies of welcome are carried out.

[10]Including also *āhua* 'somewhat', *paku* 'a little', *mātua* 'first', *tere* 'quickly'.

with the indefinite DET *he*. The usual way for an indefinite NP to be used as the object of an active VT is to incorporate it without DET as a modifier to the VT:

Kei.te hanga whare rātou mō rātou
T/A build house 3PL PREP 3PL
'They are building a house for themselves, lit. they are house-building for themselves'

The only phrases which may have a zero nucleus are those in which certain determiners occupy the preposed periphery, thus: *tēnei whare* 'this house' is a phrase, and *tēnei* by itself can be as well, e.g. [*He aha*]NP:PRED [*tēnei?*]NP:SUBJ 'What is **this**?'

The peripheries contain particles, which can thus be subcategorised into preposed particles and postposed particles according as they occupy the pre- or postposed peripheries of phrases. With two exceptions only, all postposed particles can occur in any type of phrase.
There are six paradigms of postposed particles, as set out in Table 2:

Table 2: postposed particles

MAN	DIR	LOC			
tonu 'still'	*mai* 'towards speaker'	*nei* 'here'	*anō* 'again'	*hoki* 'also'	*pea* 'perhaps'
rawa 'very'	*ake* 'upwards'	*nā* 'by you'			
noa 'without restriction'	*atu* 'away from speaker'	*rā* 'there'			
kē 'other'	*iho* 'downwards'	*ai* APH			
kau 'alone'		*ana* T/A			

In general, only one particle from each paradigm will occur in any one phrase, and if several types of particle are represented, they will generally occur in the above order, e.g.

[[*E*]PrP [*haere*]NUCLEUS [*tonu mai nei pea*]PoP]PHRASE
'is perhaps still coming here now'

2.3.1 The verb phrase

Verb phrases are distinguished by the presence in the preposed periphery of a T/A marker and/or *ai* or *ana* in the LOC position of the postposed periphery.

Maori has a number of verbal particles, virtually all of which precede the nucleus of their phrase. They express a range of temporal, aspectual and modal meanings. Only the most frequently encountered are briefly discussed here:

ka
The particle *ka* serves only to mark that its phrase is verbal, and has no inherent tense, aspect or modal value. When no adverbials or previous T/A marking determines a tense, the default reading of *ka* is temporally present, aspectually aorist.

It is often encountered in the second and subsequent clauses of a series and "acquires" its T/A meaning from the first clause, e.g.

Kia tūpato kei hinga ka whara
T/A careful T/A fall T/A be hurt
'Be careful, lest you fall and get hurt', in which *kei hinga ka whara* are asyndetically coordinated clauses with the same modal force, viz. 'lest', or 'negative subjunctive'.

Successions of clauses beginning with *ka* are used for foregrounded material in narrative.

i
This is the one T/A particle with strict temporal meaning, viz. 'past'. Aspectually, it is aorist.

I tono-a mai he tangata e te Atua
T/A send-AFF DIR DET person AG DET god
'There was a man sent from God.'

kua
This particle marks perfect, that is, the completion of an action or the achievement of a state as the result of an event: *kua mate* 'has died, is dead', *kua oti* 'is completed'. It is also used for the apodosis of irrealis conditionals:

Me i konei koe kua kite koe i a ia
If PREP here 2SG T/A see 2SG OBJ PA 3SG
'If you had been here, you would have seen him'

kia
The particle *kia* occurs typically in four constructions:

a. Imperative of adjectives, neuter verbs and experience verbs

kia tika   *kia ora*   *kia mōhio* (*koe*)
T/A correct   T/A healthy   T/A know (you)
'Get it right!'   'Be healthy (standard greeting)'   'You should know...'

b. Temporal clauses for future time:

Kia oti te mahi ka hoki tātou
T/A completed DET work T/A return 1PL.INCL
'When the work is done, we will go home'

c. With postposed *ai*, final clauses:

Kua haere mai rātou kia whaka-ako-na ai ki te reo Māori
T/A go DIR 3PL T/A AFF-learn-AFF APH PREP DET language Maori
'They have come in order to be taught Maori'

d. Sentential complements of verbs of wishing, ordering, requesting, being right or good:

E pīrangi ana a Mere kia mutu te patu wēra
T/A want T/A PA Mere T/A stop DET kill whale
'Mere wants the killing of whales to stop'

e...ana

The combination of the preposed particle *e* and the postposed particle *ana* expresses progressive aspect in any tense. In relative clauses, especially if a constituent other than the subject has been relativised, the *ana* is usually replaced by one of the particles *nei/nā/rā*. Example as in previous paragraph. Note that verbs of wanting, knowing etc. are compatible with this aspectual marking, unlike English.

me

This particle expresses what is often called in the literature on Maori grammar a "weak imperative", translated most appropriately as 'should/must/ought'. When it is used in passive sentences, the verb remains in its simple form, case marking and pragmatic factors being the only clues to the voice of such sentences:

Me horoi [ngā rīhi]SUBJ
T/A wash DET(PL) dish
'Someone should wash the dishes, lit. the dishes should be washed'; the reading that the dishes should wash (something else) being pragmatically excluded.

kei te ~ i te

Progressive aspect along with resp. present and past tense can also be expressed by the particles: *kei te* and *i te*. These are originally preposition + determiner combinations (see below) which have been reanalysed as T/A:

Kei te mahi rātou i Pōneke
PREP DET work 3PL PREP Wellington
T/A work 3PL PREP Wellington
'They are working in Wellington, lit. they are "at working" in Wellington'

e/Ø

Imperative marking varies according to the class of the head of the predicate; adjectives, neuter verbs and experience verbs are marked with *kia*, transitives and intransitives with *e/Ø*. The allomorphy is phonologically conditioned; *Ø* is chosen if the verb along with any postposed particles (*rā* is not counted in the application of this rule) exceeds two morae in length, otherwise *e*. Since transitive verbs with an explicit or zero-pronominalised patient NP are passive in commands in Maori, this rule entails that only bimoraic intransitives with no following particles take *e*:

E noho! E noho rā! Haere mai! Tuhi-a! Kōrero!
T/A sit T/A sit LOC Go DIR Write-AFF Speak
'Sit down' 'Farewell, said 'Come here' 'Write (it)' 'Speak'
 by one leaving'

The allomorph *e* tends to bear the main stress of the phrase.

ai

The presence of this particle in the postposed periphery marks a phrase as verbal in modern Maori. It has two principal uses:

a. as a T/A marker for 'habitual':

Haere ai rātou ki te mahi ia rā, ia rā.
go ai 3PL PREP DET work DET day DET day
'They go to work every day'

b. following the T/A markers *i* 'past' or *e* 'future', as a "trace" indicating that some argument or adjunct of a VP has been "moved". This typically occurs where an oblique phrase of say time is focussed, or where an oblique phrase has been relativised on:

Nō nanahi nei rātou [i tae mai ai]VP
PREP yesterday LOC 3PL T/A arrive DIR APH
'It was yesterday they arrived', to be compared with the unmarked order:

I tae mai rātou i nanahi nei.
T/A arrive DIR 3PL PREP yesterday LOC
'They arrived yesterday'

Ko Tōrere te marae [e tū ai te hui]RELATIVE CLAUSE
PREP Tōrere DET marae T/A stand APH DET meeting
'Tōrere is the marae where the meeting will take place'

In constructions of this type, *ai* is replaced by a LOC for present tense:

Ko Tōrere te marae [e tū nei te hui]RELATIVE CLAUSE
PREP Tōrere DET marae T/A stand LOC DET meeting
'Tōrere is the marae where the meeting is taking place'

2.3.2 The noun phrase

Noun phrases have three primary functions: subject, predicate and complement of a preposition. The marking of a NP, in particular, which DET may or must be present in the preposed periphery is a function of the class of the head of the NP, and of the identity of any preposition governing the NP. This is adumbrated above in the discussion of parts of speech, and is summarised again in Table 3.

With the exception of *he* 'non-specific', the determiners, which occur obligatorily with common nouns, indicate number, most by means of an alternation *t-* for SG versus *Ø-* for PL, thus: *tēnei* 'this' ~ *ēnei* 'these'.

The determiners, which always precede their heads, are:

a. articles
te ~ ngā 'definite, specific SG ~ PL'; the SG form is also used for generic readings:

te tangata ngā tāngata
DET(SG) person DET(PL) person(PL)
'the person' 'the people'

He manu te kiwi
DET bird DET(SG) kiwi
'Kiwis are birds, the kiwi is a bird'

Table 3: determiners selected by subcategories of noun

Preposition	+ common noun	+ locative	+ personal	+ pronoun
1. None[11]	*te, ngā, tēnei,* etc.[12]	*a*	*a*	Ø[13]
E.g.	*He rangatira tēnei tangata.* 'This person is a chief'	*He tāone nui a Pōneke.* 'Wellington is a big city'	*He rangatira a Hēmi.* 'Hēmi is a chief'	*He rangatira ia.* 'She/he is a chief'
2. *ki, i, kei, hei*	*te, ngā, tēnei,* etc.	Ø	*a*	*a*
E.g.	*ki te whare* 'to the house'	*kei Kirikiriroa* 'is in Hamilton'	*i a Hēmi* 'by Hēmi'	*kei a tātou* 'is with us'
3. *ko, me, e, rā, a, o, nā, nō, mā, mō*	*te, ngā, tēnei,* etc.	Ø	Ø	Ø
E.g.	*me tēnei tangata* 'with this man' *mā tōku māmā* 'for my mother'	*ko Aotearoa* 'New Zealand' *o Ingarangi* 'of England'	*e Rei* 'by Ray' *nō Mere* 'belongs to Mere'	*ko koe* 'you' *mō rāua* 'for them', *nāku*[14] 'belongs to me'

he 'non-specific, indefinite'. This DET has very limited distibution; it cannot be used following a preposition, from which it follows that NPs containing it may be subjects or predicates only, never oblique. In fact the restriction goes further; normally *he*-marked NPs cannot be used as subjects for VTs[15]. Non-specific direct objects are usually incorporated, see above. On the predicative use of *he*-marked NPs, see below.

tētahi ~ ētahi 'specific, indefinite, a certain, some particular, the one - the other SG ~ PL'. Since this determiner is compatible with prepositions, it must be used in indefinite oblique NPs, since *he* is excluded.

taua ~ aua 'anaphoric, the aforementioned SG ~ PL'. Very frequent in all types of discourse to label an NP whose referent has already been introduced. In conjunction with the particle *anō*, *taua ~ aua* provide the most usual translation of English 'the same': *i taua wā anō* 'at the same time'.

b. demonstratives
Maori distinguishes three discourse-related "locations": 'near the speaker'; 'near the hearer'; 'distant from both'. This distinction is seen in four paradigms:

- LOC: *nei, nā, rā*. On the position of LOC, see above. The combination of *te~ngā* + N + LOC is in meaning equivalent to demonstrative + N: *te whare nei = tēnei whare* 'this house';
- Locative nouns: *konei* 'here', *konā* 'there by you', *korā* 'over there';

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[11]Nominal phrases with no preposition preceding are typically used as **subject** of a clause.
[12]That is, any of the determiners listed below except *he, a*.
[13]Some people use an *a* before pronouns in phrases of this type, e.g. *He rangatira a ia*.
[14]As noted above, the SG pronouns have special allomorphs after certain prepositions.
[15]See Chung, Mason and Milroy 1995 for details.

- Adjectives: *pēnei* 'like this, similar, thus', *pēnā* 'like that of yours, as you say', *pērā* 'like that over there';
- Demonstrative DET: *tēnei ~ ēnei* 'this ~ these SG ~ PL', *tēnā ~ ēnā* 'that ~ those by you SG ~ PL', *tērā ~ ērā* 'that ~ those over there SG ~ PL'. In addition to its literal sense, *tēnā ~ ēnā* when repeated has a distributive function:

  ki   *tēnā, ki*   *tēnā o*   *koutou*   *i*   *tēnā marae, i*   *tēnā marae*
  PREP DET PREP DET PREP 2PL   PREP DET marae PREP DET marae
  'to each of you'   'on every marae'

c. possessives
The basic formula for possessive DETs is: *t- ~ Ø-* (SG ~ PL possessum) + *ā/ō*[16] + possessor. This pattern is the norm when the possessor is a personal pronoun[17]: *t-ō-ku* 'my, SG possessum', *ā rātou* 'their, PL possessum'. The pattern is also available for possessive DETs in which the possessor is an NP other than a pronoun. This construction is always used when the NP in which the possessive DET occurs is headless, but may also occur in NPs with explicit heads. More usually though possessors which are not pronouns make use of the construction: [NP]POSSESSUM *a/o*PREP [NP]POSSESSOR:

  Ø-ō-ku   *hoa*   *t-ā*   *māua*   *tamaiti*   *t-ō*   *Hēmi* Ø
  PL-of-1SG friend SG-of 2DU.EXCL child SG-of Hēmi
  'my friends'   'our child'   'Hēmi's (one)'

  t-ā   *te*   *rangatira kai* = *te*   *kai*   *a*   *te*   *rangatira*
  SG-of DET chief food   DET food PREP DET chief
  'the chief's food'   'the chief's food, lit. the food of the chief'

d. interrogative
The interrogative DET is *tēhea ~ ēhea* 'which SG ~ PL'.

Of the above, the demonstratives, the possessives, *tēhea~ēhea*, *tētahi~ētahi* may be used in headless NPs.

2.3.3 The prepositional phrase

These are phrases introduced by one of the prepositions listed below governing a NP. Such phrases have two principal distributions: as predicates and as "comments". On the use of PPs as predicates, see below, section 3.1. Comment is the term Biggs (1969 *et alibi*) uses for any phrase which is not the predicate phrase or subject. It thus covers all non-subject arguments and adjunct phrases. The following list of the major prepositions will exemplify the types of comment in Maori:

i
This preposition has a very wide range of disparate functions:

In a predicative PP, it marks location in the past:

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[16]See below, section 2.3.3 on the distinction between *a/o* 'categories' in possession in Maori.
[17]Bearing in mind that SG pronouns have special suffixal allomorphs.

[*I* *konei*]PRED *rāua* *i* *nanahi*
PREP here 3DU PREP yesterday
'They(two) were here yesterday'

In argument or adjunct position:

a. direct object (glossed OBJ):

Kei.te tuhi au i t-ā-ku reta ki a ia
T/A write 1SG OBJ SG-of-1SG letter PREP PA 3SG
'I am writing my letter to him'

b. cause:

Kua mākū katoa ngā tamariki i te ua
T/A wet all DET(PL) children PREP DET rain
'The children are all wet from the rain'

c. agent after neuter verbs:

I pakaru te wini i a Tamahae
T/A break DET window AG PA Tamahae
'Tamahae broke the window'

d. adjunct of place:

E mahi ana ia i Pōneke
T/A work T/A 3SG PREP Wellington
'She works in Wellington'

e. adjunct of time:

I konei rāua i nanahi
PREP here 3DU PREP yesterday
'They(two) were here yesterday'

f. place from which motion occurs:

Kua tae mai rātou i Rotorua
T/A arrive DIR 3PL PREP Rotorua
'They have arrived (here) from Rotorua'

g. standard of comparison:

He nui ake t-ō-ku whare i t-ō Hoani
DET big DIR SG-of-1SG house PREP SG-of Hoani
'My house is bigger than Hoani's'

h. complements of locative nouns designating relative position:

Kei runga i te tēpu
PREP on:LN PREP DET table
'Is on the table, lit. is.at top "of" the table'

ki

The central meaning of this preposition is 'to'; as such it is used for motion towards a place, for indirect object, for extent of time.

Kua tae atu rātou ki Rotorua
T/A arrive DIR 3PL PREP Rotorua
'They have arrived at Rotorua'

Kua hoatu he kai ki te manuhiri
T/A give DET food PREP DET guest
'Some food has been given to the visitor'[18]

Kei konei ia tae noa atu ki te Mane
PREP here 3SG arrive MAN DIR PREP DET Monday
'She's here until Monday'

Further functions of *ki* include:

a. instrumental:

I tārai-a te waka ki te toki pounamu
T/A carve-AFF DET canoe PREP DET adze jade
'The canoe was carved with a jade adze'

b. object of most experience verbs:

Kei.te pīrangi au ki tēnā pukapuka
T/A want 1SG PREP DET book
'I want that book (of yours)'

e

The agent NP in passive constructions is marked with the preposition *e*. This is the only function of this particle:

Kua kohi-a e ia ētahi waiata tawhito
T/A collect-AFF AG 3SG DET(PL) song ancient
'He has collected some ancient songs'

me

The essential meaning of this prepositon is 'comitative'. It is used:

a. to coordinate NPs. (If both NPs in a coordination are human, then coordination by means of a pronoun is preferred, see above.)

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[18]Despite the absence of the passive suffix, not usually used with this verb, the sentence is passive and *he kai* subject.

te   ngeru me   te   kurī
DET cat   PREP DET dog
'the cat and the dog'; this whole coordination is itself a NP and may be without further marking and thus act as a subject, or may be governed by a preposition.

b. for comitative NPs:

I   tae   atu   rātou ki   reira me   Ø-ā   rātou pū
T/A arrive DIR 3PL PREP there PREP PL-of 3PL guns
'They arrived there with their guns'

c. to mark adjuncts of "attendant circumstances":

Kaua e   kōrero me   t-ō-u   waha e   kī ana
NEG T/A speak   PREP SG-of-2SG mouth T/A full T/A
'Don't speak with your mouth full!'

d. for the coordination of synchronous verbal clauses with shared subjects. In this case the VP of the first clause is marked with an appropriate T/A, while the second is essentially a zero-derived nominalisation governed by the PREP *me*:

ka   ūmere me   te   kata
T/A shout   PREP DET laugh
'(They) shouted and laughed'

kei

This preposition likewise has a very restricted distribution; it marks predicative PPs of non-past location:

[Kei konei]PRED ia   tae   noa atu ki   te   Mane
PREP here   3SG arrive MAN DIR PREP DET Monday
'She's here until Monday'

ā

Adjuncts and predicative PPs of future time are marked by *ā*:

Ka kai tātou   ā   te   whitu karaka
T/A eat 1PL.INCL PREP DET 7   o'clock
'We'll eat at 7-00'

The remaining prepositions are all possessive. They occur in three pairs: *a/o* 'of', *nā/nō* 'belongs to', *mā/mō* 'for'. These pairs, along with the possessive determiners, show a distinction maintained in the majority of Polynesian languages often referred to as *a/o* categories, which reflects the relationship between possessor and possessum. Terms like *dominant* and *alienable* have been applied to the a-forms, and *subordinate* and *inalienable* to the o-forms. Of the two, the a-forms are marked and indicate a relationship in which the possessor has some kind of control or superior position over the possessum. Space does not allow an exhaustive treatment here, but the following are the main areas of use of both sets of particles:

a-forms are used:

1. for small portable possessions:

t-ā-ku   pene
SG-of-1SG   pen
'my pen'

2. kin of lower generation than EGO (except *uri* 'descendant', which takes o-forms), and spouses:

te   wahine a   Hēmi   t-ā-na   mokopuna
DET woman PREP Hēmi   SG-of-3SG grandchild
'Hēmi's wife'   'His grandchild'

3. subject of nominalisations of transitive verbs, including derived nominals:

te   patu-nga a   ngā   tamariki i   te   kurī
DET beat-AFF PREP DET(PL) children OBJ   DET dog
'The children's beating the dog'

Te   waiata a   Horomona
DET song   PREP Solomon
'The Song of Solomon', where *waiata* is a zero-derived N from VT *waiata* 'sing'.

4. all consumables except fresh water and medicine:

Hōmai he   parāoa   mā-ku
Give DET bread   for-1SG
'Give me some bread, lit. give (me) some bread for me'

5. animals not used for conveyance:

Ngā   kurī a   te   rangatira
DET(PL) dog   PREP DET chief
'The chief's dogs'

o-forms on the other hand are used for:

1. large objects, including means of conveyance, including animals like horses:

t-ō-na   whare   Ø-ō rātou waka
SG-of-3SG house   PL-of 3PL canoe
'His house'   'Their canoes/cars'

2. subject of nominalisations of intransitive, neuter and experience verbs:

t-ō   rāua tae-nga   atu
SG-of 3DU arrive-AFF DIR
'their arrival'

3. subject of nominalisations of passive transitive verbs:

te   patu-nga   o   te   kurī   e   ngā   tamariki
DET beat-AFF PREP DET dog AG DET(PL) children
'The children's beating the dog, lit. the dog's being beaten by the children'

4. all other kin (see above), and friends. Strikingly, though *wahine* 'wife' and *tāne* 'husband' take a-form possessives, their synonyms, *hoa wahine* 'female friend, companion' and *hoa tāne* 'male friend, companion' take o-form:

te   tuakana   o   Mere   Ø-ō-na   mātua
DET older.sibling.same.sex PREP Mere   PL-of-3SG parent(PL)
'Mere's older sister'   'his parents'

5. parts of whole, including parts of the body and by extension, clothing:

te   tuanui   o   te   whare   t-ō-na   pōtae
DET roof   PREP DET house   SG-of-3SG hat
'the roof of the house'   'her hat'

a/o

As seen in many of the above examples, these two prepositions form PP modifiers of NPs. The other pairs, *nā/nō* and *mā/mō*, have other functions, some of them not clearly related to possession.

nā/nō

Possessive PPs used predicatively are introduced by *nā/nō*:

Nā   wai tēnei pukapuka?   Nō   Hēmi   tērā   whare
PREP who DET book   PREP Hēmi DET house
'Whose book is this?'   'That house is Hēmi's'

Nā is also used for the socalled Actor Emphatic construction (see below, section 3.4.3), and for fronted adverbials of cause:

Nā   te   ua   tātou   i   kore ai   e   haere
PREP DET rain 1PL.INCL T/A NEG APH T/A go
'It was because of the rain that we didn't go'

Nō is used to mark fronted temporal PPs of past time:

Nō   tērā Rāhoroi rātou i   tae   atu ai
PREP DET Saturday 3PL T/A arrive DIR APH
'It was last Staurday that they arrived (there)'

Mā/mō

These two prepositions mark benefactive PPs, which can be used both predicatively and as adjuncts:

Hōmai he   parāoa mā-ku   Mō   rātou tēnā   waka
Give DET bread   for-1SG PREP 3PL DET canoe
'Give me some bread'   'That car is for them'

Mā, like *nā*, is used in Actor Emphatic constructions (see below, section 3.4.3). It is also used to mark adjuncts of route and instrument, especially if these are fronted:

Mā   hea   koe haere mai ai?
PREP where 2SG go   DIR APH
'How did you get here?', appropriate answers being:

Mā   runga i   te   waka o   Hēmi or Mā   Taupō
PREP on:LN PREP DET canoe PREP Hēmi   PREP Taupō
'On Hēmi's car'   'By way of Taupō'

The various relative locations expressed in languages like English by means of specific prepositions are handled in Maori by complex expressions involving locative nouns (see above). Thus 'in the house' translates as 'at the inside of the house' = *i roto i te whare*, 'onto the marae' as 'to the top surface/space above of the marae' = *ki runga i te marae*.

3. Syntax

This survey of the syntax of Maori will proceed from the simplest examples of the unmarked sentence type, those consisting of a single predicate phrase followed by a subject, to the negation of these sentences, the possible expansions and transformations of these. Section 3.1 deals with types of predicate phrase, 3.2 with negation, 3.3 with the complements and adjuncts, 3.4 with transformations of the unmarked "VSX" pattern, including imperatives, and 3.5 with complex sentences. Unlike many Polynesian languages, which are ergative, e.g. Tokelauan,[19] Maori is an accusative language. Subjects of transitive and intransitive predicates are treated similarly, being realised as an unmarked NP in contrast to objects, which are marked with a preposition, usually *i*.

3.1 Types of predicate

Three types of phrase may act as predicates in Maori sentences:

VP:

[E   tangi ana]PRED:VP te   tamaiti   [Kua mate]PRED:VP te   koroua
T/A weep T/A   DET child   T/A die   DET old.man
'The child is crying'   'The old man has died'

NP with *he* as DET. Three subtypes must be distinguished here, not least because of the differences in negation:

1. PRED = *He* + N, and the meaning is: 'SUBJ is a N'

[He   kai-whaka-ako]PRED:NP a   Mere.
DET AFF-AFF-learn   PA Mere
'Mere is a teacher'

2. PRED = *He* + A, and the meaning is: 'SUBJ is A'

[He   reka]PRED:NP ēnei   kai
DET delicious   DET(PL) food
'This food is delicious'

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[19] See Hooper 1996.

3. PRED = *He* + N, SUBJ = possessive DET, meaning is: 'Possessor has a/some N'

[He	moni]PRED:NP	Ø-ā-u?		[He	waka]PRED:NP	t-ō	Rei
DET	money	PL-of-2SG		DET	canoe	SG-of	Rei
'Have you any money?'				'Rei has a car'			

PP:

1. The preposition *ko* introduces definite equational predicates:

[Ko	Rei]PRED:PP	t-ō-ku	ingoa
PREP	Rei	SG-of-1SG	name
'My name is Rei'			

2. *I, kei, hei* introduce locational predicates of resp. past, non-past, future tense. *Hei* is optional, since *kei* can always be used for future location as well:

[I	konei]PRED:PP	rāua	i	nanahi	[Kei	Pōneke]PRED:PP	ia
PREP	here	3DU	PREP	yesterday	PREP	Wellington	3SG
'They(2) were here yesterday'					'She's in Wellington'		

As well as predicating position in a place of the subject, this construction has abstract senses, such as predicating physical possession (as opposed to ownership) of a definite subject:

[Kei	a	koe]PRED:PP	Ø-ā-ku	māti?
PREP	PA	2SG	PL-of-1SG	match
'Have you got my matches?'				

including such "possessions" as the authority to do something, the "turn" in turn-taking:

[Kei	a	ia]PRED:PP	te	tikanga	[Kei	a	koe]PRED:PP
PREP	PA	3SG	DET	custom	PREP	PA	2SG
'It's up to him'					'It's your turn'		

3. As shown above, *nā/nō* and *mā/mō* can be used in predicative PPs of actual and prospective possession respectively:

[Nā	wai]PRED:PP	tēnei	pukapuka?	[Nō	Hēmi]PRED:PP	tērā	whare
PREP	who	DET	book	PREP	Hēmi	DET	house
'Whose book is this?'				'That house is Hēmi's'			

[Mō	rātou]PRED:PP	tēnā	waka
PREP	3PL	DET	canoe
'That car is for them'			

3.2 Negation

Sentence negation in Maori is effected by the use of a set of "negative verbs" which form the predicate of the negated sentence. The positive sentence surfaces as either a subordinate clause, from which the subject is often raised to the higher negative predicate, or as subject to the

negative predicate plus prepositional comment.[20] Which negative verb is used and what in detail becomes of the positive sentence when negated depends on the nature and marking of the predicate of the positive sentence.

1. VP predicates:

The most common negative verb for indicative predicates of this class is *kāore*, usually followed by the subject of the positive sentence then the VP. In some cases the T/A of the VP differs from that of the positive sentence:

E	haere	ana	ia	>	Kāore	ia	e	haere	ana
T/A	go	T/A	3SG		NEG	3SG	T/A	go	T/A
'He is going'					'He is not going'				

I	haere	ia		>	Kāore	ia	i	haere
T/A	go	3SG			NEG	3SG	T/A	go
'He went'					'He did not go'			

Kua haere	ia		>	Kāore	anō	ia	kia	haere
T/A go	3SG			NEG	yet	3SG	T/A	go
'He has gone'				'He has not gone (yet)'				

Because *ka* is temporally empty, the negation of predicates marked with *ka* varies according to the pragmatically supplied tense. For a use of *ka* where context indicates a past tense reading, the second pattern exemplified above is used. For a present reading, the first pattern above, and for future, there is a special form of the negative:

E	kore[21]	ia	e	haere
T/A	NEG	3SG	T/A	go
'He won't go', corresponding to: *ka haere ia* 'he will go'.				

Imperative T/As are negated by means of the NEG *kaua* followed by a subordinate VP marked with T/A *e*:

Ø	haere!	>	Kaua	e	haere
T/A	go		NEG	T/A	go
'Go!'			'Don't go!'		

2. NP predicates:

The negation of predicates consisting of a NP whose DET is *he* and whose head is a N is constructed by means of the NEG verb *ehara*, after which the original predicate phrase is marked as a comment with the PREP *i* and DET *te*:

He	tohunga	ia	>	Ehara	ia	i	te	tohunga
DET	expert	3SG		NEG	3SG	PREP	DET	expert
'He is an expert'				'He is not an expert'				

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[20]On the notion of "comment" in Maori grammar, see above.
[21]On *kore*, see below, section 3.4.4.

Predicates of the form *he* + A are negated using a verbal pattern, cf. above:

He	*tika*	*tēnā*	*kōrero*	>	*Kāore*	*tēnā*	*kōrero*	*e*	*tika*	*ana*
DET	correct	DET	speech		NEG	DET	speech	T/A	correct	T/A

'What you say is right'   'What you say is not right'

Possessive sentences of the shape: *he* + N + possessive DET have two patterns of negation according as the possessor is a personal pronoun or a full NP. Both patterns use *kāore* as the NEG. In the case of full-NP-possessors, the *he* + N is retained, and followed by a dependent PP of possession:

He	*moni*	*ā*	*Hēmi*	>	*Kāore*	*he*	*moni*	*a*	*Hēmi*
DET	money	PL-of	Hēmi		NEG	DET	money	PREP	Hēmi

'Hēmi has some money'   'Hēmi has no money'

Where the possessor is a pronoun, the *he* is replaced by the PL form of the relevant possessive DET:

He	*moni*	*āku*	>	*Kāore*	*āku*	*moni*
DET	money	PL-of-1SG		NEG	PL-of-1SG	money

'I have some money'   'I have no money'

3. PP predicates:

Predicates introduced by *ko* are negated in the same way as NP predicates with *he*:

Ko	*te*	*Pirīmia*	*tēnei*	>	*Ehara*	*tēnei*	*i*	*te*	*pirīmia*
PREP	DET	Prime Minister	DET		NEG	DET	PREP	DET	Prime Minister

'This is the Prime Minister'   'This is not the Prime Minister'

Similarly, predicative PPs in *nā/nō* and *mā/mō* are negated using *ehara*. *Nā/nō* are then usually replaced by the PREP *i*, though they may be optionally retained. *Mā/mō* are retained in the negation:

Nō	*Hēmi*	*tērā*	*whare*	>	*Ehara*	*tērā*	*whare*	*i*	*a*	*Hēmi*
PREP	Hēmi	DET	house		NEG	DET	house	PREP	PA	Hēmi

'That house is Hēmi's'   'That house is not Hēmi's'

or

Ehara	*tērā*	*whare*	*nō*	*Hēmi*
NEG	DET	house	PREP	Hēmi

'That house is not Hēmi's'

Mō	*rātou*	*tēnā*	*waka*	>	*Ehara*	*mō*	*rātou*	*tēnā*	*waka*
PREP	3PL	DET	canoe		NEG	PREP	3PL	DET	canoe

'That car is for them'   'That car is not for them'

Finally, predicative PPs of place, those in *kei* 'be at a place, present' and *i* 'be at a place, past' are negated by means of the NEG *kāore*, the original PRED being marked as a comment with *i*:

I	*konei*	*rāua*	*i*	*nanahi*	>	*Kāore*	*rāua*	*i*	*konei*	*i*	*nanahi*
PREP	here	3DU	PREP	yesterday		NEG	3DU	PREP	here	PREP	yesterday

'They(2) were here yesterday'   'They(2) weren't here yesterday'

Kei	*Pōneke*	*ia*	>	*Kāore*	*ia*	*i*	*Pōneke*
PREP	Wellington	3SG		NEG	3SG	PREP	Wellington

'She's in Wellington'   'She's not in Wellington'

Some of the marked constructions to be discussed below and some subordinate clauses have their own peculiar forms of negation. These will be presented below, especially 3.4.4, 3.5.

Negation of a single phrase is expressed by *kaua* placed before the phrase concerned:

Nō	*te*	*Mane*	*ia*	*i*	*tae*	*mai*	*ai*	*kaua*	*i*	*te*	*Tūrei*
PREP	DET	Monday	3SG	T/A	arrive	DIR	APH	NEG	PREP	DET	Tuesday

'It was on Monday that she arrived, not on Tuesday'

3.3 Complements and adjuncts

As mentioned above, Maori is an accusative language. All subjects are unmarked NPs and all phrasal complements and adjuncts are marked with some preposition or other.

3.3.1 Objects

Objects of virtually all transitive verbs are marked with *i*, a very few taking *ki*:

Kei.te	*tuhi*	*au*	*i*	*t-ā-ku*	*reta*	*ki*	*a*	*ia*
T/A	write	1SG	OBJ	SG-of-1SG	letter	PREP	PA	3SG

'I am writing my letter to him'

Bitransitives always have *i* for the direct object and usually *ki* 'to' to mark the indirect object. The indirect object is sometimes seen marked as benefactive with *mā/mō* 'for'. The two objects usually stand in the order: direct object, indirect object:

I	*whaka-atu*	*ia*	*i*	*Ø-ā-na*	*pukapuka*	*ki*	*Ø-ō-na*	*hoa*
T/A	AFF-DIR	3SG	OBJ	PL-of-3SG	book	PREP	PL-of-3SG	friend

'She showed her friends her books'

Most experience verbs on the other hand (though not *kite* 'see' and *rongo* 'hear', which take *i*) have objects marked with *ki*:

Kei.te	*pīrangi*	*au*	*ki*	*tēnā*	*pukapuka*
T/A	want	1SG	PREP	DET	book

'I want that book (of yours)'

As stated above, objects in active sentences must be specific, since the non-specific article *he* is incompatible with prepositions. Propositions with non-specific patients are thus encoded in Maori either in the passive, see below, or by means of object incorporation. This state of affairs has led in some dialects of Maori to an anglicism in which the object is introduced by *he* but lacks OBJ. The English 'They are looking for a house' is properly translated as either

Kei.te kimi whare rātou   or   *Kei.te kimi-hia*   *e*   *rātou*   *he*   *whare*
T/A   seek   house   3PL   T/A   seek-AFF   AG   3PL   DET   house
'They are house-seeking'   'A house is being sought by them'

However, increasingly one hears:

Kei.te kimi rātou he   *whare*
T/A   see   3PL   DET   house

3.3.2 Other complements

Apart from transitive and experience verbs, a number of other types of word govern complements:

a. many adjectives, especially those expressing similarity, take complement PPs. The usual PREPs in such cases are *i* and *ki*, the choice between these being lexically conditioned by the governor, but also showing considerable dialectal and idiolectal variation:

he   *tangata pēnā*   *i*   *a*   *koe*   *nā*
DET   person   like:A   PREP   PA   2SG   LOC
'someone like you', but

Rite   *tonu*   *ia*   *ki*   *t-ō-na*   *whaea*
Like   MAN   3SG   PREP   SG-of-3SG   mother
'She is just like her mother'

Other adjectives more usually take *ki*:

He   *tino*   *mōhio*   *ia*   *ki*   *taua*   *mahi*
DET   very   knowledgeable   3SG   PREP   DET   work
'He's very knowledgeable at that (type of) work'

b. the standard of comparison after comparative adjectives is also a PP in *i*:

He   *nui*   *ake*   *t-ō-ku*   *whare*   *i*   *t-ō*   *Hoani*
DET   big   DIR   SG-of-1SG   house   PREP   SG-of   Hoani
'My house is bigger than Hoani's'

c. locative nouns indicating relative position are frequently followed by a dependent PP marked usually with *i* which shows the reference point for the relative position:

Kei   *runga*   *i*   *te*   *tēpu*   *ki*   *mua*   *i*   *te*   *whare*
PREP   on:LN   PREP   DET   table   PREP   front   PREP   DET   house
'Is on the table, lit. is.at top "of" the table'   'to in front of the house'

d. some common nouns also take complements in *ki*:

He   *tohunga*   *ia*   *ki*   *te*   *tārai*   *waka*
DET   expert   3SG   PREP   DET   carve   canoe
'He is an expert at carving out canoes'

3.3.3 Adjuncts

Adjuncts of NPs are typically PPs marked with *a/o*, see above for examples and for the distinction between *a/o*.

Many types of adverbial adjunct have already been illustrated in the section above on prepositions. These include agent of VN, cause, place, time, all of which are expressed by means of PPs in *i*; further, instrument and goal, expressed by *ki*-marked PPs; finally benefactives, with *mā/mō*. These obliques will typically follow the subject and any objects, giving an unmarked phrase order for Maori of:

PRED   SUBJ   (OBJ(OBJ))   (comments,.......).

Though "obligatory", subjects can readily be zero-pronominalised when accessible from context. If the subject is not an agent, e.g. if the predicate is a VN, or as we shall see, passive, then an oblique agentive phrase may proceed it, especially if this phrase is headed by a pronoun and the subject by a full noun:

I   *mau*   *i*   *a*   *koe*   *te*   *tāhae?*
T/A   catch:VN   AG   PA   2SG   DET   thief
'Did you catch the thief?'

In the next section, we will encounter constructions which take this pattern as a basis and are usefully regarded as "derived" from it.

3.4 Transformations

The sentence pattern presented so far is the most frequent and unmarked. There are however other patterns, which will be discussed in this section. The first, passive (3.4.1), does not necessarily entail a departure from the "VSX" pattern, though like active sentences passive sentences may be transformed into one or the other of the patterns dealt with here. Three constructions (3.4.2-4) will be described which involve the fronting of some constituent, usually for pragmatic purposes. Following these, imperatives, an account of which presupposes a description of passive (3.4.5), and questions, which make wide use of the fronting constructions (3.4.6), will be handled.

3.4.1 Passive

Like many accusative languages, Maori has a device which allows the promotion of an object to subject of a clause. The verb and any modifying lexical items and/or manner particles acquire a suffix (see above, section 2.2.1). The subject of the corresponding active surfaces as an oblique agent marked with *e* 'AG':

Kei.te kai te   *kurī i*   *te*   *ika*   > *Kei.te kai-nga te*   *ika e*   *te*   *kurī*
T/A   eat   DET   dog   OBJ   DET   fish   T/A   eat-AFF   DET   fish   AG   DET   dog
'The dog is eating the fish'   'The fish is being eaten by the dog'

E   *mōhio-tia*   *whānui-tia ana tēnā waiata*
T/A   know-AFF   wide-AFF   T/A   DET   song
'That song is widely known'

E   kōrero-tia   tonu-tia   ana   taua   take
T/A speak-AFF   MAN-AFF   T/A   DET   matter
'That affair is still being talked about'

In general, the subject (underlying patient) and agent phrases may occur in either order, factors like weight and salience determining which is better on any one occasion.

The passive suffix is usually not affixed to the verb or its modifiers if the T/A is *me*. Nor is it used with the three verbs *waiho* 'leave', *hōmai* 'give (to me)' and *hoatu* 'give away'. The voice of the clause can however always be determined by other clues, such as the presence of the AG marker *e*, or the patient NP as subject:

Me   tuku   mai   ngā   tono   i   te   1   o   Ākuhata
T/A send   DIR   DET(PL) application   PREP   DET   1   PREP   August
'Applications must be sent in on the 1st August', in which the reading of *ngā tono* as patient is the more natural.

In general only VT and experience verbs may be made passive, though examples can be found in the literature of nouns with the passive suffix. These are then used as verbs meaning 'become N':

I   kōhatu-ngia   a   Pānia
T/A stone:N-AFF   PA   Pānia
'Pania turned into stone'

Occasionally, one can even encounter names used in this way:

Koinei   i   Ngā Pōtiki-hia   ai   aua   whenua
This.reason   T/A Ngā Pōtiki:PN-AFF   APH   DET(PL)   land
'This is why those lands become Ngā Pōtiki's'.[22]

In one well-known example, a whole phrase has been made passive, so that it can be used as the verb in a command:[23]

Mā   te   matapihi-tia   mai
PREP DET   window-AFF   DIR
'Pass (it, the corpse) in through the window'

A feature of the passive construction in Maori which has frequently been remarked on in the literature is its high frequency in text, especially narrative. Where both subject and object are definite, accessible, known etc., passive is more likely to be used than the corresponding active. Among the explanations offered for this state of affairs is that the more affected the object of a VT is, the more likely passive will be used to encode it.[24]

This notwithstanding, there are contexts where active or passive are preferred for structural reasons, e.g. since subjects are more accessible for relativisation than either direct objects or

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[22]Ngā Pōtiki is a tribal name, and as such a personal noun.
[23]See below, section 3.4.5, for the use of passive verbs as imperatives.
[24]Chung 1978:80.

agents of passives, passive and active clauses are used as relatives where patients and agents respectively are relativised on.

3.4.2 Fronted subject

Irrespective of the nature of the predicate phrase any definite subject NP may be fronted and marked with the PREP *ko*:[25]

E   horoi   ana   a   Mere   i   ngā   rīhi
T/A wash   T/A   PA   Mere   OBJ   DET(PL)   dish
'Mere is washing the dishes'

> *Ko   Mere   e   horoi   ana   i   ngā   rīhi*
PREP Mere   T/A   wash   T/A   OBJ   DET(PL)   dish

This sentence pattern however has two intonations and two readings, one in which the main stress falls on the VP and the fronted subject is topic (especially for new or contrastive topic): 'As for Mere, she's washing the dishes', and one in which the fronted subject bears the main stress and is focal: 'It is Mere who is washing the dishes'. Note that *ko* can also mark equative predicates, see above. Sentences with such predicates can undergo this transformation and thus consist of two phrases marked with *ko*, of which the first is subject and the second predicate:

Ko   Rei   t-ō-ku   ingoa   >   Ko   t-ō-ku   ingoa ko   Rei
PREP Rei   SG-of-1SG   name   PREP SG-of-1SG   name   PREP   Rei
'My name is Rei'   'My name is Rei'

The focal reading of this construction can be negated simply by adding *ehara* at the beginning:

Ehara   ko   Mere   e   horoi   ana   i   ngā   rīhi
NEG   PREP Mere   T/A   wash   T/A   OBJ   DET(PL)   dish
'It is not Mere who is washing the dishes'

In the case of the other reading of this construction, in which the fronted subject is named as topic, it is the comment that is negated, not the whole sentence:

Ko   Mere   kāore   e   horoi   ana   i   ngā   rīhi
PREP Mere   NEG   T/A   wash   T/A   OBJ   DET(PL)   dish
'As for Mere, she's not washing the dishes, (she's clearing the tables....)'

3.4.3 Actor Emphatic

A construction type peculiar to the Eastern Polynesian languages is the so-called Actor Emphatic. This consists of a fronted agent marked with *nā* for past or *mā* for future, a verb phrase whose T/A is *i* for past or *e* for future, and a patient as subject, i.e. with no preposition.

Nā   Pita   i   whaka-reri   ngā   kai
PREP Pita   T/A   AFF-ready   DET(PL)   food
'It was Pita who prepared the food'

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[25]See Bauer 1991.

Mā   Pita   e   whaka-reri   ngā   kai
PREP Pita T/A AFF-ready DET(PL) food
'It is for Pita to prepare the food, it is Pita who will/should prepare the food'

In the case of both tenses, inversion of the VP and subject is possible, especially if this latter is relatively short:

Nā   Pita   ngā   kai   i   whaka-reri
PREP Pita DET(PL) food T/A AFF-ready

This construction is available only in these two tenses and only for VT with explicit agent and patient NPs. In discourse, the patient (=subject) NP may be zero-pronominalised if immediately recoverable from the context. The patient may also be non-specific, in which case it will usually follow the VP:

Mā   koutou   e   kimi   he   tikanga
PREP 2PL   T/A seek DET   method
'It is you who must seek a way'

It cannot readily be used with experience verbs, even though these have two arguments. Its use with agentive VI is at best marginal and there is great variation in grammaticality judgements on sentences like:

Mā-u   e   haere
PREP-2SG T/A go
'You are to go'

The essential function of this construction is to focus the agent and to that extent it shares a function with the fronted subject construction just described. Actor Emphatic is preferred for VT past/future, while fronting the subject is used in order to focus the agent of present-tense transitive sentences.

These two constructions are negated in the same way as predicative *nā/mā* PPs, i.e. with *ehara*. Following *ehara, nā* is usually replaced by *i*:

Ehara   i   a   Pita   i   whaka-reri   ngā   kai
NEG   PREP PA Pita T/A AFF-ready DET(PL) food
'It was not Pita who prepared the food (someone else did)'

Ehara   mā   Pita e   whaka-reri   ngā   kai
NEG   PREP Pita T/A AFF-ready   DET(PL) food
'It is not for Pita to prepare the food (but for someone else)'

3.4.4 Fronted adverbial phrases

Apart from subjects (3.4.2) and agents (3.4.3), some other constituents may also be fronted for topicalisation or focus. In particular, adverbial phrases of time, cause, means, and less regularly, of place, may occur in sentence-initial position.

a. Fronted temporal phrases

In both past and future, there are two constructions available in which temporal adverbial phrases are fronted; (i) one in which the T/A *i* (past) and Ø (future) are used and the APH *ai* follows the verb, and (ii) another in which the full range of T/As may be used and no APH follows. There is a loose correlation between the choice of construction and function, in that the former focusses the temporal adverbial, while the latter serves to topicalise it.

(i)   *Nō   tērā   Rāhoroi   rātou   i   tae   mai   ai*
     PREP DET Saturday 3PL   T/A arrive DIR APH
     'It was last Saturday that they arrived here'

(ii) *Nō   tērā   Rāhoroi   ka   tae   mai   rātou*
     PREP DET Saturday T/A   arrive DIR   3PL
     '(Then) on Saturday, they arrived here', perhaps following a list of things which occurred on the different days of last week.

These two examples are past tense. For the future, there are not only different T/A markers, but also different temporal prepositions:

Ā   tērā   Rāhoroi   rātou   Ø   tae   mai   ai
PREP DET Saturday 3PL   T/A arrive DIR APH
'It is next Saturday that they arrive here'

b. Fronted phrases of cause

Phrases of cause may also occur in sentence-initial position, especially for past events. The construction is very similar to the temporal focus described above, in that two variants are available, (i) one tending to focus the cause, (ii) the other to topicalise it:

(i)   *Nā   te   ua   mātou   i   noho ai   ki   te   kāinga*
     PREP DET rain 1PL.EXCL T/A   stay   APH PREP   DET home
     'It was because of the rain that we stayed home', in which it is presupposed or known that we stayed home.

(ii) *Nā   te   ua   ka   noho mātou   ki   te   kāinga*
     PREP DET rain T/A stay   1PL.EXCL PREP DET home
     'Because of the rain, we stayed home', in which our staying home is new information.

Variant (i) of this construction shows two patterns of negation, in one (a) it is denied that the focussed phrase is indeed the cause of the event, in the other (b) the focussed phrase is the reason some event did not take place:

(a)   *Ehara   nā   te   ua.........,   nā   te   pai   kē   o   te   Tiwi*
     NEG   PREP DET rain   PREP   DET good MAN PREP DET TV
     'It wasn't because of the rain (that...), but because the TV programme was so good'

(b)   *Nā   te   ua   mātou   i   kore ai   e   purei   tēnehi*
     PREP DET rain 1PL.EXCL T/A NEG APH   T/A play   tennis
     'It was because of the rain that we didn't play tennis'

Note the occurrence in the latter example of the NEG *kore* with its own T/A and followed by APH and a dependent VP with T/A *e*. It is with respect to this word, and similar constructions we shall encounter below (3.5) that the verbal status of NEG is clearest. *Kore* is compatible with a range of T/A, as seen here and in examples below. The main clause NEG *kāore* and its variants *kāhore* and *kāre* are thought to derive from *ka kore*.

c. Fronted phrases of means

PPs of means introduced by *mā*, especially those indicating the route of a movement or the means of transport, can be fronted, and are then followed by a VP with *ka*, or marked only with the APH *ai*.

In Maori, one is "on" any type of vehicle, not, as in English, "on a bus" but "in a car". This notion is expressed using the LN *runga* 'on', followed either by a PP with *i*, if the vehicle is definite, or by the unmarked noun for the vehicle, if non-specific:

Mā	*runga*	*i*	*te*	*waka*	*o*	*Tio*
PREP	on:LN	PREP	DET	canoe	PREP	Tio

'in Tio's car'

Mā	*runga*	*waka-rere-rangi*
PREP	on:LN	canoe-fly-sky

'by plane'

Phrases of this kind, and phrases similarly marked with *mā* but indicating the route, e.g. *mā Taupō* 'by way of Taupō' can occur fronted as in:

Mā	*runga*	*pahi*	*mātou*	*tae*	*mai*	*ai*
PREP	on:LN	bus	1PL.EXCL	arrive	DIR	APH

'We arrived by bus'

A further example of a fronted phrase of means is provided by the well-known and oft-cited proverb:

Mā	*te*	*huruhuru*	*ka*	*rere*	*te*	*manu*
PREP	DET	feather	T/A	fly	DET	bird

'It is by means of its feathers that a bird can fly, a bird needs feathers to fly', which refers to the need of adequate financial resources for anything to be accomplished.

3.4.5 Imperatives

The grammar of direct commands in Maori[26] has been touched upon from place to place elsewhere in this booklet. This section will bring those points together.

The T/A marking varies depending on the class of verb in the predicate, *kia* being used for adjectives and experience verbs, and *e/Ø* for transitive and intransitive verbs. The choice between the allomorphs of *e/Ø* is conditioned by the length of the verb plus any accompanying postposed particle; *e* is selected if this length is two morae, *Ø* for greater than two:

---

[26]On indirect commands see below 3.5.

E	*noho!*	*Haere*	*mai!*		*Kōrero!*
T/A	sit	Go	DIR		Speak

'Sit down'   'Come here'   'Speak'

kia	*tika*		*kia*	*mōhio*	*(koe)*
T/A	correct		T/A	know	(you)

'Get it right!'   'You should know...'

The subject pronoun is optional in all cases.

Imperatives of actions performed by some part of the body take the form of a third-person command to the specific body part, that is the body part is the subject of the imperative verb, e.g.:

Hāmama	*t-ō-u*		*waha*	*Takahi*	*t-ō-u*		*wae*
Utter	SG-of-2SG		mouth	Stamp	SG-of2SG		foot

'Speak, open your mouth'   'Stamp your foot'

One striking aspect of imperatives in Maori is the construction to be used for a transitive verb. In such cases, the verb appears with its regular passive suffix and the "object" lacks the object marker, i.e. is the surface subject (though, if recoverable, it may be zero-pronominalised). The expression of the second person agent as an oblique phrase with agentive preposition is optional.

Whaka-pai-ngia	*ngā*		*kai!*	*Tuhi-a!*	*Kimi-hia*	*he*	*tikanga*
AFF-good-AFF	DET(PL)		food	Write-AFF	Seek-AFF	DET	way

'Bless the food (say grace)'   'Write (it)!'   'Find a way!'

The negation of all these imperatives uses the NEG *kaua* followed by the T/A *e*:

Kaua	*e*	*noho!*		*Kaua*	*e*	*kōrero!*
NEG	T/A	sit		NEG	T/A	speak

'Don't sit down'   'Don't speak'

Kaua	*e*	*māngere*		*Kaua*	*e*	*tuhi-a*
NEG	T/A	lazy		NEG	T/A	write-AFF

'Don't be lazy'   'Don't write (it)'

3.4.6 Questions

Questions in Maori have no peculiar structural marking, such as inversion, or question particle. Direct[27] yes-no questions simply have the form of the corresponding statement spoken with a rising final intonation. Yes-no questions which invite agreement with the statement they encode may be followed by a universal tag *nē* or *nē rā*:

He	*tangata*	*hūmārie*	*a*	*Rāhera,*	*nē rā?*
DET	person	gentle	PA	Rāhera	TAG

'Rāhera's a nice, gentle person, isn't she?'

---

[27]On indirect questions see section 3.5.

Wh-questions are formed using one or the other of the interrogatives of Maori. Maori has an interrogative word for each of its word classes and subclasses, and these words follow exactly the syntax of the class it represents. The interrogatives are given above in the section on each class. To recapitulate:

Table 4: Interrogatives

Interrogative	gloss	word class	example
aha	'what'	common noun	ki te aha 'to what'
aha	'do what'	verb	kei te aha 'is doing what'
wai	'who'	personal noun	ki a wai 'to whom'
hia	'how many'	numeral	e hia ngā whare 'how many houses are there'
hea	'what place, what time (future)'	locative noun	i hea 'where, at what place' ā hea 'when (future)'
nahea	'what time (past)'	locative noun	nō nahea 'when (past)'
pēhea	'what like'	adjective	e pēhea ana 'is like what'
tēhea	'which'	determiner	tēhea tangata 'which person'

In forming a wh-question, the appropriate interrogative is simply placed in the position of the item being questioned. When constituents which may be fronted for focus (see above, 3.4.2-4) are questioned, the fronting construction will usually be used with the effect that the interrogative is in the first phrase of the sentence. However, when constituents which cannot be fronted in this way are questioned, particularly object and some adjuncts, the interrogative will occur at the usual position late in the clause. Examples follow:

a. questioning predicate verbal phrases:

Kei.te aha koe?   Kua aha-tia   te   kurī?
T/A what 2SG   T/A what-AFF DET dog
'What are you doing?'   'What has happened to the dog, lit. the dog has been "whatted"?'

E   pēhea ana koe?   >   E   pai   ana
T/A how   T/A 2SG   T/A good   T/A
'How are you?'   '(I'm) well'

b. questioning a nominal predicate:

He   aha   te   mea rā?
DET what DET thing LOC
'What's that?'

c. questioning a prepositional predicate:

Ko   wai   t-ō-u   ingoa?
PREP who SG-of-2SG name
'What is your name?', note that because the anticipated answer is a personal noun, the correct interrogative here is wai 'who'. Increasingly one hears the anglicism He aha tōu ingoa?, to which, strictly speaking, the answer is 'My name is a word'!

Kei   hea   te   ngeru?
PREP what.place DET cat
'Where's the cat?'

Nā   wai   tēnei   pukapuka?
PREP who DET   book
'Whose book is this?

d. questioning the subject. Since subjects generally can be fronted for focus, this is the preferred position for an interrogative questioning the subject:

Ko   wai   e   kōrero ana?
PREP who T/A speak T/A
'Who is speaking?'

Ko   tēhea tima i   toa
PREP DET team T/A victorious
'Which team won?'

If the tense of the sentence is past or future, and if the verb is a VT, then the Actor Emphatic construction is preferred and the fronted agent questioned:

Nā   wai   tēnei waiata i   tito?
PREP who DET song T/A   compose
'Who composed this song?'

e. questioning an object. Objects, direct or indirect, cannot be fronted. For indirect objects this entails that they must be questioned in situ:

I   hoatu[28] ngā   moni ki   a   wai?
T/A give   DET(PL) money PREP PA who
'Who was the money given too?'

For direct objects, the same can apply:

Kei.te kimi koe i   te   aha?
T/A seek 2SG OBJ DET what
'What are you looking for?'

However, other strategies are also available, in particular the use of a cleft construction consisting of a predicative NP, which contains the interrogative, and a subject in the form of a headless possessive relative (see below, section 3.5.4):

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[28]Recall that hoatu is among the verbs which take no passive suffix.

He   aha t-ā-u   e   kimi nā?
DET what SG-of-2SG T/A seek LOC
'What are you looking for, lit. What you are looking for is a what?'

f. questioning adverbials:

As stated above, for those adverbials which can be fronted for focus, this fronted position is the preferred one for interrogatives questioning those adverbials (see. 3.4.4 above):

Nō   nahea   koe   i   tae   mai ai? (Time)
PREP what.time 2SG T/A arrive DIR APH
'When did you arrive?'

Mā   hea   koe   tae   mai ai   (Means)
PREP what.place 2SG arrive DIR APH
'How did you get here?', to which appropriate answers are: Mā runga pahikara 'by bike', Mā raro 'on foot' (raro is a LN meaning 'down', i.e. in this case 'not "on" any vehicle'), or Mā Kirikiriroa 'by way of Hamilton'.

Nā   te   aha koe i   kore ai e   tae   atu ki   te   hui?
PREP DET what 2SG T/A NEG APH T/A arrive DIR PREP DET meeting
'Why didn't you get to the meeting?'

Questions about reason, and indeed answers to such questions, may use an initial he-marked NP instead of the PP:

He   aha ia   i   pērā   ai?
DET what 3SG T/A like.that APH
'Why is he like that? Why did he think that? Why did he act like that?'

He   pōrangi nō-na
DET mad   PREP-3SG
'Because he's crazy'

Other obliques remain in place when questioned, e.g.:

Kei.te haere koe ki hea?
T/A   go   2SG PREP what.place
'Where are you going?'

I   pakaru   te   matapihi i   a   wai?
T/A break:VN DET window   AG PA who
'Who broke the window?'

3.5 Complex and compound sentences

3.5.1 Coordination

Two aspects of coordination, that of human NPs and non-human NPs, have already been dealt with, see above on pronouns (2.1.3) and on the PREP me. There is no single coordinator in

Maori which, like and in English, can be used to coordinate like constituents of more or less any category.

Whole clauses may be coordinated by means of ā 'and' or engari 'but':

I   noho ia   ki   reira, ā, ko ētahi i   hoki.
T/A stay 3SG PREP there and PREP DET T/A return
'He stayed on and the others went home'

Initial phrases in sentences, be they predicates or fronted, may also be joined in this way, though the second coordinand will usually contain hoki 'also' in its postposed periphery:

Nā   mātou   i   tangi, ā, nā   koutou hoki
PREP 1PL.EXCL T/A weep and PREP 2PL   also
'We have mourned (them), so have you', often heard in formal speeches in memory of those who have passed on.

For predicate phrases, though, a frequent form is asyndetic coordination with hoki 'also' in the second phrase:

He   ātaahua, he   tāroaroa hoki ia
DET beautiful DET tall   also 3SG
'She is beautiful and tall'

This is the only way that modifiers within a phrase may be coordinated:

He   tangata hūmārie,   whai-tikanga hoki
PREP person good-natured get-meaning also
'A good-natured, important person'

In older Maori, such coordination of modifiers of NPs was expressed by repetition of the whole phrase, optionally substituting mea for the head of the second phrase:

He   whare tawhito, he   whare (mea)   kōhatu
DET house old   DET house (thing) stone
'An old stone house'

Finally, disjunctive coordination of phrases is expressed by postposing rānei 'or' to the second coordinand:

Kei.te haere koe ki te   hui, ki   te   kanikani rānei?
T/A   go   2SG PREP DET meeting PREP DET dance   or
'Are you going to the meeting or to the dance?'

3.5.2 Sentential complements

Subsumed under this heading are indirect speech, questions and commands, and complements of verbs of modal meaning and of completion.

3.5.2.1 Indirect statements

Reported speech in Maori shows the shift of personal pronouns familiar from other languages, but no changes of tense/aspect, the T/A marking of the direct speech being preserved. There is no complementiser for reported speech in Maori:

I	*kā*	*mai*	*ia*	*kei.te haere*	*ia*	*ki*	*te*	*hui*
T/A	say	DIR	3SG	T/A go	3SG	PREP	DET	meeting

'He said he was going to the meeting', the actual words spoken being *Kei te haere au* (1SG) *ki te hui*.

3.5.2.2 Indirect questions

Indirect yes-no questions can be formed in modern Maori by means of the conditional conjunction *mehemea* 'if', however its use for indirect questions is probably a recent anglicism:

I	*pātai*	*mai*	*ia*	*mehemea*	*kei.te*	*haere*	*au*	*ki*	*te*	*hui*
T/A	ask	DIR	3SG	if		T/A	go	1SG	PREP	DET	meeting

'He asked if I was going to the meeting', the actual words spoken being *Kei te haere koe* (2SG) *ki te hui?*

The postposed particle *rānei* 'or' can be used in conjunction with the sentence NEG *kāore* to form an alternative question, the force of which is a yes-no question:

I	*pātai*	*mai*	*ia*	*kei.te haere*	*au*	*ki*	*te*	*hui,*	*kāore*	*rānei*
T/A	ask	DIR	3SG	T/A go	1SG	PREP	DET	meeting	NEG	or

'He asked if I was going to the meeting (or not)'

Indirect wh-questions simply embed the direct form of the question (with appropriate adjustments to pronouns) after the verb or noun of asking:

I	*pātai*	*mai*	*ia*	*kei.te haere*	*au*	*ki*	*hea*
T/A	ask	DIR	3SG	T/A go	1SG	PREP	what place

'He asked where I was going', the words spoken being *Kei te haere koe* (2SG) *ki hea?*

3.5.2.3 Indirect commands

Complements of verbs of ordering, requesting, calling etc. are introduced by *kia*. Any type of verb, including passive, may then follow. Indirect prohibitions use the NEG *kaua* after this T/A and the rest of the command is introduced by the T/A *e*. The requirement that transitive verbs should be passive in direct commands (see above, 3.4.5) is not carried over to their indirect versions, active forms being entirely appropriate especially if the subject (agent) of the verb in the command is explicit:

I	*mea*	*atu*	*te*	*rangatira*	*kia*	*hura-hia*	*te*	*umu*
T/A	say	DIR	DET	chief	T/A	open-AFF	DET	oven

'The chief said that the oven should be opened'

I	*whakahau*	*ia*	*kia*	*kawe atu*	*ngā*	*tamariki*	*i*	*ngā*	*parapara*
T/A	order	3SG	T/A	carry	DIR	DET(PL)	child(PL)	OBJ	DET(PL)	rubbish

'He instructed the children to take away the rubbish'

Kua	*whaka-tau-ria*	*kia*	*kaua*	*e*	*whaka-āe-tia*	*te*	*tono*
T/A	AFF-settle-AFF	T/A	NEG	T/A	AFF-yes-AFF	DET	application

'It has been decided that the application should not be accepted'

3.5.2.4 Complements of verbs with modal meanings

Complements of verbs of wishing are introduced by *kia* or *ki te*, as also are final clauses, see below 3.5.3.4. In general, the form *ki te*, which is superficially a preposition plus determiner followed by a zero-nominalisation of the verb in the command, can be used only if the subjects of the higher and lower verbs are the same, and if this subject is the agent of the lower verb; otherwise, the T/A *kia* must be used:

E	*pīrangi*	*ana*	*ia*	*ki*	*te*	*tū*	*hei*	*mema*	*Pāremata*
T/A	want	T/A	3SG	PREP	DET	stand	as	member	Parliament

'He wants to become an MP'

E	*pīrangi*	*ana*	*ia*	*kia*	*pōti-ngia*	*hei*	*mema*	*Pāremata*
T/A	want	T/A	3SG	T/A	vote-AFF	as	member	Parliament

'He wants to be elected MP', where the subjects of both clauses are the same, but the subject is not the agent of the lower verb *pōtingia*.

E	*pīrangi*	*ana*	*ia*	*kia*	*pōti-ngia*	*a*	*Tio*	*hei*	*mema*	*Pāremata*
T/A	want	T/A	3SG	T/A	vote-AFF	PA	Tio	as	member	Parliament

'He wants Tio to be elected MP', where the subjects of the two clauses are not the same.

Verbs of fearing take a complement clause introduced by the T/A *kei* 'lest'. "Negative" fears, that something might not happen, are expressed with *kei* followed by the NEG *kore* (see above) and a clause whose predicate is marked with *e*:

Kei.te	*āwangawanga*	*au*	*kei*	*ua*	*āpōpō*
T/A	worried	1SG	T/A	rain	tomorrow

'I'm worried it might rain tomorrow'

E	*mataku*	*ana*	*rātou*	*kei*	*kore*	*e*	*oti*	*te*	*mahi*
T/A	fear	T/A	3PL	T/A	NEG	T/A	finished	DET	work

'They are afraid the job might not get done'

Maori has three constructions commonly used to express ability, two of which take complement VPs in *ki te*, and the other following a construction type to be described in the next section. "Ability" predicates in any language will generally only take complements with EQUI-subjects; this is further restricted in Maori in that the two predicate *kaha* 'strong' and *āhei* 'be able' can take only complements whose subjects are agents; 'This cannot be done' must be translated using the construction to be presented in 3.5.2.5.

Kāore	*rātou*	*i*	*kaha*	*ki*	*te*	*whaka-puta*	*i*	*Ø-ō*	*rātou*	*whakaaro*
NEG	3PL	T/A	strong	PREP	DET	AFF-emerge	OBJ	PL-of	3PL	thought

'They were not able to make their opinion heard'

```
E      āhei    ana koe ki  te   tono  mai
T/A    be.able T/A 2SG PREP DET apply DIR
```
'You are eligible to apply'

Obligation is usually expressed by means of the T/A *me*, however, a complex expression with *tika* 'correct, right' plus a sentential subject with *kia* is often used in a similar sense:

```
E    tika    ana kia whaka-hōnore-tia te  tima i   toa
T/A  correct T/A T/A AFF-honour-AFF   DET team T/A win
```
'It is right that the victorious team (the team which won) should be honoured'

3.5.2.5 Complements of verbs of completion

Tīmata 'begin' takes a complement with *ki te* as in the preceding section. However, the verbs in Maori which express the completion of some activity characteristically take other constructions.

Most simply, *mutu* 'to cease, stop' is usually constructed with a zero-derived nominalisation as its subject. The subject of the nominalisation is then a possessive (see above) and the other arguments and adjuncts of the nominalised verb are unaffected:

```
Kua mutu  t-ā    rātou whaka-pai-pai i   te  whare
T/A cease SG-of 3PL   AFF-R-good    OBJ DET house
```
'They have stopped decorating the house'

Other verbs, such as *oti* 'be finished', *tutuki* 'be accomplished', *pau* 'be exhausted, used up', all of them neuter verbs, are all constructed as in the following example:

```
Kua oti      i  a  koe ngā     rīhi te  horoi?
T/A finished AG PA 2SG DET(PL) dish DET wash
```
'Have you finished washing the dishes?'

That is, the activity which is completed, represented underlying as a clause, surfaces with its subject raised to agent[29] of the higher verb, its object raised to subject of the higher verb and its predicate marked with what looks like the definite article. If the subject of the lower clause is not raised in this way, it remains to the right of its predicate and is marked with the passive agentive preposition:

```
Kua oti      ngā     rīhi te  horoi e  koe?
T/A finished DET(PL) dish DET wash  AG 2SG
```
'Have you finished washing the dishes?'

The third predicate expressing ability, *taea*, literally the passive of *tae* 'arrive, attain', appears in a similar construction. However, since it is a passive and not a neuter verb, its agent (the subject of the lower clause) always surfaces marked with *e*:

```
Ka tae-a      e  koe tēnei mahi te  whaka-oti?
T/A arrive-AFF AG 2SG DET work  DET AFF-finished
```
'Will you be able to complete this task?'

---

[29]Recall that agents of neuter verbs are marked with *i*.

3.5.3 Adverbial clauses

A number of adverbial functions often expressed in other languages by means of subordinate clauses are dealt with in Maori by means of nominalisations. This is particularly so of past temporal and causal clauses.

3.5.3.1 Nominalisations

Nominalisations used in temporal expressions referring to the past are constructed by the affixation of the nominalising suffix to the verb, see 2.2.2. This derived noun is the head of a definitely marked NP, the subject of the verb becomes a possessive determiner or phrase, see above 2.3.2 and 2.3.3, and other arguments and adjuncts retain their original marking. Such nominalisations are either used as they stand as a fronted temporal adjunct, or governed by the prepositions *i* or *nō*:

```
(Nō)   t-ō    rātou tae-nga   atu,.....
(PREP) SG-of 3PL   arrive-AFF DIR
```
'When they arrived,....'

Similar nominalisations can be used for causal clauses, the prepositions involved here being *nā* for past causes and *mā* for the cause of a future event. In causal nominalisations, the use of the nominalising suffix is optional, bare verb stems frequently being used with no apparent different of meaning. For some speakers a passive verb form may be nominalised in the way:

```
Nā   t-ō-ku      kore(-nga)  e   tae    atu,...
PREP SG-of-1SG  NEG(-AFF)   T/A arrive DIR
```
'Because I didn't get there, through my not arriving there,....'

```
Mā   te  kōrero-tia e  te  hunga matatau  ka  ora  te  reo
PREP DET speak-AFF AG DET people competent T/A live DET language
```
'It is through it's being spoken by people who know it well that the language will survive'

3.5.3.2 Temporal clauses

Apart from the nominalisation strategy sketched above, clausal adjuncts of time occur in a variety of forms:

Future time can be expressed by means of a clause whose T/A is *kia* or *ina* 'if and when':

```
Kia oti      te  mahi, ka  hoki   tātou
T/A finished DET work  T/A return 1PL.INCL
```
'When the job is finished, we'll go home'

```
Ina kite koe i   a  ia,  me  mihi
T/A see  2SG OBJ PA 3SG T/A greet
```
'When you see her, say hello for me'

In some dialects, the T/A combination *ka...ana* is used similarly:

Ka   tae   atu ana te   ope, ka   pōhiri-tia
T/A arrive DIR T/A DET party T/A welcome-AFF
'When the party arrives, they will be welcomed'

Past time is expressed either through a nominalisation or by means of a curious construction in which the subject of the temporal clause becomes the complement of a temporal preposition, usually *i*, followed then by the rest of the clause:

I   a   au   e   tamariki ana, i   noho mātou i   Taupō
PREP PA 1SG T/A young   T/A   T/A live 1PL.EXCL PREP Taupō
'When I was young, we lived in Taupō'

'Until' is translated in Maori as the T/A *kia* followed by *rawa* or *rā anō* in the postposed periphery of the verb phrase:

Me   noho ki   konei kia hoki   rawa mai au
T/A stay PREP here T/A return MAN DIR 1SG
'Stay here until I get back'

3.5.3.3 Causal clauses

In addition to the nominalisation strategy, there are two clausal constructions available for adjuncts of cause; the use of a conjunction (etymologically a PP) *nō/nā/i te mea* 'because' and a construction similar to the temporal caluse type mentioned above in which the subject is "raised" to a PREP:

Pātai atu ki   a   Hēmi nā.te.mea kei a   ia   te   mana
Ask   DIR PREP PA Hēmi because   PREP PA 3SG DET authority
'Ask Hēmi, because it's his say-so'

Ka   nui ngā   mihi ki   a   koe mō-u   i   haere mai
T/A big DET(PL) greet PREP PA 2SG PREP-2SG T/A go   DIR
'Thanks very much for coming'

3.5.3.4 Final clauses

Clauses of purpose are marked either with *ki te* or with *kia...ai*. Which is to be used is determined by the conditions outlined above, section 3.5.2.4.

Kua haere mai rātou ki   te   ako   i   te   reo   Māori
T/A go   DIR 3PL   PREP DET learn OBJ DET language Maori
'They have come to learn Maori', but

Kua haere mai rātou kia whaka-ako-na ai   ki   te   reo   Māori
T/A go   DIR 3PL   T/A AFF-learn-AFF APH PREP DET language Maori
'They have come in order to be taught the Maori language'

Following *pēhea* 'how', or if fronted, a final clause may be marked by *e...ai*:

Me   pēhea tātou   e   mōhio ai?
T/A how   1PL.INCL T/A know   APH
'How are we to know, lit. we must act how in order that we may know?'

E   tae-a   ai   tērā te   whaka-oti,   me   mātua tika   te   mahere
T/A arrive-AFF APH DET DET AFF-finished T/A first correct DET plan
'In order for that to be completed, one must first have an appropriate plan'

Negative final clauses are introduced either by *kei* 'lest', or by *kia kore ai*. This latter construction contains a negative verb (see above, section 3.2), which takes a dependent VP in *e*:

Kati-a   te   kūaha kei mate tātou   i   te   makariri
Shut-AFF DET door T/A die 1PL.INCL PREP DET cold
'Shut the door or we'll die of cold'

Hōmai te   moni kia kore ai   e   ngaro
Give DET money T/A NEG APH T/A lost
'Give me the money so that it doesn't get lost'

3.5.3.5 Concessive clauses

Ahakoa 'although' is both a preposition (governing an NP) and conjunction. In the latter usage, it is followed either by a simple clause, or by a clause containing an interrogative word. This second type of clause translates the English indefinite interrogative proforms:

Ahakoa te   ua,   i   haere ngā   tamariki ki   waho
Despite DET rain T/A go   DET(PL) child(PL) PREP out:LN
"The child went outside, even though it was raining."

Ahakoa kāore ia   i   konei, me   tīmata te   hui
Although NEG   3SG PREP here   T/A start DET meeting
'We should start the meeting even though he's not here'

Ahakoa ko   wai te   kai-kōrero   me   whaka-rongo
Although PREP who DET AFF-speak   T/A AFF-hear
'Whoever is the speaker (it doesn't matter who is speaking), you should listen'

3.5.3.6 Conditional clauses

Future conditionals have a protasis marked by *ki te* (strictly a preposition plus determiner) acting as a T/A, or by the conjunction *ki te mea* 'if' (strictly a PP with a following clause in apposition to *mea* 'thing'):

Ki.te ua   āpōpō, ka   noho au   ki   te   kāinga
T/A   rain tomoroow T/A stay 1SG PREP DET home
'If it rains tomorrow, I shall stay home'

Ki.te.mea he   whaka-mātau-tau āpōpō,   ka   hinga   au
If   DET AFF-know-R   tomorrow T/A fall.over 1SG
'If there's an exam tomorrow, I'll fail'

"Unreal" conditions have a protasis introduced by one of a set of conjucntions, all similar in sense, of which *mehemea* and *mena* are the most common. These can both be used for future conditionals as well. Before predicates beginning with *i*, either the T/A or the preposition, *me* is also quite frequent for unreal conditionals:

Me	*i*	*pēnā*,	*kua*	*kore*	*ia*	*e*	*whaka-ae*
If	T/A	like.that	T/A	NEG	3SG	T/A	AFF-yes

'If it were as you say, he would not have agreed'

Mena	*he*	*raru-raru*	*Ø-ō*	*koutou*,	*kōrero*	*ki*	*a*	*Timi*
If	DET	R-problem	PL-of	2PL	speak	PREP	PA	Timi

'If you have any problems, speak to Timi'

3.5.4 Relative clauses

In Maori, relative clauses follow their heads. There are no relative pronouns, instead Maori uses four other strategies; 1. zero-representation of the site coindexed with the head, 2. a particle, often *ai* 'APH', as a "trace" marking that a constituent has been "deleted", 3. a resumptive pronoun coreferential to the head, 4. a clause in which the subject is "raised" as a possessor to the head, and the remnant of the clause is marked with a "trace", usually *ai* or a LOC.

Strategy 1 is used:

a. where the subject is the relativised NP:

Ko	*hea*	*te*	*mauṅga*	*e*	*tū*	*mai*	*rā*?
PREP	where	DET	mountain	T/A	stand	DIR	LOC

'What's the name of the mountain (which is) standing over there?'

b. for the object of experience verbs:

E	*hia*	*ngā*	*waiata*	*e*	*mōhio ana*	*koe*?
T/A	how.many	DET(PL)	song	T/A	know	T/A 2SG

'How many songs do you know, lit. How many are the songs which you know?'

c. where a possessor is the relativised NP:

Ngā	*tamariki*	*kua*	*neke*	*ake*	*ngā*	*tau*	*i*	*te*	*rima*
DET(PL)	child(PL)	T/A	excede	DIR	DET(PL)	year	PREP	DET	five

'The children older than five, lit. the children whose years have exceeded five'

Strategy 2:

ai 'APH' is restricted to future and past tense clauses and follows resp. the T/As *e* and *i*. For present tense clauses, a LOC stands in its place following the T/A *e*.

This strategy is used:

a. when an oblique adjunct is relativised, especially of time, place, reason, agent of neuter verbs:

Kua	*kite-a*	*te*	*nanakia*	*i*	*pakaru*	*ai*	*te*	*whakaata*
PREP	see-AFF	DET	rascal	T/A	broken	APH	DET	mirror

'They've found the ratscal who broke the mirror' (agent of VN *pakaru*, past tense)

Ko	*Tōrere*	*te*	*marae*	*e*	*tū*	*ai*	*te*	*hui*
PREP	Tōrere	DET	marae	T/A	stand	APH	DET	meeting

'Tōrere is the marae where the meeting will take place' (locative adjunct, future tense)

Ko	*Tōrere*	*te*	*marae*	*e*	*tū*	*nei*	*te*	*hui*
PREP	Tōrere	DET	marae	T/A	stand	LOC	DET	meeting

'Tōrere is the marae where the meeting is taking place' (locative adjunct, present tense)

b. optionally, when a non-agentive subject is relativised:

He	*tāriana*	*te*	*poaka*	*i*	*pūhi-a*	*ai*	*e*	*Hata*
DET	boar	DET	pig	T/A	shoot-AFF	APH	AG	Hata

'The pig which Hata shot (which was shot by Hata) was a boar'

c. for some speakers, especially younger ones, when the direct object of a transitive verb is relativised (see below, Strategy 4, for remarks on preferred object-relativisation constructions):

Ko	*tēnei*	*te*	*whare*	*i*	*hanga*	*ai*	*a*	*Jack*
PREP	DET	DET	house	T/A	build	APH	PA	Jack

'This is the house that Jack built'

Strategy 3 involves the use of a personal pronoun. It is used:

a. where the fronted agent of an Actor Emphatic construction (see section 3.4.3) is relativised. In Classical Maori, the pronoun used was an invariant 3SG, however, nowadays, a pronoun agreeing in number with the head is more usual:

ngā	*tohunga*	[*nā-na*	*te*	*waka*	*i*	*tārai*]ACTOR EMPHATIC
DET(PL)	expert	PREP-3SG	DET	canoe	T/A	carve

'The experts who carved the canoe', in modern Maori, *nā rāua* (3DU) or *nā rātou* (3PL) is preferred, depending on the actual number of experts.

b. where the indirect object is the relativised argument:

te	*tangata*	*i*	*hoatu*	*te*	*moni*	*ki*	*a*	*ia*
DET	person	T/A	give	DET	money	PREP	PA	3SG

'The person to whom the money was given'

c. where a possessor is the relativised NP (see also Strategy 1 example c. above):

Ngā	*tamariki*	*kua*	*neke*	*ake*	*Ø-ō*	*rātou*	*tau*	*i*	*te*	*rima*
DET(PL)	child(PL)	T/A	excede	DIR	PL-of	3PL	year	PREP	DET	five

'The children older than five, lit. the children whose years have exceeded five'

Strategy 4 is the usual method of relativising the direct object of a transitive verb. In older texts one finds examples where oblique NPs are relativised in this way, but in modern Maori, such obliques have other, preferred strategies, esp. strategy 2. This construction can be used to form "headless" relative clauses, because the raised subject can always form part of the possessive

determiner of an NP with no head noun, see the example below. The category of possession used in this construction is always a-forms (see above section 2.3.3) when the relativised NP is the direct object:

te	whare	a	Jack	i	hanga	ai
DET	house	PREP	Jack	T/A	build	APH

'the house that Jack built'

kia	mea-tia	[t-ā-u	Ø]NP	e	pai	ai
T/A	do-AFF	SG-of-2SG	Ø	T/A	good	APH

'Thy will be done, lit. let be done that which you approve of or like'

There are, in fact, three strategies by which an underlying direct object can be relativised, this one, and two others which involve "promoting" the direct object to subject and then relativising by means of strategy 1. These promotions are passive and Actor Emphatic. Thus the example about the house that Jack built can also be translated as:

te	whare_i	i	hanga-ia	Ø_i	e	Jack
DET	house_i	T/A	build-AFF	Ø_i	AG	Jack

'The house which was built by Jack', or

te	whare	[nā	Jack	i	hanga	Ø]ACTOR EMPHATIC
DET	house_i	PREP	Jack	T/A	build	Ø_i

One very frequently occurring oblique which cannot readily be relativised is the agent of passive clauses. Rather, such clauses would have to be transformed into some other construction, like active or Actor Emphatic, in which the agent NP is accessible to relativisation by means of one of the strategies sketched above.

4. Sample text

This text is a section of the cosmogony composed by Te Rangikāheke and first published by Grey in 1854[1971].
The sons of Earth (Papa-tūā-nuku) and Heaven (Rangi) have separated their parents so that light may enter the world. This leads to battles between those who agreed with this plan and their brother Tāwhiri-mātea, who did not, and subsequent defeats of his brothers by Tū-mata-uenga.

Ko	te	Māori-tanga	o	ngā	ingoa	o	ēnei	tamariki
PREP	DET	clear-AFF	PREP	DET(PL)	name	PREP	DET(PL)	child(PL)

'The explanation of the names of these children'

a	Rangi	rāua	ko	Papa:	ko	Tangaroa,	he	ika;
PREP	Rangi	3DU	PREP	Papa	PREP	Tangaroa	DET	fish

'of Rangi and Papa: Tangaroa is a fish;'

ko	Rongo-mā-tāne,	ko	te	kūmara;	ko	Haumia-tiketike,	ko	te	aruhe;
PREP	Rongo-mā-tāne	PREP	DET	kūmara	PREP	Haumia-tiketike	PREP	DET	fernroot

'Rongo-mā-tāne is the kūmara; Haumia-tiketike is the fernroot;'

ko	Tāne-mahuta,	ko	te	rākau,	ko	te	manu;
PREP	Tāne-mahuta	PREP	DET	tree	PREP	DET	bird

'Tāne-mahuta is the trees and the birds;'

ko	Tāwhiri-mātea,	ko	te	hau;	ko	Tū-mata-uenga,	ko	te	tangata.
PREP	Tāwhiri-mātea	PREP	DET	wind	PREP	Tū-mata-uenga,	PREP	DET	person

'Tāwhiri-mātea is the winds; Tū-mata-uenga is humankind.'

I	whaka-noa-ia	ai	Ø-ō-na	tuākana	toko-whā	e	Tū-mata-uenga,
T/A	AFF-profane-AFF	APH	PL-of-3SG	elder.brother(PL)	AFF-4	AG	Tū-mata-uenga

'Tū-mata-uenga removed the tapu of his four elder brothers'

nō	reira	ka	wehewehe-a	e	ia	Ø-ā-na	karakia.
PREP	there	T/A	divide-AFF	AG	3SG	PL-of-3SG	spells

'so he divided up his spells.'

He	karakia	anō	mō	Tāne-mahuta;	mō	Tangaroa	anō	t-ō-na;
DET	spell	again	PREP	Tāne-mahuta	PREP	Tangaroa	again	SG-of-3SG

'A spell for Tāne-mahuta; for Tangaroa his;'

mō	Rongo-mā-tāne	anō	t-ō-na;	mō	Haumia	anō	t-ō-na;
PREP	Rongo-mā-tāne	again	SG-of-3SG	PREP	Haumia	again	SG-of-3SG

'for Rongo-mā-tāne his; for Haumia his;'

ko	te	wāhi	i	rapu	ai	ia	i	ngā	karakia	nei
PREP	DET	place	T/A	seek	APH	3SG	OBJ	DET(PL)	spell	LOC

'The reason he sought these spells'

kia	whaka-hoki-a	iho	Ø-ō-na	tuākana	hei	kai	mā-na.
T/A	AFF-return-AFF	DIR	PL-of-3SG	elder.brother(PL)	DET	food	PREP-3SG

'so that his elder brothers might be returned as food for him.;'

.....	nō	reira	i	rapu-a	ai	e	ia	he	tikanga karakia	mā-na;
	PREP	there	T/A	seek-AFF	APH	AG	3SG	DET	practice spell	PREP-3SG

'....That is why he sought spells for himself;'

otirā	nā	te	atua	anō	ia	i	whakaako	i	mōhio	ai.
but	PREP	DET	god	again	3SG	T/A	teach	T/A	know	APH

'but it was God himself who taught him so that he knew.'

He	maha	ngā	karakia	mō	Tū-mata-uenga,	he	pana	tamariki,
DET	many	DET(PL)	spell	PREP	Tū-mata-uenga	DET	expel	children

'There were many spells for Tū-mata-uenga, (some to) induce childbirth'

karakia	mō	ngā	kai,	karakia	mō	ngā	taonga,
spell	for	DET(PL)	food	spell	PREP	DET(PL)	possession

'spells for food, spells for possessions'

karakia	mahaki,	karakia	mō	ngā	wairua,	he	aha,	he	aha.
spell	sick	spell	PREP	DET(PL)	soul	DET	what	DET	what

'spells (for) sickness, spells for the souls, and so on, and so on.'

Nō   reira   anō   i   ngaro   ai   tētahi wāhi   o   te   whenua,
PREP   there   again   T/A   lost   APH   DET   place   PREP   DET   land
'This is why part of the land was lost,'

nō   te   puta-nga   mai   o   te   riri   a   Tāwhiri-mātea,
PREP   DET   emerge-AFF   DIR   PREP   DET   anger   PREP   Tāwhiri-mātea
'because of the expression of Tāwhiri-mātea's anger'

i   whawhai mai   rā   ki   Ø-ō-na   tuākana,
T/A   fight   DIR   LOC   PREP   PL-of-3SG   elder.brother(PL)
'when he fought his elder brothers,'

...ā   ngaro   katoa   te   nui-nga o   te   whenua i   te   wai,
and   lost   all   DET   big-AFF PREP   DET   land   PREP   DET   water
'and the greater part of the land was lost to the water,'

wāhi   iti   hoki   te   wāhi   i   maroke.
place   small   also   DET   place   T/A   dry
'only a small area was left dry.'

I   reira   ka   nui   haere   te   mārama-tanga,
PREP   there   T/A   big   go   DET   clear-AFF
'Then brightness increased,

kātahi ka   nui   haere   ngā   tāngata i   huna-a nei
then   T/A   big   go   DET(PL) person(PL)   T/A   hide-AFF   LOC
'Then increased the people who were hidden'

e   Rangi   rāua   ko   Papa,   ko   te   tupu-ranga   tangata,
AG   Rangi   3DU   PREP   Papa   PREP   DET   grow-AFF   person
'by Rangi and Papa, (that is) the generation of human beings,'

ko   Tū-mata-uenga   rātou   ko   Ø-ō-na   tuākana,
PREP   Tū-mata-uenga   3PL   PREP   PL-of-3SG   elder.brother(PL)
'Tū-mata-uenga and his elder brothers'

Ā,   ka   tupu   nei   ngā   uri   o   Tū-mata-uenga,
and   T/A   grow   LOC   DET(PL) descendant   PREP   Tū-mata-uenga
'And the descendants of Tū-mata-uenga grew'

ā,   nui   haere, nui   haere, ka   tae
and   big   go   big   go   T/A   arrive
'and increased, and increased, until (humankind) arrived'

ki   te   whaka-tupu-ranga   i   a   Māui-tikitiki-ā-Taranga.
PREP   DET   AFF-grow-AFF   PREP   PA   Māui-tikitiki-ā-Taranga
'at the generation of Māui-tikitiki-ā-Taranga'[30]

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[30]Māui-tikitiki-ā-Taranga was a culture hero famous throughout the Pacific. Among his deeds was the fishing up of New Zealand, and the slowing of the sun so that there was enough daylight for daily work. He died trying to ensure immortality for humankind by entering the vagina of the goddess of the underworld and death (herself an ancestor of humankind).

I   nāianei kei.te noho   kē   a   Rangi   i   t-ā-na   wahine,
PREP   now   T/A   sit   MAN   PA   Rangi   PREP   SG-of-3SG   woman
'Now Rangi is separated from his wife,'

i   a   Papa-tūā-nuku, ā,   kei.te mihi   tonu   te   aroha
PREP   PA   Papa-tūā-nuku   and   T/A   greet   MAN   DET   love
'from Papa-tūā-nuku, and the love (of the wife) still greets (her husband)'

a   te   wahine ki   t-ā-na   tāne,   ko   ia   te   kohu
PREP   DET   woman   PREP   SG-of-3SG   man   PREP   3SG   DET   mist
'(the love) of the woman (still greets) her husband, that is the mist'

o   ngā   maunga e   rere   nā   ki   runga;
PREP   DET(PL)   mountain   T/A   fly   LOC   PREP   on:LN
'of the mountains which flies upwards;'

ka   ringi-tia   hoki   ngā   roimata e   Rangi
T/A   pour-AFF   also   DET(PL) tear   AG   Rangi
'tears are also poured out by Rangi'

ki   runga   ki   a   Papa-tūā-nuku, ko   ia   te   haukū.
PREP   on:LN   PREP   PA   Papa-tūā-nuku   PREP   3SG   DET   dew
'onto Papa-tūā-nuku, that is the dew.'

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