RAROTONGAN PERSONAL PRONOUNS: FORM AND DISTRIBUTION

By J. E. Buse

I. Rarotongan is a Polynesian language spoken on the island of Rarotonga in the Cook Islands. A phonemic analysis yields a nine-term consonant system comprising four voiceless plosives (bilabial, dental, velar, glottal), three nasals (bilabial, alveolar, velar), a bilabial voiced fricative, and an alveolar flapped ‘r’. There is the usual Polynesian five-term vowel system (close front, close back, mid front, mid back, open central). All vowels may be either short (one mora) or long (two morae). Long vowels and short-vowel diphthongs behave phonologically as disyllables and are so treated in this paper. Syllable structures are limited to V and CV.

II. The language was reduced to writing in the nineteenth century by English-speaking missionaries, who used a thirteen-term alphabet which is now in general use, viz. a e n g i k m n o p r t u v. The alphabet fails as a phonemicization through marking neither the glottal plosive nor vowel length, both of which are phonemic. Thus ua may represent (1) ua ‘rain’, (2) ?ua ‘fruit’, (3) u?a ‘female’, and keke may stand for (1) keke ‘saw’, (2) kēke < ‘cake’, (3) kekē ‘foreign’, (4) kēkē ‘armpit’. Rarotongan forms are here cited in the normal orthography, but with the addition of the glottal sign and macron as above.1

III. Rarotongan personal pronouns distinguish three pronominal numbers (singular, dual, plural) and three persons (first, second, third), with a further inclusive/exclusive distinction (including or excluding the person(s) addressed) in the first person dual and plural. There is no distinction of sex. The pronominal forms are set out below. Where, as in the singular, there are alternative forms, selection is determined by the presence and nature of the preceding nominal particle.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>FIRST PERSON</th>
<th>SECOND PERSON</th>
<th>THIRD PERSON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>au, ku</td>
<td>koe, ?ou, ?au, ĕ</td>
<td>ia, na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL</td>
<td>tāua, māua</td>
<td>kōrua</td>
<td>rāua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>tātou, mātou</td>
<td>kōtou</td>
<td>rātou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Glottalization and vowel lengthening occur in emphatic speech, and glottalization is frequent as an attack feature of phrase-initial vowel. These are not marked in the orthography (except, of course, in so far as they are implied by the punctuation and the general sense of the text).

2 See IV and V below.
The singular forms are monomorphemic and cumulative (exponents of person and pronominal number). The non-singular forms are bimorphemic, containing (1) either tā-, mā-, kā-, or rā-, the exponents of a four-term system (first inclusive, first exclusive, second, third) and (2) either -ua/-rua (allomorphs) or -tou, the exponents of a two-term system of non-singular pronominal number (dual, plural).

IV. It is convenient to recognize seven positions or positional groups in which personal pronouns may occur:

1. any position other than 2–7 below
2. after ko, ʻe, ma, e (agentive)
3. after e (vocative)
4. after i, ki, mei, tei, ʻei
5. after ō, tā, nō (O-particles)
6. after ā, tā, nā (A-particles)
7. in neutral possessive constructions

V. The distribution of the pronominal forms over these seven positions is shown in the table below. The sign p indicates that the pronoun is immediately preceded by the appropriate form of the personal article (see VI below). For comparison, the distribution of personal nouns is also shown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>First Singular</th>
<th>Second Singular</th>
<th>Third Singular</th>
<th>Second Dual and Plural</th>
<th>First and Third Dual and Plural</th>
<th>Personal Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>p1</td>
<td>kōrua, kōtou</td>
<td>lāua, lātou</td>
<td>p1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>māua, mātou</td>
<td>māua, mātou</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For footnotes, see p. 125.
VI. The personal article, which stands before pronouns and personal nouns as shown above, has three forms distributed as follows:

1. ?a : Position 1,
2. a : Position 4, when followed by a personal noun or pronoun containing three or more syllables (see I above for definition of syllable),
3. a : Position 4, when followed by a personal noun or pronoun containing less than three syllables.

VII. A brief comment is necessary on the orthographic treatment of the personal article and certain of the singular pronouns. The following practices are commonly—if not consistently—observed. The pronoun ia is written suffixed to the nominal particle ko (viz. koia) and, in Position 1, to the personal article (viz. ?aia). In Position 4, the personal article is suffixed to the nominal particles i and ki (viz. ia, iā, kia, kūa), and when this complex precedes the pronouns ku and ia, the whole construction may be written as one word (e.g. iūku, kiia). In Positions 5 and 6, the pronouns ku, ?ou, ?au, na, are joined to the preceding O- or A-particle (e.g. 9ku, tō?ou, a?au, nāna) and, in the neutral possessive constructions, the pronouns ku and na are written together with the bound forms t-, a- (e.g. taka, ana), and the pronoun 5 together with the bound form t- (viz. tō).

VIII. There follows some discussion and illustration of the use of the pronouns in the different positions listed in IV above, personal and common nouns being included for comparison. In addition to the Rarotongan text, an indication of its structure and an English translation are also given. The following symbols and abbreviations are used to indicate the structure:

- [ ] : enclose nominal piece
- ( ) : enclose verbal piece
- p : personal article
- V : verb
- II : personal pronoun
- v : verbal particle (tense, aspect, mood)
- N : negative
- c : common article (te)
- + : verb suffix
- C : common noun
- d : directional (post-verbal) particle
- A : adjective
- r : relative (post-verbal) particle (ei)

The indefinite article ?a and the particles listed in IV above are not abbreviated.

1 -uaf-/rusa and -tou appear to be related to tua 'two' and tōu 'three'.
2 Some of these positions have wider syntactic validity, but they are set up here merely in order to state the distribution of the different pronominal forms, including their colligation with the personal article. ('Colligate' and 'colligation' are here applied to forms as well as categories; cf. J. Burton-Page, 'Compound and conjunct verbs in Hindi', BSOAS, xix, 3, 1957, p. 476, n. 1).
3 A personal noun is defined as a member of a class having a distributional scatter over Positions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and immediately preceded by the personal article in Positions 1 and 4. This class includes personal names, names of months, mea 'so-and-so, what's-his-name', ngiiti 'tribe', and the interrogative pai 'who?'.
The following additional vocabulary, which does not include personal names, is used in the texts (verb suffixes shown in brackets):

- ?aere V go, walk
- ?ai P who?
- ?akatupu (-a) V cause
- ?akavā C policeman
- ?apai (-na) V take, carry
- ?are C house
- arika C high-chief, king
- ?auraka N don’t
- e v (future)
- i v (past)
- ?inga V fall, topple
- ika C fish
- kāre N not
- kata (?ia) V laugh
- kino V be hurt, damaged
- kipa C < keeper
- kō (?ia) V poke, husk
- kua v (perfective)
- mai d hither
- mānea A fine, lovely
- matangi C wind
- mea C thing, P what’s-his-name
- merēni C < melon
- meina C father, parent
- moto (-a) V punch
- nēti C < nurse
- nū C coconut at the drinking stage
- ?oko (-na) V buy, sell
- pā C wall
- pekapeka C trouble, disturbance
- pia C < beer
- piripou C trousers
- pūro C < ball
- puaka C pig
- pupu C class, team, group of people
- rangatira C leader, chief, captain
- rēmene?ēti C < lemonade
- tamaiti C boy, child
- tiki (-na) V fetch
- tuatua C speech, tale, news
- va?ine C woman, wife
- vaka C outrigger canoe

IX. Position 1. Texts 1, 2, and 3 illustrate the typical use of pronouns as post-verbal subjects.

Text 1: intransitive verb plus subject:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kua } \text{?inga au} & \quad (v \ V) \ [\Pi] \quad \text{I fell over} \\
\text{rātou} & \quad [\Pi] \quad \text{They} \\
\text{?aia} & \quad [p \ \Pi] \quad \text{He} \\
\text{?a Pā} & \quad [p \ P] \quad \text{Pā} \\
\text{te pā} & \quad [c \ C] \quad \text{The wall}
\end{align*}
\]

Text 2: intransitive verb plus subject plus agent:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kua } \text{?inga rātou i te matangi} & \quad (v \ V) \ [\Pi] \ [i \ c \ C] \quad \text{The wind made them (Pā, the wall,) fall over} \\
\text{?a Pā} & \quad [p \ P] \\
\text{te pā} & \quad [c \ C]
\end{align*}
\]

Text 3: transitive verb (unsuffixed) plus subject plus object:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kua kō au i te nū} & \quad (v \ V) \ [\Pi] \ [i \ c \ C] \quad \text{I’ve husked the coconut}
\end{align*}
\]

1 The syntax of the English translation carries no implications as to the syntax of the Rarotongan. In Texts 2 and 4, Rarotongan subject and agent are translated by English object and subject respectively.
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(Compare Text 4: transitive verb (suffixed)¹ plus subject plus agent:

Kua kōia te nū e au  (v V +) [c C] [e II]  I've husked the coconut.)

Rarotongan intransitive verbs do not take an object and mark the agent with the particle i (cf. Texts 2 and 17). Transitive verbs require i (sometimes ki) before the object when unsuffixed (cf. Texts 3, 13 (b), 14 (b), 16, 19), and e before the agent when suffixed (cf. Texts 4, 13 (a), 14 (a)). Texts 2 and 3 might appear formally identical, but the transitivity distinction is justified by the different transformational potentialities of sentences with transitive and intransitive verbs. For instance, only a transitive-verb sentence may undergo such a series of changes as the following:

Kua kō au i te nū (Text 3)
Kua kōia te nū e au (Text 4)
Nāku i kō i te nū (cf. Text 32)

The suffixed form of the transitive verb is also used imperatively:

Text 5: Kōia te nū  (V +) [c C]  Husk the coconut

In negative sentences the pronoun stands immediately after the negative and before the verb:

Text 6: (negative statement):
Kāre au i kata  (N [II] v V)  I didn’t laugh

Text 7: (negative command):
?Auraka koe e kata  (N [II] v V)  Don’t you laugh

X. Position 2 (after ko, ē, ma, e [agentive]).

These four particles are mutually exclusive with the personal article, and, though the pronominal forms are the same as for Position 1, the third singular pronoun ia is not article-prefixed in Position 2.

(i) after ko (specific particle). Ko is used to mark an absolute nominal piece or a nominal piece placed before the verb for emphasis:

Text 8: Ko ?ai te rangatira ?  Ko au  [ko P] [c C] ?  [ko II]
Koia  [ko II]
Ko Tere  [ko P]
Ko te ariki  [ko c C]

Who is the captain ? I am (He, Tere, The chief, is)

Text 9: Ko koe i ?akatupu i te pekapeka  [ko II] (v V) [i c C]
It was you that caused the trouble

The dual and plural pronouns appear before an appositional nominal piece marked by ko:

¹ The Rarotongan verb suffixes are: -a, -ngia, -ia, -?ia, -kia, -mia, -na, -ria, -tia.
Text 10:
Kua ?aere mai māua ko Tere  (v V d) [II] [ko P]  Tere and I came
mātou ko Tere  We and Tere
kōrua ko Tere  You (sg.) and Tere
kōtou ko Tere  You (pl.) and Tere
rāua ko Tere  He and Tere
tātou ko Tere  They and Tere

(ii) after ē 'and' :
   ē ia  ē II  and he
   ē Pine  ē P  and Pine
   ē te va?ine  ē c C  and the woman

(iii) after ma 'together with' :
Text 12:
Kua ?aere mai au ma ia  (v V d) [II] [ma II]  I came with him
   ma Tere  [ma P ] with Tere
   ma te ariki  [ma c C] with the chief

(iv) after e (agentive particle):
This particle is always colligated with the verbal suffix. Two examples are
given below. Corresponding sentences using an unsuffixed verb (cf. Text 3)
are placed alongside for comparison. The English translation serves for both
sentence types as they have the same meaning, or differ only stylistically.

Text 13 (a), suffixed verb:
Kua ?akatupua te pekapeka e ia  (v V +) [c C] [e II]
He caused the trouble
Text 13 (b), unsuffixed verb:
Kua ?akatupu ?aia i te pekapeka  (v V) [p II] [i c C]

Text 14 (a), suffixed verb:
Kua kata?ia te ariki e koe  (v V +) [c C] [e II]
You laughed at the chief
Text 14 (b), unsuffixed verb:
Kua kata koe i te ariki  (v V) [II] [i c C]

XI. Position 3 (after e, vocative particle).
This particle, which also is mutually exclusive with the personal article, appears
before personal nouns and second person pronouns.

Text 15: E koe !  [e II] !  Hey you !
   E kōrua !  [e II] !  Hey you two !
   E Puna !  [e P ] !  Puna !
   E mea !  [e P ] !  Hey what's-your-name !

1 There may also be double apposition, e.g.
Kua ?aere mai i Pā rāua ko Tere  (v V d) [p P] [II] [ko P]  Pā came with Tere.
The particle ma may be substituted for ko in this construction:
Kua ?aere mai i Pā rāua ma Tere.
XII. **Position 4 (after i, ki, mei, tei, ?ei).**

All personal pronouns and personal nouns are immediately preceded by the personal article in this position. I and ki are two of the commonest nominal particles in Rarotongan. Only three of their more usual functions before pronouns are illustrated here.

*Text 16* (i before the object of a transitive verb):

Kua moto te ʔakavā iāku  
 iā koe  
 iāia  
 ia rātou  
 iā Tere  
 ia Terei  
 i te vaʔine

The policeman punched me (you, him, them, Tere, Terei, the woman)

*Text 17* (i before the agent of an intransitive verb):

Kua kino te vaka iāia  
 iā Tere  
 ia Terei  
 i te vaʔine

The damage to the canoe was caused by him (Tere, Terei, the woman)

*Text 18* (ki indicating movement towards):

Kua ʔapai au i te ika kiāia  
 kiā Mere  
 kiā Tāvīta  
 ki te ariki

I took the fish to him (to Mere, to Tāvīta, to the chief)

*Text 19* (cf. Text 16):

Kua moto te ʔakavā kiāku

The policeman took a punch at me

The particle i is conventionally written before the article-pronoun and the article-personal noun complexes when these follow the nominal particles mei 'from, like', tei 'at' (present time), ?ei 'at' (future time). This i is not heard in normal speech and has been detected only in slow reading from written material. It is bracketed in the following three examples.

*Text 20:*  
 Mei (i)āku te pōro kiā Koro  
 Mei (i)ā Pā  
 Mei te kipa

The ball went from me (Pā, the keeper) to Koro

---

1 The form of the first singular pronoun in this position is given here as ʔku. There are historical and comparative reasons for assuming that ʔku in this position may represent an earlier *aku*: ʔakku being < ʔā *aku* with reduction of the three-mora open vowel sequence to two morae. These are comparative considerations, however, and there would appear to be little justification for complicating a synchronic analysis by setting up yet a third first-singular form ʔaku.
Text 21:  Tikina, tei (i)āia  
           (V +), [tei (i) p II]  
           tei (i)ā Terei  
           [tei (i) p P]  
           tei te va2ine  
           [tei c C]  

Fetch it, he (Terei, the woman) has got it

Text 22:  ?Ei (i)āia te rēmene?ēti, ?Ei (i)āku te pia  
           ?Ei (i)ā Pā  
           ?Ei te nēti  
           [?ei (i) p II] [c C], [?ei (i) p II] [c C]  
           [?ei (i) p P]  
           [?ei c C]  

Let him (let Pā, let the nurse) have the lemonade, I’ll have the beer

XIII. Positions 5 and 6 (after O- and A-particles).

In these positions the pronoun follows one of six nominal particles, which fall into two groups:

(i) ō, tō, nō, here called O-particles, and
(ii) ā, tā, nā, referred to as A-particles.

Particles similar to these are widespread in Polynesia. They are sometimes called possessive particles, a label which describes only part of their purpose in Rarotongan. These particles are largely prepositional in function, and, in their possessive uses, they indicate different types of situational relationship. It is convenient to name this relationship after its exponents as an O-relationship (exponents ō, tō, nō) or an A-relationship (exponents ā, tā, nā). In Text 23 (a) below, the noun rangatira and the pronoun na stand in an O-relationship to the noun metua; in Text 23 (b) they stand in an A-relationship to the noun tamaiti.

Text 23 (a):

   te metua ā te rangatira  ; tōna metua  
   (c C) [ō c C] ; [tō II C]  
   the father of the captain ; his father

Text 23 (b):

   te tamaiti ā te rangatira  ; tōna tamaiti  
   (c C) [ā c C] ; [tā II C]  
   the child of the captain ; his child

It is hardly practicable to deal with this phenomenon in terms of nominal gender, using the O/A-distinction to define noun classes, viz.

(i) metua-type nouns (O-gender, i.e. requiring O-particles),
(ii) tamaiti-type nouns (A-gender, i.e. requiring A-particles).

Rarotongan nouns do not fall into two mutually exclusive groups: a large number are colligated with O-particles in certain contexts and with A-particles in others. Some nouns may even take different particles in otherwise identical short pieces, and in this case there is usually a significant difference of meaning. Compare:
Text 24 (a):
*te tuatua ō te rangatira* ; *tōna tuatua* [c C] [ō c C] ; [tō I I C]
the story of the captain ; his story (i.e. the story concerning him)

Text 24 (b):
*te tuatua ā te rangatira* ; *tōna tuatua* [c C] [ā c C] ; [tā I I C]
the story of the captain ; his story (i.e. the story told by him)

Compare also :

Text 25 (a): *tōku pupu* [tō I I C] my class (pupil speaking) or
my team (team member speaking)

Text 25 (b): *tāku pupu* [tā I I C] my class (teacher speaking) or
my team (captain speaking)

Any attempt to classify Rarotongan nouns in terms of gender would mean
setting up a third class (common gender) composed of nouns like *tuatua* and
*pupu*. This class would be extensive, because, although in most uses a given
noun will take (say) an O-particle, there will be occasional contexts in which
an A-particle is required. Classification in terms of nominal gender is clearly,
therefore, of limited value. It seems more useful to attempt to illustrate and
define the different type of relationship marked by the O- and A-particles.1

Usually, a person stands in an A-relationship to his or her descendants,
employees, spouse, lover (all acquired relationships), animals (not the horse),
food, crops, instruments, tools, machinery, movable property (not means of
transport). He stands in an O-relationship to his ancestors, employers (rela­
tionships which he is not responsible for or in which he does not play the
controlling part), parts of the body, clothing, buildings, conveyances, abstrac­
tions. It has sometimes been observed, with reference to other Polynesian
languages where quite similar dichotomies exist, that the A-particles mark an
active, controlling relationship, while the O-particles mark a more passive one.2
(The same is broadly true of Rarotongan. In Text 23 above, for instance, the
captain stands in an O-relationship to his father, but in an A-relationship
to the child he himself begot ; in Text 24, in an O-relationship to the tale

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1 These observations are made solely with reference to Rarotongan, where the O/A dichotomy
often has semantic force. In a language where the meaning (everyday sense) of the distinction
had been lost and there was left a purely grammatical system in which some nouns colligated
with O-particles in all contexts and the remainder always with A-particles, the phenomenon
would obviously be best dealt with in terms of nominal gender. It may be that in present-day
Rarotongan (and widely in Polynesia) we have the linguistically interesting situation of a gender-
system in the making—a half-way stage, where the O/A distinction, while apparently no longer
semantically relevant in all contexts, has nevertheless not yet ossified into the purely mechanical
colligation of given noun-class with given particle-class. Evidence that the O/A distinction is
not felt to be compulsory in all contexts is provided by the existence of a pre-nominal possessive
complex which is neutral to this distinction (see XIV below).

2 So, for instance, S. Churchward, *Samoan grammar*, 1951, pp. 25–6. For a somewhat different
approach to the O/A-particles in Hawaiian as ‘markers of alienability’, see M. K. Pukui and
‘subjective and objective possessives’ in C. M. Churchward’s *Tongan grammar*, pp. 78–87
and 93–5.
retailed about himself, but in an A-relationship to one which he tells. In Text 25, the pupil and team-player are in an O-relationship to the groups of which they are members, while the teacher and captain are in an A-relationship to the groups which they guide and control.) It is necessary to enter a caveat against expecting such lists as the above to give complete cover. Most notional 'rules' require lists of exceptions, especially those framed in the translation language to try to cover source language data.

There follow specimens of some of the commoner constructions involving O/A-particles and pronouns. (Similar complexes in other Polynesian languages are often called possessive pronouns or possessive adjectives.) Constructions of the type illustrated in Texts 26 and 27 below are usually to be translated as singular, unless a dual marker (ngā) or a plural marker (au) stands immediately before the noun, e.g. te ngā ?are ōku ‘my two houses’, tāku au puaka ‘my (many) pigs’.1 Text 28 is plural, and usually indicates a small number, up to half a dozen or so.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 26 (a)</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te ?are ōku</td>
<td>[c C] [ō II]</td>
<td>my house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō tāua</td>
<td>[ō II]</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō Tara</td>
<td>[ō P]</td>
<td>Tara's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō te ariki</td>
<td>[ō c C]</td>
<td>the chief's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 26 (b)</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te puaka ōku</td>
<td>[c C] [ā II]</td>
<td>my pig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō tāua</td>
<td>[ā II]</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō Tara</td>
<td>[ā P]</td>
<td>Tara's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō te ariki</td>
<td>[ā c C]</td>
<td>the chief's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 27 (a)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tōku ?are</td>
<td>[tō II C]</td>
<td>my house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō tāua</td>
<td>[tō II C]</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō Tara</td>
<td>[tō P C]</td>
<td>Tara's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō te ariki</td>
<td>[tō c C C]</td>
<td>the chief's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 27 (b)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tāku puaka</td>
<td>[tā II C]</td>
<td>my pig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā tāua</td>
<td>[tā II C]</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā Tara</td>
<td>[tā P C]</td>
<td>Tara's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā te ariki</td>
<td>[tā c C C]</td>
<td>the chief's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 28 (a)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōku ?are</td>
<td>[ō II C]</td>
<td>my houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō tāua</td>
<td>[ō II C]</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō Tara</td>
<td>[ō P C]</td>
<td>Tara's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō te ariki</td>
<td>[ō c C C]</td>
<td>the chief's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 28 (b)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āku puaka</td>
<td>[ā II C]</td>
<td>my pigs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā tāua</td>
<td>[ā II C]</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā Tara</td>
<td>[ā P C]</td>
<td>Tara's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā te ariki</td>
<td>[ā c C C]</td>
<td>the chief's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Ngā nearly always means 'a pair, a couple', but very occasionally it is used in the sense of 'just a few'.
Texts 27 and 28 are shown as one-piece structures, ʔare and puaka being the heads. However, comparison of the forms
tōku, tōʔou, tōna
ōku, ōʔou, ōna
tāku, tāʔau, tāna
āku, āʔau, āna
suggests that these are tri-morphemic, viz.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t/ #1</td>
<td>ō, ā ku, ōʔou, ōna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the morphs t/ # are taken as forms of the common article te, it is clear that in Texts 27 and 28 we have a construction in which the second piece of Text 26 is interpolated within the first piece, viz.:

[te ʔare] [ō ku] , [te puaka] [ē ku] (Text 26)
[t [ō ku] ʔare] , [t [ē ku] puaka] (Text 27)
[++] [ē ku] ʔare] , [++] [ē ku] puaka] (Text 28)

[te ʔare] [ō te ariki] , [te puaka] [ē te ariki] (Text 26)
[t [ō te ariki] ʔare] , [t [ē te ariki] puaka] (Text 27)
[++] [ē te ariki] ʔare] , [++] [ē te ariki] puaka] (Text 28)

Text 29 (a):
ʔE ʔare mānea tōna
  tō Tara
  tō te ariki
He (Tara, The chief) has a fine house

Text 29 (b):
ʔE puaka mānea ōna
  ō te ariki
He (Tara, The chief) has a fine pig

The particles nō and nā are used possessively at the beginning of a sentence.

Text 30 (a):
Nōku te ʔare [nō ʔI] [c C] It’s my house
  Nō Tara [nō P] Tara’s
  Nō te ariki [nō c C] the chief’s

Text 30 (b):
Nāku te puaka [nā ʔI] [c C] It’s my pig
  Nā Tara [nā P] Tara’s
  Nā te ariki [nā c C] the chief’s

1 # is the exponent of nominal plurality.
No may also be translated ‘for, from, because of’ and nā ‘for, by, via’.

Compare the following uses meaning ‘for’:

**Text 31 (a):** Kua ʔoko mai au i te piripou nōna

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nō Tara} \\
\text{nō te tamaiti}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
(v \ V \ d) \ [II] \ [i \ c \ C] \ [nō \ II] \\
[nō \ P] \\
[nō \ c \ C]
\]

I bought him (Tara, the boy) the trousers—to wear (an O-relationship)

**Text 31 (b):** Kua ʔoko mai au i te merēni nāna

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nā Tara} \\
\text{nā te tamaiti}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
(v \ V \ d) \ [II] \ [i \ c \ C] \ [nā \ II] \\
[nā \ P] \\
[nā \ c \ C]
\]

I bought him (Tara, the boy) the melon—to eat (an A-relationship)

The active or agentive force of the A-particles is most clear in constructions where nā and tā are used to mark the pre-verbal subject of a transitive verb, nā being used before the subject in a main clause and tā in a relative clause.

**Text 32:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nāna i ʔoko mai i te ʔare} & \quad [nā \ II] \quad (v \ V \ d) \ [i \ c \ C] \\
\text{Nā māua} & \quad [nā \ II] \\
\text{Nā Tara} & \quad [nā \ P] \\
\text{Nā te ariki} & \quad [nā \ c \ C]
\end{align*}
\]

He (We, Tara, The chief) bought the house

**Text 33:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{te ʔare tāna} & \quad i ʔoko mai ei \quad [c \ C] \ [tā \ II] \quad (v \ V \ d \ r) \\
\text{tā māua} & \quad [tā \ II] \\
\text{tā Tara} & \quad [tā \ P] \\
\text{tā te ariki} & \quad [tā \ c \ C]
\end{align*}
\]

the house which he (we, Tara, the chief) bought

XIV. **Position 7.**

Here the singular pronouns appear in pre-nominal possessive complexes similar to those illustrated in Texts 27 and 28, except that the pronouns are not preceded by O/A-particles (tō, ō, tā, ā), but by the bound forms ta-, t-, a-, which do not carry the O/A distinction. Thus, instead of using either an O- or an A-complex according to the situational relationship discussed in XIII above, it is generally permissible to substitute this neutral complex, viz.

---

1 In this construction the nominal particle i, which marks the object (ʔare), is frequently omitted, e.g. Nāna i ʔoko mai te ʔare [nā \ II] (v \ V \ d) [c \ C]. It is also dropped when the object piece is placed before the verbal piece, an inversion which is frequent in interrogative sentences, e.g. Nā ai te ʔare i ʔoko mai? [nā \ P] [c \ C] (v \ V \ d)? ‘Who bought the house?’
Text 34:

- **taku ʔare, taku puaka** [ta- ʔ] my house, my pig
- **aku ʔare, aku puaka** [a- ʔ] my houses, my pigs
- **tō ʔare, tō puaka** [t- ʔ] your house, your pig
- **ō ʔare, ō puaka** [ʔ] your houses, your pigs
- **tana ʔare, tana puaka** [t- ʔ] his house, his pig
- **ana ʔare, ana puaka** [a- ʔ] his houses, his pigs

**Supplementary note: Structure of the Polynesian possessive complex**

The two tables at the end of this note analyse the morphemic structure of the pre-nominal possessive complexes (sometimes called possessive pronouns) in four Polynesian languages: Rarotongan (R), New Zealand Maori (M), Samoan (S), and Hawaiian (H). The Maori, Samoan, and Hawaiian complexes correspond to the Rarotongan forms discussed in XIII above and illustrated in Texts 27 and 28. The tables give only the definite form of the possessives (some Polynesian languages, notably Tongan and Samoan, have parallel series of indefinite and emotional forms)\(^1\) and only the O/A-relationship forms (some languages, e.g. Hawaiian and Rarotongan [see XIV above] have a usually incomplete series which is neutral to the O/A distinction). The singular forms, which are tri-morphemic, are given separately from the non-singular (dual and plural) forms, which are quadri-morphemic. (The bi-systemic presentation avoids setting up a non-significant zero merely to bring the singular forms into line with the non-singular.)

The elements which make up the possessive complex are:

I. **The article morpheme.** The following are the grounds for regarding the first morph as a form of the definite article:

1. **Evidence of similarity in form.** Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definite article</th>
<th>First element of possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R te</td>
<td>R t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M te</td>
<td>M t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S le</td>
<td>S l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H ka, ke</td>
<td>H k-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Evidence of similarity of function.** (i) The zero form of the definite article and the zero first morph of the possessive complex both mark nominal plurality. Compare:

   - **S le fale o le fafine,** lona fale and
   - the house of the woman, her house
   - (**#**) fale o le fafine, (**#**)ona fale
   - the houses of the woman, her houses

---

\(^1\) e.g. Samoan loʻu my, lou your, lona his (definite)

soʻu my, sou your, soa his (indefinite)

si oʻu my, si ou your, si ona his (emotional)
There occurs in Polynesian a nominal class usually called local nouns. These are marked by the zero form of the article. In Samoan, where these nouns may be preceded by a possessive, the zero first morph again occurs. Compare:

S  i  (±)  luma  o  le  fafine  and  i  (±)ona  luma
in  front  of  the  woman  ‘at  her  front’, in front of her

II. A particle morpheme, indicating the relationship that exists between Morpheme III and the noun that forms the head of the construction.

Compare :  R  tōna  pupu  his  class  (the  pupil’s), i.e.  I  II  III
and  tāna  pupu  his  class  (the  teacher’s), i.e.  t ā  na
where the second morpheme distinguishes between an O- and an A-relationship.

III. A pronoun morpheme, marking pronominal identity.

IV. A number morpheme. This is found only in the non-singular forms, where it distinguishes between dual and plural pronominal number.

Compare :  M  tō  tāua  whare  our  (dual)  house  and
 tō tātou  whare  our  (pl.)  house,  i.e.  I  II  III  IV
The first two elements of the possessive complex occur as free forms in Rarotongan, Maori, and Hawaiian (R tō, tā, M tā, tā, H ko, ka), e.g.  R  tō  te  va?ine  ?are,  M  tō  te  wahine  whare,  H  ko  ka  wahine  hale, ‘the woman’s house’, but the corresponding construction *(lo  le  fafine  fale)  does  not  seem  to  occur in present-day Samoan.

I’re-nominal possessive complex—singular (tri-morphemic) forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>R  t/#  ō/ā  ku</td>
<td>M  t/#  ō/ā  ku</td>
<td>S  l/#  o/a  ?u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>R  t/#  ō/ā  òu/?au</td>
<td>M  t/#  ō/ā  u</td>
<td>S  l/#  o/a  u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>R  t/#  ō/ā  na</td>
<td>M  t/#  ō/ā  na</td>
<td>S  l/#  o/a  na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1  òu  colligates with the ō morph and  ?au  with  the  ā morph.
### Non-singular (quadri-morphemic) forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First inclusive</strong></td>
<td>R t/ā</td>
<td>ō/ā tā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual and plural</td>
<td>M t/ā</td>
<td>ō/ā tā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S l/ā</td>
<td>o/ā tā</td>
<td></td>
<td>#/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H k/ā</td>
<td>o/ā kā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua/kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First exclusive</strong></td>
<td>R t/ā</td>
<td>ō/ā mā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual and plural</td>
<td>M t/ā</td>
<td>ō/ā mā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S l/ā</td>
<td>o/ā mā</td>
<td></td>
<td>#/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H k/ā</td>
<td>o/ā mā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua/kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second person</strong></td>
<td>R t/ā</td>
<td>ō/ā kō</td>
<td></td>
<td>rua/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual and plural</td>
<td>M t/ā</td>
<td>ō/ā ko/kou</td>
<td></td>
<td>rua/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S l/ā</td>
<td>o/ā ?ou</td>
<td></td>
<td>lua/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H k/ā</td>
<td>o/ā ?ou</td>
<td></td>
<td>lua/kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third person</strong></td>
<td>R t/ā</td>
<td>ō/ā rā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual and plural</td>
<td>M t/ā</td>
<td>ō/ā rā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S l/ā</td>
<td>o/ā lā</td>
<td></td>
<td>#/tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H k/ā</td>
<td>o/ā lā</td>
<td></td>
<td>ua/kou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The first-cited morph (e.g. ua) marks the dual, the alternative (e.g. tou) marks the plural.
2 *Rua* colligates with *ko* and *tou* with *kou*.
3 *Lua* colligates with *?o*, and *kou* with *?ou*.