USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
The Language of Niuafoʻou Island

By
Akihisa Tsukamoto

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the Australian National University.

July 1988
Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

Akihisa Tsukamoto

July 1988
Table of Contents

Declaration ii
Acknowledgements viii
Spelling, Abbreviations and Conventions x

INTRODUCTION 1
1 Niuafo'ou Island 1
   1.1 Geography 1
   1.2 History 2
   1.3 Contemporary Niuafo'ou 5
2 The Niuafo'ou Language 6
3 Previous Works on the Niuafo'ou Language 9

PART I PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY 17

Overview 18

1. Segmental Phonemes 19
   1.1 Inventory of Phonemes 19
   1.2 Phonetic Realizations of Phonemes 19
      1.2.1 Consonant Phonemes 19
      1.2.2 Vowel Phonemes 22
   1.3 The Status of the Glottal Stop 29
   1.4 The Structure of the Syllable 30

2. Morphology 31
   2.1 Syllabic Structure of Morphemes 31
      2.1.1 Grammatical Morphemes 31
      2.1.2 Lexical Morphemes 33
   2.2 Structure of Words 35
      2.2.1 Affixation 35
      2.2.2 Internal Inflection 35
      2.2.3 Reduplication 36
   2.2.4 Combination of Like Morphemes 39
   2.2.5 Derivation from Phrases and Clauses 42

3. Stress 43
   3.1 Demarcative Stress 43
      3.1.1 Demarcative Stress in Slow Speech 43
      3.1.2 Demarcative Stress in Fast Speech 49
   3.2 Stress Shifting - Definitive Stress 52
   3.3 Emphatic Stress 56
      3.3.1 Contrastive Emphasis 57
      3.3.2 Intensity Emphasis 57
## PART II

**PHRASAL SYNTAX**

### Overview

1. Phrase and its Elements
   1.1 Structure of the Phrase
   1.2 Elements of the Slot
   1.3 Classification of Words
   1.4 V-N-sensiive Words and V-N-insensitive Words
      1.4.1 Particles
      1.4.2 Determiners
      1.4.3 Common Words
      1.4.4 Definite Words
      1.4.5 Pre-base Modifiers
      1.4.6 Directionals
      1.4.7 Deictics
      1.4.8 Phrase Adjuncts
      1.4.9 Conjunctions

2. Verbal Phrase
   2.1 Particle Slot
   2.2 Determiner Slot
   2.3 Preposed Modifier Slot
      2.3.1 V-N-insensitive Pre-base Modifiers
      2.3.2 V-N-sensitive Pre-base Modifiers
      2.3.3 Order of Elements within the Pre-base Modifier Slot
      2.3.4 Pre-base Modifiers and Verbals that Occur as Postposed Modifiers
   2.4 Base Slot
      2.4.1 Common Words (Verbals)
      2.4.2 Nominal Phrases
      2.4.3 Common Words (Nominals)
   2.5 Directional Slot
      2.5.1 atu, mai and ange
      2.5.2 ake ~ hake, ifo ~ hifo and holo
   2.6 Deictic Slot

3. Nominal Phrase
   3.1 Particle Slot
   3.2 Determiner Slot
      3.2.1 Articles
      3.2.2 Determiners Indicating Possessors
      3.2.3 Emotional Forms
   3.3 Preposed Modifier Slot
      3.3.1 V-N-insensitive Pre-base Modifiers
      3.3.2 V-N-sensitive Pre-base Modifiers
      3.3.3 Pre-base Modifiers and Nominals that Occur as Bases of Verbal Phrases
      3.3.4 Nominals that Occur in the Pre-base Modifier Slot of the Nominal Phrase
   3.3.5 Order of Elements within the Pre-base Modifier Slot
   3.3.6 Pre-base Modifiers and Nominals that Occur as Postposed Modifiers
3.4 Base Slot
   3.4.1 Common Words
   3.4.2 Definite Words
   3.4.3 Use of Common Words like Definite Words
   3.4.4 Use of Definite Words like Common Words
   3.4.5 Metalinguistic Elements

3.5 Directional Slot
3.6 Deictic Slot

4. Specificity and Definiteness

5. Person Determiners, Pronouns and Demonstratives
   5.1 Use of First Person Singular Inclusive
   5.2 Range of Reference of Third Person Determiners, Pronouns and Demonstratives
      5.2.1 Third Person Determiners
      5.2.2 Pronouns Type I
      5.2.3 Pronouns Type II
      5.2.4 Demonstratives
   5.3 The Anaphoric Demonstrative ia and ai and the Pronoun Type I
   5.4 Anticipatory Reference of Person Determiners
   5.5 Syntactic and Pragmatic Functions of Person Determiners, Pronouns and Anaphoric Demonstrative.

6. Possession
   6.1 A-class versus O-class
   6.2 Marking of Possession

7. Numerals
   7.1 System of Numerals
   7.2 Counting in Sequence
   7.3 Numerals as Verbals
   7.4 Numerals as Nominals
   7.5 Numerals in Preposed Modifier Slot
   7.6 Numerals and Other Words Indicating Quantity and Sequence in O-class Possessive Construction
   7.7 Numerals in Clauses of Comparison
   7.8 Pre-base Modifiers that Occur with Numerals and Other Quantitative Words
   7.9 Fractions

PART III
CLAUSAL SYNTAX

Overview

1. Simple Clauses
   1.1 Structure of Simple Clauses
      1.1.1 Verbal Clauses
      1.1.2 Nominal Clauses
      1.1.3 Order of Phrases
   1.2 Postposed Modifiers
      1.2.1 Postposed Modifiers of Verbal Phrases
      1.2.2 Intervention of Elements between Bases and Postposed Modifiers of Verbal Phrases
      1.2.3 Postposed Modifiers of Nominal Phrases
1.2.4 Intervention of Elements between Bases and Postposed Modifiers of Nominal Phrases 298

1.3 Phrase Adjuncts 299
   1.3.1 Classification of Phrase Adjuncts 299
   1.3.2 Order of Phrase Adjuncts 308
1.4 Appositional Phrases 309
1.5 Nominalization of Clauses 309

2. Clause-linking 312
   2.1 Clause-linking by Nominalization 312
   2.2 Clauses of Quotation 315
      2.2.1 Clauses of Direct Quotation 315
      2.2.2 Clauses of Indirect Quotation 318
   2.3 Relative Clauses 325
      2.3.1 Structure of Relative Clauses 326
      2.3.2 Relative Clauses in Appositional Construction 332
   2.4 Clause-linking without Conjunctions or Conjunctional Phrases 334
      2.4.1 Verbal Clauses 334
      2.4.2 Nominal Clauses 338
   2.5 Clause-linking with Conjunctions and Conjunctional Phrases 339
      2.5.1 Conjunctions and Conjunctional Phrases Type I 339
      2.5.2 Conjunctions and Conjunctional Phrases Type II 344
   2.6 Clause-Linking with Particle-conjunctions 349

3. Negation 354
   3.1 Negators 354
   3.2 Negation of Clauses 355
      3.2.1 Structure 355
      3.2.2 Arguments of Negated Clauses 362
      3.2.3 Position of Negators and their Semantic Scope 363
      3.2.4 Position of Elements that Relate to Whole Negative Clauses 365
   3.3 Negators as Negative Existential Verbs 366
   3.4 Negators as Anaphoric Verbs 367
   3.5 Negation of Sub-clausal Elements — the Prefix ta'e 370

4. Focusing and Thematization 373
   4.1 Focusing 373
      4.1.1 Focusing of Postposed Modifiers in Verbal Function 373
      4.1.2 Focusing of Nominal Phrases that Denote Various Arguments 375
   4.2 Thematization 378
      4.2.1 Thematization Type I 379
      4.2.2 Thematization Type II 382
      4.2.3 Thematization Type III 383

5. Imperative-Hortative Clauses 387
   5.1 Structure and Use of Imperative-Hortative Clauses 387
   5.2 Negative Imperative-hortative Clauses 389
      5.2.1 Negation of Clauses by the Negator 'aua 389
      5.2.2 The Negator 'aua as Anaphoric Verbal 393
   5.3 Clauses Introduced by the Particle ke 393
   5.4 Verbals and Verbal Phrases that Occur Specifically in the Imperative-hortative 394

6. Interrogative Clauses 399
   6.1 Yes-no Questions 399
6.2 Confirmation Questions 401
6.3 Alternative Questions 402
6.4 Information Questions 402
6.5 Echo Questions 418
6.6 The Conjunctions he and kaa Introducing Questions 421

7. Clauses of Comparison 423
7.1 Comparative Degree 423
7.2 Superlative Degree 428
7.3 Degree of Equality 428
7.4 Similarity 429

8. Ellipsis 431
8.1 Non-anaphorically Conditioned Ellipsis 431
  8.1.1 Ellipsis of Verbal-phrase Particles 431
  8.1.2 Ellipsis of Nominal-phrase Particles 433
8.2 Anaphorically Conditioned Ellipsis 434
  8.2.1 Ellipsis in Complex Clauses 434
  8.2.2 Addition and Response Clauses 459

9. Non-Clause Structures 461
9.1 Calls 461
9.2 Swear Words, Interjections and Onomatopoeias 462
  9.2.1 Swear Words 462
  9.2.2 Interjections 463
  9.2.3 Onomatopoeias 464

Appendix 466
Words of Respect 467

BIBLIOGRAPHY 473
Acknowledgements

This study would not have been possible without the help of many people. First of all, I am deeply indebted to the Niuafo‘ou and Tongan people who taught me their language and extended their renowned hospitality to me during my stays in the Kingdom of Tonga. I was there from the 1st of February until the 27th of May, 1983, and from the 16th of June until the 29th of October, 1984. During these visits, I was on Niuafo‘ou from the 18th of March to the 5th of May, 1983, and from the 7th of July to the 15th of October, 1984. All the people on Niuafo‘ou – I am sure I met them all! – and the people I met elsewhere in Tonga were always ready to provide all kinds of support and did not grudge any time or effort to teach me their language. The days I spent with these people were enjoyable and profitable beyond description, and I will cherish the memories of the experiences I shared with them throughout my life. I am really sorry that I can mention only a few people below.

The Hon. Fusitu’a, a chief from Niuafo‘ou living in Kolomotu’a, Tongatapu, arranged my accommodation on Niuafo‘ou and made all the necessary contacts for an enjoyable stay on Niuafo‘ou for me. He was also my first teacher of Niuafo‘ou, and it was from him that I first heard the language. The excitement I felt then is something I will never forget. The Hon. Fusitu’a and his wife, ‘Eeseta, further assisted me to obtain cabinet approval for this study.

Among others, the following people I met on Niuafo‘ou and in Ma‘ufanga, Tongatapu, taught me the Niuafo‘ou language: Rev. Makanesi Kava, Sione Savou, Pale ‘Amato, Taufa Lauaki and his wife Milika, Mauoo Tonga, Tu‘ilokomana Masi, Uini Lauaki, Teevita Fusi, Makeleta Vaitohi, Sela Masi, Taalita Taufaka, Tupou Kata, Sa‘ane Lauaki and the pupils at Taaone College. Rev. Makanesi Kava also contributed an amazing amount of valuable information about the history and folklore of Niuafo‘ou Island. He even took the trouble to write down interesting material after I left Tonga and send it to me. The teachers at Taaone College, especially Peni Hengehenga, ‘Inoke Maasima, Pakilau and Maama interpreted for me during my first stay on Niuafo‘ou when I had difficulty in communicating with the people.

During my first stay on Niuafo‘ou, I received accommodation from Teevita Siale Taaufa, and during my second stay, from Fr. Sione Kolopeaua Tupou. Keni, Pione, Tiliva
and Kasilita took care of me in every-day matters while I was staying with Fr. Tupou.
Sione Utikaetau Fotofili made many important contacts for me on Niuafo'ou. During
my stay on Tongatapu, Maanoa Ma'u and his family accommodated me and helped to
arrange my trips to Niuafo'ou.

I also received help from many people I met in Canberra. My Tongan friends,
Siaosi Lavaka, Lavinia Hausia, Kasanita Puloka, 'Okusitino Maahina, Fuiva Kavaliku
and Mele Hamilton were ready to help me whenever I had questions about their language
or culture. Siaosi Lavaka was one of my first friends in Canberra, and from the very
beginning of this study, he patiently taught me Tongan and also helped me make all sorts
of arrangements for my trips to Tonga. Further, he introduced me to the Tongan
community in Canberra. His contributions to this study were immense, and I can not
thank him too much.

The course at the Australian National University was supervised by Dr. Karl
H. Rensch and Dr. William A. Foley. Dr. Avary D. Andrews and Dr. Ulrike Mosel read
part of my thesis and gave me helpful comments and suggestions.

Paul Taylor kindly copied many articles about Niuafo'ou Island and sent them to
me. Garry Speight helped me obtain geographical data about Niuafo'ou Island. He also
checked part of the thesis for English expression. Taroo Goh was kind enough to let me
know whenever he found a book or an article about Tonga. He further gave me various
types of technical help at the writing stage. Dr. Seumas Miller, Helen Kavapalu, Ray
Wood and Jane Burnett did the proof-reading and improved my English. Kaoru
Yoshimura and Pecklan Lai spent many hours of leisure time on the typing. I was really
fortunate that this study brought me into contact with so many friendly people. I thank
them all!
Spelling, Abbreviations and Conventions

The spelling of Tongan currently in use for official purposes follows the orthographic conventions made by the Privy Council of Tonga in 1943. It uses ng to indicate the velar nasal /ŋ/ and ′ to indicate the glottal stop /ʔ/ in addition to a, e, i, o and u, which indicate /a, e, i, o/ and /u/, and p, t, k, f, v, s, h, m and n, which indicate /p, t, k, f, v, s, h, m/ and /n/. The acute stress is used to indicate definitive stress and the stress that has been shifted to the final syllable of a word because of the presence of an enclitic word.

The spelling of Niuafou examples in this study is based on these conventions, but involves some modifications. That is:

(1) Long vowels, which are analysed as sequences of two identical vowel phonemes (I.1.2.2.(C-1)), are indicated by sequences of two identical vowel letters instead of a macron. For instance, vaa'ee ‘noise’ is used instead of vākē, and tooke'taa ‘doctor’ instead of tōkētā, and so on.

(2) Sequences of words that involve a fusion of vowel phonemes (II.2.2.) are spelt as single words. For instance, the sequence of the particle kua ‘Perfect’ and the determiner au ‘1SgExcl’ is spelt as kuau instead of kuā u (Tongan kuō u). Sequences of words that involve the deletion of a vowel phoneme (II.2.2.) are similarly spelt as single words. For instance, the sequence of the particle ke ‘Subjunctive’ and the determiner au ‘1SgExcl’ is spelt as kau when the deletion of the vowel e takes place.

(3) Certain sequences of lexical morphemes, the Tongan equivalents of which are normally spelt as single words are spelt as two words. For instance, vaka puna ‘ship fly: aeroplane’ is used instead of vakapuna, fai ngafua ‘do allowed: easy’ instead of faingafua (Tongan faingofua), and so on.

Some glottal stops are non-distinctive in Niuafou (I.1.3.). These glottal stops are always indicated by ′ as for any distinctive glottal stop except when the absence of the glottal stop itself is relevant to the discussion.

The spelling of Polynesian languages other than Niuafou follows the orthographic conventions of those languages except that long vowels are indicated by sequences of two
identical vowel letters. However, examples quoted from particular published materials are given in the spelling of the sources whether the language concerned is Niuafou'ou or any other language.

The following abbreviations are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>App</td>
<td>appositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asp</td>
<td>away from speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspad</td>
<td>away from speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass</td>
<td>associative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bnf</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEIC</td>
<td>deictic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET</td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU, Du</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emph</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emtl</td>
<td>emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excl</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyp</td>
<td>hypothetical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inc</td>
<td>incorporative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incl</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nad</td>
<td>near addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nmr</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nmr-link</td>
<td>numeral linking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npm</td>
<td>nominal phrase marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsp</td>
<td>near speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nspf</td>
<td>non-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAD</td>
<td>phrase adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL, Pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTMOD</td>
<td>postposed modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREF</td>
<td>prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREMOD</td>
<td>preposed modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prf</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROI</td>
<td>pronoun Type I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROII</td>
<td>pronoun Type II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prs</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pss</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptl</td>
<td>potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qnt</td>
<td>quantitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-PL</td>
<td>plurality in question words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RedupI</td>
<td>reduplication Type I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RedupII</td>
<td>reduplication Type II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sbj</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spf</td>
<td>specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SQC</td>
<td>sequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUFF</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsd</td>
<td>to the side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsp</td>
<td>toward speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uns</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc</td>
<td>vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A and O that occur in the glosses refer to A-class and O-class. A and O that occur elsewhere, together with S, refer to syntactic functions and are explained in III.1.1.1.

The following conventions are used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>enclose phonetic symbols.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>enclose phonemic symbols.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>occurring in examples, encloses optional elements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ }</td>
<td>indicates alternatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>precedes (1) a reconstructed form and (2) an ungrammatical form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>precedes forms of questionable grammaticality. It is often doubled to indicate a greater degree of questionability than a previous example.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( * )</td>
<td>enclose elements whose occurrence results in ungrammaticality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ? )</td>
<td>enclose elements whose occurrence results in questionable grammaticality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>occurring in examples, indicates a morpheme boundary. It is used only where morpheme boundaries are relevant to the discussion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~</td>
<td>indicates alternating forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>indicates a historical change: ‘developing into’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
< indicates a historical change: 'developed from'.

→ indicates (1) a morphophonological change and (2) semantic extension.

... indicates omitted lines of discourse

/ occurring in glosses, links two possible glosses.

- occurring in the translations of clauses that involve thematization (III.4.2.), divides the thematized elements from the rest of the clause.

Collective words (II.2.4.1.(D), II.3.4.1.(C)) and words that occur in marked styles of respect speech (Appendix) are indicated by (Col), (Chief) and so on in parentheses in glosses.

Roman numerals that occur in reference numbers refer to parts, and the subsequent Arabic numerals to chapters, sections and subsections. However, reference numbers given to examples are entirely in Arabic numerals, the numerals in front of a hyphen referring to parts, chapters, sections and subsections, and the numerals after a hyphen to examples.
INTRODUCTION

1 Niuafo'ou Island

1.1 Geography

Niuafo'ou Island is the most northerly island of the Kingdom of Tonga and lies at 15° 35' S. and 175° 38' W. in the southwestern Pacific Ocean. It is approximately 400 kilometres southwest of Savai'i Island, Western Saamoa, 450 kilometres east-northeast of Vanua Levu, Fiji, 270 kilometres south-southeast of 'Uvea and 310 kilometres east-southeast of Futuna. Its nearest neighbours are the other two northern outlying Tongan islands, Niutoputapu and Tafahi, which lie about 210 kilometres to the east by south. The northernmost main islands of Tonga, the Vava'u Group, are located about 380 kilometres to the south-southeast and the centre of administration of Tonga, Tongatapu, 620 kilometres to the south by east. Niuafo'ou is also known as Tin Can (Mail) Island, and on older maps, it is referred to as (Good) Hope Island or the Isle of (Good) Hope.

Niuafo'ou Island is the summit of a basaltic shield volcano, cliffed by marine erosion and containing a large caldera produced by the collapse of a composite cone that once crowned the island (Macdonald 1948). The floor of the caldera is now occupied by a large lake, and the island, seen from above, is an almost perfect circular ring. The diameter of the island is approximately 8 kilometres and the lake is 3.5 to 4.8 kilometres wide. The land itself covers an area of 36 square kilometres and the lake 15 square kilometres.

The altitude of the rim of the caldera is 100 to 210 metres. The inner side of the rim drops steeply to the level of the lake, which is nearly the same as sea level. The lake, Vai Lahi ‘Big Water’, is brackish, contains four small conical islands and has a maximum depth of more than 80 metres. There are several small lakes around Vai Lahi and on one of the islands in it. Most of the land on the outer side of the rim slopes gently at 5% to 10%. The coast consists almost entirely of cliffs. There are no coral reefs and no inlets that could be used as harbours, and the difficulty encountered in landing on the island is notorious.

The island has many signs of prehistoric eruptions. Since the middle of the 19th

1 Throughout this study, ‘Uvea and Futuna refer to East ‘Uvea (Wallis) Island and East Futuna (Horn) Island respectively and ‘Uvean and Futunan to their languages.
century, nine eruptions (1853, 1867, 1886, 1912, 1929, 1936, 1943 and 1946) have been recorded. According to Macdonald (1948), historic eruptions of Niuafo'ou have been of two sorts: relatively quiet lava effusions from the flank fissures on the outer slopes, and more violent explosive eruptions through the caldera lake.

Much of the land in the western and southwestern parts of the island is covered with fresh lava and is barren. The land elsewhere has dense vegetation. The island is inhabited by a species of bird, malau (megapode pritchardii), which is unique to it. This small dark-coloured bird (wing 188 mm, tail 74 mm, bill 26 mm, tarsus 54 mm (duPont 1976)) digs a tunnel 1 to 2 metres deep in the sand in the caldera, lays large eggs (75 mm x 40 mm) and simply leaves them to be incubated by the heat of the magma which lies close to the surface. The chick is fully-feathered at hatching, creeps out of the ground unaided, and soon after this, flies off to begin an independent life.

The climate is tropical and considerably hotter and wetter than that of the main islands of Tonga. The average daily temperature is 26.3° C and the average annual rainfall is about 2,700 millimetres. The months from May to October are relatively cool and dry and the months from November to April are hot and wet.

The prevailing winds are the east and east-southeast trade winds. However, there is considerable northerly and westerly wind in the hot and wet months, and the island is often hit by hurricanes during this period, especially, from January to March.

The ocean currents are from the southeast.

1.2 History

Little is known of the early history of Niuafo'ou. On the basis of accounts of canoe voyages, geneologies and family names, Rogers (1968:1) writes that there is evidence of sporadic contact with Niutatupapu, Saamoa, the Tokelau Islands, Gilbert Islands and parts of Fiji in prehistoric times. Mainly from oral tradition, it is known that the Tu'i Tonga, the divine ruler of Tonga, extended his power in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and Niue, Saamoa and islands as far as 'Uvea and Rotuma came under his influence. Undoubtedly, Niuafo'ou has been constantly exposed to the influence of the main islands of Tonga ever since. Contact with 'Uvea and Futuna also seems to have been extensive. Intermigration with 'Uvea obviously continued until very recently, and even today, many Niuafo'ou islanders claim to be part-'Uvean on the ground that their parent or grandparent came from 'Uvea.

The first Europeans to visit any part of present-day Tonga were the early seventeenth-century Dutch explorers on board the Eendracht. With Willem Cornelisz Schouten as skipper and Jacob Le Maire as supercargo and commander of voyage, they entered the South Seas via Cape Horn in search of a great continent which was then
believed to exist in the Southern Hemisphere. According to the ship's journal (Le Maire n.d.), they sighted Niuafou'ou on the morning of the 14th of May 1616 after spending a few days off Tafahi and Niutoputapu. Since they hoped to procure water and other provisions there, they named the island de hope 'Hope'. They sent out a shallop to see whether there was any suitable anchorage, but the islanders came out in twelve canoes and attempted to attack the shallop. Therefore, the musketeers in the shallop fired at them, as a result of which two islanders were killed and the rest took flight immediately. Eventually, the Dutch explorers gave up landing on the island and sailed on towards Futuna and then to the East Indies.²

The next Europeans came only after an interval of more than one hundred and fifty years. On the 12th of August, 1772, the Frenchmen on board the Mascarin and the Marquis de Castries sighted the island on their way from New Zealand to Guam. An officer on the Mascarin, Crozet, made some geographical notes of the island as seen from a distance, but the Frenchmen sailed on without paying more attention to the island. Since the island was sighted at daybreak, Crozet named it Ile du point du jour 'Daybreak Island'.

Shortly after this, in 1791, the Englishmen who came on board H.M.S. Pandora under Captain Edward Edwards paid a brief visit to Niuafou'ou. These Englishmen were in search of another English ship, H.M.S. Bounty, whose crew had mutinied and sailed for Tahiti after leaving their captain. Lieutenant William Bligh, and a number of loyalists in a small open boat near Toofua Island in the Ha'apai Group. This time, the islanders traded with the visitors, and the Englishmen noted that: 'They spoke nearly the same language as at the Friendly Islands (Edwards and Hamilton 1915).' These Englishmen were not aware of the previous visits of Europeans to the island and named it Proby's Island.

In 1832, a group of Christian Tongans from Vava'u, sailing in a large canoe from Niutoputapu to their home, were driven by bad weather to Niuafou'ou. This lead to the introduction of Christianity among Niuafou'ou islanders. The group of Vava'u islanders left after a while, but one of them remained behind to undertake the work of teaching

²These Dutchmen collected words of the languages of several places they visited during their voyage, and the first records of Polynesian languages (from Tafahi and Futuna) come from them. Although Tafahi and its neighbouring Niutoputapu are Tongan-speaking today, their Tafahi vocabulary shows a language different from Tongan, which suggest that a language replacement took place afterwards on these islands. Ray (1926) notes that these Dutchmen's vocabulary served as source for Hadrian Reland's dissertation (Hadrianii Relandi Dissertationum Miscellanearum pars tertia et ultima) published in 1706, in which the relationship of the languages of Madagascar, Indonesia and areas farther east was shown and discussed for the first time in history. R. A. Kern (1948) deals with these vocabularies and Biggs (1971) with the Tafahi vocabulary in particular and its significance in the history of Tonga and its surrounding islands.
Christianity to the islanders. After this, Wesleyan missionary work was conducted on the island by Tongan missionaries. Catholic missionary work followed this, starting in 1886 and conducted chiefly by Europeans.

The volcanic activity of the island is known to have brought various disasters upon the islanders. In June 1853, an eruption took place in the centre of the village of ‘Aahau in the southwest of the island. Due to this eruption, 25 people, which constituted about one half of the village population, were killed and much cultivating land was lost. As a result, the village was abandoned. From August to September 1886, there was a violent explosive eruption in the caldera. It lasted for 18 days and the eruption cloud rose to a height of 1,000 metres. The land was covered with 0.6 to 6 metres of ash, and crops as well as most of the villages were destroyed. In July 1929, the lava flow from an eruption that took place in the western flank of the island destroyed the village of Futu on the northwestern coast. The villagers, seeing the fire approaching them, fled in time to save their lives, but subsequently, the village had to be abandoned. As a result of this eruption, the Tongan government became aware of a need for better communication and a wireless station was installed on the island shortly afterwards.

The eruption in September 1946 took place in ‘Angahaa on the northern coast, the principal village at that time. The people of ‘Angahaa and the adjacent villages hurried to safety and no lives were lost. But this eruption ruined the administrative centre of the island. The wireless station was also destroyed, and it was not until seven days later that the news of the catastrophe reached the outside world. After this, although there was some objection, especially from people of the villages far from the eruption site, the Tongan government decided that the island should be evacuated. Rogers (1981) describes in detail the actions of both the Niufo‘ou people and the government following the 1946 eruption up until 1967, and according to him, most of the 1,300 people resident on the island at the time of the eruption moved to Tongatapu by the end of that year. There were some recalcitrants who refused to obey this decision, but eventually, they also left in October 1947, leaving their island completely uninhabited.

The evacuees were first settled in the village of Vaikeli on Tongatapu. The fear of pressure on the limited resources and the different language and social behaviour of the islanders aroused concern, scorn and hostility among local Tongans, and an antagonistic relationship developed between the two parties. The Niufo‘ou islanders were subsequently dispersed to several places on Tongatapu: Kauvai, Lapaha, ‘Aatele, Mataliku and so on. In 1949, it was decided to build permanent villages for the islanders on ‘Eua, a sparsely populated island some 20 kilometres to the southeast of Tongatapu, and by 1955, more than half of the islanders had settled down in these villages. They established a self-sustaining society with their own schools, churches, halls, shops and so
on and came to lead an independent life. In due course, antagonism with local people was reduced.

In 1958, after constant petitioning, the government gave some 200 Niuafo'ou islanders permission to return and resettle their home island. Following this, a considerable number of people returned to Niuafo'ou. However, many people, especially those who had settled on 'Eua, chose to remain, and these live away from Niuafo'ou to this day.

Prior to the evacuation, in the 1920's, a unique method of delivering mail came to be practised at Niuafo'ou. At that time, small cutters connected Niuafo'ou with other islands, but they stopped calling at the island in the wet months when the sea becomes rough, the wind variable and the island prone to hurricanes. A large steamer passed by once a month, but the island did not provide any anchorage for her. Moreover, the rough sea prevented even the launching of a small boat or canoe. For this reason, mail to Niuafo'ou was sealed in biscuit tins, thrown overboard from the steamer and retrieved by expert swimmers from the island. Because of this practice, the island came to be called Tin Can (Mail) Island, became popularly known among philatelists and even attracted tourists at one time. In 1931, however, one of the swimmers was killed by a shark and the custom was subsequently discontinued. The initiator of this tin-can mail delivery was a British-born merchant, Charles S. Ramsay, who conceived the idea from watching Niuafo'ou islanders doing fakalukuluku. With the help of Charles P. Plumb, Ramsay wrote a book entitled Tin Can Island (1938), in which he recounts his experiences on Niuafo'ou and other Tongan islands with much affection and love for the people he came across. Ramsay spent the eleven years from 1921 to 1932 on Niuafo'ou and took part in the swimming of mail himself. Today, the Tongan government issues special Niuafo'ou stamps, on which the popular name Tin Can Island is also printed.

1.3 Contemporary Niuafo'ou

Today, Niuafo'ou Island has a population of approximately 800. The people live in the eight villages – 'Eesia, Kolofo'ou, Sapa'ata, Fata'ulua, Mata'aho, Mu'a, Tongamama'o and Peetani –, which lie 500 to 1,000 metres inland on the northern and eastern slopes. The land is owned by the three chiefs or nobles – Fisu'ta, Fotofili and Tuita –, the King of Tonga and the Tongan government. In the time since the island

---

3The fakalukuluku is one of Niuafo'ou traditional fishing methods. In fakalukuluku, one manipulates a hooked line with a bait as he swims hanging onto a wooden float (vakakanhanga) and ducks his head into the water to look for fish. The catch is kept pierced on the sticks (fakatomokoto) which are tied to the wooden float. The iron-bound coast of Niuafo'ou makes this method particularly useful. Pulu (1981) gives a nice description of this fishing method tape-recorded from a practising islander; a short description is also found in Mahoney (1915).
was resettled in 1958, the government has re-established all the most important public services: clinic, police, wireless station, copra board station and so on. There are two government-run primary schools and one Wesleyan secondary school.

Most of those who work for the churches, schools and various government institutions are Tongans from the main islands. Therefore, there are always a considerable number of non-Niuao'ou islanders on the island.

The islanders primarily derive their living from agriculture. A wide variety of food plants are grown on the island: yams, taros, sweet potatoes, tapioca, bananas, breadfruit, pawpaws, mangoes and others. The island is also renowned for its abundance of coconuts which not only have a great many traditional uses but today also supply material for copra. Endowed with a suitable climate of high temperatures and high rainfall, Niuao'ou yields more frequent crops than the main islands of Tonga and, moreover, its agricultural products are larger in size and very well-shaped. According to Montalk (1931), coconuts produced on Niuao'ou are even said to be the largest in the Pacific. Copra is sent to Tongatapu and is the main source of cash income for the islanders. Other agricultural products are consumed by the island population.

The sea provides the islanders with an abundant supply of crabs, lobsters, octopi, turtles and various kinds of fish. The iron-bound coast, however, does not yield shellfish or edible seaweed. The traditional Niuao'ou fishing method, fakalukuluku, which inspired Ramsay with the idea of tin-can mail delivery, is still practised.

No fish formerly inhabited the central lake, Vai Lahi. However, the tilapia was introduced into it after the resettlement, and today yields an easy catch. The shores of Vai Lahi bring the islanders malau eggs. The islanders also eat a kind of larva, 'afato, that inhabits dead wood in the bush. The 'afato is also found on islands to the north of Niuao'ou like Samoa and Futuna but not anywhere else in Tonga.

Today, Niuao'ou is connected with the other islands of Tonga by a supply boat that calls about once a month. An airstrip was completed on the northern side, near the village of Sapa'ata, in 1983, but there are no regular flights to the island. The islanders regularly listen to radio programmes from Tongatapu. Radio programmes from 'Uvea, Samoa and Fiji may also be received on the island, sometimes even more clearly than those from Tongatapu.

2 The Niuao'ou Language

The Niuao'ou language is a Polynesian language that closely resembles 'Uvean and Tongan. These three languages have a very similar grammar and share much vocabulary. They are mutually intelligible with one another to a considerable extent unless spoken very fast.
Although the genetically inherent similarities of the two languages obscure its precise extent, it is obvious that Tongan has exerted great influence on the language of Niuafo'ou. Politically, Niuafo'ou has been affiliated to the main islands of Tonga for centuries and, moreover, the evacuation of the island in 1946 resulted in the direct exposure of the entire population to Tongan in everyday life and even made the maintenance of the language itself extremely difficult. Writing about the time Niuafo'ou began to be resettled after an interval of nearly twenty years, Morton (1962:1) notes that the language was in danger of disappearing. However, as the resettlement progressed favourably, the language had a modest revival, and today, most of the 800 residents on Niuafo'ou use the language with varying degrees of Tongan influence in some context or other. There are about twice as many people on other islands who claim to be Niuafo'ou islanders, but the language is in rapid decline everywhere except on Niuafo'ou. The Niuafo'ou community on 'Eua is no exception to this although it affords a more or less self-sustaining life and it is, in terms of population, even larger than that on Niuafo'ou.

The impact of the evacuation period may be seen in the remarkable differences noted between the older and younger speakers' varieties of the language. Above all, the differences concern the use of some particles (III.1.1.1.(C)), the degree of formal discreteness of the distinction between A-class and O-class possession (II.6.2.) and, as may well be expected, the extent of Tongan influence in vocabulary. These varieties are, of course, by no means discrete, but, in general, the boundary between older and younger speakers may be drawn at sixty to seventy years of age.

Tongan speakers tend to look upon the Niuafo'ou language in a derogatory manner. This attitude is very well reflected in the word kote, or its reduplicated form kotekote, which they use to refer to foreign languages, particularly Niuafo'ou, and also to any unintelligible talk or nonsense. The word itself seems to have come from the combination of two Niuafo'ou words, the particle ko and the article te, which recur frequently and sound prominent when Niuafo'ou speakers are talking among themselves. It is apparently not of very recent origin, as it is already listed in the glossary in Martin (1817), and suggests that the derogatory attitude of Tongans toward the languages of the surrounding culturally subordinate peoples is rather traditional and has its origin in the national pride owing to the expansion of the Tu'i Tonga's power over these peoples. Thus, it is natural

---

4In Martin (1817), the word is spelt as cote and provided with the following explanation: 'Gibberish, jargon, chattering of birds. The speech of foreigners, which they do not understand, they compare to the chattering of birds, and call it cote. The European language they call cote, and also the Fiji language, which shows that the latter is very different from their own; but the Hamo (the Navigator's Island) language they can manage to understand, and they call that lea, or speaking.' The reason why people did not use the word kote to refer to Saamoan, however, may be presumed to have more to do with the fact that, as may be seen from the accounts given by Martin himself, Saamoa was culturally very influential at that time and that Tongans accepted many of its cultural achievements. Today, Tongans do not make an exception of Saamoan and accept it to be called as kotekote faka-Ha'amo'a.
that Niuafo'ou islanders have come to regard their own language as a sign of inferiority and feel ashamed to use it. The language of church, school and government administration has always been Tongan, and today, all Niuafo'ou islanders except preschool children and a few very old people can comfortably converse in Tongan and use it on any formal occasion (as, for instance, when they make a public speech) even if all the addressees are also Niuafo'ou islanders.

Tongan as spoken by Niuafo'ou islanders, on the other hand, usually has distinct Niuafo'ou traits, especially with respect to intonation, and thus reveals their ethnic background. This is also true of many of those Niuafo'ou islanders who live away from Niuafo'ou and know only Tongan.

The contemporary Niuafo'ou language shows varying extents of Tongan influence according to the background of speakers. In spontaneous conversation, it is noted that speakers frequently fluctuate between Niuafo'ou and Tongan. However, this does not mean that they are not aware of the difference between them, and when they speak consciously, they can avoid the mixture of obvious Tongan forms or at least point out such forms afterwards and replace them by their Niuafo'ou equivalents. In general, such fluctuation is more frequent in the speech of younger speakers than in that of older speakers⁵, but in deliberate speech, the difference in vocabulary noted between older and younger speakers is not so great as might be expected from the difference in the frequency of fluctuation in spontaneous speech. This is probably because the main lexical differences between Niuafo'ou and Tongan are mostly in the domain of highly recurrent basic vocabulary which all speakers must know to have any command of a language. However, it can not be denied that a large number of words used by older speakers are becoming obsolete, being replaced by their equivalents in Tongan, although, textually, such changes are not very conspicuous; further, although young people did certainly acquire the language after the resettlement, the decreasing extent of its use among younger speakers can have only gloomy prospects as to its survival in the future.

Today, there is no intermigration with 'Uvea, but radio programmes from 'Uvea can easily be picked up on Niuafo'ou, and the islanders know that their language is very similar to 'Uvean. They are even aware that 'Uvean has a greater resemblance with Niuafo'ou than does Tongan, and often describe the two languages as *tatau pee* 'just the same'. A number of the islanders have been to Samoa and have some knowledge of the Samoan language. English is taught as a foreign language in the schools, but the chances of using it on the island are almost nil. The contemporary Niuafo'ou vocabulary contains

---

⁵The islanders refer to the variety with much mixture of Tongan forms which is commonly heard among younger speakers as *lea haafekaaasi* 'half-caste language'. 
a large number of words of European origin, but they have probably come into the language via Tongan.

The material used in the present study is based on deliberate speech and shows less obvious Tongan forms than the spontaneous speech of most speakers. All the informants were aware that the study concerned Niuafo'ou, and not Tongan, and therefore, intentionally avoided the mixture of Tongan forms. Sometimes, it happened that the informants involuntarily used Tongan forms and wanted to make corrections later. Such corrections were accepted only when proposed by the person who gave the forms concerned himself. Otherwise, the material is presented as it was given by the informants without any alterations.

3 Previous Works on the Niuafo'ou Language

There have been only very few publications that deal with the language of Niuafo'ou or contain any information about it.

The most important material is supplied by E.E.V. Collocott, a Wesleyan missionary who resided on Tongatapu. In 1922, he published a five-page article, The Speech of Niua Fo'ou, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society (vol. 31, pp 185-9). In this article, the author, contrasting with their Tongan equivalents some twenty words and a few phrases and clauses he obtained on Niuafo'ou, attempts to describe the most salient phonological and morphological differences noted between Niuafo'ou and Tongan and also makes some remarks about their historical significance. Among other things, he noted the use of different morphemes referring to the second person dual and plural in the two languages (Niuafo'ou has ko as in many other Polynesian languages while Tongan exhibits forms which, as he assumes, are, in agreement with many Melanesian languages, based on mo or mu), the form of the (specific) article (Niuafo'ou te : Tongan e or he), the absence of vowel assimilation in certain Niuafo'ou words (Niuafo'ou 'aliki : Tongan
‘eiki ‘chief’ or Niufo’ou paito : Tongan peito ‘kitchen’ etc)6 and the sound correspondences: Niufo’ou / Saamoan ə : Tongan ə (Niufo’ou / Saamoan a : Tongan a (Niufo’ou / Tongan hala ‘road’ etc) alongside Saamoan s : Niufo’ou / Tongan h (Saamoan sala : Niufo’ou / Tongan hala ‘error’ etc), and also Niufo’ou ɬ : Tongan ɬ (except in certain compound words) (Niufo’ou tamaliki : Tongan tamaiki ‘children’).7 Due to the scarcity of data, however, his description and arguments are necessarily fragmentary and imperfect.

In 1928, Collocott published a monograph Poems and Tales of Tonga. He was no doubt aware of the importance of publishing material in the Niufo’ou language, and although all the other stories are given only in English translation, the two Niufo’ou stories, Hina mo Nukuokakala ‘Hina and Nukuokakala’ and Kulu’au mo Hina ‘Kulu’au and Hina’ are printed in both Niufo’ou and English (pp 34-8). In spite of their importance, however, these stories seem to have gone unnoticed by most researchers on Polynesian languages. In fact, no linguists, apart from Burgmann (1942) and Kähler (1951-5), make use of the material presented in these stories, and even Dye (1980) does not mention them. The two stories have a total length of some 1,300 words and provide the only substantial material against which the contemporary state of the language may be evaluated.

As may be expected, the language presented in the above works by Collocott exhibits less Tongan influence than the spontaneous speech of most contemporary speakers. Nevertheless, some obvious Tongan influence may be noted, namely, the following: besides the Niufo’ou absolutive particle 4a (II.3.1.1)), its Tongan equivalent

---

6 Collocott notes that some words in Tongan show fluctuation between the assimilated and the non-assimilated form and gives tanumia and tonumia ‘bury’ as an example. It is possible that this assimilation of a to o or e, which is such a prominent feature of Tongan, is a relatively recent innovation. In Martin (1817), the extent of the assimilation is considerably smaller than in the language actually heard today. For instance, the place name Nomuka is given as Namooca, the perfect aspect particle kuo as gooa, the pre-base modifier meaning ‘want’ fie as fia, and so on. However, many words do show assimilated forms: egi (for ‘eiki’) ‘chief’, elelo (for ‘elelo) ‘tongue’, hootoa (for ‘otua) ‘god’, telinga ‘ear’, and so on. In still older sources, some of the words that show assimilation in Martin are often recorded in non-assimilated forms. The vocabularies compiled during Cook’s second and third voyages in 1772-75 and 1776-80 (Lanyon-Orgill 1979) show, beside their corresponding assimilated forms, the following forms for the words mentioned above: areeke (Forster), alelo (Samwell), eatooa (= specific article e + atooa) (Anderson) and tareenga (Anderson). These vocabularies, on the other hand, may not be very reliable since the same people collected words of other Polynesian languages and, thus, may have been biased as to the forms of these words. Further, the spelling used is quite obscure. In some cases, the vocabularies show intriguing forms in other respects, for instance, tai (for tahī ‘sea’ (Forster), loo’a (for ta) ‘two’ (Forster), and so on.

7 Collocott’s observation that ɬ occurs in place of the expected 0 in certain compound words in Tongan is not accurate since, in actual fact, the occurrence of ɬ may be noted not only in compound words (ua ‘two’, but lua in the compound taunua’i ‘pair’) but also in non-compound words (mo’ui in the sense of ‘life, alive’, but ma’uli in the sense of ‘give birth’). In any case, Collocott at least gives a clue to the fact that the Proto-Polynesian *r does not always correspond to ɬ in Tongan, but, unfortunately, this is disregarded in Dye (1980).
‘a occurs in front of personal names several times. There are two instances of the combination of the perfect particle and the first person singular exclusive person determiner, and in both instances, the Tongan form *kuou* is used instead of its Niuafo'ou equivalent *kuau*; in other cases, the Niuafo'ou particle *kua* ([II.2.1.(4)]) is consistently used to indicate the perfect aspect. A number of Tongan words such as *fakafoofa* ‘beautiful’, *fakafiefa* ‘make merry’, *tala* ‘tell’, *ofefine* ‘male’s or couple’s daughter’, *tuongaane* ‘female’s brother or cousin’, *tefitol-fau* ‘base of giant hibiscus’ and the first person singular inclusive determiner *te* are used; their Niuafo'ou equivalents are *faka'ofa'ofa*, *fakafiafa*, *tala'i*, *ofafine*, *tuanga'ane*, *tafito'i* *fau* and *kita*. Also, the use of the word *pehe* in the sense of ‘say’ is common in Tongan but seems to be unusual in Niuafo'ou.

The following are not confirmed by contemporary speakers:

1. Collocott’s observation in 1922 that *e* is used to indicate the present tense; this point is dealt with in more detail in Part II.2.1.

2. Collocott’s observation in 1922 that the glottal stop is less marked in Niuafo'ou; this point is dealt with in more detail in Part I.1.3.

3. The following words:

(1) vaa-akau

*va'a-akau* is used in *Hina mo Nukuokakala* and refers to a pole which Hina used as a float to swim to Sinilau’s land. In contemporary Niuafo'ou, as in Tongan, the combination of *va'a* ‘branch’ and *akau* ‘plant, tree’ always becomes *va'akau* ‘branch of tree’. For ‘Uvean, Bataillon (1932) gives *va'ai akau* (which may be respelt as *va'ai* *'akau* (< *va'a* ‘branch’ + pre-base modifier suffix -(C)i ([II.3.3.2.(A)]) ‘akau ‘plant, tree’)) and Colomb (1886) *vaa akau*.

(2) fenua

*fenua* ‘land’ occurs in *Hina mo Nukuokakala* and also in the 1922 article. A few old speakers are of the opinion that the real Niuafo’ou word for ‘land’ is *fanua*. However, most speakers exclusively use *fonua*, as in Tongan, with the assimilation of the vowel *a* to *o*. For ‘Uvean, Bataillon (1932) gives *fenua*.

(3) kaekau

---

8 For Tongan, C. M. Churchward (1959) gives *fanua* as well as *fonua* and explains it as ‘old form of *fonua*, land, as still used occasionally in poetry’. It may also be noted that, in reference to the direction of the land (in contrast with the direction of the outer sea) as seen from out on the sea, the form *fanua* is in exclusive use in both Niuafo'ou and Tongan ([II.3.4.2.(F)]). The form *fanua* is also noted in *tuputupu le fanua*, which is used in incantations in both Niuafo'ou and Tongan (as for instance in: *Tuputupu le fanua kae 'alu ia Sione i te kemo ki te notou 'api* ‘grow DET(Sp) land but go PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc) DET(Sp) blink PART(All) DET(Sp) DET(3Pl) home: Abracadabra! May Sione go to their home in a blink!’); this expression, however, is in all probability of loan origin (possibly, Saamoan.).
kaukau is used in *Hina mo Nukuokakala* and seems to mean 'swim': alu atu mo te vaa-akaau o hopo ki tai, o kaukau; o tau leva ki te fenua o Sinilau. 'go DIR(Tsp) PART(Ass) DET(Spf) branch-tree PART(Inc) jump PART(All) sea PART(Inc) swim PART(Inc) arrive SQC PART(All) DET(Spf) land PART(PssO) Sinilau: (Hina) went with a pole and jumped into the sea and swam and reached Sinilau's land.' In contemporary Niuafo'ou, as in Tongan, *kaukau* can only mean 'bathe oneself', and *kakau* is used to mean 'swim'. As for 'Uvean, Bataillon (1932) similarly explains *kakau* as 'nager (swim)' and, in the French-'Uvean part, gives *kaukau* for 'se baigner (bathe oneself)'.

(4) *atua*

*atua* 'god' is used in *Hina mo Nukuokakala*. 'Uvean (Bataillon 1932) has 'atua, and it is highly possible that Niuafo'ou, too, once had the same form. Today, however, even the oldest speakers exclusively use 'otua, as in Tongan, with the vowel a assimilated to o. The use of Tongan as the language of the church may have contributed to the thorough permeation of the form 'otua in Niuafo'ou.

(5) *toka*

*toka* is a pre-base modifier that is used with words indicating the number of human beings and animals (II.7.8.(1)) It occurs in *fafine e toka lua* "woman PART(Nmr) ANIM two: two women" in *Hina mo Nukuokakala*. In contemporary Niuafo'ou, as in Tongan, the form *toko*, which again shows the assimilation a > o, is in exclusive use. The assimilation a > o in this word is widespread in Polynesia, and 'Uvean (Bataillon 1932) too, has only *toko*. A small number of languages, however, have non-assimilated forms: Saamoan *to'a* (Heider 1926-7, Milner 1966), Sikaiana *toka* (Capell 1935-7) or Rennelless-Bellones *toka* (Elbert 1975). The assimilation in Tongan may have taken place only recently. In Martin (1817), the word is given as *toca*.

(6) *taulua*

*taulua* is used with *tangata* 'man' in *Hina mo Nukuokakala* and *matua* 'parent' in *Kalufau mo Hina* and seems to indicate dual number. In contemporary Niuafo'ou, as in Tongan, the marker of dual number is *ongo* regardless of the semantic nature of the following word (II.3.3.2.(C)(1)).

*taulua'i* (< *taulua* + pre-base modifier suffix -(C)1 (II.3.3.2.(A))) is used in both Niuafo'ou and Tongan to refer to a pair, as in *taulua'i niu* 'pair-of coconut: pair of coconut'.

(7) *kolua*

*kolua* occurs as second person dual determiner (II.2.2.) in both of the two stories.9 It is

9 *kolua* is also mentioned in the 1922 article. However, since it is given in isolation, it is not possible to determine whether the author refers to the person determiner or the pronoun. (The same can be said about the second person plural form *kotou* given in the same paragraph.)
used with a verbal-phrase base, as in Kolua olo ki tai ... ‘DET(2Du) go PART(All) sea: Go to the sea ...’ and Kolua olo i tea? ‘DET(2DU) go PART(Loc) DET(Spf) what: What are you going in?’, as well as with a nominal-phrase base, as in: Malo te kolua lelei. ‘thanks DET(Spf) DET(2DU) good: Congratulations on your being well (common greeting)’ and Veveli vevele\textsuperscript{10} te kolua ngoue. ‘too-eager too-eager DET(Spf) DET(2Du) do-gardening: You were working too eagerly in the garden.’ The second person dual determiners in use today are kulaa, laa and luaa. They are obviously derived from the corresponding pronoun koolua (II.3.4.2.(C-1)), but this occurs only as a base in nominal phrases. For ‘Uvean, Bataillon (1932) gives an identical form, koulua, as the equivalents of both the person determiner and the pronoun. The Tongan person determiners and pronouns have markedly different forms; the second person dual determiner is mo and its corresponding pronoun (ki)moua.

(8) noutou

noutou occurs as third person plural determiner (II.2.2.) in Hina mo Nokuokakala. The third person plural determiner in use today is notou, and the corresponding pronoun naatou (II.3.4.2.(C-1)). In ‘Uvean, one and the same form seems to be used for both of these; Bataillon (1932) gives only one form: natou. The corresponding person determiner in Tongan is nau and the pronoun (ki)naoutou.

From his observations in 1922, Collocott presumed that ‘in the main the speech of Niua Fo’ou exhibits forms once common to the whole Tongan area, but which have been modified in the southern parts of the group partly by Fijian influence, and partly by natural internal phonetic change (1922:185)’. It was well before the publication of Bataillon’s work on ‘Uvean (Bataillon 1932), and Collocott, it seems, had little, if any, access to material on ‘Uvean. Accordingly, he simply regards ‘Uvean as being ‘within the language area embracing Tonga and Niua Fo’ou (1922:185)’, and apart from the possibility or probability of ‘Uvean (and Saamoan) influence on Niuafo’ou, he does not say anything about the relationship between Niuafo’ou and ‘Uvean.

The closer affinity of Niuafo’ou with ‘Uvean rather than with Tongan was first pointed out by Burgmann, who, in 1942, published ‘Syntaktische Probleme im Polynesischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Tonganischen’ in Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen (vol.32, pp 1-30, 89-113, 183-201). In Section Four of this article, which briefly discusses the position of Tongan within Polynesian languages, the author, on the basis of the texts in Collocott (1928), refers to Niuafo’ou as possessing exactly those characteristics of ‘Uvean which distinguish that language from Tongan

\textsuperscript{10}veveli in this line is probably a mistranscription for vevele ‘excessively eager’
(Nach den Texten bei Collocott besitzt Niua Fou ... gerade die Eigentümlichkeiten des Uvea, die diese Sprache vom Tonganischen unterscheiden (p 8).)

By the time any linguist made any further reference to the language of Niuafo'ou, some 30 years had passed, during which time several vigorous attempts were made to classify Polynesian languages into subgroups (Elbert 1953, Emory 1963, Dyen 1965, Pawley 1966, Green 1966), and controversy was arising as to the genetic affinity of the languages that surround Niuafo'ou.

In 1971, B.G. Biggs contributed The Languages of Polynesia to J.T.A Seboek's Current Trends in linguistics (vol 8, pp 466-505). The language of Niuafo'ou is listed in the Checklist of the Languages and Dialects of Polynesia in this work, and on the basis of the comparative model designed by Pawley (1966, 1967), the author comments that the language shares several innovations with the Nuclear Polynesian group, such as the second person dual and plural pronouns koolua and kootou or the deictic nei 'Near Speaker' and that it, on the other hand, does not share the Tongic innovation fea 'where' but retains Proto-Polynesian *fea. In this article, Biggs, in connection with borrowing among Polynesian languages, also discusses the problems encountered in classifying 'Uvean, a language which is so similar to Niuafo'ou; although he does not state anything decisive in this work, a paper he published in 1980 (Biggs 1980) shows that, eventually, he came to believe that 'Uvean is to be assigned to the Samoic-Outlier group, rather than to the Tongic group, although Tongan and 'Uvean share such a great extent of vocabulary that Dyen (1965), on the basis of lexicostatistics, considers their relationship to be 'dialectal'.

In 1980, T.S. Dye published The Linguistic Position of Niuafo'ou in the Journal of the Polynesian Society (vol 89, pp 349-57). This article is based on the author's own field research on Niuafo'ou and, as the title shows, aims to clarify the genetic affinity of Niuafo'ou within Polynesian. It contains some three pages of arguments, a table showing Proto-Polynesian consonants and their correspondences in Niuafo'ou and its surrounding Polynesian languages, tables of Niuafo'ou pronouns and possessive pronouns, and lists containing 185 Niuafo'ou reflexes of Proto-Polynesian and 10 Niuafo'ou reflexes of probable Proto-Polynesian items. The author uses the criteria given by Pawley (1966, 1967) and concludes: 'Phonological and morphological data support the contention that NFU (= Niuafo'ou) is a NP (= Nuclear Polynesian) language of the Samoic Outlier (SO) subgroup that has been overlaid with extensive, recent TON (= Tongan) borrowing. (p 352') His result agrees with Biggs (1980), who took a similar approach to determine the position of 'Uvean, and may, within the framework of Pawley, be regarded as a
reasonable one.\textsuperscript{11} From a descriptive point of view, however, his observations of the language are, in many respects, unsatisfactory, as is discussed below:

Vowel length is often missed out. Several forms in the table of Niuafo'ou pronouns, namely, ma, ta, na and kolua, must, in fact, be maa, taa, naa (II.2.2.) and koolua (II.3.4.2.(C-1)). Similarly, the prefix nga, mentioned as a Proto-Samoic Outlier item, must be ngaa; further, this prefix occurs with lalo ‘down’ as well as, as the author argues, tau\textsuperscript{12} ‘sea’ and ‘uta ‘land’ (II.3.4.2.(F)).

The first person singular forms kou, eau and nau in the table of Niuafo'ou pronouns are actually sequences of two morphemes: a particle plus a person determiner: the form ‘au is either similarly a sequence of a particle and a person determiner (‘e ‘Future’ → au ‘1SgExcl’ → ‘au) or else a mistake for au (II.2.2.).

Niuafo'ou does not, as the author argues, have two indefinite (or non-specific) articles; the form he, given as indefinite article used with quantifiable nouns, is actually used without regard to the semantic nature of the base, and the form le is never used in the function described in this article. However, Niuafo'ou does have a form which may be spelt as le, since, as dealt with in I.1.2.1., the phoneme /t/ is also pronounced as [r] in the definite (or specific) article te.

The author notes that the word hina, the quantitative nominal article, occurs in a line of a song: mai hina ika ma'a sii tama ‘bring some fish for the dear boy’, but he claims that people could not recall any other instance of its use in the language. It certainly seems that hina does not occur frequently and is not known to younger speakers, but old speakers do make active use of it (II.3.2.1.).

The description of the forms in the table of Niuafo'ou possessive pronouns is imperfect. In fact, the article te is optional in all the dual and plural forms (II.3.2.2.(A)). His claim that only the first and second person singular possessives distinguish the A and O categories is not true. The third person singular also does distinguish between the two categories. However, it is understandable why the author gives tana for third person singular O-class form since, as dealt with in Part II.6.2., the O-class forms are in decline amongst younger speakers.

\textsuperscript{11} According to the author, Proto-Polynesian *$: *h$ and *$r$ correspond to Tongan *$: $h$ and $0$ and Niuafo'ou and 'Uvean */h/, */h/0 and */h/, and the author attributes the double reflexes in Niuafo'ou to the recent, continuing influence of Tongan. In actual fact, however, Tongan also shows the $h$/0 and $1$/0 doublets in a number of cases: loi and lohi ‘lie, tell a lie', mo'ui ‘life, alive' and ma'uli ‘give birth', and so on. Therefore, although it is certainly possible that some doublets in Niuafo'ou came into being because of Tongan influence, it is rather unlikely that borrowing was the main factor for the development of doublets noted in these languages. The Niuafo'ou */0/0 doublet given in the article, on the other hand, is, as the author admits, based on Collocott's observation (Collocott, 1922), which may not be confirmed today (I.1.3.).

\textsuperscript{12} A Tonganized form, tahi, is given in the article.
The following words given in the article could not be confirmed:

(1) **teau**

*teau*, besides *ia*, is given as a third person singular nuclear pronoun. According to the informants who contributed to the present study, only *ia* is used in this function.

(2) **ko**

*ko* is given as progressive aspect particle. This is probably a mistake for *ku*, the short form of the present tense particle *ōku* (II.2.1.(2)).

In general, the data used in this article show a rather unusual amount of Tongan influence. Certainly, all sorts of obvious Tongan words occur in contemporary Niuafo'ou. However, speakers who consider many of the forms given in the article — *efiafi* (for *afiafi*) 'evening', *tahi* (for *tai*) 'sea', *bala* (for *ala*) 'road', *‘uha* (for *‘ua*) 'rain' and so on — to be Niuafo'ou undoubtedly belong to a minority, at least on Niuafo'ou.

Besides the works mentioned above, two non-linguistic works may be mentioned. G. Rogers' *Politics and Social Dynamics in Niuafo'ou* (1968) contains a brief description of the social function of the Niuafo'ou language and the speakers' attitude towards it (p 7). C.S. Ramsay and C.P. Plumb's *Tin Can Island* (1938), though not of academic nature, similarly mentions some social aspects of the Niuafo'ou language (p 68); in this book, Tongan is used here and there to give vividness to the story but, unfortunately, not Niuafo'ou.
PART I
PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY
Overview

Niuafo'ou shares with its neighbouring Polynesian languages Tongan and 'Uvean (Bataillon 1932) the same inventory of segmental phonemes which consists of five vowels and twelve consonants. Phonetic long vowels and diphthongs occur, but long vowels are analysed either as sequences of two identical vowels (I.2.2.(C-1)) or as protraction of a single vowel accompanying word intensity emphasis (I.3.3.2.(A)) and diphthongs as sequences of two non-identical vowels (I.2.2.(C-2)). With the exception of /t/, which has an allophone unique to Niuafo'ou, [ɾ], Niuafo'ou phonemes have more or less the same phonetic realizations as those of Tongan and, possibly, also of 'Uvean.

Like Tongan, Niuafo'ou also possesses what C.M. Churchward (1953) calls definitive accent. Definitive accent, or definitive stress as it is referred to in this study, is in fact a supersegmental morpheme and, as such, carries a semantic function of its own. The semantic effect of definitive stress will be dealt with in Chapter IV of Part II; its basic position, however, will be, together with the position of other stresses, described in Chapter III of Part I.

Some interjections and certain idiomatic expressions like daily greetings show deviations from the normal phonological patterns. Such deviations will be dealt with as they occur (III.9.2.2., Appendix).

Chapter I of Part I deals with the description of segmental phonemes and their phonetic realizations. The structure of the syllable will also be considered. Chapter II deals with the structure of morphemes and words. As it will be seen, the structure of words has much relevance as to the position of stress. The final chapter, Chapter III deals with the description of stress.
CHAPTER 1
Segmental Phonemes

1.1 Inventory of Phonemes

Niuafou has twelve consonant and five vowel phonemes.

Table I.1.1.(a) shows all the consonant phonemes. Four stops, four fricatives, three nasals and one lateral are distinguished. Voicing plays a role only in distinguishing the fricatives /f/ and /v/, as for instance, in fai [ˈf.ai] 'do' versus vai [ˈv.ai] 'water'; in all other cases, stops, fricatives and nasals are distinguished from other stops, fricatives and nasals by the place of articulation only.

Table I.1.1.(a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>/p, t, k, ŋ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>/f, v, s, h/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>/m, n, ŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>/l/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I.1.1.(b) shows the vowel phonemes.

Table I.1.1.(b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 Phonetic Realizations of Phonemes

1.2.1 Consonant Phonemes

/p/ is realized as a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop, [p].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>poto</th>
<th>[pôˈto]</th>
<th>ipu</th>
<th>[ʔˈpû]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'clever'</td>
<td>'cup'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/t/ has two phonetic realizations, namely, a voiceless unaspirated stop articulated by the blade of the tongue and the very front part of the
alveolar ridge, with the tip of the tongue touching the lower teeth, [t], and an apico-alveolar flap, [ɾ], which is usually articulated more to the back than [t].

[t] may occur in all environments.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{tu'a} & [t ūʔa] \\
\text{putu} & [p ū'tu]
\end{array}
\]

'outside' 'funeral'

[ɾ] alternates with [t] in the specific article te (II.3.2.1.).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Ko te tangata.} & [kō-te taŋa.makeText] \text{ or} \\
\text{PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man} & [kō-re taŋa.makeText]
\end{array}
\]

'He is a man.'

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Ko te notou 'apī.} & [kō-te notō[Math] ?apī] \text{ or} \\
\text{PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) home} & [kō-re notō[Math] ?apī]
\end{array}
\]

'It is their home.'

/k/ is a voiceless unaspirated dorso-velar stop, [k]. Its place of articulation, however, is influenced by the articulatory features of the following vowel and shifts to the front when followed by front vowels.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
kā & [kā] \\
tūkī & [tūkī]
\end{array}
\]

'eat' 'push'

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop, [ʔ].

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ahu} & [ʔāu] \\
\text{ha'up} & [hāʔu]
\end{array}
\]

'go' 'come'

/f/ is a voiceless labio-dental fricative, [f].

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{fiingota} & [f ūŋō.ta] \\
\text{ofi} & [ʔō.ta]
\end{array}
\]

'shellfish' 'love'

/v/ is a voiced labio-dental fricative, [v].

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{va'inga} & [va?iŋa] \\
\text{kava} & [kāva]
\end{array}
\]

'play' 'kava (kind of drink)'

/s/ has two phonetic realizations, namely, a voiceless alveolar fricative, [s],

\[\text{In this respect, Niufo'ou resembles Saamoan and East Futunan, in which, according to Clark (1968), the form of the specific article shows an irregular sound shift from Proto-Nuclear-Polynesian, and possibly also Proto-Polynesian, 't to l.}\]
and a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative, \[\ddot{s}\]. The two allophones may alternate with each other in all environments, and some speakers use exclusively \[s\] while some use exclusively \[\ddot{s}\]. In the pronunciation of those speakers who use both allophones, \[\ddot{s}\] tends to occur when followed by /i/ and \[s\] elsewhere.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ sai } & \quad [s\ddot{a}i] \text{ or } [\ddot{s}\ddot{a}i] \quad \text{ Tiisema } & \quad [t\ddot{i}:s\ddot{a}^m\ddot{a}] \text{ or } [t\ddot{i}:\ddot{s}\ddot{a}^m]\text{a} \\
\quad \text{ 'good'} & \quad \text{ 'December'} \\
\text{ sio } & \quad [s\ddot{i}o] \text{ or } [\ddot{s}\ddot{i}o] \quad \text{ 'osi } & \quad [\ddot{t}\ddot{o}s\ddot{i}] \text{ or } [\ddot{t}\ddot{o}\ddot{s}\ddot{i}] \\
\quad \text{ 'see'} & \quad \text{ 'finished'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(/h/\) has three main phonetic realizations, namely, a voiceless glottal fricative, \[h\], a voiced glottal fricative, \[\ddot{h}\], and a voiceless velar fricative, \[x\].

\[h\] occurs word-initially.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ hake } & \quad [h\ddot{a}k\ddot{e}] \\
\quad \text{ 'ascend'} \\
\text{ hifo } & \quad [h\ddot{i}fo] \\
\quad \text{ 'descend'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\ddot{h}\] occurs word-medially when the following vowel is not devoiced (I.1.2.2.(B)).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ hahake } & \quad [h\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}k\ddot{e}] \\
\quad \text{ 'east'} \\
\text{ hihiho } & \quad [h\ddot{h}\ddot{h}\ddot{i}f\ddot{o}] \\
\quad \text{ 'west'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The /h/ in the unspecific article he (II.3.2.1.) is normally realized as \[\ddot{h}\] since, as dealt with in I.3.1.1.(D), the article he form a phonological word with the preceding nominal-phrase particle.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ 'Oku } & \quad \text{kailoa ko he Tonga 'ia} \\
\text{ PART(Prs) not } & \quad \text{PART(Npm) DET(Nspf) Tongan PART(Abs)} \\
\text{ au.} & \quad \text{PROI(1SgExcl)} \\
\text{ [\ddot{t}\ddot{b}k\ddot{u} k\ddot{a} l\ddot{a}^\prime a k\ddot{o}-he t\ddot{o}^\prime\ddot{a} t\ddot{l}a \ddot{a}^\prime u]} \\
\quad \text{ 'I am not a Tongan.'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[x\] occurs word-medially when the following vowel is devoiced. The place of articulation is influenced by the articulatory features of the following vowel and shifts considerably to the back when followed by /a/ and /o/.
taha  
\[ \text{[t\'a\'x\'o]} \]
toho  
\[ \text{[t\'o\'x\'o]} \]
'one'  
'drag'
kehe  
\[ \text{[k\'e\'x\'o]} \]
tohi  
\[ \text{[t\'o\'x\']} \]
'different'  
'write'
ihu  
\[ \text{[\'i\'x\']} \]
'nose'

/m/  
is a voiced bilabial nasal, \[ \text{[m]} \].

mata  
\[ \text{[m\'a\'t\'a]} \]
kumi  
\[ \text{[k\'u\'m\'i]} \]
'eye'  
'search'

/n/  
is a voiced nasal articulated with the tongue in the same position as \[ \text{[t]} \] above.

namu  
\[ \text{[n\'a\'m\'u]} \]
inu  
\[ \text{[\'i\'n\'u]} \]
'mosquito'  
'drink'

/ŋ/  
is a dorso-velar nasal, \[ \text{[ŋ]} \].

ngaue  
\[ \text{[ŋ\'a\'u\'e]} \]
tangi  
\[ \text{[t\'a\'n\'i]} \]
'work'  
'weep'

/l/  
is a voiced apico-alveolar lateral, \[ \text{[l]} \].

lahi  
\[ \text{[l\'a\'x\'i]} \]
ma’uli  
\[ \text{[ma\'u\'l\'i]} \]
'big'  
'alive'

1.2.2 Vowel Phonemes

(A) Basic Realizations of Vowel Phonemes

Unless the processes described in (B) - (E) below apply, the vowel phonemes show only little allophonic variation except that:

(1) in quality, vowel phonemes in unstressed syllables tend to be less tense and more centralized than their corresponding vowel phonemes in stressed syllables. Roughly speaking, the extent of the difference in quality is in proportion with the extent of the difference in the strength of stress, but, in any case, the difference is small (much smaller than, for instance, the difference between tense and lax vowels in English), and it is not indicated in the phonetic transcription.

(2) in quantity, vowel phonemes in syllables with strong stresses like primary stress (1.3.1.1-2) and definitive stress (1.3.2.) are slightly longer than their corresponding vowel phonemes in other environments. This is indicated by \[ \text{[\'i]} \] in the phonetic transcription.
is a high front unrounded vowel. In stressed syllables, it is more or less the same as the IPA cardinal vowel, [i]. In unstressed syllables, it tends to be slightly more open and centralized.

/e/ is a mid front unrounded vowel. In stressed syllables, it is a little more open than the IPA cardinal vowel, [e]. In unstressed syllables, it tends to be slightly closed and centralized.

/a/ is a low central unrounded vowel. In stressed syllables, it is very close to the IPA cardinal vowel, [a], but is pronounced a little farther back in the mouth. In unstressed syllables, it tends to be slightly more closed and centralized.

/o/ is a mid back rounded vowel. In stressed syllables, it is a little more open than the IPA cardinal vowel, [o]. In unstressed syllables, it tends to be slightly closed and centralized and involves less lip-rounding.

/u/ is a high back rounded vowel. In stressed syllables, it is more or less the same as the IPA cardinal vowel, [u]. In unstressed syllables, it tends to be slightly more open and centralized and involves less lip-rounding.

(B) Devoiced Vowels

Except in very slow speech, certain vowel phonemes are normally devoiced in certain environments, that is:

(1) the high vowels /i/ and /u/ when they are:

(a) unstressed

(b) not in morpheme-initial syllable

(c) preceded by the voiceless stops /p/, /t/ or /k/ and not followed by vowels or voiced consonants.

/i/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tapi</td>
<td>[təˈpɪ]</td>
<td>'wipe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miti</td>
<td>[mɨˈtɪ]</td>
<td>'kind of sauce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipiki</td>
<td>[pɪˈpɪˈkɪ]</td>
<td>'adhere'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kapikapi  \[kəp[kəˈp]]\  kitikitii  \[kɪt[kɪtɪː]\  
'wedge' \  'kind of game'

hau'ali'okia  \[həu[əlɪkəˈjə]\  or  
[hu清凉] \[həu[əlɪkəʃə]\  
'attended by chiefs'

mokimoki  \[məkɪməˈkɪ]\ 
'break into small pieces'

/u/

tapu  \[təˈpu]\  tutu  \[tʊˈtu]\  
'sacred' \  'set fire'

tutukui  \[tʊtʊˈkʊi]\ 
'stop'

tukutukui  \[tʊkʊtʊˈkʊi]\  vakuvaku  \[vəkʊvəˈkʊi]\  
'put down for a while' \  'scratch repeatedly'

tutututuni  \[tʊtʊtʊˈtʊni]\ 
'instruct'

The first /i/ in pipiki may not be devoiced since it is in the morpheme-initial position. The words kitikiti and tutututuni are obviously forms resulting from the reduplication Type I (I.2.2.3.(A)) of kitii and tutuni although the simple forms do not actually occur in the language. The third /i/ and /u/ of these words are, therefore, in the morpheme-initial position and may not be devoiced.

The second /i/ and /u/ of mokimoki and vakuvaku may not be devoiced since they are followed by voiced consonants.

(2) the high vowels /i/ and /u/ when they are:

(a) unstressed

(b) not in the morpheme-initial syllable

(c) preceded by the voiceless fricatives /f/ or /s/ and not followed by vowels

/i/

mofii  \[məˈfɪi]\  pusi  \[pʊˈsɪ]\  or  
[pʊˈʃɪ]\  
'fever' \  'cat'

tafitafi  \[təˈfɪtəˈfɪ]\  fasifasi  \[fəsɪfəˈsɪ]\  or  
[fəsɪʃɪfəˈʃɪ]\  
'keep sweeping' \  'fractured here and there'
mofimofi [mōfimō'f] mosimosi [mōs|mō'si]| or
'slight fever' 'light rain'

/u/
kofu [kō'fʊ] usu [ū'sy] or
'garment' 'lie, untruth'
tafutafu [tāfutā'ref] kisuhee [kisʉhe] or
'keep a fire going' Interjection
mofumofuî [mōfumōfū] ke
'have earthquakes repeatedly'

(3) all vowels when they are:

(a) unstressed
(b) not in the morpheme-initial syllable
(c) preceded by the fricative /h/ and not followed by vowels

tahataha [təxətə'xə] mohomoho [mōxəmō'xə]
'eleven' 'somewhat cooked'
mavahevahe [məvəxəvə'xə] mahuhuhuho [məhuhyə]hə'xỹ]
'separated' 'pierced here and there'
lahilahi [ləxələ'xə]
'somewhat many'

The examples given for [x] in I.1.2.1. above may also be noted.

In words of foreign origin, vowels are devoiced to a much greater extent. The devoicing of vowels in words of foreign origin is dealt with in I.1.2.2.(D-1) below.

(C) Sequence of Two Vowel Phonemes

In contrast to consonant phonemes, vowel phonemes may occur in immediate sequence, in which case they realize either as separate simple vowels or as long vowels or diphthongs, depending on the environments in which they occur. Long vowels and diphthongs constitute coherent units with respect to the distribution of secondary stress (1.3.1.1.2.), but two separate units with respect to the distribution of primary stress (1.3.1.1.2.) and definitive stress (1.3.2.) and also with respect to the morpheme structure (1.2.1.). They are never devoiced.

(C-1) Sequence of Two Identical Vowel Phonemes

All the five possible sequences of identical vowel phonemes occur: /aa, ee, ii, oo/
and /uu/. They realize as two separate vowels when the second of the vowel phonemes in sequence is in a structural position of a phonological word (1.2.1.) that receives primary or definitive stress, and the stress distributes itself only on the second vowel phoneme of the sequence.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{peesi} & \quad [\text{peē'si}] \text{ or } \quad \text{ngaahi} & \quad [\text{ŋəå'xi}] \\
& \quad \text{‘page’} & \quad \text{‘make’} \\
\text{‘i te kaâ [ʔi-te kaå’] or } & \quad \text{[ʔi-re kaå’] } \\
& \quad \text{‘in the car’}
\end{align*}
\]

Otherwise, sequences of two identical vowel phonemes realize as long vowels. If either of the vowel phonemes is in a structural position of a phonological word that receives primary or secondary stress, the stress always occurs on the first vowel of the sequence.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kee} & \quad [\text{kå:}] & \quad \text{huu} & \quad [\text{hû:}] \\
& \quad \text{‘quarrel’} & \quad \text{‘enter’} \\
\text{ngiingii} & \quad [\text{ŋi:ŋi:}] & \quad \text{toofaa} & \quad [\text{tô:få:}] \\
& \quad \text{‘fall softly (of rain)’} & \quad \text{‘sleep (King)’} \\
\text{taangulu} & \quad [\text{tå:ŋü:i}] & \quad \text{tooketaa} & \quad [\text{tô:ketå:}] \\
& \quad \text{‘snore’} & \quad \text{‘doctor’}
\end{align*}
\]

(C-2) Sequence of Two Non-identical Vowel Phonemes

All the twenty possible sequences of non-identical vowel phonemes occur.

The sequences /ea, eo, oa/ and /oe/ always realize as two separate vowels. Similarly, the sequences that begin with a high vowel, /ie, ia, io, iu, ui, ue, ua/ and /uo/, also realize as two separate vowels except that, as dealt with in 1.1.2.2.(D-2) below, they may become an on-glide in words of foreign origin.

The rising sequences, /ai, ae, ao, au, ei, eu, oi/ and /ou/, on the other hand, may realize as two separate vowels or diphthongs, depending on the environments in which they occur. That is, they realize as two separate vowels when the second of the vowel phonemes in sequence is in a structural position of a phonological word (1.2.1.) that receives primary or definitive stress, and the stress distributes itself only on the second vowel phoneme of the sequence.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pau' }u & \quad [\text{paú' }u] & \quad \text{‘Eua} & \quad [\text{ʔeú' }a] \\
& \quad \text{‘naughty’} & \quad \text{‘Eua (name of island)’}
\end{align*}
\]
"i te taú [ʔi-te ʔaú] or [ʔi-se taú]

'in the war'

Otherwise, they realize as diphthongs. If either of the vowel phonemes is in a structural position of a phonological word that receives primary or secondary stress, the stress always occurs on the first vowel of the sequence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tai</td>
<td>[tʰi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kou</td>
<td>[kʊ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sea'</td>
<td>'wild pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meimei</td>
<td>[me̞i me̞i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toileti</td>
<td>[tʰi le̞i ti]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'almost'</td>
<td>'toilet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaelua</td>
<td>[va̞e̞ i u̞ a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'half'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(D) /i/ and /u/ in Words of Foreign Origin

In contemporary Niuafo'ou, a large number of words are in use which have been borrowed from foreign languages, mainly English, whose phonological system is different from that of Niuafo'ou. Such words have influenced the Niuafo'ou phonological system, and as a result, the high vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/ are noted to have phonetic realizations that are unique to them. As already mentioned in Introduction 2., however, most of these words have obviously been borrowed indirectly via Tongan, and their influence on the Niuafo'ou phonological system is in actuality simply a reflection of foreign influence on Tongan. Schütz (1970) and Feldman (1978) deals with words of foreign origin in Tongan.

(D-1) Inserted and Added /i/

The syllable structure of Niuafo'ou as well as Tongan does not allow consonant clusters or word-final consonants (1.1.4.). When words that do not conform to these restrictions are adapted, Tongan, as Schütz (1970) notes, inserts a vowel between consonants or adds a vowel after a word-final consonant while each of the consonants of the source language is generally retained. Such inserted or added vowels 'may occur voiceless in unexpected positions, or even be deleted, with or without compensatory lengthening (of the preceding consonant), presumably to bring the Tongan pronunciation into closer conformity with the English' (Feldman 1978:137-8) or any other source language. Basically, this is also true of Niuafo'ou. That is:

An inserted /i/ tends to be deleted after a nasal or a consonant and devoiced or deleted after any other consonant unless it occurs in the second-to-last syllable of a
phonological words and thus receives primary stress. An inserted /i/ never receives secondary stress (I.3.1.1.(A)) so that it is always unstressed if it does not occur in the second-to-last syllable of a phonological word.

penisini [pensɪˈni] or 'Initia [ˈɪntɪˈa]
'benzine'
[pɛntʃiˈni] 'India'
pangikee [pæŋkiː] Melipoane [mæˈpoʊəˈne]
'bank'
'sipai [sɪpɑˈɪ] or sipoti [sɪˈpɑˈti] or
'spy'
[ʃɪpɑˈɪ] or [ʃɪˈpɑˈti] 'sports'

An added /i/ tends to be voiced unless it occurs in the environments dealt with in (B) above, but sometimes it is deleted, especially after a nasal consonant.

Uelingatoni [ˈuɛlɪŋatɔˈni] or
'Wellington'

All the five vowels may occur as inserted or added vowels although /i/ occurs in the majority of cases (Schütz 1970). Inserted or added vowels other than /i/ are never devoiced or deleted.

(D-2) On-gliding of /i/ and /u/

In both Niuafo'ou and Tongan, the vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/ are noted to represent front and back glides that occur in foreign languages. These /i/ and /u/ usually 'function more as glides than as vowel peaks' (Schütz 1970:413).

'iuniti [ˌiˈuniˈti] Niu Ioka [nɪˌu ˈi只为ka]
'unit'

uaea [ˈuaəˈa] uaine [ˈuaɪˈne]
'wire'

However, it normally does not apply to the /i/ and /u/ that precede a vowel which receives primary stress when the word is given in the citation form.

'iate [ˌiˈiəˈte] uafu [ʊəˈfy]
'yard'

uipi [uɪˈpi] kuata [kuəˈta]
'wharf'

'whip'

'quarter'

These /i/ and /u/ do not become glides even if the word has a definite referent or takes a monosyllabic suffix and its stress pattern is thus affected.
mei te uafū [mei-te uafū'] or [mei-re uafū']

'from the wharf'

uipi-'i [uipi'?i]
whip-SUF

'hit with a whip'

1.3 The Status of the Glottal Stop

With respect to the glottal stop, Collocott (1922:188) writes:

GLOTTAL STOP. The stop, which is so prominent a feature of Tongan is less marked in Niuafo'ou, ...

Presumably for this reason, the glottal stop is not indicated in the Niuafo'ou examples in his article (Collocott 1922) or in the two stories he collected (Collocott 1928) although the author consistently indicates the glottal stop in the Tongan cited in the same works.

However, as far as contemporary Niuafo'ou and Tongan are concerned, there is little difference between the two in this respect. The only difference that may be noted is that the glottal stop in the initial position in particles (II.2.1., II.3.1., III.2.4.1.) is optional in Niuafo'ou but, at least with most speakers, obligatory in Tongan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Niuafo'ou</th>
<th>Tongan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'e or e</td>
<td>'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'oku or oku</td>
<td>'oku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'o or o</td>
<td>'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ia or ia</td>
<td>'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'i or i</td>
<td>'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'i or i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a or a</td>
<td>'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'o or o</td>
<td>'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both Niuafo'ou and Tongan, the initial glottal stop of the following two demonstratives that refer to someone or something near the speaker and the addressee is optional.

Both Niuafo'ou and Tongan

'eni or eni  'Near Speaker'  'ena or ena  'Near Addressee'  

Otherwise, the glottal stop, whether it occurs word-initially or word-medially, is distinctive in both Niuafo'ou and Tongan and therefore obligatory.
1.4 The Structure of the Syllable

For any position in a word, the structure of the syllable may be formulated as (C)V, taking C as any consonant and V as any vowel. This structure allows no consonant clusters or word-final consonants but allows vowels to occur in immediate sequence. As already mentioned in I.1.2.2.(C) above, all the possible vowel sequences do actually occur, and some of them realize as long vowels or diphthongs in certain environments and constitute cohesive units as to the placement of secondary stress (I.3.1.1-2.). The sequences of the same vowels, however, function exactly in the same way as any sequence of two CV’s in other respects such as the placement of primary stress (I.3.1.1-2.) or the form of reduplication (I.2.2.3.). Therefore, all the (C)VV sequences are regarded as consisting of two syllables.

The structure of the syllable is, however, apparently in the process of changing due to the influx of words of foreign origin, and as Feldman (1978) points out for Tongan, the language seems to be acquiring consonant clusters and closed syllables as a result of the devoicing or deletion of inserted or added /i/ dealt with in I.1.2.2.(D-1) above.
CHAPTER 2
Morphology

2.1 Syllabic Structure of Morphemes

Morphemes are of two main types, namely, grammatical morphemes and lexical morphemes.

As will be seen, morphemes consisting of two syllables are by far the most common and are distributed over both grammatical and lexical morphemes. Morphemes that consist of one syllable are confined to grammatical morphemes and are few in number but recur frequently in texts. Morphemes that consist of three or more syllables are rare apart from those that have recently been borrowed from languages like English. Morphemes of such obvious foreign origin will be excluded from the following.

2.1.1 Grammatical Morphemes

Grammatical morphemes are about evenly divided into those that consist of one syllable and those that consist of two syllables. They constitute affixes and a number of others, namely, particles (II.2.1., II.3.1., III.2.4.1.), determiners (II.2.3., II.3.2.), deictics (II.2.6., II.3.6.) and conjunctions (except those conjunctions that have obviously been derived from common words or phrases) (III.2.5.) Affixes must always occur with at least one lexical morpheme while the others may fill one of the slots in the phrase set up in II.1.1. by themselves. Affixes are of two types, namely, prefixes and suffixes (I.2.2.1.).

The glottal stop in the initial position of particles is non-distinctive (I.1.3.). If these are disregarded, only a few grammatical morphemes begin with a vowel, and those few that do are all suffixes. A number of suffixes begin with a thematic consonant (indicated by C). Historically, these thematic consonants were actually the final consonants of stems which were lost when the stems were unsuffixed since word-final consonants are not permitted in Polynesian languages (H. Kern 1886, Planert 1906). Since all the particles that begin with a non-distinctive glottal stop are given in I.1.3., they will be excluded from the following.

(A) Monosyllabic Morpheme

Only the form CV occurs excepting the particles mentioned in I.1.3. in which the
initial glottal stop is non-distinctive and some allomorphic forms of certain suffixes, such as -i and -a ([II.2.4.1.(C-1.2)(1)-(2)]).

(A-1) CV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fe-</th>
<th>PREF (II.2.4.1. (C-1.3)(1))</th>
<th>ma-</th>
<th>PREF (II.2.4.1. (C-1.1)(2))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nga</td>
<td>SUF (II.3.4.1.(B-1))</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>DET 'Spf' (II.3.2.1.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>PART 'All' (II.3.1.(4))</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>PART 'Ass' (II.3.1.(6), III.2.4.1.(1))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>CONJ 'or' (III.2.5.1.(4))</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>CONJ 'because' (III.2.5.2.(2))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) Bisyllabic Morphemes

Only the forms CVCV and CVV occur excepting the bisyllabic particles mentioned in II.1.3. in which the initial glottal stop is non-distinctive and some allomorphic forms of certain suffixes such as -ia ([II.2.4.1.(C-1.2)(2)]) and -anga ([II.3.4.1.(B-2)]).

(B-1) CVCV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>faka-</th>
<th>PREF (II.2.4.1. (C-1.1)(1))</th>
<th>ne'e</th>
<th>PART 'Pst' (II.3.1.(3))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na'a</td>
<td>PART-CONJ 'Pt1' (III.2.6.(2))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B-2) CVV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kua</th>
<th>PART 'Prf' (II.2.1.(4))</th>
<th>mei</th>
<th>PART 'Abl' (II.3.1.(5))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pea</td>
<td>CONJ 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1))</td>
<td>nei</td>
<td>DEIC 'Nsp' (II.2.6., II.3.6.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A small number of deviations from the forms above are noted. Namely:

(1) Some grammatical morphemes have allomorphic variations that are sub-syllabic. The morphemes that indicate specificity and non-specificity te and he, for instance, have the forms t- and h-, which are used to form possessive determiners: t-o-ku 'Spf-O-1SgExcl', h-a-u 'Nspf-A-2Sg', and so on ([II.3.2.2.). Also, the particles ne 'Past' ([II.2.1.(3)) and ke 'Subjunctive' ([II.2.4.1.(2)]) may become n- and ke- respectively when they are followed by the person determiner au '1SgExcl' ([II.2.2.).

(2) The particles 'oku and ku 'Present' ([II.3.1.(2)]) may become 'ok- and k- respectively when they are followed by the person determiner ou '1SgExcl' ([II.2.2.).
(3) Four of the person determiners, namely, motou ‘1Pl!Excl’, kulaa ‘2Du’, koto ‘2Pl’ and notou ‘3Pl’ (II.2.2.), consist of three syllables. However, it is obvious that they have been derived from pronouns (II.3.4.2.(C-1)) which are bimorphic.

2.1.2 Lexical Morphemes

Lexical morphemes consist of at least two syllables. The majority of them are bisyllabic, and apart from those of foreign origin, morphemes that consist of three or more syllables are small in number.

Lexical morphemes constitute roots of nuclear words (II.1.3.(a)), pre-base modifiers (II.2.3., II.3.3.) directionals (II.2.5., II.3.5.) and phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.). Most of them may fill one of the slots in the phrase set up in II.1.1. by themselves. However, there are a few that are always used with affixes, in compound words or in reduplicated forms: ngata’a ‘difficult’ as in ‘alu ngata’a ‘go difficult: difficult to go’,¹ piko as in faka-piko-piko ‘lazy’, and so on.

(A) Bisyllabic Morphemes

All types occur: CVCV, CVV, VCV and VV.

(A-1) CVCV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kolo</th>
<th>‘town’</th>
<th>Manu</th>
<th>‘animal’</th>
<th>Tapa</th>
<th>‘tapa cloth’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngeli</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
<td>Veli</td>
<td>‘itchy’</td>
<td>Alu</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa’u</td>
<td>‘make’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A-2) CVV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tai</th>
<th>‘sea’</th>
<th>Hui</th>
<th>‘bone’</th>
<th>Paa</th>
<th>‘fish net’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Ua</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>Sio</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>Lea</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lii</td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A-3) VCV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ako</th>
<th>‘learn’</th>
<th>Ef u</th>
<th>‘dust’</th>
<th>Ili</th>
<th>‘fan’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ulo</td>
<td>‘burn’</td>
<td>Olo</td>
<td>‘go (Col)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A-4) VV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ao</th>
<th>‘garland’</th>
<th>Io</th>
<th>‘fish fillet’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

¹Although ngata’a does not occur as a base by itself, it is functionally equivalent to ngafua in a combination like ‘alu ngafua ‘go easy: easy to go’, and ngafua may fill the base slot by itself: ‘Oku ngafua.’ PART(Prs) allowed: [It is] allowed.’ Further, the syllabic structure of both these formatives point to their status as a lexical morpheme. For these reasons, combinations like ‘alu ngata’a and ‘alu ngafua will be regarded as compound words, although, for Tongan, Shumway (1971) gives ngata’a and ngafua as suffixes and Churchward (1955, 1959) as suffixed adverbs. Compound words with ngafua and ngata’a are dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-3).
uu 'sheltered' ui 'call'

(B) Polysyllabic Morphemes

Morphemes that consist of three syllables may take forms like CVCCVC, CVCCV, CVVCVC or CVVV. Other forms of trisyllabic morphemes and morphemes that consist of more than three syllables are rare.

(B-1) CVCCVC

tangata 'man' talinga 'ear' 'aliki 'chief'

(2) CVCCV

fetu'u 'star'

(B-2) CVVV

fonua 'land' 'akau 'tree' kulii 'dog'

hangee 'seem'

(B-3) CVVV

puaka 'pig' maama 'light' paito 'kitchen'

kaute 'hibiscus'

(B-4) CVVV

maea 'rope' peau 'wave' ngoue 'garden'

'aua 'don't'

(B-5) Others

afa 'hurricane' kaatoa 'all'

tokelau 'north'

Some of the morphemes that consist of more than two syllables are obviously inherited from Proto-Austronesian: talinga 'ear' < Proto-Austronesian *taliŋa 'ear (Ohr)' (Dempwolff 1934-8) or fonua < Proto-Austronesian *banu(ʔ)a³ 'land, settlement, inhabitable land (Land, Siedlung, bewohnbares Land)' (Dempwolff 1934-8). A few may have originally consisted of two syllables: fo'ou 'new' < Proto-Austronesian *bəjə 'bəŋ-aŋəf 'to be new (Neusein)' (Dempwolff 1934-8). Beside these, Niuafo'ou has a sizable number whose history is not clear or which, from a historical point of view, actually contain more than one morpheme: tokelau 'north' < Proto-Austronesian *taka 'arrival (Ankommen)' + *laud 'high sea (Hohe See)' = 'arrival of the high sea (Ankommen der hohen See)', namely, 'sea wind (Seewind)' (Dempwolff 1934-8) or tamai 'father' < unproductive prefix t- + Proto-Austronesian *'ama 'father (Vater)' +
unproductive suffix -i (Dempwolff 1934-8). However, these are regarded as single morphemes in this study since they involve only unproductive formatives that occur in a very restricted number of fixed combinations so that, in general, they may be detected only by comparison with other languages.

However, it must be admitted that it is not possible to draw a clear dividing-line between formatives that are synchronically significant and those that are not. As will be seen in 1.2.2.3., below, some unproductive formatives do have relevance as to the forms certain morphemes take when reduplicated, but the relevance of such formatives is not consistent.

2.2 Structure of Words

Words (II.1.2.) may be simple, that is, consist of one morpheme, or complex, that is, consist of more than one morpheme. The following are the processes that combine the two types of morphemes dealt with in I.2.1. above into various types of complex words.

2.2.1 Affixation

Lexical morphemes (I.2.1.2.) may take affixes. Affixes are of two types, namely, prefixes and suffixes. In this study, affixes are analysed as such only in cases in which they are productive in the sense that they may occur with newly introduced stems or else occur with a reasonably large number of stems so that their functions may be deduced from a synchronic analysis. The number of such affixes is not great. In a few cases, affixation is accompanied by internal inflection (I.2.2.2.). Affixes that form pre-base modifiers – are-base-modifier affixes – are dealt with in II.3.3.2.(A) and (B), those that form verbally-oriented common words – verbal affixes – in II.2.4.1.(C-1) and those that form nominally-oriented common words – nominal affixes – in II.3.4.1.(B-1).

2.2.2 Internal Inflection

Lexical morphemes (I.2.1.2.) may undergo internal inflection which involves the lengthening of the first vowel, as in matu' a 'old man' → maatu' a 'old men (Col)' and so on or, in one case, the substitution of vowels: mokopuna 'grandchild' → makapuna 'grandchildren (Col)'. Internal inflection occurs independently in the formation of the collective forms of some nominally-oriented common words (II.3.4.1.(C)). In other cases, it occurs in conjunction with other morphological processes. That is, it regularly accompanies Reduplication Type II of morphemes of more than two syllables to form the collective forms of verbally-oriented common words (I.2.2.3.(B)), and also, in a small number of cases, it occurs with Reduplication Type I of morphemes of more than two syllables (I.2.2.3.(A)) and with the affixation of fe- -(C)aki to form verbally-oriented common words indicating reciprocal and reciprocative processes and states (II.2.4.1.(C-1.3)(1)).
2.2.3 Reduplication

Lexical morphemes (I.2.1.2.) may undergo reduplication. Reduplication is of two
types, which will be referred to as Type I and Type II. In the main, these two types of
reduplication correspond to what Churchward (1953) calls ‘complete’ and ‘partial’
reduplication in his grammar of Tongan. However, the division of reduplication into
‘complete’ and ‘partial’ is not clarifying at all with respect to their semantic effects, since
it is based only on the forms of reduplication and disregards that some of the ‘partially’
reduplicated forms (those in (A-2.1.) and (A-2.2.) below) actually have the same
semantic effects as ‘completely’ reduplicated ones (those in (A-1) below). Although
Niuafo'ou and Tongan differ in certain minor respects, especially in that many
reduplicated forms in Tongan show a variety of vowel assimilation, the analysis of
reduplication into Type I and Type II below basically holds for Tongan as well as
Niuafo'ou.

(A) Reduplication Type I

Reduplication Type I repeats the first or the last two syllables of the morpheme to
be reduplicated. That is:

If the morpheme to be reduplicated consists of two syllables, the whole morpheme is
reduplicated.

(A-1) Reduplication Type I of Bisyllabic Morphemes

\[(C)V(C)V \rightarrow (C)V(C)V(C)V = [(C)V(C)V]^2\]

\[1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \quad 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \quad 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4\]

nofo 'live'  nofonofo 'keep living idly'

efu 'dust'  efuefu 'ashes, powder'

sai 'good'  saisai 'somewhat good'

oo 'go (Col)'  oooo 'go step by step (Col)'

If, on the other hand, the morpheme to be reduplicated consists of more than two
syllables, only the first or the last two syllables are reduplicated.

(A-2.1) Reduplication Type I of Polysyllabic Morphemes (1)
(A-2.2.) Reduplication Type I of Polysyllabic Morphemes (2)

\[
(C)V \ldots (C)V(C)V \rightarrow (C)V \ldots (C)V(C)V(C)V
\]
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6
\end{array}
\]
\[
= (C)V \ldots [(C)V(C)V]^2
\]
\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
1 & 2 \\
3 & 4 & 5 & 6
\end{array}
\]

feinga 'try'  
feifeinga 'try repeatedly'
vakai 'look'  
vakavakai 'keep looking idly'
fo'ou 'new'  
fo'ofo'ou 'somewhat new'
'ataa 'pure'  
'ata'ataa 'completely pure'
mahaki 'ill'  
mahamahaki 'somewhat ill'
mofuike 'earthquake'  
mofumofuike 'hit by earthquakes repeatedly'

talinga 'fungus'  
talingalinga 'fungus'
fanongo 'hear'  
fanongonongo 'announce'
ma'uli 'alive'  
ma'uli'uli 'fresh (of plants)'

Reduplication Type I is normally not accompanied by internal inflection, but it is not entirely incompatible with it: mafi 'powerful' → maafimafi 'very powerful' or viki 'praise' → viikiviki 'praise much'. Also, the following shows some deviation from the pattern above: kaatoa 'all' → katokaatoa 'completely all'.

In the case of compounds, only the first formative is reduplicated: pootaalahau (= poo 'night' + taalahau 'talk') 'chat' → poopootaalalahau 'chat idly'.

Only lexical morphemes may undergo reduplication. Many reduplicated forms take affixes: 'ofa 'love' → 'ofa'ofa 'love somewhat, friendly' + reciprocal affixes fe- -(C)i (II.2.4.1.(C-1.3)(1)) = fe'ofa'ofani 'friendly with each other', but affixes never undergo reduplication.

From a historical point of view, however, many lexical morphemes that consist of more than two syllables actually contain more than one morpheme. Many of those that follow the pattern given in (A-2.2.) obviously consists of an unproductive prefix and a root: fanongo 'hear' = prefix fa- + root nongo <Proto-Austronesian *deney 'hear
(Hören)' (Dempwolff 1934-8), and this, to some extent, explains the form they take when reduplicated. However, it is not always possible to ascertain the historical composition of morphemes of this group.

On the other hand, some morphemes that follow the pattern given in (A-2.1.) are, historically, found not to consist of a single morpheme, as expected from the form they take when reduplicated, but to consist of an unproductive prefix and a root: mahaki 'ill' = prefix ma- + haki < Proto-Austronesian *t'akīt 'suffering, pain, illness (Leiden, Schmerz, Krankheit)' (Dempwolff 1934-8).

It is not predictable as to which of the two patterns given in (A-2.1.) and (A-2.2.) is be followed by a morpheme consisting of more than two syllables. As may be seen from the preceding discussion, it is not always possible to determine it from the historical composition of the morphemes. In fact, even morphemes that involve the same affixes do not always follow the same pattern; mahaki 'ill', whose historical morphological composition is mentioned just above, and ma'uli 'alive' = prefix ma- + 'uli < Proto-Austronesian *hučip 'life (Leben) (Dempwolff 1934-8) in (A-2.2.), for instance, has the same prefix.

In this study, as already mentioned in I.2.2.1. above, affixes are analysed as such only when they are productive or else occur with a reasonable number of stems that can occur independently and their functions may be deduced from a synchronic analysis. None of these may be reduplicated or form a part of the syllables that undergo reduplication.

The semantic effects of Reduplication Type I are dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-2.1.) and II.3.4.1.(B-2.1). Although, from a formal point of view, the three patterns dealt with above are different and involve either complete or partial repition of the morpheme concerned, they have the same semantic effects and may, accordingly, be regarded as one single process.

(B) Reduplication Type II

Reduplication Type II repeats only one syllable of the morpheme to be reduplicated: the first or, accompanied by internal inflection of the first syllable, the second. That is:

If the morpheme to be reduplicated consists of two syllables, the first syllable is reduplicated.

(B-1) Reduplication Type II of Bisyllabic Morphemes

\[(C)V(C)V \rightarrow (C)V(C)V(C)V = [(C)V]^2(C)V\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
1 & 2 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array}
\]
nofo ‘live’        nonofo ‘live (Col)’
foli ‘stroll’      fofoli ‘stroll’
moe ‘sleep’        momoe ‘sleep (Col)’
inu ‘drink’        inu ‘drink (Col)’

If, on the other hand, the morpheme to be reduplicated consists of more than two syllables, the second syllable is reduplicated, and at the same time, the first syllable is lengthened.

(B-2) Reduplication Type II of Polysyllabic Morphemes

\[(C)V(C)V(C)V \ldots \rightarrow (C)VV(C)V(C)V \ldots = (C)V[(C)V]^2(C)V \ldots\]
\[
1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \\
1 \ 2 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \\
1 \ 2 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6
\]

takoto ‘lie’          taakototo ‘lie (Col)’
‘afio ‘sit (Chief)’    ‘aafifio ‘sit (Col, Chief)’
pekia ‘die (Chief)’    peekikiia ‘die (Col, Chief)’
ma’uli ‘alive’         maa’u’uli ‘alive (Col)’

From a historical point of view, many of the morphemes that follow the pattern in (B-2) actually consist of an unproductive prefix and a root, as for instance, ma’uli, whose historical composition was mentioned above, which is to say that the reduplicated syllable is in actual fact the first syllable of a historically acertainable root.

Reduplication Type II occurs most commonly in the formation of the collective forms of verbally-oriented common words (II.2.4.1.(D-2)). It also has several other functions as dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-2.2.) and II.3.4.1.(B-2.2).\(^2\)

2.2.4 Combination of Like Morphemes

Lexical morphemes may combine with other lexical morphemes to form compound words. There are also a number of words that consist of two or more grammatical morphemes.

(A) Combination of Grammatical Morphemes

---

2Reduplication Type II is commoner in Niuao’ou than in Tongan in terms of the number of morphemes that undergo it. In Tongan, it is largely confined to morphemes consisting of two syllables. With the exception of ‘afio ‘sit (King)’ → ‘aafifio ‘sit (Col, King)’ and pekia ‘die (Chief)’ → peekikiia ‘die (Col, Chief)’, the Tongan equivalents of morphemes that follow the pattern in (B-2) in Niuao’ou either involve internal inflection alone: tokoto ‘lie’ → taakoto ‘lie (Col)’, or do not undergo any modification at all: no special collective form for mo’ui ‘alive’.
Combination of grammatical morphemes is confined to a small number of examples.

For instance:

(1) the particles ma'a 'A-class Benefactive' ([II.3.1.(8)]) and mo'o 'O-class Benefactive' ([II.3.1.(8)]), which consist of the morpheme mV indicating beneficiary and the morpheme 'a or 'o indicating A-class and O-class possession.

(2) the pronouns of Type II, 'aku '1SGExclA', 'ou '2SGO', and so on ([II.3.4.2.(C-2)]), which consist of the morpheme indicating A-class or O-class possession 'a or 'o and morphemes indicating person, ku '1SGExcl' u '2SG', and so on.

(3) the possessive determiners, taku 'Spf1SGExclA', hou 'Nspf2SGO', si'a 'SpfEm1A', ni'o 'NspfEm1O' and so on ([II.3.2.2.]). Some of these, like taku or hou, consist of the morphemes indicating specificity, t 'Spf' or h 'Nspf', or specificity and emotion, si 'SpfEm1' or ni 'NspfEm1', the morphemes indicating A-class and O-class possession 'a or 'o and the morphemes indicating person, ku '1SGExcl', u '2SG' and so on while the others, like si'o or ni'o, consist of the first two of these morphemes.

Besides the above, the demonstratives, 'eni or hen'i 'Near Speaker', 'ena or hen'a 'Near Addressee' and ee or hee 'Away from Speaker and Addressee' ([II.3.4.2.(D)]), probably consist of two morphemes, namely, the same morpheme as the Tongan article e or he plus the deictic ni 'Near Speaker' or na 'Near Addressee' ([II.2.6., II.3.6.]), or the morpheme that is expected to have derived from Proto-Polynesian deictic *ra 'Away from Speaker and Addressee' ([I.3.2.]). Further, the particle 'oku 'Present' ([II.2.1.(2)]) may perhaps be divided into 'o and ku, the 'o being the same morpheme as the particle 'o 'Incorporative' ([III.2.4.1.(3)]) which sometimes accompanies the particle-conjunction kaa 'Hypothetical' ([III.2.6.(2)]).

(B) Combination of Lexical Morphemes

As dealt with in I.2.2.2. above, some morphemes that consist of more than two syllables are, from a historical point of view, actually combinations of more than one morpheme. In this sense, a word like tokelau 'north' may be regarded as combination of two lexical morphemes, but its complex structure may only be detected by comparison with other languages. Words of this kind will be excluded from the following discussion.

Most compound words have evidently been derived from the sequences of bases and their preposed or postposed modifiers, and in many cases, it is indeed difficult to distinguish between compound words and base-modifier sequences. As will be seen in I.3.1.1.(G), both have the same stress patterns. Moreover, the semantic relationship noted between the formatives is generally very similar to that noted between bases and their modifiers. However, there are a number of features that are indicative of compound words and thus serve to distinguish them from base-modifier sequences. Namely:
(1) In compound words, the meaning of the formatives may be lost or changed. For instance, *tama si'i* 'boy' consists of *tama* 'man' and *si'i* 'small', but the meaning of *si'i* is almost lost, and 'small boy' must be expressed by *tama si'i siisi'i* 'man small (= boy) small (Redupl)' and 'large boy' by *tama si'i lahi* 'man small (= boy) large'. Also, *hu'a kau* '(cow’s) milk' consists of *hu'a* 'breast-of' and *kau* 'cow', but the meaning of *kau* is becoming lost, and today, many speakers accept expressions like, for instance, *hu'a kau kosi* 'breast-of cow (= milk) goat; goat’s milk'.

(2) Compound words may have different word-class affiliation from that to be expected. This is obviously due to the semantic change of the formatives in compound words and is, therefore, very closely related to (1) above. For instance, *sio* 'ata 'mirror' is normally used as a nominal (II.1.4.3.) although it has undoubtedly been derived from *sio* 'ata meaning 'see shadows', a construction dealt with in III.1.2.1.(C) in which the verbal (II.1.4.3.) *sio* 'see' is modified by the nominal *'ata* 'shadow'. Also, *'alu ngata'a* 'go difficult: difficult to go' is used as a stative verbal (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)) though *'alu* is used as a common intransitive verbal (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-1)).

(3) Compound words are morphologically and syntactically inseparable, and affixes are added to them as whole units. In the case of sequences of bases and modifiers, affixes are added only to the bases or, in one exceptional case dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-1.2.)(1) (example (2.2.4.1.-76)(b)), both to the bases and their modifiers. For instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Compound Words</th>
<th>(b) Bases and Modifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'ilo-lahi-a</td>
<td>'ilo-a lahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know-much-SUF</td>
<td>know-SUF much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'well-known'</td>
<td>'known well'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taa-mate-'i</td>
<td>taa-'i lahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit die-SUF</td>
<td>hit-SUF much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kill'</td>
<td>'hit much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faka-loto-mamahi-'i</td>
<td>faka-'ita-'i lahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREF-inside-heavy-SUF</td>
<td>PREF-angry-SUF much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'make sad'</td>
<td>'make very angry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These features are, however, noted only in a small number of cases, and in general, the distinction between compound words and base-modifier sequences still remains unclear. Due to their similarity, compound words may more expediently be dealt with in connection with base-modifier sequences. Therefore, the sections on preposed modifiers (II.2.3., II.3.3.) and postposed modifiers (III.1.2.) include some obvious compound words. However, three common compound formatives forming verbals, *ma'u* (+ suffix -a) 'over-', *ngafua* 'easy' and *ngata'a* 'difficult', are dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-3).
2.2.5 Derivation from Phrases and Clauses

Some words have apparently been derived from phrases\(^3\) and clauses. Examples follow:

\[
\begin{align*}
tangata-‘i &- loto \quad &\text{nofo-‘a - feke} \\
\text{man} \quad &\text{PART inside} \quad &\text{sit} \quad &\text{PART octopus} \\
‘inner self’ & \quad & \text{‘sit in an octopus’ way (= kneel} \\
\text{with one’s weight on one’s} & \quad & \text{heels)’} \\
taha kae afe & \quad \text{‘one but (equals) one} \\
\text{one} \quad & \text{but thousand} \\
\text{thousand (} = \text{excellent)}’
\end{align*}
\]

As it will be seen in III.2.5., many of the conjunctions have obviously been derived from phrases.

---

\(^3\) Compound words dealt with in I.2.2.4.(B) above may also be regarded as derivations from phrases, but since these have already been discussed, they will not be included here.
CHAPTER 3
Stress

3.1 Demarcative Stress

Demarcative stress occurs in a fixed position of certain segments in the stream of speech and marks their boundaries. Segments that are thus indicated differ somewhat from words as defined in II.1.2. and will be referred to as phonological words. As will be seen below, monosyllabic words, like monosyllabic affixes, never constitute phonological words by themselves; instead, they always combine with preceding or following words to form phonological words. A sequence of words that form one phonological word in this way is indicated by connecting the words with - in their phonetic transcription. Certain morphemes in a single word, on the other hand, often constitute separate phonological words. Morphemes of this kind are divided by a space in their phonetic transcription and the domain of the word they constitute is indicated by an underline.

3.1.1 Demarcative Stress in Slow Speech
(A) Demarcative Stress in Simple Words

Simple words constitute phonological words by themselves. Primary stress, [ˈ], occurs fixedly on the second-to-last vowel of the word, and the secondary stress, [ˈ], as a basic rule, every other preceding vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>poo</th>
<th>[pɔˈ:]</th>
<th>tai</th>
<th>[tɑˈ:]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘night’</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>‘sea’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pato</td>
<td>[pɔˈto]</td>
<td>kofif</td>
<td>[kɔˈfٰf]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘duck’</td>
<td>coffee</td>
<td>‘coffee’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulii</td>
<td>[kuˈli:]</td>
<td>hoosi</td>
<td>[hoɔˈsi] or [hoɔˈʃٰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paito</td>
<td>[pɔˈitٰo]</td>
<td>fafine</td>
<td>[fəˈfٰnٰe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kitchen’</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>letioo</td>
<td>[ləˈtiٰo]</td>
<td>ngaauie</td>
<td>[ŋə:ˈuٰe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘radio’</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pasikala [pàská³`la] siokaalafi [sìòkà³:lä³`fi] or [sìòkà³:lä³`i]
'bicycle' 'geography'

As already mentioned in I.1.2.2.(C), secondary stress never occurs on the second vowel of a sequence of two identical vowels or the second vowel of a rising sequence of two non-identical vowels. If such a vowel occurs in a structural position that takes secondary stress, the stress skips to a preceding vowel.

tooketaa [tò`ketà:] saienisi [sà`ßenì'ji]  
'not*[tò`ketà:] 'not*[sà`ßenì'ji]  
'third' 'science'

taaupo'ou [tà`u`po'ò`u]  
'not*[tà`u`po'ò`u]  
'virgin'

Similarly, as already mentioned in I.1.2.2.(D-1), secondary stress normally does not occur on an inserted /i/ in words of foreign origin. If such a vowel is in a structural position that takes secondary stress, the stress skips to the preceding vowel if any.

Melipoane [mèlìpo'ànë] tikisinale [tìkì(i)ìnà'le]  
'not*[mèlìpo'ànë] 'not*[tìkì(i)ìnà'le]  
'Melbourne' 'dictionary'

sikilini [sì(i)kì(i)ìnìni]  
rather than [sìkì(i)ìnìni]  
'screen'

Secondary stress naturally never occurs on an on-glingding /i/ or /u/ in words of foreign origin (I.1.2.2.(D-2)).

(B) Deictics ni and na

There are two monosyllabic deictics: ni and na, which indicate location in space or time near the speaker and the addressee respectively (II.2.6., II.3.6.). The monosyllabic deictics, but not the others, form phonological words with the preceding words and thus affect their stress patterns.

poo [pò:] poó ni [pò`-ni]  
'nignt' 'tonight'

tai [tà`ı] tai ni [ta`-ni]  
'sea' 'this sea'

fale [fà`le] fale ni [fà`le-`ni]  
'house' 'this house'

taimi [tà`mi] taimi ni [tà`mi-`ni]  
'time' 'now, this time'
fale lahi  
[fa'le la'hi]

fale lahi ni  
[fa'le lahi'ni]

'large house'  'this large house'

fale lahi mo lelei  
[fa'le la'hi mo lei]

fale lahi mo lelei ni  
[fa'le la'hi mo lei'ni]

'large and good house'  'this large and good house'

Ko  
[ko]

alul  
[alul]

ki  
[ki]

kolo.  
[kolo]

PART(Npm) DET(SpflSgExcl) go  DEIC(Nsp) PART town  
[ko ta'ku ?a'l ni ki kolo]

'I am on my way to town now.'

Similarly with na: fale na  
[fa'le na]

'that house', fale lahi na  
[fa'le lahi na]

'that large house', and so on.

According to Clark (1974), Proto-Polynesian had two other deictics *ra and *raa, both of which indicate location away from both the speaker and the addressee. As mentioned in more detail in I.3.2. below, *ra, like ni and na, is supposed to have affected the stress patterns of the preceding words and thus brought about the stress shift indicating definiteness. *raa, on the other hand, is reflected as aa in the contemporary language but it occurs only as a phrase adjunct (III.1.3.1.(A)(2)).

(C) Person Determiners ke and ne

There are two monosyllabic person determiners: second person singular ke and third person singular ne (II.2.2.). These monosyllabic person determiners, but not the others, form phonological words with the preceding particles (II.2.1.), the conjunctions pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)) and kaa 'but' (III.2.5.1.(2)), and the particle-conjunctions na'a 'Potential' (III.2.6.(1)) and kaa 'Hypothetical' (III.2.6.(2)). They, therefore, affect the stress pattern of the bisyllabic particles 'oku 'Present' (II.2.1.(2)), ne'e 'Past' (II.2.1.(3)) and kua 'Perfect' (II.2.1.(4)), and the conjunctions and particle-conjunctions mentioned above – the particle kua [ku'a] becomes kuá ke [kuá'ke] and kuá ne [kuá'ne], the conjunction kaa [kaː]; kaá ke [kaá'ke] and kaá ne [kaá'ne], the particle-conjunction na'a [ná?a] naá ke [naá'ke] and naá ne [naá'ne], and so on1 – and stress occurs on the monosyllabic particles 'e 'Future' (II.2.1.(1)), ku 'Present' (II.2.1.(2)), ne 'Past' (II.2.1.(3)), o 'Incorporative' (III.2.4.1.(3)) and the like which precede them – 'e ke [ʔe'ke] and 'e ne [ʔe'ne], o ke [ʔo'ke] and o ne [ʔo'ne], and so on.

Also, as dealt with in II.2.2., the sequences of the first person singular exclusive

1As dealt with in II.2.2., however, the sequence of the particle ne'e 'Past' and the person determiner ne does not seem to occur.
person determiner au and some particles may undergo morphophonemic changes and form phonological words.

(D) Particles and the Specific and Non-specific Articles te and he

The sequence of a particle and the specific article te (II.3.2.1.) or the non-specific particle he (II.3.2.1.) forms a phonological word. Therefore, te and he affect the stress pattern of preceding bisyllabic particles ‘ia ‘Absolutive’ (II.3.1.(1)), mei ‘Ablative’ (II.3.1.(4)), ma’ä ‘A-class Benefactive’ (II.3.1.(8)) and mo’o ‘O-class Benefactive’ (II.3.1.(8)) - ‘ia [ʔi’a] becomes ‘iä te [ʔi’a-te] and ‘iä he [ʔi’a-he], mei [mei] mei te [mei-te] and mei he [mei-he], ma’ä [ma’a] ma’ä te [ma’a-te] and ma’ä he [ma’a-he], and mo’o [mo’o] mo’o te [mo’o-te] and mo’o he [mo’o-he] - and stress occurs on the monosyllabic particles ‘e ‘Ergative’ (II.3.1.(2)), ‘i ‘Locative’ (II.3.1.(3)), ko ‘Nominal Phrase Marking’ (II.3.1.(10)) and the like that precede them - ko te [kō-te] and ko he [kō-he], ki te [kī-te] and ki he [kī-he], and so on.

The same applies to te and he which are used with dual and plural person determiners to indicate possession (II.3.2.2.(A)): ma’ä te notou tamallik1 [ma’a-te notō-u tamālik1] ‘PART(BnfA) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) children: for their children’, ki te notou ‘api [kī-te notō-u ?apī]’ ‘PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) home: to their home’, and so on.

(E) Affixes

Monosyllabic affixes form phonological words with the stem while bisyllabic affixes form phonological words by themselves. Therefore:

(E-1) Monosyllabic Prefixes

Monosyllabic prefixes take secondary stress if the first vowel of the stem is unstressed; otherwise, they are unstressed.

  ‘search’

- kata [kā’ta] fe-kata-‘i [fe-katā-‘i] PREF-search-SUF
  ‘laugh’

Similarly with other monosyllabic prefixes.

(E-2) Bisyllabic Prefixes

Bisyllabic prefixes always have stress on the first vowel; their stress pattern is not affected by the stem.
taha  [tâ'xâ]  faka-taha  [fâ'ka tâ'xâ]
'one'

'takoto  [tâkô'to]  faka-takoto  [fâ'ka tâkô'to]
'meet'

'lie'

Ha'amoa  [hâ'amô'a]  faka-Ha'amoa  [fâ'ka hâ'amô'a]
'Samoan'

'ilifia  [i'liifia'a]  faka-'ilifia-'i  [fâ'ka i'liifia'-i]
'afraid'

'Samoa'

'terrify'

Similarly with other bisyllabic prefixes.

(E-3) Monosyllabic Suffixes

Monosyllabic suffixes are always unstressed but affect the stress pattern of the stem.

taa  [tâ:]  taa-'i  [tâ'-i]
'hit'

nofo  [nô'to]  nofo-'i  [nô'to'-i]
'stay'

feinga  [feî'ne]  feinga-'i  [feî'ne'-i]
'try'

faa'ele  [fâ:thô'le]  faa'ele-'i  [fâ:thô'le'-i]
'bear, born'

hit-SUF

stay-SUF

try-SUF

bear-SUF

Similarly with other monosyllabic suffixes.

(E-4) Bisyllabic Suffixes

Bisyllabic suffixes always have stress on the first vowel; they do not affect the stress pattern of the stem.

kai  [kâ'î]  kai-anga  [kâ'î  thâ'ga]
'eat'

nofo  [nô'to]  nofo-anga  [nô'to  thâ'ga]
'stay'

'eating place'

dwelling place'
tauhi  [tə́ʊ'x̂i]  tauhi-‘anga  [tə́ʊ'x̂i tə́ŋə]
'preserve'  preserve-SUF

'Similarly with other bisyllabic suffixes.'

(F) Reduplicated Morphemes

(F-1) Reduplication Type I

Type I of reduplication (1.2.3.(A)) repeats the first or the last two syllables of the stem regardless of the number of the syllables of the stem. The reduplicated syllables in this case form phonological words by themselves.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{oo} & [bː] & \text{oo-oo} & [bː bː] \\
\text{'go (Col)'} & & \text{'go step by step (Col)'} & \\
\text{nofo} & [nə́fə] & \text{nofo-nofo} & [nə́fo nə́fo] \\
\text{'live'} & & \text{'keep on living idly'} & \\
\text{feinga} & [fə́ŋəŋə] & \text{fei-feinga} & [fə́ŋə fə́ŋə] \\
\text{'try'} & & \text{'try repeatedly'} & \\
\text{mahaki} & [mə́hə'kə] & \text{maha-mahaki} & [mə́hə mə́hə'kə] \\
\text{'ill'} & & \text{'somewhat ill'} & \\
\text{talinga} & [tə́ləŋə] & \text{talinga-linga} & [tə́ləŋə tə́ləŋə] \\
\text{'fungus'} & & \text{'fungus'} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Similarly with reduplicated morphemes that involve internal inflection: mafi [mə́fə] 'powerful' → mafi-mafi [mə́fə mə́fə] 'very powerful' and so on. And also with kātōa [kə́tə'ə] → kato-kaatōa [kə́to kə́tə'ə] 'completely all'.

(F-2) Reduplication Type II

If the stem is bisyllabic, Type II of reduplication (1.2.3.(B)) repeats the first one syllable of the stem. The reduplicated syllable in this case forms phonological words with the stem and is always unstressed.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{inu} & [i'nu] & \text{i-inu} & [i-i'nu] \\
\text{'drink'} & & \text{'drink (Col)'} & \\
\text{nofo} & [nə́fo] & \text{no-nofo} & [nə́-nə́fo] \\
\text{'live'} & & \text{'live (Col)'} & \\
\end{array}
\]

If, on the other hand, the stem has two or more syllables, Type II of reduplication repeats the second syllable of the stem, whereby the first syllable of the stem is lengthened. The reduplicated syllable in this case forms a phonological word with the
stem and is always unstressed, but the first syllable of the stem that is lengthened seems to form a separate phonological word by itself.²

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{takoto} & \quad [\text{takó'\text{\textquoteleft}to}] \quad \text{taa-ko-koto} & \quad [\text{ tàː-ko-kó'\text{\textquoteleft}to}] \\
\text{\textquoteleft}lie\text{\textquoteleft} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft}lie \text{ (Col)} & \\
\text{ma'uli} & \quad [\text{maʔu'\text{\textquoteleft}i]} \quad \text{maa-\textquoteleft}u-'uli} & \quad [\text{ màː-ʔu-ʔu'\text{\textquoteleft}i]} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}alive\text{\textquoteleft} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft}alive \text{ (Col)} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(G) Compound Words and Base-Modifier Sequences

Phonologically, it is not possible to distinguish between compound words and base-modifier sequences. That is, the formatives of a compound word as well as a base and its modifier each form phonological words by themselves. Therefore, the stress pattern of a formative in a compound word is not affected by the other formatives, and nor is the stress pattern of a base affected by its modifier and vice versa.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vaka puna} & \quad [\text{vá'\text{\textquoteleft}kə pú'\text{\textquoteleft}nə}] \quad \text{vaka lahi} & \quad [\text{vá'\text{\textquoteleft}kə lá'\text{\textquoteleft}x\text{\textquoteleft}nə}] \\
\text{ship fly} & \quad \text{ship large} & \\
\text{\textquoteleft}aeroplane\textquoteleft & \quad \text{\textquoteleft}large ship\textquoteleft & \\
\text{fale mahaki} & \quad [\text{fá'\text{\textquoteleft}le maʔná'\text{\textquoteleft}kə}] \quad \text{fale lelei} & \quad [\text{fá'\text{\textquoteleft}le lelē'\textquoteleft}] \\
\text{house ill} & \quad \text{house good} & \\
\text{\textquoteleft}hospital\textquoteleft & \quad \text{\textquoteleft}good house\textquoteleft & \\
\text{\textquoteleft}ilo lahi-a} & \quad [\text{ʔiʔ'\text{\textquoteleft}lə ʔaʔn\text{\textquoteleft}n-a}] \quad \text{\textquoteleft}ilo lelei} & \quad [\text{ʔiʔ'\text{\textquoteleft}lə lelē'\textquoteleft}] \\
\text{know much-SUF} & \quad \text{know good} & \\
\text{\textquoteleft}well-known\textquoteleft & \quad \text{\textquoteleft}know well} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.2 Demarcative Stress in Fast Speech

In 3.1.1.1. above, only one type of stress pattern was considered. In this type, every phonological word receives one primary stress whether it occurs by itself – fale [fá'\textquoteleft lə] ‘house’, tangatā ni [təŋnəˈtəˈn̩i] ‘man DEIC this man’, no-nofo [no-nó'fo] ‘live (RedupII): live (Col)’, and so on – or in a sequence from a word of a complex structure – faka-takoto [fá'\text{\textquoteleft}kə takó'\text{\textquoteleft}to] ‘PREF-lie: lay’, nofo-nofo [nó'fo nó'fo] ‘live (RedupI): keep living idly’, fale mahaki [fá'\text{\textquoteleft}le maʔná'\text{\textquoteleft}kə] ‘house ill: hospital’, and so on – to a whole clause – ‘E ke ‘alu ki kolō? [ʔa'ke ʔa'ilu ki kó'lo] ‘PART(Fut) DET(2Sp) go PART(All) town: Will you go to town?’; Fakama’uli te ‘uhilā. [fá'\text{\textquoteleft}kə maʔu'\text{\textquoteleft}li te ʔuhilā] ‘PREF-live DET(Spf) electricity: Turn on the light.’ This type of

²The phonological status of this lengthened syllable is not very clear because, due to the impossibility of *VV (I.1.2.1.(C-1), I.3.1.1.(A)), the vowel it contains must always realize as a long vowel whether it forms a phonological word by itself or not and it is not possible to distinguish between primary and secondary stress in terms of loudness alone.
stress pattern does occasionally occur, but it is rare and is confined to cases in which the speaker speaks very slowly, as for instance, when he repeats something for a third or fourth time because the addressee could not hear or understand it or when he shouts to someone at a great distance at the top of his voice.

In faster speech which is most commonly encountered in daily conversation, stress in certain positions is reduced and, as a result, some phonological words in a sequence are pronounced with less prominence than others. The distributional extent and the acoustic degree to which stress is reduced differs considerably in accordance with the speed of speech so that it is difficult to set up consistent rules for stress reduction in natural speech. In general, it may be noted that stress reduction becomes the more prominent, the faster the speed of speech is. Accordingly, it is frequently noted that, especially in relatively slow speech, stress remains unreduced in positions where it is expected to be reduced and, conversely, that, especially in very fast speech, stress is reduced in positions where it is not expected to be reduced, although clause-final primary stress preceding a pause may, as it seems, not be reduced in any circumstances.

The following is a generalized pattern demarcative stress takes in fast speech:

The phrase-final primary stress is not reduced. The preceding stress, if it not already a secondary stress, is reduced to a secondary stress.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slow Speech</th>
<th>Fast Speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fāka-táha</td>
<td>fāka-táha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREF-one</td>
<td>'meet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nófo-nófo</td>
<td>nófo-nófo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live (RedupI)</td>
<td>'keep on living idly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fāle láhi</td>
<td>fāle láhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house large</td>
<td>'large house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fāle polisi</td>
<td>fāle polisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house police</td>
<td>'police station'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangáta láhi</td>
<td>tangáta láhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>'great man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangáta polisi</td>
<td>tangáta polisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>'policeman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fāle lahi</td>
<td>fāle lahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house large</td>
<td>'(the) large house (definite)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangáta lahi</td>
<td>tangáta lahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>'(the) great man (definite)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kó te fāle</td>
<td>Kó te fāle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART(Npm) DET(Spf) house</td>
<td>'It is a house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ē ke 'álu?</td>
<td>'Ē ke 'álu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) go</td>
<td>'Will you go?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since, as mentioned in 1.1.2.2.(C) and 1.3.1.1.(A), secondary stress may not occur on the vowel of a sequence of identical vowels or a rising sequence of non-identical vowels, stress reduction may affect the stress pattern of individual phonological words.

In a phrase that contains more than two phonological words, there is a tendency that stronger and weaker stresses occur alternatively so that non-phrase-final primary stresses remain unreduced unless immediately followed by another primary stress or are reduced only to a little degree so that they sound more prominent than other secondary stresses, as it is indicated by [i].

Phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.) and postposed modifiers that do not immediately follow bases (III.1.2.2.) normally function like independent phrases with respect to stress patterns.
3.2 Stress Shifting: Definitive Stress

In Niuafo'ou, as in Tongan, the definiteness of nominal phrases is indicated by stress shift. Clark (1974) attributes the origin of this stress shift in Tongan to the Proto-Polynesian monosyllabic deictic *ra indicating location away from both the speaker and the addressee which, like the monosyllabic deictcs ni ‘Near Speaker’ and na ‘Near Addressee’ dealt with in I.3.1.1.(B) above, affected the stress pattern of the preceding word and which became *a (due to the sound change Proto-Polynesian *r > ə) and then eventually ə, leaving only the effect of stress shift. In accordance with its purported origin, the shifting of stress takes place in the last word of a phrase, namely, in the word just preceding the expected deictic. It affects not only the primary stress but also the preceding secondary stresses, if any, but its effect does not extend across a phonological word boundary. The primary stress that has thus been shifted will, hereafter, be referred to as definitive stress.3

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{poo} & [\text{pôː}] \\
\text{‘night’} & \text{‘(the) night (definite)’} \\
\text{fale} & [\text{fåːl}] \\
\text{‘house’} & \text{‘(the) house (definite)’} \\
\text{tangata} & [\text{tåŋəˈtə}] \\
\text{‘man’} & \text{‘(the) man (definite)’} \\
\text{tangata lahi} & [\text{tåŋətə låˈxı}] \\
\text{man large} & \text{‘(the) great man (definite)’}
\end{array}
\]

3Clark (1974:105, n8) remarks that a vowel on which definitive stress occurs may be long though Churchward (1953) considers it to be short and that, if so, it would make his historical explanation of the origin of definitive stress ‘even more plausible, by eliminating the need for the vowel-shortening rule’. (That is, if puhá ‘(the) box (definite)’ is actually [puhãː], it simply reflects puhá a (≠puhá ra) and eliminates the rule puhá a > puhá.) Vowels that have definitive stress are certainly longer than corresponding vowels in unstressed positions or in positions with secondary stress, but this is in all probability due to the stronger energy involved in producing strongly stressed vowels, as all vowels with primary stress are equally longer. It is, therefore, rather unlikely that the extra length of vowels with definitive stress is attributable to the presence, or the compensatory effect, of the historically expected deictic.
fale 'o Sione [fāle ʔo ʃiˈo ne]
house.PRT(Pss0) Sione fale 'o Sione [fāle ʔo ʃiˈonē]
'(any) house of Sione'
'(the) house of Sione (definite)'
tangata lahi mo anga lelei
man large PART(As) na ture good
[taŋgata lāˈxī mo ʔaŋa leleˈi]‘great and kind man’
tangata lahi mo anga lelei
[taŋgata lāˈxī mo ʔaŋa leleˈi]‘(the) great and kind man (definite)’
tangata ne ha‘u mo Mele 'aneafi
man PART(Pst) c ome PART(As) Mele yesterday
[taŋgata ne ʔaʔu mo mēˈle ʔāˈne aˈfi]‘man who came with Mele yesterday’
tangata ne ha‘u mo Mele 'aneafi
[taŋgata ne ʔaʔu mo mēˈle ʔāˈne aˈfi]‘(the) man who came with Mele yesterday (definite)’
Similarly with phrases that contain longer and more complex modifiers.  

In the following clauses, the first definite stress relates to fo'ha 'son' and talanoa 'story', which are the bases of nominal phrases within relative clauses, and the second definite stress to me'a 'thing' and taimi 'time', which are the bases that are modified by the relative clauses.

Ko te aa te me'a 'oku fai 'e
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf) thing PART(Prs) do PART(Erg)

te fo'ha 'o Sione 'i koló?
DET(Spf) son PART(Inc) Sione PART(Loc) town

'What is the thing Sione's son is doing in town?'

'I te taimi 'oku fai te talanoa
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time PART(Prs) do DET(Spf) story

---

4Theoretically, definitive stress is expected to occur at the very end of any modifying word, phrase or clause whatever its length and structure may be. Indeed, a few speakers were noted to conform to this. However, with most speakers, definitive stress normally does not cross a clause boundary if the second clause begins with a conjunction (III.2.5.) or a particle-conjunction (III.2.6.); the examples below show the position of definitive stress indicated by the majority of speakers:

Ko fea te kulii ne ke taa?i he
PART(Npm) where DET(Spf) dog PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) hit for ne ne u'usi koe?
PART(Pst) DET(3g) bite PROI(2g)

'Where is the dog you hit because he bit you?'

Ko te finematu'a ne au fa'a
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) old-woman PART(pst) DET(1SgExcl) often
fanongo ai kaa ne kailoa ke
hear DEM(Anaph) but PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj)
au maheni mo ia, ne
DET(1SgExcl) acquainted PART(Ass) DEM(Anaph) PART(Pst)
mate 'anepoo
die last-night

'The old lady I often heard of but with whom I was not acquainted - she died last night.'

Ko te fakamalu ne au 'aumai
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) umbrella PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) bring
na'a 'ua, kua pulia.
PART-CONJ(Ptl) rain PART disappear

'The umbrella I brought in fear of rain - it has disappeared.'

Otherwise, definitive stress does cross a clause boundary.

Ko te ika ne au ma'u 'aneafi
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) get yesterday
'o kal, ne kona.
PART(Inc) eat PART(Pst) poisonous

'The fish I caught yesterday and ate - it was poisonous.'

More than one definitive stress often occurs if the modifying clause consists of more than one clause.

Ko te ika ne au ma'u 'aneafi 'o kal, ne kona.

Although, in general, long and structurally very complex clauses are by no means rare in spontaneous speech, modifying clauses that consist of more than one clause are not very common and can be clumsy. The examples above were all artificially made for the purpose of eliciting the position of definitive stress.
'At the time of the story, I was still a small boy.'

Frequently, definitive stress relating to one base converges with definitive stress relating to another base. In the following clause, the definitive stress that relates to me'a kai 'food' converges with definitive stress that relates to tangata 'man'.

Ko te me'a kai 'eni ne mate ai
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) thing eat DEM(Nsp) PART(Pst) die DEM(Anaph)
te tangatá.
DET(Spf) man

'This is the food the man died from.'

Similarly, in the following clause, the definitive stress that relates to tamai 'father' converges with definitive stress that relates to siana 'fellow', which successively converges with the definitive stress that relates to vaka 'ship'.

'Okú ke maheni mo te tamai
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) acquainted PART(Ass) DET(Spf) father
'a te siana ne toki tau mai
DERT(PssA) DET(Spf) fellow PART(Pst) then arrive DIR(Tsp)
'i te vaká?
PART(Loc) DET ship

'Do you know the father of the fellow who has just arrived in the ship?'

Acoustically, however, definitive stress that relates to more than one base does not differ from definitive stress that relate to only one base.

Deictics (II.2.6., II.3.6.) are mutually incompatible, and true to its purported origin, definitive stress is also incompatible with deictics. That is, bases that are followed by deictics do not have definitive stress though they necessarily have definite referrents.

fale ni house DEIC(Nsp) *fale ni 'this house'
fale nei house DEIC(Nsp) *fale nei 'this house'
falé na house DEIC(Nad) *fale ná 'that house'
fale naa house DEIC(Nad) *fale naá 'that house'
'alú ni go DEIC(Nsp) *'alu ní 'go now'
'alu nei = 'alu nei 'go now'
go DEIC(Nsp)

However, the following are possible because definitive stress relates to bases that are different from those to which the deictics relate. That is, the definitive stress relates to ngaau‘e ‘work’ and fa‘ee ‘mother’ while the deictics relate to ‘aho ‘day’ and tamaliki ‘children’.

Ko te aa tau ngaau ‘oku fai
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf2SgA) work PART(Prs) do

' i te 'aho ni?
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)

'What is the work you are doing today?'

Ko ai te fa‘ee ‘a te tamaliki
PART(Npm) who DET(Spf) mother PART(PssA) DET(Spf) children

naā?
DEIC(Nad)

'Who is the mother of those children?'

With the exception of place names (II.3.4.2.(B)), definite words (II.3.4.2.) are incompatible with deictics, and in Tongan, no definite words may take definitive stress although they normally have definite referents. In Niuafo‘ou, however, two sub-classes of definite words, namely, demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D)) that refer to places and locative words (II.3.4.2.(F)) except fea ‘where’, may, possibly in analogy with common words (II.3.4.1.), optionally take definitive stress. Place names, on the other hand, are frequently followed by deictics: Tongá ni ‘Tonga DEIC(Nsp): Tonga here (where the speaker is)’ and so on, but they never take definitive stress.

In nominal phrases that contain an emphatic possessive determiner (II.3.2.2.(C)), definitive stress occurs in an exceptional position; that is, it occurs on the last syllable of the determiner: ta‘akú kulii ‘DET(Spf1SgAEMP) dog: my own dog’, and not on that of the base, *ta‘aku kulii. This probably has to do with the rather unusual grammatical status of emphatic possessive determiners.

3.3 Emphatic Stress

Emphatic stress indicates emphasis. Two types of emphasis may be distinguished, namely, contrastive emphasis and intensity emphasis (Jones 1932). Accoustically, emphatic stress is distinctively louder than other stresses no matter where it occurs in a phrase. In the following, [e] will be used to indicate emphatic stress.
3.3.1 Contrastive Emphasis

Contrastive emphasis is used to draw special attention to some element (word or part of word) which is contrasted with another. Stress that indicates contrastive emphasis occurs in the normal position for primary stress of the phonological word which serves to distinguish the elements in contrast. Therefore, it does not affect the stress patterns of individual phonological words dealt with in I.3.1.1, but it may affect the stress patterns of sequences of phonological words dealt with in I.3.1.2. Unlike emphatic stress that indicates intensity emphasis (I.3.3.2.), it is not accompanied by vowel protraction.

In the following clause, for instance, emphatic stress thus occurs on the first vowel of the prefix 'ane-', which constitutes a phonological word by itself, although the syllable ne can, in actuality, be more important to distinguish the two words 'anepoo 'last night' and 'aapoo 'tonight'. That the first vowel of the bisyllabic prefix takes stress conforms to the stress pattern described in I.3.1.1.(E-2), but that this stress is louder than the primary stress of the phrase-final phonological word poo contradicts the stress pattern described in I.3.1.2.

\[
\text{Ne au pehee atu ko 'anepoo,} \\
\text{PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) say DIR(Tad) PART(Npm) last-night}
\]

\[
kaloa ko 'aapoo. \\
\text{not PART(Npm) tonight}
\]

\[
\text{[ne b}^{\text{h}} \text{ peh}^{\text{e}}: \text{ a}^{\text{h}} \text{tu ko } \text{ t}^{\text{a}} \text{ ne } \text{ p}^{\text{h}}: \text{ k}^{\text{a}} \text{l}^{\text{i}} \text{o}: \text{a ko } \text{ t}^{\text{a}} \text{ p}^{\text{o}}:] \\
\text{ 'I said } \text{ "last night", not } \text{ "tonight". '}
\]

Another example follows:

\[
\text{Kô te lau'i molí ne au} \\
\text{PART(Npm) DET(Spf) leaf-of orange PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl)}
\]

\[
\text{fiama'ú, 'oku kāla kô te fô'i} \\
\text{want PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fruit-of}
\]

\[
\text{molí. orange}
\]

\[
\text{It was the orange leaf that I wanted, not the orange fruit.'}
\]

3.3.2 Intensity Emphasis

There are two types of intensity emphasis, namely, word intensity emphasis and clause intensity emphasis.

(A) Word Intensity Emphasis

Word intensity emphasis is used to emphasize that what a word signifies is true. If the word signifies a quality, it implies a particularly high degree, and if the word signifies an action, a particular intensity or duration. Verbals (II.1.4.3.) that occur as verbal-
phrase bases (II.2.4.) or as postposed modifiers of verbal and nominal phrases (III.1.2.) and a few other words like ‘io ‘yes’, kalooa ‘no’ and ‘aupito ‘very’ may take word intensity emphasis.

Stress that indicates word intensity emphasis occurs on one of the vowels that take primary or secondary stress, and the vowel on which it occurs is protracted and pronounced distinctively long. Vowel protraction is indicated by a line after a protracted vowel in the spelling of words and by [:] in their phonetic transcriptions.

‘io [ʔi:o] ‘i-o [ʔiːː:o]
‘yes’
nofo [nɔː'fo] no-fo [nɔːːfo]
‘stay’ ‘stay a long time’
‘aua [ʔauː'a] ‘au-a [ʔauːːa]
‘don’t’ ‘don’t, never’
mama'o [mamaʔ'o] mama - 'o [mamaːʔ:o]
‘far’ ‘truly far’
aupito [ʔa'upɪː'to] ‘aupi - to [ʔa'upɪːːto] or
‘very’ ‘very’
a-upito [ʔaːː'upɪː'to]

ma’olunga [məʔolʊŋa] ma’olu - nga [məʔolʊːŋa] or
‘high’ ma - ‘olunga [mɑːʔolʊŋa]
‘truly high’

The following words consist of more than one phonological word. The stress patterns that are indicated are those in fast speech.

‘ata’ataa [ʔa'taʔatá:] ata'ata - a [ʔa'taʔatáːː] or
‘pure’
a - ta'ataa [ʔaːːtaʔatáːː]
‘truly pure’
fiakaia [fi'ka'ʔa] fiakai - a [fi'ka'ʔaː] or
‘hungry’
fi - akaia [fiː'ʔa ka'ʔa]
‘truly hungry’
fakafiafia [fə'ka'fa'ʔa] fakafiafi - a [fə'ka'fa'ʔaː] or
‘joyful’
fakafi - afia [fə'ka'fa'ʔaːfa] or
fa - kafiafia [fə'ʔa ka'fa'ʔa]
‘truly joyful’
Examples in clauses:

Ne au 'ā - lu, 'ā - lu, 'ā - lu 'o
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go go go PART(Inc)

a'ú ki te 'api ko iá.
reach PART(All) DET(Spf) home PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)

'I went on and on till I reached that home.'

Ko te tamasi'i kô - vi 'ia Sione.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) boy bad PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione is a truly bad boy.'

Some deviations from the patterns above may be noted. For instance, although they consist of only one phonological word, words like langoa 'abounding in flies, infested with flies' and kakai'ia 'abounding in people, densely populated' may become not only lango - a and kakai'i - a but also la - ngoa and ka - kai'ia. Also, some speakers accept more than one stress: 'a - upi - to 'very' and so on.

(B) Clause Intensity Emphasis

Clause intensity emphasis is used to emphasize that what a clause signifies is true. Stress that indicate clause intensity emphasis occurs on the first vowel of the base or the first phonological word of the predicate phrase of the clause to be emphasized.

Ne 'amanaki pee 'e te ongo maatu'á
PART(Pst) expect just PART(Erg) DET(Spf) DU parent(Col)

ko te ta'ahine talavou pea ne tā'ahine
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) girl beautiful and PART(Pst) girl
talavou.
beautiful

'The parents expected that it would be a beautiful girl

and it WAS a beautiful girl.'

Ne kala ke au pehee ko
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) think PART(Npm)
taku fa'eé ia kaa ko
DET(Spf1SgExclA) mother PRI(3Sg)/DEM(anaph) but PART(Npm)
taku fa'eé ia.
DET(Spf1SgExclA) mother PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)

'I did not think that it was my mother but it WAS my

mother.'

Ne totonu ke tau mai te vaká
PART(Pst) right PART(Sbj) arrive DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) boat

'i te taimi nei kaa 'ōku te'eki
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time DEIC(Nsp) but PART(Prs) not-yet
ai.
DEM(Anaph)

'The boat should have arrived by now but it HASN'T.'

'E ke pehee 'oku kailoa ko he faiako kaa kò te faiako.
PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) think PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DET(Nspf)
teacher but PART(Npm) DET(Spf) teacher

'You won't think that he is a teacher but he IS a teacher.'
PART II
PHRASAL SYNTAX
Overview

Phrases are of two types, verbal phrases and nominal phrases. The two types are clearly distinguishable, but they have the same internal structure (II.1.1.) and, moreover, a great number of lexical items occur freely in both types of phrases (II.1.4). Phrases must contain at least one nuclear word (II.1.3.), with simple phrases containing one such word, and complex phrases containing more than one. Due to the rather unclear boundary between compound words and the sequences of bases and their modifiers (I.2.2.4.(B)), however, the boundary between simple and complex phrases is also necessarily somewhat unclear.

The chapters in Part II are principally concerned with the description of simple phrases. Chapter I firstly describes the overall structure of the simple phrase and also deals with the classification of words into major word-classes. Chapters II and III examine the verbal and the nominal phrases and their elements in detail. The nominalization of clauses is a very common syntactic process in Niuafo'ou (III.1.5., III.2.1.), and verbal phrases frequently occur in their nominalized forms. As dealt with in II.1.4.3. below, such nominalized phrases are, in spite of their being formally marked as nominal, still basically verbal. They will, therefore, be excluded from the description of the nominal phrase in Part II. Chapters IV-VII deal with specificity and definiteness of nominal phrases, possession, the use of person determiners, pronouns and demonstratives, and numerals.

Phrases that are incorporated into other phrases and function as postposed modifiers are dealt with in III.1.2.
CHAPTER 1
Phrase and its Elements

1.1 Structure of the Phrase

There are two types of phrases, namely, verbal and nominal phrases. They have different syntactic distributions; the verbal phrase can only occur as a predicate while the nominal phrase may occur either as a predicate or an argument of a predicate.

Verbal Phrase       Nominal Phrase Argument       Nominal Phrase Argument

(2.1.1.-1) 'Oku nofo te ta'ahine 'i fea?
PART(Prs) live DET(Spf) girl PART(Loc) where

'Where does the girl live?'

Nominal Phrase Argument       Nominal Phrase Argument

(2.1.1.-2) Ko te ta'ahine 'ia Mele.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) girl PART(Abs) Mele

'Mele is a girl.'

The two types of phrases are always easily distinguishable. However, they are structured in an identical manner, which may be schematically shown as follows:

TABLE II.1.1. The Structure of the Phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposed Elements</th>
<th>Postposed Elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(CONJ) (PAD)</td>
<td>PART DET PREMOD { BASE POSTMOD DIR DEIC } (PAD)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conjunctions and phrase adjuncts occur outside the phrase. As indicated in the table, seven slots may be recognized within a phrase. Since phrases are of two types, there are fourteen slots in all.

The functions associated with each verbal-nominal pair of slots — verbal-phrase particle slot and nominal-phrase particle slot, and so on — are apparently correlated, and in most cases, they may indeed be regarded as the verbal and the nominal counterparts of the same, that is, logically generalizable function. As will be seen in II.1.4. below, this is linguistically reflected in the very common occurrence of the identical lexical items in the corresponding slots of the verbal and the nominal phrase. This becomes the more evident toward the end of the phrase.
The sole obligatory element of the phrase is the base. The base may be preceded by proposed elements, for which three slots are recognized, and followed by postposed elements, for which, similarly, three slots are recognized. Proposed elements typically indicate various grammatical categories and postposed elements the attributive qualities, manners and the like of what is denoted by the base.

The somewhat unclear distinction between compound words and the sequences of bases and their modifiers (I.2.2.4.(B)) sometimes makes it difficult to determine the boundary between the proposed modifier and the base, and between the base and the postposed modifier. In the table above, this is indicated by wavy lines.

Words that occur in the postposed modifier slot are in actuality bases of phrases that are incorporated into other phrases. The description of the postposed modifier slot is to be found not in Part II but in Chapter I of Part III.

The linear order of elements in the phrase is fixed. More than one element can occur in some of the slots. Where possible, the order of elements within the same slot is given in the section that deals with the slot concerned.

Simple phrases are, in principle, syntactically cohesive, and as a rule, no element from outside the phrase may intervene between the elements of a simple phrase. There is one case, however, in which discontinuous simple phrases are permitted (II.3.2.2.(C)(2)), and Niuafo'ou may be unique among Polynesian languages in this respect. Complex phrases, on the other hand, are very frequently discontinuous (III.1.2.2., III.1.2.4.).

Conjunctions and phrase adjuncts which occur outside the phrase relate syntactically to whole phrases or clauses. Conjunctions are dealt with in III.2.5. and phrase adjuncts in III.1.3.

1.2 Elements of the Slot

The scope of the elements of each of the slots is indicated at the outset of the section in which the particular slot is dealt with. Elements that occupy certain slots are not restricted to words but may be phrases or even clauses (II.2.4., II.3.4., III.1.3.). Also, words that occupy a particular slot do not have to be of the same word-class.

1.3 Classification of Words

Any linguistic form (apart from apparent phrases and clauses) that may by itself fill any of the slots indicated in Table II.1.1. will be referred to as a word. Niuafo'ou words have very few morphological markers of word-class affiliation, and thus forcing the classification of words in Niuafo'ou to rely heavily on distributional criteria.

Niuafo'ou words firstly fall into the following two classes:

(a) Nuclear Words
(b) Non-nuclear Words

(a) Nuclear words are those that occur as bases. They are, in principle, autonomous. However, there are a number of exceptions to this, for instance, the negators kala 'not' and te'eki or he'iiki 'not yet' (III.3.).

Nuclear words may be further classified into:

(a-1) Common Words

(a-2) Definite Words

The criteria by which these classes are distinguished will be dealt with in detail in II.3.4. Roughly speaking, definite words include those denoting personal and place names and various types of deixical relationship (I', 'you', 'this', 'that', 'yesterday', 'tomorrow' and so on). They are inherently definite. All with the possible exceptions of 'aafea 'when (in the future)' and 'anefeaa 'when (in the past)' (III.6.4.(6)) occur only as nominal-phrase bases. All other nuclear words are common words. They may occur as both verbal-phrase and nominal-phrase bases though, as dealt with in II.1.4. below, some occur predominantly as verbal-phrase bases and others predominantly as nominal-phrase bases. When they occur as nominal-phrase bases, they may, at least potentially, be specific or non-specific, or definite or indefinite. Common words as they occur as verbal-phrase bases may further be classified into several classes, as dealt with in II.2.4.1.(A).

(b) Non-nuclear words are those that occur in the slots at both sides of the base slot (except the postposed modifier slot). In principle, they are non-autonomous, but as discussed below, there are a number of exceptions that have overlapping word-class affiliation with common words or may be used as or like bases.

Non-nuclear words may further be classified into:

(b-1) Preposed Elements

(b-1.1) Particles

(b-1.2) Determiners

(b-1.3) Pre-base Modifiers

(b-2) Postposed Elements

(b-2.1) Directionals

(b-2.2) Deictics

(b-3) Extra-phrase Elements

(b-3.1) Conjunctions

(b-3.2) Phrase Adjuncts

Further classification of these classes are, where necessary, made in the sections that deal with each of the slots in which members of these classes occur.

Some non-nuclear words — a sizable number of pre-base modifiers and a few conjunctions and phrase adjuncts — have obviously been derived from common words.
For instance, the pre-base modifiers matala‘i ‘flower of’ (< common word matala ‘flower’ + pre-base modifier suffix -i), tomu’a ‘early’ (< common word toomu‘a ‘early’), the conjunction lolotonga ‘while’ (< common word lolotonga ‘in progress’) (III.2.5.2.(3)) and the phrase adjunct foki ‘also. indeed’ (< common word foki ‘return’) (III.1.3.1.(B)), and so on. The only overlapping word-class affiliation is found in a number of these words and common words, as exemplified by the last two examples mentioned just above.

Also, a small number of non-nuclear words — all the emphatic possessive determiners (II.3.2.2.(C)), some directionals (II.2.5., II.3.5.) and one pre-base modifier, namely, meimei ‘almost’ (II.2.3.2.(4)) — are sometimes used as or like bases.

Besides the nine major word-classes, two more classes may be noted, namely, interjections and onomatopoeias. Some of these deviate from the normal phonological patterns of Niuafo‘ou and have unusual forms. Most commonly, they occur as syntactically independent utterances. However, many of them also occur as bases and, historically, it may be presumed that quite a few of them, especially onomatopoeias, have thus acquired the status of common words. Interjections and onomatopoeias are dealt with in III.9.2.2-3.

1.4 V-N-sensitive Words and V-N-insensitive Words

As mentioned in II.1.1. above, the phrase is explicitly of two types, that is, either verbal or nominal. Words, however, do not conform to this verbal-nominal dichotomy in such a straightforward manner. In fact, the majority of words may occur in both verbal and nominal phrases — such words will be referred to as being V-N-insensitive — and, apart from personal and place names, only a limited number of words are confined to either the verbal or the nominal phrase — such words will be referred to as being V-N-sensitive. Only in the case of words of the latter type, it is it necessary to specify their verbal or nominal status.

Verbal phrases always occur as predicates and are marked for tense, aspect or mood. Nominal phrases, on the other hand, may occur either as predicates or various arguments of predicates and are marked for case and specificity or definiteness. The phrase in Niuafo‘ou is structured in such a manner that grammatical categories like these are indicated by words occurring at its beginning. Correspondingly, V-N-sensitivity is highest at the beginning of a phrase and gradually decreases towards the end. In fact, particles and determiners occurring in the first two slots generally serve as formal markers of the verbal-nominal status of the phrase, most of them being completely V-N-sensitive. Words that occur in other slots, on the other hand, are largely V-N-insensitive.
1.4.1 Particles

The particles indicate two of the most important categories that serve to distinguish verbal and nominal phrases, namely, tense, aspect and mood on the one hand, and case on the other. They are mostly associated with either of these in a straightforward way and are basically all V-N-sensitive, those indicating tense, aspect or mood – ne’e or ne ‘Past’ (II.2.1.(3)), kua ‘Perfect’ (II.2.1.(4)), ke ‘Subjunctive’ (III.2.4.1.(2)) and so on – occurring exclusively in the verbal phrase and those indicating case – ‘ia ‘Absolutive’ (II.3.1.(1)), ‘e ‘Ergative’ (II.3.1.(2)), ma‘a ‘A-class Benefactive’ (II.3.1.(8)) and so on – occurring exclusively in the nominal phrase. As dealt with in II.2.4.2., nominal phrases in certain cases, however, occur as bases in the verbal phrase.

The only exception to the above is the particle mo ‘Associative’ (II.3.1.(6), III.2.4.1.(1)), when it is used to link nominal phrases sharing the same case – kiaa Sione mo Mele ‘PART(All) Sione PART(Ass) Mele: to Sione and Mele’ – or verbal phrases or clauses sharing the same tense, aspect or mood – Ne kai mo inu. ‘PART(Pst) eat PART(Ass) drink: (Someone) ate and drank.’ It thus occurs in both verbal and nominal phrases and is V-N-insensitive in this function. In fact, there is no need for two separate particles for this function since the grammatical status of the phrase to be linked is always clear from its preceding phrase. In all its other functions, however, this particle is also V-N-sensitive and occurs only in the nominal phrase.

1.4.2 Determiners

The determiners fall into two main sub-classes, namely, person determiners (II.2.2.) and nominal determiners (II.3.2.).

The nominal determiners indicate, among other things, specificity – the articles te ‘Specific’ and he ‘Non-specific’, the first person singular A-class possessive determiners taku ‘Specific’ and haku ‘Non-specific’ and so on –, which is a category of the nominal phrase. Accordingly, they are basically all V-N-sensitive and occur only in the nominal phrase. As dealt with in II.3.2.2.(C), however, the emphatic possessive determiners may occur as bases in the verbal phrase, and so do nominal-phrase bases that are preceded by emphatic possessive determiners.

The person determiners indicate person – au ‘1SgExcl’, kulaa laa or luua ‘2Sg’, notou ‘3Pl’ and so on. All the person determiners may occur in the verbal phrase and indicate S or A. The dual and plural person determiners, normally preceded by the specific or non-specific article te or he, also occur in the nominal phrase, in which case they indicate possessor.
1.4.3 Common Words

The class of common words includes words of great semantic diversity. All common words may potentially occur in the base slot of both the verbal and the nominal phrase, but due to their semantic diversity, they are also quite diverse in respect of the degree of V-N-sensitivity.

A large number of common words are obviously V-N-insensitive and may occur freely in both verbal and nominal phrases, as for instance, the word polisi 'police' in the following clauses:

(2.1.4.3.-1) 'Oku polisi 'ia naaua.
PART(Prs) police PART(Abs) PROI(3Du)
'They work as policemen.'

(2.1.4.3.-2) Ko te polisi 'ia naaua.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) police PART(Abs) PROI(3DU)
'They are policemen.'

In (2.1.4.3.-1), the common word polisi occurs as a verbal-phrase base and refers to a process or state — 'work as policemen' — whose occurrence may be located in time, subject to change in the course of time, true or false, and so on, and whose identification, therefore, is accompanied by that of tense, aspect or mood. In this case, the particle 'oku 'Present' (II.2.1.(2)) indeed formally marks the time of the process or state to be present. Common words that refer to a process or state like this will be referred to as verbs.

In (2.1.4.3.-2), on the other hand, the same word polisi occurs as a nominal-phrase base and refers to entities, in this case, people — 'policemen' — whose identification has nothing to do with tense, aspect or mood. Common words that refer to an entity like this will be referred to as nominals.

Verbs are not confined to verbal phrases. As dealt with in III.1.5. and III.2.1., verbal clauses frequently occur in nominalized forms. In (2.1.4.3.-3) below, a clause like (2.1.4.3.-1) occurs in its nominalized form and, preceded by the particle 'i 'Locative' (II.3.1.(3)), indicates a location in time:

(2.1.4.3.-3) Ne naa fe'ilo'aki 'i te
PART(Pst) DET(3Du) know-each-other PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
naa polisi 'i te motú.
DET(3Du) police PART(Loc) DET(Spf) island
'They got acquainted with each other when they worked as policemen on the island.'

The particle 'i indicating the locative and the nominal particle te indicating specificity formally mark the phrase 'i te naa polisi ... as nominal. However, it is obvious that, as in (2.1.4.3.-1), the word polisi refers to a process or state rather than entities. In fact, its
underlying verbal status can be made clear when some other word is co-ordinated with it, as in:

(2.1.4.3.-4) Ne naa fe'ilo'aki 'i te PART(Pst) DET(3Du) know-each-other PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
naa polisi mo faiako 'i te DET(3Du) police PART(Ass) teach PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
motú. island
'They got acquainted with each other when they worked as policemen and (worked as) teachers on the island.'

Like polisi, the common word faiako ‘teach’ may be a verbal – ‘Oku faiako 'ia naa. PART(Prs) teach PART(Abs) PROI(3Du): They work as teachers.’ – or a nominal – Ko te faiako 'ia naa. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) teach PART(Abs) PROI(3Du): They are teachers.’ In (2.1.4.3.-4), the word may not be preceded by any nominal determiner – *... ‘te naa polisi mo te (naa) faiako ... – though the nominal determiner of the second of co-ordinated nominals may never be ellipted – ko te kulii mo te pusi ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf) dog PART(Ass) DET(Spf) cat: a dog and a cat’, but not *ko te kulii mo pusi. ko taku fa'ee mo te tama'i ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExclA) mother PART(Ass) DET(Spf) father: my mother and (my) father’, but not *ko taku fa'ee mo tama'i and so on – and this indicates that it is a verbal and, at the same time, also reveals the underlying verbal status of polisi, which is co-ordinated with it.

Further, the combinational possibilities of polisi in (2.1.4.3.-3) and (2.1.4.3.-4) with words other than particles and determiners are the same as those of polisi in (2.1.4.3.-1) and different from those of polisi in (2.1.4.3.-2). The pre-base modifier kei ‘still’ (2.2.3.), for instance, may occur in (2.1.4.3.-1) – ‘Oku kei polisi ... ‘... still work as policemen.’ – and (2.1.4.3.-3) and (2.1.4.3.-4) – ... ‘i te naa kei polisi ... ‘... when they still worked as policemen ...’ –, but not in (2.1.4.3.-2) – *Ko te kei polisi .... Similarly, interpretative principles that obtain between the base and words other than particles and determiners are normally the same in (2.1.4.3.-1), (2.1.4.3.-3) and (2.1.4.3.-4) and differ in (2.1.4.3.-2). For instance, the pre-base modifier toe would mean ‘again’ in (2.1.4.3.-1), (2.1.4.3.-3) and (2.1.4.3.-4) but ‘other’ in (2.1.4.3.-2).1

1There are, however, exceptional cases with respect to interpretative principles. For instance, the pre-base modifier ki'i normally indicates a small degree when it occurs with a verbal ([2.2.3.1.2]) and a small size when it occurs with a nominal ([2.2.3.1.2]), but occurring with certain words, it always indicates a small size, as in: Ne au kei ki' tamasi'i si'isi'i pee. ‘PART(Pst) DET(SgExcl1) still boy small just: I was still only a small boy.'
Thus, phrases that constitute the predicates of nominalized clauses may still be regarded as basically verbal in spite of their being formally marked as nominal.

Nominals, on the other hand, may also occur in verbal phrases. As dealt with in II.2.4., the base slot of the verbal phrase may contain several different types of elements, and nominals that are accompanied by quantitative modifiers may, without case-marking particles or nominal determiners, occur as bases of verbal phrases that denote the provision, possession or existence of what the nominals signify, as in:

(2.1.4.3.-5) 'Oku polisi 'e toko tolu te motú.
PART(Prs) police PART(Nmr) ANIM three DET(Spf) island

'The island is provided with three policemen.'

The phrase 'Oku polisi 'e toko tolu is explicitly a verbal phrase and is also formally marked by the participle 'oku for the present tense. However, although the phrase itself refers to a state, it is obvious that the word polisi refers to entities as in (2.1.4.3.-2) above and not to a process or state. Again, its underlying status may be made clear when some other common word is co-ordinated with it.

(2.1.4.3.-6) 'Oku polisi 'e toko tolu mo te
PART(Prs) police PART(Nmr) ANIM three PART(Ass) DET(Spf)

faiako 'e toko nima te motú.
teacher PART(Nmr) ANIM five DET(Spf) island

'The island is provided with three policemen and
five teachers.'

In (2.1.4.3.-6), the common word faiako 'teach, teacher' must be preceded by the nominal determiner te which indicates specificity — "'Oku polisi 'e toko tolu mo
faiako 'e toko nima ...." The word is, therefore, a nominal, and this reveals the underlying nominal status of polisi, which is co-ordinated with it.

The common word polisi thus occurs in various kinds of verbal and nominal phrases and may, accordingly, be regarded as V-N-insensitive.

Nevertheless, not all common words are like polisi. The common word fetaa'aki
'hit each other', for instance, refers, in most cases, to what is taken to be a process or state. Therefore, it occurs predominantly as a verbal in the verbal phrase, like polisi in (2.1.4.3.-1), as in:

(2.1.4.3.-7) Ne notou fetaa'aki.
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) hit-each-other

'They hit one another.'

or in a nominalized form, like polisi in (2.1.4.3.-3) or (2.1.4.3.-4), as in:

(2.1.4.3.-8) Ne notou lavea 'i te notou
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) injured PART(Loc) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl)

fetaa'aki.
hit-each-other
'They got injured when they hit one another.'

This, however, does not exclude the possibility of its occurrence as a nominal, as illustrated by the following clause:

(2.1.4.3.-9) Ko te fetaa'aki mo te PART(Nmr) DET(Spf) hit-each-other PART(As) DET(Spf)
fe'aka'aki ne notou faì, ko te kick-each-other PART(Pst) DET(3PL) do PART(Npm) DET(Spf)
tupu mel te notou keé. grow PART(Abl) DET(Spf) DET(3PL) quarrel

'The hitting and kicking one another that they did —
it was a development from their quarrel.'

There are, however, cases in which it is not possible to make a clear distinction between nominals and verbs, as exemplified by (2.3.3.3.-5).

On the other hand, the common word pangikee 'bank' refers, in most cases, to what is taken to be an entity. Therefore, it predominantly occurs as a nominal in the nominal phrase, like polisi in (2.1.4.3.-2), as in:

(2.1.4.3.-10) Ko te pangikee 'eni. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) bank DEM(Nsp)

'This is a bank.'

or in a verbal phrase, like (2.1.4.3.-5) or (2.1.4.3.-6), as in:

(2.1.4.3.-11) 'Oku pangikee 'e ua te motú. PART(Prs) bank PART(Nmr) two DET(Spf) island

'The island is provided with two banks.'

A clause like the following is not acceptable:

(2.1.4.3.-12) *'Oku pangikee 'eni. PART(Prs) bank DEM(Nsp)

('This is a bank.')

However, this does not exclude the possibility of its occurrence as a verbal, as illustrated by the following clause:

(2.1.4.3.-13) Ne pangikee 'eni ki mu'a pea toki PART(Pst) bank DEM(Nsp) PART(All) front and then fale polisi. house police

'This used to be a bank before it became a police station.'

In (2.1.4.3.-13), it is clear that the word pangikee refers to a process or state — 'function as a bank' — and not to an entity — 'bank'. The reason why (2.1.4.3.-12) is not
acceptable is that, in a normal context, 'oku and pangikee are semantically incongruous. In some rather unusual contexts, however, pangikee does seem to occur with 'oku - Ko te aa 'oku pangikee ai 'eni? 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Prs) bank DEM(Anaph) DEM(Nsp): Why is this a bank?'

Thus, common words like fetaa'aki or pangikee are V-N-sensitive to some degree. In spite of the varying degrees of V-N-sensitivity of different common words, however, the verbal-nominal distinction in Niuafo'ou is not so strongly internalized in words as, for instance, in many European languages that have morphological markers of word-class affiliation, but is rather dependent on the extent of the possibilities of the words concerned to enter into various types of semantic relationships. This is somewhat reminiscent of the distinction between A-class and O-class possess ion (II.6.1) of nominals, which, unlike gender in European languages, is not internalized in nominals.

The three words, polisi 'police, policeman', fetaa'aki 'hit each other' and pangikee, represent the three basic types of common words. The following table roughly shows what sort of words belong to each of these types:

TABLE II.1.4.3. V-N-sensitivity of Common Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbally-Oriented like fetaa'aki</th>
<th>Negators (II.3.): kailoa 'not', te'eki 'not yet', 'aua 'don't', and so on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most words with verbal affixes (II.2.4.1.(C-1)): maumau-'i 'wasted-SUF: break', faka-takoto 'PREF-lie: lay', ika-'ia 'fish-SUF: abundant in fish', fe-'alu-'aki 'PREF-go-SUF: go this way and that', and so on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplicated words dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-2): kemokemo 'wink repeatedly', nofonofo 'keep living idly', nonofo 'live (Col)', ma'u'uli 'alive (Col)', and so on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words that relate to basic actions, motion, rest, transference, seeing, hearing and so on: fai 'do', 'alu 'go', ha'u 'come', tu'u 'stand', ta'utu 'sit', 'aumai 'bring', lii 'send', sio 'see', fanongo 'hear', and so on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Words like ngali 'appear', hangee 'seem', and so on.

Words that relate to states: mate 'dead, death', ma'uli 'alive, life', 'ita 'angry, anger', kovi 'bad, badness', fo'ou 'new, newness', mamafa 'heavy, weight, price', kulakula 'red' (Included here are words that roughly correspond to English adjectives and abstract nouns.)

Words that relate to occupational functions:

kauvaka 'sailor, be a sailor', sootia 'soldier, be a soldier' tamasi'i ako 'pupil, be a pupil', and so on

Words that relate to stages of life: ta'ahine 'girl, be a girl', talavou 'youthful person, youthful', matu'a 'old man, old', and so on

Words that relate to social, cultural and habitual activities: kaatoanga 'festival, have a festival', fakataha 'meeting, have a meeting', tau'olunga 'dance, perform a dance', hiva 'song, sing', fananga 'folk tale, tell a folk tale', malagna 'sermon, give a sermon', taalahau 'chat, have a chat', lea 'speak, speech', and so on

Words that relate to meteorological phenomena:

'ua 'rain', matangi 'wind, blow', mofuike 'earthquake, struck by earthquake', 'aho 'day, be or become day', poo 'night, be or become night', and so on

Words that relate to birth-right functions:

tu'i 'king', 'aliki 'chief', tangata 'man', fafine 'woman', and so on

Words that relate to kinship relations: kui
Nominally-Oriented words and neutral words. The boundary between neutral words and nominally-oriented words is, on the other hand, relatively clear. Nominally-oriented words characteristically have referents whose identifying features are intrinsic to them so that they are, so to speak, in a subordinate position as to the acquiring of these features. They, therefore, can not change their identity — a father, for instance, is a father no matter how he behaves or what he does. — and nor can anything or anyone acquire the identity — a person other than a father can not actually become a father no matter how he behaves or what he does.

The translations given in Table II.1.4.3. naturally do not cover the full semantic scope of the examples. Since the degree of V-N-sensitivity of common words is determined by their semantic characteristics, a semantic difference results directly in a difference in V-N-sensitivity. The word tamai, for instance, traditionally means 'father', and in this sense, it is, as indicated in the table, nominally-oriented like pangikee. Therefore:

(2.1.4.3.-14) Ko te tamai 'ia Sione. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) father PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione is a father.'

(2.1.4.3.-15) *'Oku tamai 'ia Sione. PART(Prs) father PART(Abs) Sione

('Sione is a father.')

But:

(2.1.4.3.-16) Kua tamai 'ia Sione he kua faa'ele PART(Prf) father PART(Abs) Sione for PART(Prf) give-birth
tono ma'ili. DET(Spf3Sg0) wife
'Sione has become a father because his wife has had a baby.'

In the contemporary language, however, the word has been extended to mean '(Christian) father (= priest)' as well. In this sense, it is more like polisi since it relates to an occupational rather than a kinship function, and it can occur with the particle 'oku.

(2.1.4.3.-17) 'Oku tamai 'ia Sione 'i te
PART(Prs) father PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

naa mali.
DET(3Du) wedding

'Sione is acting as a father in their wedding ceremony.'

Even within the same group in the table above, words do not necessarily follow exactly the same pattern. The word foaha 'son', for instance, relates to a kinship function, as does tamai 'father', and the two words follow the same basic pattern. However, it is obvious that, due to its somewhat different semantic characteristics, foaha can not occur with kua 'Perfect' (II.2.1.4), as does tamai in (2.1.4.3.-16).

Morphological processes generally serve to specify the semantic characteristics of words. Thus, it is natural that words with affixes are mostly either verbally-oriented or nominally-oriented, as indicated in the table.

1.4.4 Definite Words

Definite words indicate personal and place names and various types of deictic relationship. They are basically V-N-sensitive and occur only as nominal-phrase bases. As already mentioned in II.1.3. above, the only possible exceptions to this are the two temporal words 'aafea 'when (in the future)' and 'anafea 'when (in the past)' dealt with in III.6.4.(6). Personal names and place names may be used like common words when they refer to persons or places that have the names they indicate, but even in this case, they do not occur as bases in verbal phrases that indicate the provision, possession or existence of what the base signifies (II.3.4.4.).

1.4.5 Pre-base Modifiers

Pre-base modifiers are semantically rather diverse. They may be either V-N-sensitive or V-N-insensitive in the sense that some occur freely with both verbals and nominals while others normally occur with either of these. However, as dealt with in II.1.4.3. above, verbals are not necessarily confined to verbal phrases, and nor are nominals to nominal phrases.
1.4.6 Directionals

As dealt with in II.2.5., directionals are of two types, namely, those that indicate directions in relation to the speech participants, especially the speaker - mai ‘toward speaker’ atu ‘away from speaker, toward addressee’ and ange ‘sideways, toward third person or object’ - and those that indicate directions other than these - ake or hake ‘up’, ifo or hifo ‘down’ and holo ‘around’.

Those of the second type are V-N-sensitive and occur only with verbs. Those of the first type, on the other hand, may occur with both verbs and nominals, but their occurrence with nominals is rather rare.

1.4.7 Deictics

Deictics indicate spatial or temporal locations in relation to the speaker or addressee. They are all V-N-insensitive and occur freely with both verbs and nominals.

1.4.8 Phrase Adjuncts

Phrase adjuncts occur outside the phrase. Therefore, their V-N-sensitivity can only be measured at the level of the clause.

Several adjuncts - mu'a ‘please’ (III.1.3.1.(A)(1)), aupito ‘totally’ (III.1.3.1.(A)(3)) and so on - are V-N-sensitive in the sense that they occur only in verbal clauses. Others - foki ‘also’ (III.1.3.1.(B)), apee ‘DOUBT’ (III.1.3.1.(B)(3)) and so on - are V-N-insensitive and may occur in both verbal and nominal clauses.

1.4.9 Conjunctions

The V-N-sensitivity of conjunctions can also be measured only at the level of the clause.

Conjunctions are basically V-N-insensitive in the sense that they may link both verbal and nominal clauses. However, a few conjunctural phrases - kae aua ‘but don’t: until’ (III.2.5.1.(6)), ki mu'a pea ‘PART(All) front and: before’ (III.2.5.2.(5)) and so on - are V-N-sensitive and may introduce only verbal clauses.
CHAPTER 2
Verbal Phrase

2.1 Particle Slot

Elements that occur in the particle slot of the verbal phrase mainly indicate tense, aspect and mood. Basically, they are of one word-class, namely, particles. As already mentioned in II.1.1., verbal phrases may occur only as predicates. Verbal-phrase particles, accordingly, always occur in the initial position of clauses unless there are any thematized nominal phrases (III.4.2.). Some particles introduce both independent and dependent clauses while others normally introduce only dependent clauses. Particles of the latter type are excluded from the following and dealt with in III.2.4.1. There are also two particles that occur exclusively with numerals. These are dealt with in II.7.1. and II.7.3.

The particles that are dealt with in this section are mutually exclusive. There are, however, two words that resemble both particles and conjunctions and introduce dependent clauses with or without being followed by particles. These are referred to as particle-conjunctions and dealt with in III.2.6.

As already mentioned in II.1.4.1., particles are highly V-N-sensitive and none except mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6), III.2.4.1.(1)) may occur in the corresponding slot of the nominal phrase.

Particles form phonological words with the following monosyllabic determiners (I.3.1.1.(C)). Some particles may also undergo a formal change in front of certain determiners (II.2.2.).

(1) 'e 'Future'
'e' indicates the future tense. It marks situations that are posterior to the moment of speech, as in:

(2.2.1.-1) Mahalo pee, 'e fu'u vela 'aupito 'aapiopia'rengi.
think just PART(Fut) very hot totally tomorrow

'Maybe, it will be very hot tomorrow.'

(2.2.1.-2) I te kaaha'ú, 'e hoko ko te
PART(Loc) DET(SPF) future PART(Fut) become PART DET(SPF)

tangata lahi.
man great
'In the future, he will become a great man.'

and, in clauses of indirect quotation and other similar clauses (III.2.2.2.), situations that are posterior to the point in time indicated by the preceding clause, as in:

(2.2.1.-3) Ne tala'i mai 'e Sione 'e tau
PART(Pst) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Erg) Sione PART(Fut) arrive
mai te vaká 'i te 'aho tono
DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) ship PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day DET(Spf3Sg0)
hoko mai.
follow DIR(Tsp)
'Sione said that the ship would arrive on the following day.'

(2.2.1.-4) Ne au sio kiaa Mele 'e fai
PART(Pst) DET(1SGEXCL) see PART(All) Mele PART do
tana foo.
DET(Spf3SgA) wash
'I saw Mele setting about washing clothes.'

It is also used of situations that are not overlapping with the moment of speech but are iterated to be regarded as habits or perpetual truths, as in:

(2.2.1.-5) 'O kaa pau 'e au inu
PART(Inc) PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART DET(1SGExcl) drink
uasikee, 'e langa ma'u pee toku
whiskey PART(Fut) pain steady just DET(Spf1SgExcl0)
'ulū 'i te 'aho hoko mai.
head PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day follow DIR(Tsp)
'If I drink whiskey, I always have a headache on the following day.'

(2) 'oku ~ ku 'Present'

'oku may consist of two morphemes, namely, the particle 'o 'Incorporative' (III.2.4.1.(1)), which often occurs with the particle-conjunction kaa 'Hypothetical' (III.2.6.(2)), plus ku, possibly a cognate of 'ko(i), which, according to Clark (1976: 32), may originally have been 'an adverbial particle which followed T(ense markers). Many speakers regard 'oku ~ ku as Tongan\(^1\) and often give ne'e ~ ne as its Niuafo'ou equivalent.

\(^1\)The form ku does not occur as an allomorphic variation of 'oku in Tongan. However, as an allomorphic form of kuo (= Niuafo'ou kua) 'Perfect', the form ku does often occur in an informal style in Tongan, too. For instance: Ku 'osi 'alu 'a Sione. 'PART(Prf) already go PART(Abs) Sione: Sione has already gone.'
'oku ~ ku indicates the present tense. It marks situations that are overlapping with the moment of speech, as in:

(2.2.1.-6) 'Okou sa'ina 'i te sipotī. 
PART(Prs)-DET(1SGEXCL) like PART DET(Spf) sports
'I like sports.'

(2.2.1.-7) Ku ke 'alu ki te lotū 'i 
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) go PART(All) DET(Spf) prayer PART(Loc)
ete aho kotoa pee? 
DET(Spf) day all just
'Do you go to church every day?'

and, in clauses of indirect quotation and other similar clauses (III.2.2.2.) and clauses that are preceded by various types of temporal clauses, situations that are overlapping with the point in time indicated by the preceding clause, as in:

(2.2.1.-8) Ne tala'i mai 'e Sione 'oku fiakaia. 
PART(Pst) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Erg) Sione PART(Prs) hungry
'Sione told me that he was hungry.'

(2.2.1.-9) 'I te taimi ne ha'u ai 'ia 
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time PART(Pst) come DEM(Anaph) PART(Abs)
Sione 'aneafē, 'oku lolotonga kaukau. 
Sione yesterday PART(Prs)-DET(1SGEXCL) progress bathe
'When Sione came yesterday, I was bathing.'

(2.2.1.-10) Nau foki mai mei kolō, 
PART(Pst)-DET(1SGExcl) return DIR(Tsp) PART(Abl) town
'oku kala 'i 'api toku mali. 
PART(Prs) not PART(Loc) home DET(Spf1SGExcl) wife
'When I came back from town, my wife was not at home.'

(2.2.1.-11) 'E au 'alu 'o sio kiaa Mele 
PART(Fut) DET(1SGExcl) go PART(Inc) see PART(All) Mele
'oku tau'olunga. 
PART(Prs) dance
'I will go and see Mele dance.'

(3) ne'e ~ ne 'Past'
ne'e ~ ne indicates the past tense. It marks situations that are anterior to the moment of speech, as in:

(2.2.1.-12) Ne 'osi 'alu te tangata 'anenai. 
PART(Pst) already go DET(Spf) man while-ago
'The man already went some a while ago.'
(2.2.1.-13) Ne maalohi te matangì ‘anepoo.
PART(Pst) strong DET(Sp) wind last-night

'The wind was strong last night.'

and, in clauses of indirect quotation and other similar clauses (III.2.2.2.), situations that are anterior to the point in time indicated by the preceding clause, as in:

(2.2.1.-14) Ne ina tala'i mai ne puke ‘i
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Pst) ill PART(Loc)
te ‘aho atù.
DET(Sp) day DIR(ASP)

'He told me that he had been sick the day before yesterday.'

The second ne in (2.2.1.-14) may not be replaced by the particle ‘oku ~ ku ‘Present’ dealt with in II.2.1.(2) above if, as indicated by the translation, the person in question was no longer sick at the time of his telling the speaker about his health.

ne'e ~ ne also seems to indicate the present tense, and as already mentioned in II.2.1.(2) above, many speakers give it as the equivalent of Tongan ‘oku ‘Present’.

(2.2.1.-15) Ne mo’oni ‘oku fuapotopoto ‘i te
PART(Pst) true PART(Prs) round PART(UNS) DET(Sp)
maamanì.
earth

'It is true that the earth is round.'

ne'e ~ ne also marks counterfactual situations in conditional clauses regardless of tenses (III.2.6.(2)).

(4) kua ‘Perfect’

kua indicates the perfect aspect. It is neutral as to tense and may have future, present or past time reference according to context.

It is firstly used to indicate some continuing effect of some previous situation. With predicates that refer to processes, it indicates that the processes concerned have been completed and that some resultant states continue.

(2.2.1.-16) Ko te ‘uu taa ne ke līi
PART(Npm) DET(Sp) PL picture PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) send
maï, kuaù ‘osi ma’u.
DIR(Tsp) PART(Prf)-DET(1SGEXCL) already get

'The pictures you sent me - I have already received them (and I have them).'

(2.2.1.-17) ‘I tana a’u ki te uafú,
PART(Loc) DET(SpF3SgA) reach PART(All) DET(Sp) wharf
kua 'osi mavehe te vaká. PART(Prf) already depart DET(Spf) ship

'When he reached the wharf, the boat had already departed (and is not here any more).'

With predicates that refer to states, it indicates that the entry into the states concerned has been completed and that the states continue.

(2.2.1.-18) 'E ke a'u ia ki tou 'api, PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) reach UNEXP PART(All) DET(Spf3Sg0) home
kua 'osi fakapoo'uli. PART(Prf) already dark

'When you reach home, it will have become dark.'

(2.2.1.-19) Ne au puke lahi 'i te uike PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) ill much PART(Loc) DET(Spf) week
kua 'osi, kaa kuau toe sai PART(Prf) finished but PART(Prf)-DET(1SgExcl) again well pee. just

'I was very sick last week, but I have become well again.'

(2.2.1.-20) 'I te taimi ne foki mai PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time PART(Pst) return DIR(Tsp)
a'i, kua 'osi ta'u ua noa. DEM(Anaph) PART(Prf) already year two zero

'When he came back, he had already turned twenty.'

kua is also used to indicate that there has been an instance of the occurrence of the situation in the course of time until the moment of speech or some other point in time indicated by context.

(2.2.1.-21) Kuá ke 'osi 'alu ki Niuatoputapu? PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already go PART(All) Niuatoputapu

'Have you ever been to Niuatoputapu?'

Concerning verbal-phrase particles, Collocott (1922:187) makes the following observation:

TENSE PARTICLES. There are minor differences of form, but the only striking variation between Tongan and Niua Fo'ouan which came to my notice was what seemed to be the use of e in Niua Fo'ou as a sign of the present tense. This is found in Samoan, but not in Tongan.

However, he does not give any examples. Nor are there any examples that conform to this observation in the two stories he collected (Collocott 1928). Today, even the oldest
speakers do not seem to use ‘e to indicate the present tense. Therefore, the validity of Collocott’s observation above may not be confirmed. In ‘Uvean, however, ‘e indicates both the future and the present tense (Bataillon 1932), and it is quite possible that Niuafo’ou ‘e also did so in the past, and this may further explain why many speakers regard ‘oku ~ ku ‘Present’ as Tongan, although, as mentioned in II.2.1.(2) and (3) above, most of these speakers give ne‘e ~ ne, and not ‘e, as the Niuafo’ou equivalent of Tongan ‘oku.2

As mentioned in II.2.1.(1), ‘e is used of long-standing situations and perpetual truths in certain contexts, but this is also the case with Tongan ‘e ~ te ‘Future’. Therefore, it is very unlikely that this is what Collocott mentions.

2.2 Determiner Slot

The elements that occur in the determiner slot of the verbal phrase indicate person and will, accordingly, be referred to as person determiners. They are set out in Table II.2.2. below:

**TABLE II.2.2. Person Determiners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>au, ou</td>
<td>maa</td>
<td>motou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excl</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>taa</td>
<td>teu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incl</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>kulaa, laa, luaa</td>
<td>kotou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ina, ne</td>
<td>naa</td>
<td>notou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Niuafo’ou makes a distinction of inclusive and exclusive reference in the first person singular as well as in the first person dual and plural. The use of the first person singular inclusive reference is dealt with in II.5.1.

Historically, it is obvious that the person determiners have been derived from the pronouns Type I dealt with in II.3.4.2.(C-1).

Collocott (1922, 1928) gives a few forms that can not be confirmed by contemporary speakers. These forms are dealt with in Introduction 3.

As already dealt with in I.3.1.1.(C), monosyllabic person determiners ke ‘2Sg’ and ne ‘3Sg’ form phonological words with the preceding particles (II.2.1.), the conjunctions pea

---

2Some speakers give kua dealt with in II.2.1.(4) above.
‘and’ (III.2.5.1.1) and kaa ‘but’ (III.2.5.1.2), and the particle-conjunctions na’a ‘Potential’ (III.2.6.1) and kaa ‘Hypothetical’ (III.2.6.2), and affect the stress pattern of the preceding bisyllabic particles and the above-mentioned conjunctions.

The sequences of some particles or conjunctions and the person determiner au ‘1Sg’ undergo the following morphophonological processes:

1. When preceded by a particle, conjunction or a particle-conjunction ending in the vowel a, the vowel a of au is obligatorily fused with the vowel a of the particle or conjunction. Therefore:

   kua Particle ‘Perfect’ (II.2.1.4) + au → kuau
   pea Conjunction ‘and’ (III.2.5.1.1) + au → peau
   kaa Conjunction ‘but’ (III.2.5.1.2) + au → kaa
   na’a Particle-conjunction ‘Potential’ (III.2.6.1) + au
            → na’au

2. The vowel e of the preceding monosyllabic particle may optionally be deleted. Therefore:

   ‘e ‘Future’ (II.2.1.1) + au → ‘e au or ‘au
   ne ‘Past’ (II.2.1.3) + au → ne au or nau
        but not ne‘e ‘Past’ (II.2.1.3) + au → *ne’au
   ke ‘Subjunctive’ (III.2.4.1.2) + au → ke au or kau

The first person singular exclusive, second person dual and third person singular determiners have more than one form. The following is to be noted of these forms:

1. The First Person Singular Exclusive au and ou

   The form au can always be used. The other form ou is presumably a recent borrowing from Tongan and occurs only after the particle ‘oku ‘Present’ (II.2.1.2). As far as contemporary Niuafo’ou is concerned, ‘oku ou is more commonly used than ‘oku au, and some speakers even make the exclusive use of ‘oku ou. In Niuafo’ou, the form ku may also occur as an allomorph variant of ‘oku, and the sequence of this particle and ou may also become ‘okou or kou, which are not possible in Tongan.3

2. The Second Person Dual kulaa, laa and luua

   The form kulaa is the most commonly used. The forms laa and luua are confined to informal speech.

---

3 The form kou occurs in informal Tongan, but it is a contraction of the particle kuo (Niuafo’ou kua) ‘Perfect’, and not ‘oku, and the first person singular exclusive determiner ou. In formal Tongan, the sequence realizes as kuō u.
(3) The Third Person Singular ina and ne

The form ne is presumably a recent borrowing from Tongan, but it is quite widespread today, and the form ina is used by old speakers only. In Collocott (1928), ina is in consistent use.

As dealt with in II.2.1.(3), the particle that indicates the past tense has two forms: ne'e and ne. The sequence of this particle and the third person singular determiner is normally ne ne among younger speakers and ne'e ina or ne ina among older speakers. "ne'é ne seems to be unacceptable.

Person determiners never refer to O. All except the third person singular determiner refer to either S or A. The third person singular determiner ina can only refer to A. Some younger speakers often use ne to refer to S as well as A, as is the case with Tongan, but the use of ne in reference to S is rather unusual even among younger speakers in Niuafo'ou. The functions of person determiners are dealt with in more detail in II.5.5.

The semantic range of the third person determiners differs considerably from that of pronouns (II.3.4.2.(C)) or demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D)). It is dealt with in contrast with that of pronouns and demonstratives in II.5.2.

2.3 Preposed Modifier Slot

Elements that occur in the preposed modifier slot of the verbal phrase are confined to certain members of the class of pre-base modifiers and, accordingly, more limited in variety than those that occur in the corresponding slot of the nominal phrase (II.3.3.). Lexically, they are limited in number but still constitute a fairly large set. Therefore, only a selection of them will be dealt with in this section. Pre-base modifiers that occur exclusively with numerals and quantative words like lahi 'many' and si'i 'few' are dealt with separately in II.7.8.

As already mentioned in II.1.4.5., pre-base modifiers may be either V-N-sensitive or V-N- insensitive. Therefore, a number of the pre-base modifiers that will be dealt with below may also occur in the corresponding slot of the nominal phrase. None except a few may occur in incomplete phrases that function as postposed modifiers (II.2.3.4.).

More than one pre-base modifier may occur in the pre-base modifier slot of the verbal phrase (II.2.3.3.).

As already mentioned in I.2.2.4.(B), it is not possible to make a clear distinction between compound words and the sequences of bases and their modifiers. For this reason, some sequences that may be regarded as compound words are also included in the following.
2.3.1 V-N-insensitive Pre-base Modifiers

The same pre-base modifiers as they occur in the corresponding slot of the nominal phrase are dealt with in II.3.3.1.

(1) fu'u

fu'u indicates great or excessive degree, as in:

(2.3.1.-1) Ne au fu'u tatali fualoa ki
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) very wait long PART(All)
ai.
DEM(ANAPH)
'I waited for him for a long time.'

(2.3.1.-2) Ne au fu'u fiafia lahi 'aupito 'i
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) very happy much very PART(Loc)
tau tali mai taku tohi.
DET(Spf2SgA) answer DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf1SgExc1A) letter
'I was so very happy that you answered my letter.'

(2.3.1.-3) 'Oku fu'u maalohi 'aupito te ti'i.
PART(Prs) very strong very DET(Spf) tea
'The tea is very (or too) strong.'

(2.3.1.-4) 'Oku fu'u lahi 'aupito te kofú
PART(Prs) very large very DET(Spf) garment
kiaa Mele.
PART(All) Mele
'The dress is too big for Mele.'

It is also used in clauses of comparison (III.7.), in which case it indicates great degree in the difference between the persons or things that are compared:

(2.3.1.-5) 'Oku fu'u lahi 'aupito ange 'ia
PART(Prs) very large very DIR(Tsd) PART(Abs)
'Aositeleelua 'i Tonga.
Australia PART(Loc) Tonga
'Australia is much bigger than Tonga.'

(2) ki'i

ki'i indicates a small degree, as in:

(2.3.1.-6) Nau foki ki 'api 'o
PART(Pst)-DET(1SgExc1) return PART(All) home PART(Inc)
ki'i moe.
little sleep
'I went home to have a little sleep.'
(2.2.3.1.-7) 'Oku ki'i momoko si'i te 'aho nei.
PART(Prs) little cold little DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)
'It is a little cold today.'
It is also used in clauses of comparison (III.7.), in which case it indicates a small degree in the difference between the persons or things that are compared:

(2.2.3.1.-8) 'Oku ki'i lahi ange 'ia Niuafo'ou
PART(Prs) little large DIR(Tsd) PART(Abs) Niuafo'ou
'i Niuatoputapu.
PART(Loc) Niuatoputapu
'Niuafo'ou is a little larger than Niuatoputapu.'

(3) toe ~ tee (< common word toe 'remain, remainder')

toe and tee firstly indicate that a situation is repeated, as in:

(2.2.3.1.-9) 'E toe ha'u 'ia koe 'aafea
PART(Fut) again come PART(Abs) PROII(2Sg) when
'o 'eva mai ki Niua nei?
PART(Inc) visit DIR(Tsp) PART(All) Niua DEIC(Nsp)
'When will you come to visit Niua again?'
or that a situation referred to by the clause restores some original situation, as in:

(2.2.3.1.-10) Ne au ma'u te mata'i ika kaa
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) get DET(Spf) face-of fish but
ne fu'u si'isi'i 'aupito peau
PART(Pst) very small totally CONJ-DET(1SgExcl)
toe lii ia ki tai.
again throw DEM(Anaph) PART(All) sea
'I caught a fish but it was very small and I threw
it back into the sea again.'

In negated clauses (III.3.), they indicate not only the repetition of a situation or the restoration of some original situation, as in:

(2.2.3.1.-11) 'Aua 'e toe fai ia.
don't PART(Sbj) again do DEM(Anaph)
'Don't do it again.'

(2.2.3.1.-12) Ne hola ia 'o kala tee foki
PART(Pst) flee DEM(Anaph) PART(Inc) not again return
mai.
DIR(Tsp)
'He ran away and did not come back again.'

but also that a situation that has continued does not continue any longer, as in:

(2.2.3.1.-13) 'Oku kala toe 'i hen'i 'ia Sione.
PART(Prs) not again PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp) PART(Abs) Sione
‘Sione is not here any longer.’

Therefore, in negated clauses, toe and tee may sometimes be used in place of kei dealt with in II.2.3.2.(6) below. However, unlike kei, toe and tee in negated clauses presuppose that the situation will not take place again. Accordingly, (2.2.3.1.-13) above suggest that Sione will not come back again.

Toe and tee may also be used in clauses of comparison (III.7.), as in:

(2.2.3.1.-14) ‘Oku sai pee ‘ena kaa ‘oku toe sai PART(Prs) good just DEM(Nad) but PART(Prs) again good ange ‘eni.
DIR(Tsd) DEM(Nsp)
‘That is good but this is still better.’

(4) ‘uluaki (< common word ‘uluaki ‘first’)

‘Uluaki indicates that the situation referred to by the clause precedes some other situation, as in:

(2.2.3.1.-15) ‘Oku fia ‘alu mo au ‘o sio PART(Prs) want go PART(Inc) PROI(1SGEX) PART(Inc) see

fai va kaa kua pau ke au movie but PART(Prf) fixed PART(Sbj) DET(1SGEX1)

‘uluaki faka ‘osi te nga aué.
first complete DET(Spf) work

‘I want to go to see the movies, too, but I must

first finish the work.’

Another example of ‘uluaki is found in (2.2.3.1.-21) below.

(5) toki

Tokii firstly indicates that a situation has just taken place, as in:

(2.2.3.1.-16) Ne au toki foki mai mei PART(Pst) DET(1SGEX1) then return DIR(Tsp) PART(Abl)

Futu.
Futu

‘I have just returned from Futu.’

When it occurs in clauses that contain various expressions of time or condition, toki indicates that a situation does not take place until the point in time or the condition indicated in the clause is reached or fulfilled.

(2.2.3.1.-17) Ne au toki fetaulaki PART(Pst) DET(1SGEX1) then encounter-each-other

mo ia ‘anenai.
PART(Inc) PROI(3SG)/DEM(Anaph) while-ago
'I came across him just a while ago.'

(2.2.3.1.-18) Ne toki ta'u taha 'i te uike
PART(Pst) then then one PART(Loc) DET(Spf) week
ku'a 'osi.
PART(Prf) complete

'He turned one year old just last week.'

(2.2.3.1.-19) 'E toki foki mai 'ia Sione
PART(Fut) then return DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Sione
'i Tiisema.
PART(Loc) December

'Sione will not come back until December.'

(2.2.3.1.-20) 'E au toki tala'i atu te
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) then tell DIR(Tad) DET(Spf)
mo'onõ kaa pau 'e ke
truth CONJ-PART(CON) certain PART(Fut) DET(2Sg)
paloomesì mai 'e kala ke ke
promise DIR(Tsp) PART(Fut) not PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg)
tala'i ange ki he taha.
tell DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DET(Nspf) one

'I will tell you the truth if you promise me that
you will not tell it to anyone.'

In clauses linked by the conjunction pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)), toki marks a
situation which follows another situation, as in:

(2.2.3.1.-21) 'E au 'uluaki 'alu ki te
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) first go PART(All) DET(Spf)
fale kolóa peau toki 'alu ki
house goods and-DET(1SgExcl) then go PART(All)
te notou 'api.
DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) home

'I will first go to the shop and then to their home.'

toki also occurs in temporal clauses introduced by ki mu'a pea 'PART(All) front
and: before' (III.2.5.2.(5)), as in:

(2.2.3.1.-22) Ki mu'a pea toki ha'u te faikó, ne
PART(All) front and then come DET(Spf) teacher PART(Pst)
fu'u longoa'a 'aupito te tamalíki.
very noisy very DET(Spf) children

'Before the teacher came, the children were very noisy.'

(6) lahi (< common word lahi 'large, many, much')

lahi indicates that a situation holds to a large extent, as in:
(2.2.3.1.-23) Ne lahi 'ao'ao'ina 'aneafi.
PART(Pst) many cloudy yesterday
'It was largely cloudy yesterday.'

(2.2.3.1.-24) Ne 'ilifia te tamaliki 'i te
PART(Pst) afraid DET(Spf) children PART(Loc) DET(SPF)
vaakée kua onto mai mei te vaó
noise PART sound DIR(Tsp) PART(Abl) DET(SPF) bush
pea notou lahi sola leva ki 'api.
and DET(3Pl) many flee SQC PART(All) home
'The children were afraid of the noise that had come
from the bush and they largely fled home immediately.'

(2.2.3.1.-25) 'Oku lahi nofo te kakai ko iá
PART(Prs) many live DET(Spf) people PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)
'i 'Eua.
PART(Loc) 'Eua
'Those people largely live on 'Eua.'

= 'Those people live on 'Eua most of the time.' or
'The majority of those people live on 'Eua.'

(7) longolongo (< common word longolongo 'silent' = Reduplication Type I
(I.2.2.3.(A)) of longo)

longolongo indicates that what the speaker says is based on his intuition, as in:

(2.2.3.1.-26) 'Oku longolongo teevolo'ina pea 'eni.
PART(Prs) silent ghost-infested just DET(Nsp)
'I feel as though this place is full of ghost.'

(2.2.3.1.-27) 'Oku longolongo 'ua mo havili te
PART(Prs) silent rain PART(Ass) wind DET(Spf)
'aho nei.
day DET(Nsp)
'I feel that it will be rainy and windy today.'

longolongo may be contrasted with ngali and ngalingali in II.2.3.2.(2) and matamata
in II.2.3.2.(3). It does not indicate any conscious observation, analysis or reasoning on
the part of the speaker.

(8) kaungaa (< kau 'join' + -nga (II.3.4.1.(B-1)) + -a (II.3.3.2.(B))

kaungaa indicates co-operation, comradeship, togetherness and the like, as in:

(2.2.3.1.-28) Ne notou kaungaa oo mai fakataha.
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) co-op come(Col) DIR(Tsp) together
'They came together.'
2.3.2 V-N-sensitive Pre-base Modifiers

Unlike V-N-sensitive pre-base modifiers that occur in the corresponding slot of the nominal phrase (II.3.3.2.), there is no particular morphological process that derives pre-base modifiers of this type.

(1) si'i (< common word sī 'small')
si'i indicates pity or affection. It relates to S or O if A is not expressed, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-1) Ne sī si'i fiakaia lahi 'aupito te tamasi'i. PART(Pst) poor hungry much very DET(Spf) boy

'The poor boy is very hungry.'

(2.2.3.2.-2) Ne sī si'i taa'i 'ia Mele. PART(Pst) poor hit PART(Abs) Mele

'Poor Mele was hit.'

and to A if it is expressed, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-3) Ne ina sī ma'u te mahaki hela. PART(Pst) DET(3sg) poor get DET(Spf) illness tire

'He got asthma, the poor man.'

si'i does not occur in the corresponding slot of the nominal phrase but does occur as a specific emotional article (II.3.2.1.) and indicates a similar emotion. If the emotion concerns arguments other than those above, the emotional determiner must be used, as in: Ne ina taa'i si'i Melē. 'PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit DET(SpfEmtl) Mele: He hit poor Mele.', Ne au 'avange ia ki si'i Melē. 'PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) give DEM(Anaph) PART(All) DET(SpfEmtl) Mele: I gave it to poor Mele.' and so on.

(2) ngali and ngalingali (< common words ngali and ngalingali 'seem')

ngali and ngalingali indicate that what the speaker says is based on some sensory observation (sight, hearing, taste and the like), logical reasoning or analysis, knowledge
and so on. **ngali** is stronger than **ngalingali** in the sense that it marks an opinion that has more likelihood of being true.

(2.2.3.2.-4) 'Oku ngali maumau te letiö kote'uhi 'oku PART(Prs) seem broken DET(Spf) radio because PART(Prs)

le'o faikehe.

voice strange

'The radio seems to be broken because it makes

strange noise.'

(2.2.3.2.-5) Ne ngalingali kai taku me'a kal PART(Pst) seem eat DET(Spf1SgExclA) thing eat

'ek te kumaa.

PART(Erg) DET(SPF) rat

'My food seems to have been eaten by rats.'

Certain nominally-oriented words which normally do not occur as verbals by themselves may occur as verbals when they are accompanied by **ngali** or **ngalingali**, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-6) 'Oku kailoa ngali tangata 'ia Sione. PART(Prs) not seem man PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione is not man-like.'

3. **matamata** (< common word mata 'eye, face')

**matamata** indicates that what the speaker says is based on his visual observation, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-7) 'Oku matamata 'ua he kua 'ao'aofia PART(Prs) look rain for PART(Prf) cloudy

te langi.

DET(Spf) sky

'It looks like rain for it has become cloudy.'

**matamata** would be inappropriate for use in a clause like (2.2.3.2.-4).

As in the case of **ngali** and **ngalingali** in II.2.3.1.(2) above, certain nominally-oriented words that normally do not occur as verbals by themselves may occur as verbals when they are accompanied by **matamata** as in:

(2.2.3.2.-8) 'Oku matamata 'aliki.

PART(Prs) look chief

'He is chiefly-looking.'

4. **mei ~ meimei**

**mei** and **meimei** indicate that a situation almost holds, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-9) Ne notou mei oo mai tono PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) almost come(Col) DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf3Sg0)
kaatoá.
all

'Almost all of them came.'

(2.2.3.2.-10) 'Oku memei tatau te lea faka-Niuafou’óú
PART(Prs) almost same DET(Spf) language Niuafou’uan
mo te lea faka-'Uveá.
PART(Ass) DET(Spf) language 'Uvean

'The Niuafou'ou language is almost the same as
the 'Uvean language.'

They may take on an aspectual meaning, in which case they mark a situation that
is about to take place, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-11) 'Aua 'e 'alu 'i te taimi nei
don't PART(Sbj) go PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time DEIC(Nsp)
he 'oku mei 'ua.
for PART(Prs) almost rain

'Don't go now for it is going to rain.'

(2.2.3.2.-12) 'Oku notou meimei tau mai.
PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) almost arrive DIR(Tsp)

'They are about to arrive.'

to meimei, but not mei, may occur by itself like a base as an answer to questions, as
in:

(2.2.3.2.-13) Question: Kua 'osi moho te iká?
PART(prf) already cooked DET(Spf) fish

'Is the fish done yet?'

Answer: Meimei pe'e.
almost just

'Almost.'

(5) lolotonga (< common word lolotonga ‘progress’)lolotonga marks a situation as progressive. When it occurs with a predicate that refers
to a process, it indicates that the situation is on-going, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-14) 'Oku lolotonga 'ua nei.
PART(Prs) progress rain DEIC(Nsp)

'It is raining now.'

(2.2.3.2.-15) Nau 'alu ki tono
PART(Pst)-DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) DET(Spf3Sg0)

'api 'oku lolotonga kaukau.
home PART(Prs) progress bathe
'When I went to his home, he was bathing.'

When, on the other hand, it occurs with a predicate that refers to a state, it indicates that the situation holds temporarily, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-15) 'Oku kei lolotonga vela te maka 'i
PART(Prs) still progress hot DET(Spf) stone PART(Loc)
teteumú.
DET(Spf) earth-oven

'The stones in the earth oven are still hot.'

(2.2.3.2.-16) 'Oku lolotonga 'i Vava'u te vaká.
PART(Prs) progress PART(Loc) Vava'u DET(Spf) ship

'The ship is in Vava'u (at the moment).'

(6) kei

kei indicates that a situation that has begun at an earlier point in time is still continuing, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-17) 'Oku kei viviku te kofú.
PART(Prs) still wet DET(Spf) garment

'The garment is still wet.'

(2.2.3.2.-18) 'I te taimi ko ía, ne
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time PART(Npm) DEM(ANAPH) PART(Pst)
auki'i tamasi'i si'isi'i.
DET(1SgExcl) still little boy small

'At that time, I was still a small boy.'

In negated clauses (III.3.), kei indicates that a situation that has continued does not continue any longer, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-19) 'Oku kala kei viviku te kofú.
PART(Prs) not still wet DET(Spf) garment

'The garment is no longer wet.'

(2.2.3.2.-20) 'Oku kailoa kei kei 'i te
PART(prs) not PART(Sbj) still PART(Loc) DET(SPF)
api akó te tamaliki akó.
home learn DET(Spf) children(Col) learn

'The pupils are no longer in the school.'

(2.2.3.2.-20) may be compared with (2.2.3.1.-13). Unlike toe and tee 'again', kei, occurring in negated clauses, does not necessarily presuppose the impossibility or unprobability of the situation taking place again. (2.2.3.2.-20) may, therefore, be used when, for instance, the pupils are expected to come back on the following day as well as when they are not expected to come back again. When it means the latter, kei may be
replaced by toe or tee. In (2.2.3.2-19), on the other hand, toe and tee would be inappropriate for use except when, for instance, the garment has been covered with wax or something and will never get wet again.

(7) fa' a

fa' a indicates that a situation is iterated more or less regularly, as in:

(2.2.3.2-21) 'Oku fa' a loi 'ia Mele.
PART(Prs) often lie PART(Abs) Mele

'meʻeʻeʻeʻeʻe mele often tells lies.'

(2.2.3.2-22) 'Oku fa' a ha'u 'i te vaka puna
PART(Prs) often come PART(Loc) DET(Spf) ship fly

'o too mai ki Niua nei.
PART(Inc) land DIR(Tsp) PART(All) Niua DEIC(Nsp)

'An aeroplane often comes and lands on Niua.'

(8) toutou

toutou, like fa' a 'often' in II.2.3.2.(7) above, indicates that a situation is iterated more or less regularly. It seems to indicate more frequency or regularity than fa' a.

(2.2.3.2-23) Kote'uhì ne au toutou fai ia,
because PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) often do DEM(Anaph)

'oku au 'ilo'i 'e au
PART(Prs) DET(1SgExcl) know PART(Erg) DET(1SgExcl)

lava 'o fai ia.
possible PART do DEM(Anaph)

'Because I did it again and again, I know that I
will be able to do it.'

(9) 'osi ( < common word 'osi 'finished')

'osi is semantically very closely related with the particle kua (II.2.1.(4)), which indicates the perfect aspect. That is, when it occurs with bases that refer to processes, it marks the completion of the processes, and when it occurs with bases that refer to states, the completion of entry into the states. However, it occurs not only with kua, as in:

(2.2.3.2-24) Kua 'osi hiki 'ia Sione 'o ngaalu
PART(Prf) already move PART(Abs) Sione PART(Inc) work

'i 'Eu'a.
PART(Loc) 'Eu'a

'Sione has already moved to work on 'Eu'a.'

(2.2.3.2-25) '0 kaa pau 'e ke
PART(Inc) CONJ-PART(CON) certain PART(Fut) DET(2Sg)
toe ha'u, kuau 'osi 'alu again come PART(Prf)-DET(1SgExcl) already go 'ia au ki Tonga. PART(Abs) DET(1SgExcl) PART(All) Tonga 'When you come again, I will have already gone to Tonga.'

(2.2.3.2.-26) Kua 'osi vaivai te tangatá. PART(Prf) already old DET(Spf) man 'The man has already become old.'

but also with various other particles, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-27) Ko te tohi ne ke lili PART(Npm) DET(Spf) letter PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) send mai 'i Suné, ne au 'osi DIR(Tsp) PART June PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) already ma'u 'i te uike kua 'osi. get PART(Loc) DET(Spf) week PART finished 'The letter you sent me in June - I already received it last week.'

(2.2.3.2.-28) 'Oku 'osi vaivai te tangatá. PART(Prs) already old DET(Spf) man 'The man is already old.'

(2.2.3.2.-29) 'Okou fiama'u ke ke PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) want PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) 'osi 'alu. already go 'I want you to have already gone.'

but not with 'e (II.2.1.(3)), which indicates the future tense. (It may, however, be used of a future situation if the situation is marked by kua as perfect, as in (2.2.3.2.-25))

Although it is translated as 'already' in the examples above, it would be quite inappropriate for use in a clause like the following since the process referred to by the base is not completed.

(2.2.3.2.-30) *'Oku 'osi 'alu te vaká. PART(Prs) already go DET(Spf) ship ('The ship is already departing.')

'osi does not occur in negated clauses (III.3.). The aspectually-marked negative words teʻeki (ai) and heʻiki (ai) 'not yet' (III.3.2.1.(3)) mark the negation of clauses that would involve 'osi.

(10) fia

fia indicates the desiderative. It relates to S, as in:
(2.2.3.2.-31) 'Oku fia 'alu 'ia au mo PART(Prs) want go PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Ass)

koe.
PROI(2Sg)

'I want to go with you.'

or A, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-32) 'Oku fia faka'osi 'e te fafiné PART(Prs) want finish PART(Erg) DET(Spf) woman

tana ngaaué.
DET(Spf3SgA) work

'The woman wants to finish her work.'

If the desiderative relates to arguments in other functions or arguments that do not
directly participate in the situation, bi-clausal constructions that involve a verbal like
fiama'u 'want' (< fia 'want' + ma'u 'get') must be used, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-33) 'Okou fiama'u ke ke taki PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) want PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) lead

'oku ki ai.
PROII(1SgExcl0) PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'I want you to lead me there.'

(2.2.3.2.-34) 'Okú ke fiama'u ke au fai PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) want PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) do

ia.
DEM(Anaph)

'Do you want me to do it?'

fia, occurring with certain words, indicates pretention, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-35) fia lelei want good

(2.2.3.2.-36) fia kovi want bad

'goody-goody' 'act like ruffian
(to frighten
people)'

(2.2.3.2.-36) fia poto want clever

(2.2.3.2.-37) fia lahi want great

'pretend to be
smart' 'pretend to be
important'

or tendency, as in:

(2.2.3.2.-38) fia taa want hit

(2.2.3.2.-39) fia pau'u want naughty

'have tendency
to hit' 'have tendency to
be naughty'

Certain nominally-oriented words which normally do not occur as verbals by
themselves may occur as verbals when they are accompanied by fia, as in:
2.3.3 Order of Elements within the Pre-base Modifier Slot

More than one pre-base modifier may occur in one phrase as long as there is no semantic incongruity. When there is more than one pre-base modifier, they generally occur in the order:

\[
\text{Pre-base Modifiers} \rightarrow \text{fia} \rightarrow \text{Pre-base Modifiers}
\]

\[
\text{not Ending in -a} \rightarrow (2.2.3.2.(10)) \rightarrow \text{Ending in -a}
\]

The following examples conform to this order:

(2.2.3.3.-1) 'Okou toe fia 'alu ki PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) again want go PART(All)

ai. DEM(Anaph)

'I want to go there again.'

(2.2.3.3.-2) 'Oku naa kei fia kaungaa ngaaue pee. PART(Prs) DET(3Du) still want co-op work just

'They still want to work together.'

More than one pre-base modifier that does not end in -a may concur in one phrase, in which case a pre-base modifier that has a lower degree of semantic cohesiveness with the base precedes one with a higher degree of semantic cohesiveness, as in:

(2.2.3.3.-3) 'Oku kei lolotonga fai tana tafi. PART(Prs) still progress do DET(Spf3SgA) sweep

'She is still sweeping.'

(2.2.3.3.-4) 'Okou toe meimei fakapikopiko. PART(Prs)-DET(1SGExcl) again almost lazy
'I am beginning to feel lazy again.'

The pre-base modifier fa'a 'often' (II.2.3.2.(7)) and toutou 'often' (II.2.3.2.(8)) often concur for emphasis, in which case either may precede the other, as in:

\[(2.2.3.3.-5)\] (a)  'Oku fa'a toutou ha'u 'ia Sione.  
\hspace{1cm} PART(Prs) often often come PART(Abs) Sione

(b)  'Oku toutou fa'a ha'u 'ia Sione.  
\hspace{1cm} PART(Prs) often often come PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione comes again and again.'

2.3.4 Pre-base Modifiers and Verbals that Occur as Postposed Modifiers

The pre-base modifiers that occur in incomplete verbal phrases (III.1.2.) that function as postposed modifiers of the verbal or nominal phrase are:

(1) kei 'still' (II.2.3.2.(6)), which may occur with verbals that function as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases, as in:

\[(2.2.3.4.-1)\] Ko  
\hspace{1cm} PART(Npm)  
\hspace{1cm} te matu'a kei maalohi 'ia Sione.  
\hspace{1cm} DET(Spf) old-man still strong PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione is an old man who is still strong.'

and also with verbals that function as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases, as in (3.1.2.1.-23), (3.1.2.1.-25) and (3.1.2.1.-26).

(2) fia 'want' (II.2.3.2.(10)) in certain sequences, most of which may be regarded as compound words.

\[(2.2.3.4.-2)\] Masi'i fia  
\hspace{1cm} PART(Npm)  
\hspace{1cm} taa mo'oni 'ia Sione.  
\hspace{1cm} DET(Spf) want hit true PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione is a boy who tends to hit others.'

Otherwise, pre-base modifiers must normally be preceded by particles when they occur with verbals that follow verbals or nominals they modify.

\[(2.2.3.4.-3)\] (a) Ko  
\hspace{1cm} PART(Npm)  
\hspace{1cm} te matu'a kua 'osi vaivai  
\hspace{1cm} DET(Spf) old-man PART(Prf) already weak

\hspace{1cm} 'ia Sione.  
\hspace{1cm} PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione is an old man who is already weak.'

(b) *Ko  
\hspace{1cm} PART(Npm)  
\hspace{1cm} te matu'a 'osi vaivai 'ia  
\hspace{1cm} DET(Spf) old-man already weak PART(Abs)

\hspace{1cm} Sione.  
\hspace{1cm} Sione

(3.1.2.1.-27) and (3.1.2.1.-28) may also be noted.
2.4 Base Slot

The base slot of the verbal phrase may be occupied by the following elements.

(1) Common Words (Verbals)

(2) The Following Nominal Phrases:
   (2-1) Locative Nominal Phrases
   (2-2) A-class and O-class Possessive Nominal Phrases
   (2-3) A-class and O-class Benefactive Nominal Phrases

(3) Common Words (Nominals)

(4) Directionals

(5) Emphatic Possessive Determiners

In principle, definite words (II.3.4.2.) do not occur as verbal-phrase bases. This is also true of personal names (II.3.4.2.(A)) and place names (II.3.4.2.(B)) which are used like common words when they indicate people and places with the name they indicate (II.3.4.4.). There are, however, two definite words — ‘aafea ‘when (in the future)’ and ‘anefe ‘when (in the past)’ — that occur in the base slot of the verbal phrase without any accompanying elements. As discussed in III.6.4.(6), however, these seem to function as nominal-phrase bases in the locative which then function as verbal-phrase bases rather than directly as verbal-phrase bases.

Directionals that occur as verbal-phrase bases are dealt with in II.2.5.1.(4) and II.2.5.2.(4), and emphatic possessive determiners that occur as verbal-phrase bases in II.3.2.2.(C)(4). They will, therefore, be excluded from the following.

2.4.1 Common Words (Verbals)

As dealt with in II.3.4.1.(A), common words in the nominal function are all used basically in the same way. In contrast to this, common words that occur as verbals have several types of different distributional possibilities with respect to the three basic types of simple verbal clauses (III.1.1.1.), and correspondingly, they may be classified into a number of types, as dealt with in II.2.4.1.(A) below.

In certain types of complex clauses, the status of some verbals is reduced in the sense that there are restrictions with respect to the expression of the arguments they share with the verbal of the following clauses. These restrictions are dealt with in II.2.4.1.(B).

As mentioned in I.2.2., common words may be morphologically simple or complex and show a wider variety of forms than any other class of words. This is especially true of verbally-oriented words as most affixes that occur in common words are associated
with verbally-oriented words, and reduplication is also much more common in verbally-oriented words than in nominally-oriented words. II.2.4.1.(C) deals with the affixes, reduplication and compounding that are noted in verbally-oriented words.

As in the case of nominally-oriented words, some verbally-oriented words have collective forms. The collective forms of verbally-oriented words are used in association with an A, S or O that indicates dual or plural persons or things. They are dealt with in II.2.4.1.(D).

(A) Use of Common Words as Verbals and their Classification

As dealt with in III.1.1.1., simple verbal clauses are of three types, namely, intransitive, middle and transitive. On the basis of their distributional possibilities with respect to these three types of clauses, verbals may be classified into the following four main types:

(a) Intransitive Verbals

(b) Middle Verbals

(c) Transitive Verbals

(d) Open Verbals

(a) Intransitive verbals occur in intransitive clauses. They are, therefore, incompatible with arguments in the ergative (II.3.1.(2)).

(2.2.4.1.-1) ‘Oku moe te peepé.
PART(Prs) sleep DET(Spf) baby

‘The baby is sleeping.’

(2.2.4.1.-2) ‘Oku faka’ofa’ofa te motú.
PART(Prs) beautiful DET(Spf) island

‘The island is beautiful.’

Intransitive verbals may further be classified into:

(a-1) Common Intransitive Verbals

(a-2) Stative Verbals

(a-3) Numerals

(a-4) Negators

(a-1) Common intransitive verbals are semantically quite diverse and include words that refer to various bodily functions, motion, rest, social and cultural activities, natural phenomena and so on. Examples include moe ‘sleep’, maanava ‘breathe’, tale ~ tae ‘cough’, ‘alu ‘go’, ha’u ‘come’, kakau ‘swim’, ta’utu ‘sit’, tu’u ‘stand’, ngaauaue ‘work’, polisi ‘work as policeman’, tau’olunga ‘dance’, ‘ua ‘rain’, mofuike ‘have earthquake’, pō ‘become night’ and so on.
There are no particular restrictions as to the tenses, aspects or moods in which common intransitive verbals occur.

(a-2) Stative verbals refer to various states and qualities and roughly correspond to English adjectives. Examples include faka'ofa 'beautiful', vela 'hot', fiakaia 'hungry', mamahi 'painful' kulakula 'red' and so on.

Stative verbals normally do not occur in imperative-hortative clauses (III.5.). They commonly occur as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases without being preceded by any particle. On the basis of this, they may be distinguished from numerals mentioned in (a-3) below, but not necessarily from common intransitive verbals mentioned in (a-1) above or from open verbals mentioned in (d) below since, as dealt with in III.1.2.3., these may also occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers without any particle when they indicate habitual or permanent qualities that characterize what the base signifies.

(a-3) Numerals include not only words that correspond to English numerals but also the question word flia 'how many' (III.6.4.(5)). Numerals are dealt with in detail in II.7.

(a-4) Negators include several members that are somewhat diverse in syntactic distribution. However, they have a few characteristics in common which distinguish them from all other types of verbals. They are dealt with in detail in III.3.

Many common intransitive verbals and stative verbals are semantically extended to refer to involuntary mental processes → ngalo 'subside' → 'forget', mahino 'clear' → 'understand' and so on. As dealt with in II.3.1., the arguments that experience such mental processes occur either in the locative (II.3.1.(3)) or in the allative (II.3.1.(4)).

Verbals referring to natural phenomena which roughly correspond to English impersonal verbs are used with S's that indicate the place or time in which the phenomena they signify take place.

(2.2.4.1.-3) (a) 'Oku 'ua 'ia Tonga 'i te PART(Prs) rain PART(Abs) Tonga PART(Loc) DET(SPF)

'aho nei.
day DEIC(Nsp)

(b) 'Oku 'ua te 'aho nei 'i PART(Prs) rain DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp) PART(Loc)

Tonga.
Tonga

'It is raining in Tonga today.

(2.2.4.1.-4) 'Oku fa'a mofuike 'ia 'Aositeleeliea?
PART(Prs) often earthquake PART(Abs) Australia
'Do you often have earthquakes in Australia?'

(b) Middle Verbs occur in middle clauses. They are, therefore, incompatible with arguments in the ergative like common intransitive verbs but must have arguments in the locative ([3.1.3)] or the allative ([3.1.4]).

(2.2.4.1.5) 'Okú ke sai’ina 'iaa Sione?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) like PART(Loc) Sione

‘Do you like Sione?’

(2.2.4.1.6) 'Okou tui ki tana
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) believe PART(All) DET(Spf3SgA)

leá.
language

‘I believe his words.’

Middle verbs refer to cognition, perception and other mental activities and various activities that involve pursuit. Besides the two in the examples above, middle verbs include manako ‘like’, ofa ‘love’, manatu ‘think of’, tokanga ‘care for’, faka‘apa‘apa ‘respect’, mulimuli ‘follow’, and so on.

Intransitive verbs, too, may certainly have arguments in the locative or the allative, but these are not obligatory with them. While middle verbs, they are basically so and must normally be expressed.

(2.2.4.1.7) (a) ‘Okú ke sai’ina ai?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) like DEM(Anaph)

‘Do you like him?’

(b) *‘Okú ke sai’ina?

(2.2.4.1.8) (a) ‘Okou tui ki ai?
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) believe PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

‘I believe it.’

(b) *‘Okou tui.

With some middle verbs, however, such arguments may be ellipted if there is a directional.

(2.2.4.1.9) (a) ‘E au tokoni atu (kiaa koe).
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) help DIR(asp) PART(All)

PROI(2Sg)

‘I will help you.’

(b) *‘E au tokoni.

Most middle verbs may occur with arguments in both the locative and the allative. As dealt with in III.1.1.1.(B), choice between the two functions is normally made on the basis of the degree of voluntariness of the situation on the part of S.
(c) Transitive verbals occur exclusively in transitive clauses. They are, therefore, compatible with arguments in the ergative.

(2.2.4.1.-10) 'Oku fa'a kaakaa'i 'e te sianá
PART(Prs) often deceive PART(Erg) DET(Spf) fellow

    te kakai.
    DET(Spf) people

'The fellow often deceives the people.'

(2.2.4.1.-11) Ne taa'i 'e Sione te kuliī.
PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) Sione DET(Spf) dog

    'Sione hit the dog.'

They are marked for aspect by the suffix -(C)i (II.2.4.1.(C-1.2)(1)) and may not be followed by nominals with generic meaning that function as postposed modifiers (III.1.2.1.(C)).

(2.2.4.1.-12) *'Oku fa'a kaakaa'i kakai te sianá.
PART often deceive people DET(SPF) fellow

(2.2.4.1.-13) *Ne taa'i kuliī 'ia Sione.
PART hit dog PART Sione

Transitive verbals are semantically quite diverse but since, as mentioned in II.3.1.(2), only nominals that indicate animate things or certain natural phenomena may occur as A, they necessarily refer to processes that are initiated by such things. Besides the two in the examples above, transitive verbals include 'alu'i 'walk on', nofo'i 'inhabit', manatu'i 'remember', si'o 'stare', lea'i 'scold', kaiha'asi 'steal', maumauki 'break', taamate'i 'kill' and so on.

(d) Open Verbals occur in more than one of the basic types of simple verbal clauses. They may be further classified into:

(d-1) Neutral Open Verbals

(d-2) Transitively-Oriented Open Verbals

(d-1) Neutral open verbals may be used both transitively and intransitively, and the argument that initiates the process they signify may occur as either S or A.

(2.2.4.1.-14) Ne kai 'ia Sione.
PART(Pst) eat PART(Abs) Sione

    'Sione ate.'

(2.2.4.1.-15) Ne kai 'e Sione te iká.
PART(Pst) eat PART(Erg) Sione DET(Spf) fish

    'Sione ate the fish.'

Since A may be ellipted when it is obvious from context, a clause like (2.2.4.1.-14)
can be ambiguous and may also be interpreted as meaning: ‘Sione was eaten (by, for instance, a shark).’

Most verbals of this type may also be used like middle verbals.

(2.2.4.1.-16) Ne kai ‘ia Sione ‘i te iká.
PART(pst) eat PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc) DET(Spf) fish

‘Sione ate some of the fish.’

Verbals of this type may also be used intransitively in the construction in which nominals that have generic meaning occur as postposed modifiers (III.1.2.1.(C)).

(2.2.4.1.-17) ‘Oku fa’a kai ika ‘ia Sione.
PART(Prs) often eat fish PART(Abs) Sione

‘Sione often eats fish.’

Neutral open verbals are relatively small in number, and besides kai ‘eat’ above, they include such verbals as inu ‘drink’, taa ‘hit’, fana ‘shoot’, langa ‘build’, tohi ‘write’, kamata ‘begin’ and so on.

(d-2) Transitively-oriented open verbals are normally used transitively, and accordingly, the argument that initiates the process they signify occurs as A.

(2.2.4.1.-18) Ne ‘aumai ‘e Sione te tohî.
PART(Pst) bring PART(Erg) Sione DET(Spf) letter

‘Sione brought the letter.’

With verbals of this type, there is no ambiguity even if A is clear from context and not expressed. A clause like:

(2.2.4.1.-19) Ne ‘aumai ‘ia Sione.
PART(Pst) bring PART(Abs) Sione

can only mean: ‘Sione was brought (by someone).’

Verbals of this type may, however, be used intransitively in the construction in which nominals that have generic meaning occur as postposed modifiers (III.1.2.1.(C)).

(2.2.4.1.-20) ‘Oku ‘aumai tohi ‘ia Sione.
PART(Prs) bring letter PART(Abs) Sione

‘Sione brings letters.’

Transitively-oriented open verbals are semantically quite diverse and, beside ‘aumai ‘bring’ above, include verbals like ngaahi ‘make’, tunu ‘roast’, to’o pick up’, fakahaa ‘inform’ and so on.

(B) Restrictions on Verbals in Complex Clauses

As dealt with in III.2., negators may be followed by verbal clauses that have no particles, which suggests their reduced status as verbals. Apart from this, some verbals are subject to some restrictions when they occur in certain types of complex clauses. These restrictions are of the following two major types:
(B-1) Restriction 1

The first type of restriction applies to a number of modal and aspectual verbals. An example of such verbals is kamata 'begin', which may be used with a clause introduced by the particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)), as in:

(2.2.4.1.-21) Ne kamata ke hiva 'iá te fafiné. PART(Pst) begin PART(Sbj) sing PART(Abs) DET(Spf) woman

'The woman began to sing.'

(2.2.4.1.-22) Ne kamata ke fai 'e te fafiné 'iá te ngaaué. PART(Pst) begin PART(Sbj) do PART(Erg) DET(Spf) woman PART(Abs) DET(Spf) work

'The woman began to do the work.'

kamata may also be directly associated with the A, S or O of the following clause. The case-marking of these arguments are, however, always determined by the verbal of the following clause. Therefore, in correspondence with (2.2.4.1.-21) and (2.2.4.1.-22) above, it is possible to say:

(2.2.4.1.-23) Ne kamata 'iá te fafiné ke hiva. PART(Pst) begin PART(Abs) DET(Spf) woman PART(Sbj) sing

'The woman began to sing.'

(2.2.4.1.-24) Ne kamata 'e te fafiné ke fai 'iá te ngaaué. PART(Pst) begin PART(Erg) DET(Spf) woman PART(Sbj) do PART(Abs) DET(Spf) work

'The woman began to do the work.'

(2.2.4.1.-25) Ne kamata 'iá te ngaaué ke fai 'e te fafiné. PART(Pst) begin PART(Abs) DET(Spf) work PART(Sbj) do PART(Erg) DET(Spf) woman

'The work began to be done by the woman.'

The S and A may be expressed not only by nominal phrases, as in the examples above, but also by person determiners in either clauses. Thus, clauses like the following are all possible:

(2.2.4.1.-26)(a) Ne kamata ke au ngaauue PART(Pst) begin PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) work
‘i te fale koloá.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) house goods

(b) Ne au kamata ke ngaau
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl).begin PART(Sbj) work

‘i te fale koloá.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) house goods

‘I began to work in the shop.’

(2.2.4.1.-27)(a) Ne kamata ke ina fai tana
PART(Pst) begin PART(Sbj) DET(3Sg) do DET(Spf3SgA)
laalanga.
weave

(b) Ne ina kamata ke fai tana
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) begin PART(Sbj) do DET(Spf3SgA)
laalanga.
weave

‘She began to do her weaving.’

Verbals like ‘ai (ke) ‘put, be about to’, lava (‘o) or (ke) ‘possible, can’ and so on are used in the same way as kamata in complex clauses. The particles in parentheses are the ones that introduce the clauses that follow them.

Verbals like feinga (ke) ‘try’, hanga (‘o) ‘turn, proceed’ and so on are also used in the same way except that O may not be directly associated with them.

(B-2) Restriction II

The second type of restriction applies to the two stative verbals pau ‘certain’ and totonu ‘right’, which, used with clauses introduced by the particle ke ‘Subjunctive’ (III.2.4.1.(2)), express necessity and obligation respectively. As in the following examples, pau, used in this way, is always preceded by the particle kua while totonu may be preceded by various particles, depending on the context.

(2.2.4.1.-28) Kua pau ke tokoni te tamaliki
PART(Prf) certain PART(Sbj) help DET(Spf) children(COL)
akó ki te notou faiakó.
learn PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) teacher

‘The pupils must help their teacher.’

(2.2.4.1.-29) Kua pau ke taua'te'i 'e
PART(Prf) certain PART(Sbj) punish PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
faiafkó te tamasi'i.
teacher DET(Spf) boy

‘The teacher must punish the boy.’

(2.2.4.1.-30) ‘Oku totonu ke ‘alu ‘iá
PART(Prs) right PART(Sbj) go PART(Abs) DET(Spf)
fainé.
woman

'The woman should go.'

(2.2.4.1.-31) 'Oku totonu ke fai 'e te fainé PART(Prs) right PART(Sbj) do PART(Erg) DET(Spf) woman

te ngaaué.
DET(Spf) work

'The woman should do the work.'

As in the case of verbals dealt with in II.2.4.1.(B-1) above, pau and totonu also permit the A, S or O of the following clause to be directly associated with them. However, the argument that is thus directly associated with them must always occur in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)), regardless of its semantic function. Therefore, it may never be marked by the particle 'e 'Ergative' (II.3.1.(2)) even if it is A in relation to the predicate of the following clause. Therefore, of the clauses that correspond to (2.2.4.1.-28) - (2.2.4.1.-31) above, (2.2.4.1.-33)(b) and (2.2.4.1.-36)(b) are not possible:

(2.2.4.1.-32) Kua pau te tamaliki akó ke PART(Prf) certain DET(Spf) children(Col) learn PART(Sbj)
tokoni ki te notou faiakó.
help PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3P1) teacher

'The pupils must help their teacher.'

(2.2.4.1.-33)(a) Kua pau te faiakó ke tautea'i PART(Prf) certain DET(Spf) teacher PART(Sbj) punish
te tamasi'í.
DET(Spf) boy

'The teacher must punish the boy.'

(b) *Kua pau 'e te faiakó PART(Prf) certain PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher

ke tautea'i te tamasi'í.
PART(Sbj) punish DET(Spf) boy

(2.2.4.1.-34) Kua pau te tamasi'í ke tautea'i PART(Prf) certain DET(Spf) boy PART(Sbj) punish

'e te faiakó.
PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher

'The boy must be punished by the teacher.'

(2.2.4.1.-35) 'Oku totonu 'íá te fainé ke PART(Prs) right PART(Abs) DET(Spf) woman PART(Sbj)

'alu.
go

'The woman should go.'
Further, A and S may not be expressed by person determiners (II.2.2.), when they are directly associated with pau or totonu.

(2.2.4.1.-38)(a) Kua pau ke ke ngaaué maalohi
PART(Prf) certain PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) work strong
ange.
DIR(Tsd)

'You must work harder.'

(b) *Kua ke pau ke ngaaué maalohi
PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) certain PART(Sbj) work strong
ange.
DIR(Asp)

but: (c) Kua pau 'ia koe ke
PART(Prf) certain PART(Abs) PROI(2SG) PART(Sbj)
ngaaué maalohi ange.
work strong DIR(Tsd)

(2.2.4.1.-39)(a) Kua pau ke tou fakatau
PART(Prf) certain PART(Sbj) DET(1PLIncl) buy
mai he maama kasa fo'ou.
DIR(Tsp) DET(Nspf) light gas new

'We must buy a new lamp.'

(b) *Kua tou pau ke fakatau
PART(Prf) DET(1PLIncl) certain PART(Sbj) buy
mai he maama kasa fo'ou.
DIR(Tsp) DET(Nspf) light gas new

but: (c) Kua pau 'ia taatou ke
PART(Prf) certain PART(Abs) PROI(1PLIncl) PART(Sbj)
fakatau mai he maama kasa fo'ou.
buy DIR(Tsp) DET(Nspf) light gas new
(2.2.4.1.-40)(a) 'Oru totonu ke ke 'alu leva
PART(Prs) right PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) go SQC
ki te fale mahakí.
PART(All) DET(Spf) house ill
'You must go to the hospital immediately.'
(b) *'Orú ke totonu ke 'alu leva
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) right PART(Sbj) go SQC
ki te fale mahakí.
PART(All) DET(Spf) house ill
but: (c) 'Oru totonu 'ia koe ke 'alu
PART(Prs) right PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg) PART(Sbj) go
leva ki te fale mahakí.
SQC PART(All) DET(Spf) house ill

(2.2.4.1.-41)(a) 'Oru totonu ke kotou faka'osi 'ena
PART(Prs) right PART(Sbj) DET(2Pl) finish DEM(Nad)
'i te 'aho neí.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)
'You should finish that today.'
(b) *'Oru kotou totonu ke faka'osi 'ena
PART(Prs) DET(2Pl) right PART(Sbj) finish DEM(Nad)
'i te 'aho neí.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)
but: (c) 'Oru totonu 'ia kootou ke
PART(Prs) right PART(Abs) PROI(2Pl) PART(Sbj)
faka'osi 'ena 'i te 'aho neí.
finish DEM(Nad) PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)

As mentioned in III.8.1.1.(B), verbs that are normally not used without particles
are similarly incompatible with person determiners.

(C) Affixes. Reduplication and Compounding in Verbally-oriented Words

(C-1) Affixes

As mentioned in 1.2.1.2. and 1.2.2.3., there are cases in which it is difficult to
determine whether a morpheme should be analysed as an affix or not. In the following,
only affixes whose function may be recognized with a certain degree of clarity from a
synchronic analysis are considered. The grammatical status of two morphemes — fia and
(C)aki — is not very clear. That is, fia has characteristics of both an affix and a pre-base
modifier and (C)aki characteristics of both an affix and a phrase adjunct. fia is excluded
from the following and is dealt with in II.2.3.2.(10). (C)aki is dealt with in the following
in two of its functions in which its characteristics as a suffix are predominant or when it
is used together with a prefix. Only the form ‘aki occurs in many of its functions.

(C-1.1) Prefix – Stem
(1) faka-
faka- has two main functions:

(i) Causation
Firstly, faka- indicates causation. It is attached to both verbals and nominalts and forms
a number of different types of verbally-oriented words, namely:

faka- firstly occurs with stems used as various types of verbals and forms words of
the stative-verbal type (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)) that indicate the causation of what the stem
signifies, as in:

‘ilifia ‘afraid’ faka-‘ilifia ‘terrifying’
fiapia ‘happy’ faka-fiapia ‘making happy’
lata ‘comfortable’ faka-lata ‘causing comfort’
kata ‘laugh’ faka-kata ‘causing laughter’

Examples in clauses.

(2.2.4.1.-42) ‘Oku fu’u faka’ilifia ‘aupito te motou
PART(Prs) very PREF-afraid totally DET(Spf) DET(iPlExc1)
faiaiko fo’ou.
teacher new

‘Our new teacher is very terrifying.’

(2.2.4.1.-43) Ho te talanoa faka’ilifia.
PART(Prs) DET(Spf) story PREF-afraid

‘It is a terrifying story.’

(2.2.4.1.-44) ‘Oku notou hiva fakakata.
PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) sing PREF-laugh

‘They are singing in a joking manner.’

and also words of the open-verbal type (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)) that indicate the causation of the
state or process signified by the stem. These may be either transitively-oriented or
neutral.

(a) Transitively-oriented

ma’uli ‘alive’ faka-ma’uli ‘make alive’
‘osi ‘finished’ faka-‘osi ‘finish’
foki ‘return (vi)’ faka-foki ‘return (vt)’
takoto ‘lie’ faka-takoto ‘lay’
(b) Neutral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taha</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fakataha</td>
<td>'unite, meet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mataла</td>
<td>'clear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faka-matalа</td>
<td>'explain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vave</td>
<td>'quick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fakavave</td>
<td>'quicken, make haste'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When these words are used transitively, the argument that represents the causer occurs as A and the argument that represents the causee as O, as in:

\[
(2.2.4.1.-45) \quad \text{Oku} \quad fakama'uli \ fefe'aki \ te \quad kasa \ ko \\
\quad \text{PART(prs)} \quad \text{PREF-alive how} \quad \text{DET(Spf) lamp PART(Npm)}
\]

'eni? \\
DEM(Nsp)

'How do you turn on this lamp?'

\[
(2.2.4.1.-46) \quad \text{Ko} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{ongo kautahá, ne} \quad \text{fakataha} \\
\quad \text{PART(Npm)} \quad \text{DET(Spf) DU company PART(Pst) PREF-one}
\]

'i \quad \text{te} \quad \text{ta'u kua} \quad \text{'osi.} \\
\quad \text{PART(Loc) DET(Spf) year PART(Prf) finished}

'The two companies - they were united last year.'

\[
(2.2.4.1.-47) \quad \text{Kuа} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{'osi} \quad \text{fakafoki} \quad \text{te} \\
\quad \text{PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already PREF-return DET(Spf)}
\]

\[
\text{tohi kiaa} \quad \text{Sione? book PART(All) Sione}
\]

'Have you returned the book to Sione yet?'

Neutral ones generally have a reflexive meaning when used intransitively.

\[
(2.2.4.1.-48) \quad \text{Ne} \quad \text{motou} \quad \text{fakataha} \quad \text{'anepeo} \quad \text{te} \\
\quad \text{PART(Pst) DET(iplexcl) PREF-one last-night PART(Loc)}
\]

\[
\text{te} \quad \text{api} \quad \text{'o} \quad \text{Sioné. home PART(Pss0) Sione}
\]

'We met at Sione's home last night.'

However, it is not always the case.

\[
(2.2.4.1.-49) \quad \text{E} \quad \text{toki fakamatala mai} \quad \text{'ia} \quad \text{Sione} \\
\quad \text{PART(Fut) then explain DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Sione}
\]

\[
\text{'aapongipong1. tomorrow}
\]

'Sione will not make an explanation until tomorrow.'

Faka- also occurs with stems that are used as nominals and forms words of the open-verbal type that indicate the provision or exposure of what is signified by the stem. It may form both transitively-oriented and neutral open verbs.

(a) Transitivity-oriented
lao 'law' faka-lao 'legalize'
suu 'shoe' faka-suu 'provide with shoes'
maasima 'salt' faka-maasima 'add salt'

(b) Neutral

'ua 'rain' faka-'ua 'expose to rain'
la'aa 'sun' faka-la'aa 'expose to sun'
'umu 'earth oven' faka'umu 'provide food'

These words are used in the same way as those dealt with just above. That is, when they are used transitively, the argument that represents the causer occurs as A and the argument that represents the causee as O, as in:

(2.2.4.1.-50) 'E faka'umu 'e Sione te kau
PART(Fut) PREF-earth-oven PART(Erg) Sione DET(Spf) PL
ngaaué 'aapongipongi.
work tomorrow

'Sione is going to provide the workers
with food tomorrow.'

(2.2.4.1.-51) Faka'ua te tamaliki 'i tu'a
PREF-rain DET(Spf) children(Col) PART(Loc) outside
mo te 'uli.
PART(Adv) DET(Spf) dirt

'Bathe the children outside because they are
dirty!'

Neutral ones generally have a reflexive meaning when used intransitively.

(2.2.4.1.-52) 'Oku fa'a faka'ua te kakal 'o
PART(Prs) often PREF-rain DET(Spf) people PART(Inc)
kaa pau 'oku si'i te vai
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Prs) little DET(Spf) water
'i te simá.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) cement

'The people often bathe in the rain if there
is little water in the cement tank.'

(2.2.4.1.-53) Ku ke lava 'o sio ki
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) possible PART(Inc) see PART(All)
te fe'i paka 'oku fakala'aa 'i
DET(Spf) fruit-of crab PART(Prs) PREF-sun PART(Loc)
heé?
DEM(Aspad)

'Can you see the crab that is resting in the
sun over there?'

But it is not always the case.

(2.2.4.1.-54) 'E faka'umu 'ia Sione 'aapongipongi.
PART(Fut) PREF-earth-oven PART(Abs) Sione tomorrow

'Sione will provide food tomorrow.'

Occurring with sio 'see' and fanongo 'hear', faka- forms words of the open-verbal type which are somewhat different from those dealt with above. That is, occurring with these particular stems, it seems to indicate reflexive causation, and the resulting words indicate highly voluntary processes.

sio 'see' faka-sio 'look intently'
fanongo 'hear' faka-fanongo 'listen intently'

These words are used either transitively or like middle verbs.

(2.2.4.1.-55) 'Oku notou fakasio pee te tamasi'i pe
PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) PREF-see just DET(Spf) boy if

'e ina lava 'o ma'u te
PART(Fut) DET(3Sg) possible PART(Inc) get DET(Spf)

manu punā.
animal fly

'They are watching the boy, wondering if he can

catch the bird.'

(2.2.4.1.-56) Ne notou kakau 'o fakalukuluku
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) swim PART(Inc) dive-fishing

'i tai kaau fakasio pee kiaa
PART(Loc) sea CONJ-DET(1SgExcl) PREF-see just PART(All)

naatou 'i 'uta.
PROI(3Pl) PART(Loc) land

'They swam and did dive-fishing in the sea while

I watched them intently on the shore.'

(ii) Manner

Secondly, faka- indicates manner. It is attached to nominals and forms verbally-oriented words of the stative-verbal type (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)) that indicate some characteristic of what the nominal signifies.

fafine 'woman' faka-fafine 'like a woman (used of men)'
tangata 'man' faka-tangata 'like a man (used of men)'
tu'i 'king' faka-tu'i 'kingly, royal'
fanua 'land'  faka-fanua 'characteristic of a land, native, traditional'

Niuafo'ou 'Niuafo'ou'  faka-Niuafo'ou 'characteristic of Niuafo'ou'

Saapate 'Sunday'  faka-Saapate 'pertaining to Sunday'

poo'uli 'night'  faka-poo'uli 'dark'

pule'anga 'government'  faka-pule'anga 'governmental'

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-57) 'Oku kei faka-Niuafo'ou 'ata'ataa pee PART(Prs) still PREF-Niuafo'ou pure just
tana leá. DET(Spf3SgA) language

'His speech is still pure Niuafo'ou.'

(2.2.4.1.-58) Ko te inu fakafanua te kavá. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) drink PREF-land DET(Spf) kava

'Kava is a traditional drink.'

(2.2.4.1.-59) Ne notou toki foki mai mel PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) then return DIR(Tsp) PART(Abl)
te lautohi faka-Saapate 'o te DET(Spf) school PREF-Sunday PART(Pss0) DET(Spf)
siasi. church

'They have just returned from the Sunday school of the church.'

When the stems indicate units or recycling points in time, the resulting words indicate periodicity at intervals of what the stem signifies.

'afo 'day'  faka-'afo 'daily, every day'

uike 'week' faka-uike 'weekly, every week'

maahina 'month' faka-maahina 'monthly, every month'

ta'u 'year' faka-ta'u 'yearly, every year'

Saapate 'Sunday' faka-Saapate 'every Sunday'

uike ua 'week two: fortnight' faka-uike-ua 'fortnightly, every fortnight'

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-60) Ko te niusipepa fakauike. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) newspaper PREF-week

'It is a weekly newspaper.'
(2.2.4.1.-61) 'Oku 'alu fakauike te vaka puṏa ki
PART(Prs) go PREF-week DET(Spf) ship fly PART(All)

Niuatoputapu.
Niuatoputapu

'The aeroplane goes to Niuatoputapu every week.'

(2) ma-
ma- occurs in a large number of words and seems to have had several functions in the past. In most cases, however, it is no longer productive, and as mentioned in 1.2.2.3. with the example of mahaki 'ill', it has, in some cases, obviously even lost its status as a prefix. The only case in which it is productive is when it indicates throughness and, attached to stems used as various types of verbals, occurs together with corresponding words without the prefix in a construction like the following to indicate emphasis:

(2.2.4.1.-62) 'E ke 'alu 'o puke ke
PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) go PART(Inc) grab PART(Sbj)

mapuke te puakā na'a hola.
PREF-grab DET(Spf) pig PART-CONJ(Ptl) flee

'You will go and grab the pig firmly so that
it will not run away.'

A number of words with this prefix may occur in constructions other than the above. Examples include:

lava 'possible' ma-lava 'completely possible'
nofo 'stay' ma-nofo 'stay completely'
moe 'sleep' ma-moe 'sleep completely'
ngalo 'forget' ma-ngalo 'forget completely'

These are used as open verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)), as in:

(2.2.4.1.-63) 'Oku lava pee te 'uu me'a kaatoa pee
PART(Prs) possible just DET(Spf) PL thing all just

kaa 'oku si'i pee te 'uu me'a 'oku
but PART(Prs) few just DET(Spf) PL thing PART(Prs)

malava.
PREF-possible

'Everything is possible but only few things are
really possible.'

(2.2.4.1.-64) Kala ke ke lava 'o manofo?
not PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) possible PART(Inc) PREF-stay

'Can't you stay still?'
'I can not forget my wife completely.'

(3) pe-
pe- is attached to demonstratives (II.3.4.2:(D)) and forms words of the stative-verbal type (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)) indicating similitude. When they occur with this prefix, the demonstratives take the forms with an h-. The anaphoric demonstrative ai does not occur with this prefix. pe- plus hee is used anaphorically in its place as well as to indicate similitude with something away from both the speaker and the addressee.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{heni} & \quad '\text{DEM(Nsp)}' \\
\text{hena} & \quad '\text{DEM(Nad)}' \\
\text{hee} & \quad '\text{DEM(Aspad)}'
\end{align*}
\]

pe-nee 'like this'
pe-hena 'like that'
pe-nee 'like that, like this, so'

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-66) 'I te maahina 'e ua kua hill, PART(Loc) DET(Spf) month PART(Nmr) two PART(Prf) pass
ne kala au 'ilo'i 'e au PART(Pst) not DET(1SgExcl) know PART(Erg) DET(1SgExcl)

pehee. PREF-DEM(Aspad)

'Two months ago, I did not know that I would be like this.'

(2.2.4.1.-67) ne ke sio 'i he me'a PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) see PART(Loc) DET(Nspf) thing

pehee? PREF-DEM(Aspad)

'Did you see anything like that?'

As mentioned in II.2.4.1.(C-1.2)(1) below, pehee may occurs with the suffix -Ci and becomes pehe'i. However, it differs somewhat from other transitive verbals.

(C-1.2) Stem + Suffix

(1) -(C)i
The form -(C)i is the most common and productive. Other forms occur only with a small number of stems.

-(C)i forms words that are used as transitive verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(c)). Verbals with
this suffix may, therefore, be used only transitively. They indicate individuated processes and may not be used with nominals that have generic meaning occurring as postposed modifiers, as already indicated by (2.2.4.1.-12) and (2.2.4.1.-13) above.

-(C)|i firstly occurs with stems that are used as open verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Inflected Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'u</td>
<td>'get'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'u-'i</td>
<td>'get'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taa</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taa-'i</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tautēa</td>
<td>'punish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tautēa-'i</td>
<td>'punish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa</td>
<td>'slap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa-ki</td>
<td>'slap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fana</td>
<td>'shoot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fana-hi</td>
<td>'shoot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this case, the use of -(C)|i does not affect the case marking of the nominals indicating the arguments that initiate the process or receive its effect.

(2.2.4.1.-68)(a) Ne tautēa 'ia Sione 'e tana PART(Pst) punish PART(Abs) Sione PART(Erg) DET(SpfSgA)
fa'eēē. mother

(b) Ne tautēa'i 'ia Sione 'e PART(Pst) punish-SUF PART(Abs) Sione PART(Erg)
tana fa'eēē. DET(SpfSgA) mother
'Sione was punished by his mother.'

(2.2.4.1.-69)(a) 'Au 'alu 'o paa tou PART(Fut)-DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Inc) slap DET(SpfSg0)
talingā. ear

(b) 'Au 'alu 'o paaki PART(Fut)-DET(1SGEXCL) go PART(Inc) slap-SUF
tou talingā. DET(Spf2Sg0) ear
'I will go and slap your ear.'

-(C)|i also occurs with stems that are used as middle verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(b)). It often causes a semantic shift.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Inflected Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tokoni</td>
<td>'help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokoni-'i</td>
<td>'help'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manatu</td>
<td>'think'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manatu-'i</td>
<td>'remember'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulimuli</td>
<td>'follow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulimuli-'i</td>
<td>'follow secretly'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The arguments that occur as A and O correspond to those that would occur as S and nominal phrases in the locative (II.3.1.(3)) or the allative (II.3.1.(4)) respectively when the suffix is not used.

(2.2.4.1.-70)(a) Ne au tokoni kiaa naatou PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) help PART(All) PROI(3Pl)
(b) Ne au tokoni'i 'ia naatou. PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) help-SUF PART(Abs) PROI(3P1)
'I helped them.'

-(C)i also occurs with stems that are used as common intransitive verbs (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-1)). In this case, too, it often causes a semantic shift.

'alu  'go'        'alu-'i  'go on'
nofo  'live'      nofo-'i  'inhabit'
lea   'speak'     lea-'i  'scold'
kata  'laugh'    kata-'i  'laugh at'
taamate 'kill'   taamate-'i  'kill'
kaiha'a 'steal'  kaiha'a-si  'steal'
u'u   'bite'      u'u-si  'bite'

The argument that occurs as A corresponds to the argument that would occur as S when the suffix is not used. The argument that occurs as O, on the other hand, indicates the place where the process takes place or other arguments that could not be appropriately marked by any particle when the suffix is not used. The verbs taamate, kaiha'a and u'u are common intransitive verbs and do not occur in transitive clauses in spite of the English translations given above, unless they occur with -(C)i and thus become transitive verbs – Ne taamate 'ia Sione. 'PART(Pst) kill PART(Abs) Sione: Sione committed murder.' but not: *Ne taamate 'e Sione te fafiné. 'PART(Pst) kill PART(Erg) Sione DET(Spf) woman.', which may be compared with (2.2.4.1.-72) below.

(2.2.4.1.-71)(a) 'Oku kailoa ke nofo he taha PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) live DET(Spf) one

'i te motú. PART(Loc) DET(Spf) island

'No one lives on the island.

(b) 'Oku kailoa ke nofo'i 'e PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) live-SUF PART(Erg)

he taha te motú. DET(Nspf) one DET(Spf) island

'No one inhabits the island.'

(2.2.4.1.-72) Ne taamate'i 'e Sione te fafiné. PART(Pst) kill-SUF PART(Erg) Sione DET(Spf) woman

'Sione killed the woman.'

(2.2.4.1.-73) Ne kaiha'asi te ba'anga 'e te PART(Pst) steal DET(Spf) money PART(Erg) DET(SPF)
sianá.
fellow

'The fellow stole the money.'

-(C)i further occurs with stems that are used as stative verbs (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)) and nominals. In this case, resulting words generally have a causative meaning.

'uli  'dirty'  'uli-‘i  'make dirty'
sima  'cement'  sima-‘i  'provide cement'
maumau  'broken'  maumau-ki  'break'
'osi  'finished'  'osi-ki  'finish'

The argument that causes the process occurs as A and the argument that undergoes the causation as O.

(2.2.4.1.-74) Ne maumauki ‘e  te  hoosì PART(Pst) break  PART(Erg) DET(Spf) horse
taku  ngoué. DET(Spf1SgExclA) garden

'The horse wasted my garden.'

Not many stative verbs and nominals occur with -(C)i alone. Stative verbs and nominals with faka- dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-1)(1)(a), frequently occur with -(C)i: 'ilifia 'afraid' → faka-'ilifia-‘i 'terrify', maasima 'salt' → faka-maasima-‘i 'add salt' and so on.

Not all verbs that consist of stative verbs or nominals and -(C)i have a causative meaning: kaakaa 'deceptive' → kaakaa-‘i 'deceive'.

The stative verbal pehee 'like that, like this, so', which consists of the prefix pe- and the demonstrative hee (II.2.4.1.(C-1)(3)), may occur with -‘i. This particular combination causes a formal change of the stem and becomes pehe‘i. The verbal pehe‘i has characteristics of both transitive verbals and stative verbals, and is thus used not only like transitive verbals. as in:

(2.2.4.1.-75) Ko te aa ‘oku  ina pehe‘i PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Prs) DET(3Sg) so

'oû?
PROII(2Sg0)

'Why does he treat you like that?'

but also like stative verbals and can modify verbals that are used transitively. The form without -‘i, pehee, may always be used to modify verbals, whether they are used transitively, intransitively or in middle clauses.
(2.2.4.1.-76) (a) Ne'e  [pehe'i]  ina  taa  [peheee so-SUF]  'oku.
PART(Pst)  DET(3Sg)  hit  PROII(1SgExc10)

(b) Ne'e  ina  taa'i
PART(Pst)  DET(3SgExc1)  hit-SUF  pehee

'oku.
PROII(1SgExc10)

'He hit me like that.'

(2.2.4.1.-77) Ne  lea  [peheee so]
PART(Pst)  speak  *pehe'i  'ia  Sione.
so-SUF

'Sione spoke like that.'

pehe'i and pehee are used in a similar way when they occur in the predicate phrase in clauses like the following:

(2.2.4.1.-78) (a) Ne'e  [pehe'i]  tana  taa 'oku.
PART(Pst)  pehee  DET(Spf3SgA)  hit  PROII(1SgExc10)
so

(b) Ne'e  tana  taa'i
PART(Pst)  pehee  DET(Spf3SgA)  hit-SUF
so

'oku.
PROII(1SgExc10)

'It was like that that he hit me.'

(2.2.4.1.-79) Ne  te  lea  'a  Sioné.
PART(Pst)  *pehe'i  DET(Spf)  speak  PART(PssA)  Sione
so-SUF

'It was like that that Sione spoke.'

Some stems may occur with both -'i and a form other than -'i, in which case there is often a semantic difference between the two forms.

ala  'put out one's hand'
     ala-'i  'touch'
     ala-si  'touch'

sio  'see'
     sio-'i  'stare'
     sio-fi  'gaze'

Although many words of foreign origin occur with -(C)i — kalate 'karate' —
kalate-‘i 'knock down with a karate technique', kil ‘key' → kil-‘i 'close with a key' and so on --, not all words may occur with it. Some words occur with -(C)‘i only when it is necessary to emphasize that the process was carried out till the end. For instance, while it is not possible to use -(C)‘i in a clause like:

(2.2.4.1.-80) Ne kai(*-‘i) 'e Sione te iká. PART(Pst) eat -SUF PART(Erg) Sione DET(Spf) fish

'Sione ate the fish.'

it is possible in a clause like:

(2.2.4.1.-81) Ne kai‘i 'e Sione te iká ke ‘osi. PART(Pst) eat-SUF PART(Erg) Sione DET(Spf) fish PART(Sbj) finished

'Sione ate up the fish, and there is none any more.'

(2) -a, -na, -(C)ia and -(C)ina

The suffixes -a, -(C)ia and -(C)ina are firstly attached to stems that are used as nominals referring to fauna and flora and various objects in the daily environment, and form words of the stative-verbal type (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)) that indicate the abundance or infestation of what the stem signifies. The form -(C)a occurs with a limited number of stems, but it tends to occur with stems that refer to things most frequently encountered in daily life. The forms -‘ia and -‘ina are productive and occur with newly introduced stems. Other forms of -(C)ia and -(C)ina occur with only a small number of stems.

As will be seen, many stems may occur with both -‘ia and -‘ina. The form -‘ina seems to be becoming obsolete and is unfamiliar to younger speakers. Most speakers who use -‘ina consider -ia to be a borrowing from Tongan.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namu</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
<td>namu-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lango</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
<td>lango-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘efu</td>
<td>'dust'</td>
<td>‘efu-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feke</td>
<td>'octopus'</td>
<td>feke-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ika</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
<td>ika-'ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakai</td>
<td>'people'</td>
<td>'abounding in people, densely populated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moko</td>
<td>'gecko'</td>
<td>'abounding in gekkos'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulii</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
<td>'abounding in dogs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumaa</td>
<td>'rat'</td>
<td>'abounding in, infested with rats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musie</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
<td>'covered with grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumala</td>
<td>'sweet potato'</td>
<td>'abounding in sweet potatoes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fale</td>
<td>'house'</td>
<td>'abounding in houses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teevolo</td>
<td>'ghost'</td>
<td>'abounding in ghosts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manuu</td>
<td>'luck'</td>
<td>'lucky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fonu</td>
<td>'turtle'</td>
<td>'abounding in turtles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'uanga</td>
<td>'maggot'</td>
<td>'infested with maggots'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afaa</td>
<td>'hurricane'</td>
<td>'abounding in hurricanes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala</td>
<td>'misfortune'</td>
<td>'full of misfortunes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms given in the parentheses are not common but accepted by many speakers.

In 'ao 'cloud' — 'ao'ao-fia ('ao'ao-'ina, 'ao'ao-'ia) 'cloudy', the stem has a form that has undergone reduplication Type I. This reduplication indicates multiplicity (II.3.4.1.(B-2.1)(i)).

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-82) 'Oku fu'u namua te poo nei.
PART(Prs) very fly-SUF DET(Spf) night DEIC(Nsp)
'There are many mosquitoes tonight.'

(2.2.4.1.-83) Ko te fonua fea 'oku kakai'ina taha
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) land where PART(Prs) people-SUF one
'i maamanî?
PART(Loc) world
'Which country has the largest population in the world?'

(2.2.4.1.-84) Ko te me'a kai ko 'ená, PART(Npm) DET(Spf) thing eat PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)
kua 'osi kumaa'ina.
PART(Prf) already rat-SUF

'That food - it is already infested with rats.'

(2.2.4.1.-85) 'Oku kailoa ke fu'u afaanga 'ia PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) very hurricane-SUF PART(Abs)
Tonga 'o hangee ko Fisi.
Tonga PART(Inc) resemble PART(Npm) Fiji

'Tonga is not so frequently hit by hurricanes as Fiji.'

(2.2.4.1.-86) Ko te mataa tai fonuhia mo'oni.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) face-of sea turtle-SUF true

'It is a beach really rich in turtles.'

-a, -(C)ia and -(C)ina are also attached to stems used as nominals that refer to meteorological phenomena, in which case they form words of the stative-verbal type that indicate the receiving of the effect of what the stem signifies.

matangi 'wind' matangi-a 'caught in the wind'
havili 'wind' havili-ngia 'caught in the wind'
'afua 'fine weather'
'afua-ina 'favoured by fine weather'
'ua 'rain'
'ua-ina 'caught in the rain'
la'aa 'sun'
la'aa-'ina 'caught in the sun'

In havili 'wind' → havilivili-ngia 'caught in a breeze', the stem has a form that has undergone reduplication Type I. This reduplication indicates semantic extention or diminution (II.3.4.1.(B-2.1)(ii)).

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-87) Ne ke 'ilifia 'i te taimi PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) afraid PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time
ne matangia ai te ki'i vaká?
PART(Pst) wind-SUF DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) little ship

'Were you afraid when the little ship was caught in the wind?'

(2.2.4.1.-88) Ne maa 'uaina 'i te alá PART(Pst) DET(1DuExcl) rain-SUF PART(Loc) DET(Spf) road
mei te vaó.
PART(Abl) DET(Spf) bush

'We were caught in a rain on the way from the bush.'
In the following cases, the words with these suffixes indicate the time toward that signified by the stem.

pongipongi 'morning' pongipongi-a 'toward morning'
ho'ataa 'noon' ho'ataa-'ina 'toward noon'
aiafa 'evening' aiafa-a 'toward evening'

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-89) Ne'e au ho'ataa'ina mei kolo.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) noon-SUF PART(Abl) town

'I came from town late in the morning.'

(2.2.4.1.-90) Ne'e au 'alu pongipongia 'aneuhu
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go morning-SUF this-morning
ki kolo.
PART(All) town

'I went to town early this morning.'

-a, -(C)ia and -(C)ina are also attached to a sizable number of stems used as stative verbals and form words of the stative-verbal-type that indicate the experiencing of the state signified by the stem.

kona 'intoxicating' kona-a 'intoxicated'
kona-hia

faingata'a 'difficult' faingata'a-'ina 'feel
daingata'a-ia difficulty'

faka'ofa'ofa 'nice' faka'ofa'ofa-'ina 'feel nice'
faka'ofa'ofa-ia

lelei 'good' lelei-'ina 'feel good,
lelei-ia like'

oli 'amusing' oli-'ina 'amused'
oli-ia

sai 'good' sai-'ina 'feel good,
sai-ia like'

hala 'wrong' hala-ia 'guilty'

tonu 'right' tonu-hia 'innocent'

sai'ina and sai'ia often become sa'ina and sa'ia. In this particular case, -'ina is commonly used among younger speakers, too, and most speakers consider sai'ia and sa'ia to be Tongan.

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-91) Ne mate te misini 'i te ala
PART(Pst) die DET(Spf) tractor PART(Loc) DET(Spf) road
pea ne motou faingata'a'ina 'au pito.
and PART(Pst) DET(Ip1Excl) difficult-SUF totally
'The tractor stopped on the way and we had much difficulty.'

(2.2.4.1.-92)  
Kuau  faka'ofa'ofa'ina 'i PART(Prf)-DET(1SgExcl) nice-SUF PART(Loc)  
te  anga  'o  te  fanga  ki'i DET(Spf) nature PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) PL little  
tamaliki  fafiné. children(Col) woman

'I am impressed by the nature of the girls.'

(2.2.4.1.-93)  
Ko  te  siana  sa'ina  'i  te PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fellow good-SUF PART(Loc) DET(Spf)  
kai  'afató.  eat  'afato  
'He is a fellow who likes eating 'afato.'

-a and -na further occurs with a number of stems that are used as other types of verbals and form words of the stative-verbal type. Examples include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>puli</td>
<td>'disappear'</td>
<td>puli-a</td>
<td>'missing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veli</td>
<td>'itch'</td>
<td>veli-a</td>
<td>'itchy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamate</td>
<td>'numb'</td>
<td>mamate-a</td>
<td>'paralysed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fia inu</td>
<td>'want to drink'</td>
<td>fiakai-a</td>
<td>'thirsty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fia kai</td>
<td>'want to eat'</td>
<td>fiakai-a</td>
<td>'hungry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fia moe</td>
<td>'want to sleep'</td>
<td>fiamoe-a</td>
<td>'sleepy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ilo lahi</td>
<td>'know much'</td>
<td>'ilo-lahi-a</td>
<td>'well-known'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu'u</td>
<td>'stand'</td>
<td>tu'u-na</td>
<td>'piled up'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-94)  
Ne  naa  foki  mai  mel  te PART(Pst) DET(3Du) return DIR(Tsp) PART(Abl) DET(SPF)  
lotú,  kua  pulia  'ia  Mele. prayer PART(Prf) disappear-SUF PART(Abs) Mele  
'When they came back from church, Mele was missing.'

(2.2.4.1.-95)  
Ko  te  tangata  'ilolahia  'aupito. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man know-much-SUF totally  
'He is a well-known person.'

-a, -na, -(C)ia and -ina further occur with a small number of stems used as various types of verbals and form words of the open-verbal type (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)) that are transitively-oriented. Examples include:
folau 'sail' folau-a 'sail over (a place)'
kai 'eat' kai-na 'eat (used of fish)'
inu 'drink' inu-mia 'drink (used figuratively to mean: endure)'
'ilo 'know' 'ilo-ia 'know over a period'
kaiha'a 'steal' kaiha'a-sia 'steal repeatedly'
nofo 'stay' nofo-'ia 'inhabit over a period'
'o fa 'love' 'o fa-ia 'love over a period'

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-96) Ne'e inumia 'e taku tamai
PART(Pst) drink-SUF PART(Erg) DET(Spf1sgExclA) father

taku tala ngata'à ko te lahi (spf1sgExclA) tell difficult PART(Npm) DET(Spf) much

tana 'o fa.
DET(Spf3sgA) love

'My father tolerated my stubbornness because he loved me much.'

(2.2.4.1.-97) 'Oku kailoa kaina 'e te ika fekal
PART(Prs) not eat-SUF PART(Erg) DET(Spf) fish fierce

te kakai 'o 'Eueiki kaa DET(Spf) people PART(Pss0) 'Eueiki PART-CONJ(Hyp)

notou kakau 'i tai.
DET(3sg1) swim PART(Loc) sea

'The people of 'Eueiki are not eaten by the fierce fish when they swim in the sea.'

(3) 'aki

'aki occurs with stems that are used as nominals and form words that refer to the use of something as what the stem signifies. They are used transitively.

fale 'house' fale-'aki 'use as house'
ili 'fan' ili-'aki 'use as fan'
'o tua 'god' 'o tua-aki 'worship as god'
sea 'chair' sea-'aki 'use as chair'
Examples in clauses:

\[(2.2.4.1.-98)\]  'Oku 'i ai he kakai
\hspace{1cm} \text{PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) people}

\hspace{1cm} 'oku kei fale-'aki he 'ana?
\hspace{1cm} \text{PART(Prs) still house-SUF DET(Nspf) cave}

\hspace{1cm} 'Are there any people who still use caves
\hspace{1cm} as houses?'

\[(2.2.4.1.-99)\]  'Oku lava 'o 'ili-'aki te
\hspace{1cm} \text{PART(Prs) possible PART(Inc) fan-SUF DET(Spf)}

\hspace{1cm} la'i mei.
\hspace{1cm} leaf-of bread-fruit

\hspace{1cm} 'It is possible to use bread-fruit leaves as
\hspace{1cm} fans.'

(C-1.3) Prefix + Stem + Suffix

(1) fe- -(C)aki and fe- -(C)i

The form fe- 'aki is the most common and productive. Other forms of fe- -(C)aki and fe- -(C)i occur with a small number of stems.

fe- -(C)aki and fe- -(C)i occur with stems used asverbals of different types and form words of the common-intransitive-verbal type (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-1)) that indicate reciprocity. The lengthening of the first vowel may take place in some stems.

'ita  'angry'  fe-'ita-'aki  'angry with each other

'ofo  'love'  fe-'ofa-'aki  'love each other'

taamate  'kill'  fe-taamate-'aki  'kill each other'

angalelei  'kind'  fe-angalelei-'aki  'kind to each other'

telefoni  'telephone'  fe-telofoni-'aki  'phone each other'

hanga  'face'  fe-hanga-'aki  fe-haanga-aki  'face each other'

kata  'laugh'  fe-kata-'aki  fe-kaata-aki  'laugh at each other'

'ilo  'know'  fe-'ilo-aki  'know each other, meet'

tau  'arrive'  fe-tau-laki  'encounter each other'
loto  'agree'  fe-loto-i  'agree with each other'  
u'u  'bite'  fe-u'u-si  'bite each other'  
'ofo'ofa  'friendly'  fe-'ofa'ofa-ni  'friendly with each other'  
'ita'ita  'surly'  fe-'ita'ita-ni  'surly with each other'  
lave  'in contact'  fe-laave-'i  'in contact with each other'  

Due to their semantic characteristics, verbs with fe- -(C)aki or fe- -(C)i in this function require dual or plural arguments.

(2.2.4.1.-100) 'Oku  lolotonga  fetaamate'aki  te  kakai  
PART(Prs)  progress  PREF-kill-SUF  DET(Spf)  people  
'Isileelî mo  te  kakai 'Aalepeá.  
Israel  PART(Ass)  DET(Spf)  people  Arabia  
'Israelites and Arabs are killing each other.'  

(2.2.4.1.-101) 'Oku  kei  fe'ita'itani  'ia  Sione  mo  
PART(Pprs)  still  PREF-surly-SUF  PART(Abs)  Sione  PART(Ass)  
Teevita  pea  'oku  naa  fa'a  fekapakepake'aki.  
Teevita  and  PART(Prs)  DET(3Du)  often  PREF-swear-SUF  
'Sione and Teevita are still surly with each other  
and they often swear at each other.'  

fe- -(C)aki also occurs mainly with stems used as common intransitive verbal form words of the common-intransitive-verbal type that refer to frequent movement between two places or among more than two places or processes that take place alternatively in two or serially in more than two places. In this case, too, the lengthening of the first vowel may take place in some stems.

'alu  'go'  fe-'alu-'aki  'go to and fro'  
kai  'eat'  fe-kai-'aki  'eat at each other's place'  
faikava  'have kava'  fe-faikava-'aki  'have kava at each other's place'  
moe  'sleep'  fe-moe-'aki  fe-moee-aki  'sleep at each other's place'  
puna  'fly'  fe-puna-'aki  fe-puuna-aki  fe-puuna-aki  'fly to and fro'  

Where more than one reciprocalative form is possible, the form with 'aki tends to involve movement between two places and forms with other forms of -(C)aki movement among more than two places.
Verbals with fe- -(C)aki in this function do not necessarily require dual or plural arguments.

(2.2.4.1.-102) 'Oku motou feoo'aki mei PART(Prs) DET(1PlExcl) PREF-go(COL)-SUF PART(All)
  te motou 'api ki te DET(Spf) DET(1PlExcl) home PART(All) DET(Spf)
  motou 'ofisi 'i te 'aho DET(1PlExcl) office PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day
  kotoa pee.
  all just
  'We commute between our home and office every day.'

(2.2.4.1.-103) 'Oku fe'alu'a'aki te Nanasipau'ú ki PART(Prs) PREF-go-SUF DET(Spf) Nanasipau'u PART(All)
  Tonga, Ba'apai, Vava'u mo te ongo Niuá
Tonga Ba'apai Vava'u PART(Ass) DET(Spf) DU Niuua
  mo Pangopango.
PART(Ass) Pangopango

'The Nanasipau'u makes a tour of Tonga, Ba'apai, Vava'u, the two Niuas and Pangopango.'

As a suffix, -'aki (but not the other forms of -(C)aki) has some unusual characteristics, and many speakers accept the intervention of postposed modifiers in between -'aki and the preceding morpheme, as in: fe-oo vave-'aki 'PREF-go(Col) fast-SUF: go to and fro quickly'.

(C-2) Reduplication

Two types of reduplication may be distinguished on the basis of the semantic effects that accompany them. The forms reduplicated words take are dealt with in detail in 1.2.2.3.

(C-2.1) Reduplication Type I

Reduplication Type I has several types of semantic effects, which are, in most cases, obviously related with one another and are not discreet. The first three that are dealt with below are especially closely related and may all be regarded as the verbal counterparts of the semantic effect of Reduplication Type I noted in those nominally-oriented words dealt with in II.3.4.1.(B-2.1) (i), namely, multiplication.

The following are the main semantic effects of Reduplication Type I:

(i) Repetition

Reduplication Type I firstly has the effect of indicating repetition. Most commonly, it
indicates simple repetition of an unspecified number, but in some cases, it also indicates habitual repetition or intermittency.

(a) Bisyllabic Morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kemo</th>
<th>‘wink’</th>
<th>Kemo-kemo</th>
<th>‘wink repeatedly’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motu</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
<td>Motu-motu</td>
<td>‘break repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mate</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>Mate-mate</td>
<td>‘die repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Aka</td>
<td>‘kick’</td>
<td>‘Aka-'Aka</td>
<td>‘kick repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Io</td>
<td>‘say yes’</td>
<td>‘Io-'Io</td>
<td>‘say yes repeatedly, always saying yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Alu</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>‘Alu-'Alu</td>
<td>‘go intermittently, go step by step’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Polysyllabic Morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaila</th>
<th>‘shout’</th>
<th>Kai-kaila</th>
<th>‘shout repeatedly’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feinga</td>
<td>‘try’</td>
<td>Fei-feinga</td>
<td>‘try repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-104) Ko te tamasi'i ko éé, PART(Npm) DET(Spf) boy PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad)

‘oku kei motumotu tana laú. PART(Prs) still break(RedupI) DET(Spf3SgA) read

‘That boy → he reads only falteringly yet.’

(2.2.4.1.-105) Ne motou kaikaila ‘i PART(Pst) DET(1P1Excl) shout(RedupI) PART(Loc)

tono ui te tamasi'i kua DET(Spf3Sg0) call DET(Spf) boy PART(prf)

mole ‘i te vaó. lost PART(Loc) DET(Spf) bush

‘We shouted again and again in calling to the boy who had got lost in the bush.’

(2.2.4.1.-106) Ko te hoosi ‘aka'aaka ‘eni. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) horse kick(RedupI) DEM(Nsp)

‘This is a horse that has a habit of kicking.’

(ii) Prolongation

Reduplication Type I may also have the effect of indicating prolongation over an unspecified extent of time. In many cases, prolongation results in moderation in voluntariness, and it often suggests absent-mindedness, purposelessness and the like on the part of the argument that initiates the situation concerned.
(a) Bisyllabic Stems

nofo 'live' nofo-nofo 'go on living idly'
tali 'wait' tali-tali 'keep waiting idly'
hiva 'sing' hiva-hiva 'keep singing idly'

(b) Polysyllabic Stems

takoto 'lie' tako-takoto 'keep lying idly'
pootaalahu 'chat' poo-pootaalahu 'keep chatting idly'

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-107) Tou talitali pee 'i hen
DET(1PlIncl) keep(ReDupI) just PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp)
ke 'aua ke ha'u te pasi.
PART(Sbj) don't PART(Sbj) come DET(Spf) bus

'Let's just wait here until the bus comes!'

(2.2.4.1.-108) Ko Sioné, 'oku takotakoto ma'u pee
PART(Npm) Sione PART(Prs) keep(ReDupI) steady just
'i te notou 'apō 'o kala
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) home PART(Incl) not
fai he ngaæue.
do DET(Nspf) work

'Sione → he just keeps lying at their home
and does not do any work.'

(2.2.4.1.-109) 'Oku notou fai pee te notou
PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) do just DET(Spf) DET(3Pl)
poopootaalahu.
chat(ReDupI)

'They are just chatting.'

(iii) Distribution

Reduplication Type I may further have the effect of indicating the distribution over an unspecified number of localities of what the corresponding unreduplicated forms signify.

(a) Bisyllabic Stems

fasi 'fractured' fasifasi 'fractured here and there'
kila 'shaven' kilakila 'shaven here and there'

(b) Polysyllabic Stems

maha 'torn' mahaehae 'torn here and there'
mahuhu  ‘pierced’  mahuhuhuhu  ‘pierced here and there’

Example in a clause:

(2.2.4.1.-110) Kua  ‘osi  mahaehae  toku  suú. PART(Prf) already torn(RedupI) DET(Spf1SgExc10) shoe

‘My shoes are already tattered.’

(iv) Moderation

Moderation is a very-common semantic effect of Reduplication Type I and may be noted to some extent in many of the words already dealt with above. The following are more typical examples:

(a) Bisyllabic Stems

sai  ‘good’  sai-sai  ‘somewhat good’
viku  ‘wet’  viku-viku  ‘somewhat wet’
kata  ‘laugh’  kata-kata  ‘smile’
‘ilo  ‘know’  ‘ilo-’ilo  ‘know to some extent’

(b) Polysyllabic Morphemes

fo’ou  ‘new’  fo’o-fo’ou  ‘somewhat new’
mahaki  ‘ill’  maha-mahaki  ‘somewhat ill’
maalohi  ‘strong’  maa-maalohi  ‘somewhat strong’
havili  ‘wind’  havili-vili  ‘breeze’

Example in a clause:

(2.2.4.1.-111) Ne  kalloa  ke  fu’u  sai  te  ‘eá PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) very good DET(Spf) wind

kaa  ne  saisai  pee. but PART(Pst) good(RedupI) just

‘The weather was not very good but it was so so.’

(v) Intensification

Intensification is a much less common semantic effect of reduplication Type I than moderation. In this case, reduplication Type I is often accompanied by internal inflection that involves the lengthening of the first vowel of the morpheme to be reduplicated.

(1) Bisyllabic Morphemes

si’i  ‘little’  si’i-si’i  ‘very little’

mafi  ‘powerful’  maafi-mafi  ‘very powerful’

(2) Polysyllabic Morphemes
'ataa  'pure'   'ata-ataa  'absolutely pure'
kaatoa  'all'    kaa-kaatoa 'absolutely all'
kato-kaatoa

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-112) Nei kailoa ngata pee 'i tana PART(Pst) not end just PART(Loc) DET(Spf3SgA)
   si'i kaa toe si'isi'i ange ia.
little but again little(RedupI) DIR(Tsd) DEM(Anaph)
   'It was not just small but it was smaller.'

(2.2.4.1.-113) Ko te loi 'ata'ataa pee.
PART(Npm) DET(spf) lie pure(RedupI) just
   'It is a sheer lie.'

(vi) Derivation of Verbally-oriented Words

A number of verbally-oriented words are derived by reduplication Type I from nominally-oriented common words and a number of other words that normally occur as nominal-phrase bases. In most cases, they involve multiplicative meaning and are used as stative verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)), as in:

loki  'room'   loki-loki  'provided with many rooms'

maka  'stone'   maka-maka  'stony, scattered with stones'

but it is not always the case, as in:

pela  'pus'   pela-pela  'muddy'

tai  'sea'   tai-tai  'soaked in sea water; brackish'

mulī  'back'   muli-muli  'follow'

pou  'pole'   pou-pou  'support'

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-114) '0ku 'alu ngata'a 'aupito te ala
PART(Prs) go difficult totally DET(Spf) path
   nei ko tana makamakā.
DEIC(Nsp) PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) stony
   'This path is difficult to walk on because it
   is scattered with stones.'

(2.2.4.1.-115) Mulimuli mai kiaa au.
follow DIR(Tsp) PART(All) PROI(1SgExcl)
   'Follow me!'
(C-2.2) Reduplication Type II

As dealt with in II.2.4.1.(D) below, many collective forms of verbally-oriented words are formed by reduplication Type II. In most other cases, reduplication Type II indicates moderation.

maha 'empty' ma-maha 'shallow'
mate 'die' ma-mate 'numb'
moho 'cooked' mo-moho 'ripe'

In some cases, however, the semantic effects of reduplication Type II are quite obscure, and few speakers note any semantic difference in, for instance, tali → ta-tali 'wait', foli → fo-foli 'walk about', viku → vi-viku 'wet' and so on. In cases like these, it is normally the reduplicated form that is more commonly used.

The following are examples in clauses.

(2.2.4.1.-116) 'Oku kailoa ke au lava
PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) possible
'o alu kote'uhik ko te mamate
PART(Inc) go because PART(Npm) DET(Spf) numb
toku va'é.
DET(Spf1SgExcl0) leg
'I can not walk because my legs are numb.'

(2.2.4.1.-117) 'Oku viviku te musié 'i te
PART(Prs) wet DET(Spf) grass PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
'ua anepóó.
rain yesterday
'The grass is wet from yesterday's rain.'

(C-3) Compounding

Although, as dealt with in I.2.2.4.(B), there are some characteristics that are indicative of compound words, it is not always possible to distinguish compound words from the sequences of bases and modifiers, and certain verbally-oriented compound words are included in II.2.3. and III.1.2., which describe modifiers.

However, there are a number of formatives that occur in a large number of verbally-oriented words that obviously have a compound structure. The following three are typical examples of such formatives:

(1) ngafua and ngata'a

ngafua 'easy' and ngata'a 'difficult' occur with morphemes that are used as verbals of different types and form verbally-oriented words of the stative-verbal type (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)), as in:
fai  'do'  fai ngafua  'easy to do, easy'
fai ngata'a  'difficult to do, difficult'

'alu  'go'  'alu ngafua  'easy to go'
'alu ngata'a  'difficult to go'

'ita  'angry'  'ita ngafua  'easy to get angry, impatient'
'ita ngata'a  'difficult to get angry, patient'

sio  'see'  sio ngafua  'easy to see'
sio ngata'a  'difficult to see'

pamu  'pump'  pamu ngafua  'easy to pump'
pamu ngata'a  'difficult to pump'

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-118) 'Oku  sio ngafua ange  'i  tata
PART (Prs) see easy  DIR (Tsd) PART (Loc) DET (Spf1SgInc1A)

'uku  'i  tal kaa  'oku  sio ngata'a  'i
dive  PART (Loc) sea but  PART (Prs) see difficult  PART (Loc)

'tata  'uku  'i  Vai Lahi.
DET (Spf1SgInc1A) dive  PART (Loc) Vai Lahi

'It is easier to see when diving in the sea but
it is difficult to see when diving in Vai Lahi.'

(2.2.4.1.-119) 'Oku  kailoa ke  maumau  te  pamú  kaa
PART (Prs) not  PART (Sbj) broken  DET (Spf) pump but

'oku  pamu ngata'a  te  vail  kaa
PART (Prs) pump difficult  DET (Spf) water  PART-CONJ (Hyp)

pau  'oku  kailoa  fonu  te  simá.
certain  PART (Prs) not  full  DET (Spf) cement

'The pump is not broken, but the water is difficult
to pump when the cement tank is not full.'

(2.2.4.1.-120) Ko  te  siana  'ita ngafua  'ia  Sione.
PART (Npm) DET (Spf) fellow angry easy  PART (Abs) Sione

'Sione is an impatient fellow.'

(2) ma'u -a

ma'u 'steady, over-', together with the suffix -a, occurs with morphemes that are used as
verbals of various types and form verbally-oriented words that indicate the excessive
extent, degree, duration and so on of what is signified by the morpheme with which it
occurs. It is not associated with a particular word class, and the morpheme that occurs with it is normally used in the same way as when it occurs without it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ala</td>
<td>'awake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'u-ala-a</td>
<td>'stay awake excessively long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moe</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'u-moe-a</td>
<td>'sleep excessively long, oversleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nofo</td>
<td>'stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'u-nofo-a</td>
<td>'stay excessively long, overstay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tali</td>
<td>'wait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'u-tali-a</td>
<td>'wait excessively long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toli</td>
<td>'pluck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'u-toli-a</td>
<td>'pluck excessively'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in clauses:

(2.2.4.1.-121) Kaa pau 'e au inu
PART-Conj(Hyp) certain PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) drink
kava, 'e au ma'u-moe-a ma'u
kava PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) over-sleep-SUF steady
pee 'i te pongipongi tono
just PART(Loc) DET(Spf) morning DET(Spf3Sg0)
hoko.
follow

'If I drink kava, I always oversleep on the
following morning.'

(2.2.4.1.-122) 'Oku ta'e pau te taimi 'oku
PART(Prs) un-certain DET(Spf) time PART(Prs)
tuku ai tana ngaaué pea
stop DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf3SgA) work and
'okou fa'a ma'u-tali-a
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) often over-wait-SUF
kiaa ia.
PART(All) PROI(3Sg)

'The time when his work ends is not fixed and
I often wait for him for a very long time.'

(2.2.4.1.-123) Ne au ma'u-toli-a pee te
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) over-pluck-SUF just DET(Spf)
fu'u niu 'o 'osi.
big coconut PART(Inc) finished
'I picked too many coconuts and there are none
left.'

(D) Collective Forms
A number of verbally-oriented words have collective forms which, as explained in more detail below, are used in agreement with an A, S or O that indicates dual or plural persons or things. In the following list, the collective forms are given in the left-hand column. As will be seen, they are derived from the basic forms by several different processes.

(D-1) Affixation

(a) fe-

kumi ‘search’ fe-kumi

(b) fe--(C)i

kata ‘laugh’ fe-kata-‘i
lele ‘go (Derogatory Word)’ fe-lele-‘i
too ‘fall’ fe-too-ki

(D-2) Reduplication Type II

(a) Bisyllabic Morphemes

kai ‘eat’ ka-kai
kata ‘laugh’ ka-kata
kata'i ‘laugh at’ ka-kata'i
ina ‘laugh’ i-ina
mate ‘die’ ma-mate
nofo ‘live’ no-nofo
nofo'i ‘live in’ no-nofo'i
tu'u ‘stand’ tu-tu'u
tupu ‘grow’ tu-tupu
lahi ‘large’ la-lahi

(b) Polysyllabic Morphemes

‘afio ‘sit (Royal Word)’ ‘aa-fi-fio
matu'a ‘old’ maa-tu-tu'a
ma'uli ‘alive' maa-'u-'uli
ma'ui ‘alive' maa-'u-'ui
pekia ‘die (Chiefly Word)’ pee-ki-kia
takoto ‘lie’ taa-ko-koto
faka-takoto ‘lay’ faka-taa-ko-koto
tangutu  'sit'  taa-ngu-ngutu
ta'utu  'sit'  taa-‘u-‘utu

(D-3) Reduction

(a) Reduplicated Form (Type I) → Reduplicated Form (Type II)

loaloa  'long'  loaloa
looloa
nounou  'short'  nonou
pukupuku  'short'  pupuku

(b) Reduplicated Form (Type I) → Simple Form

tautau  'hang'  tau

(D-4) Others

'alu  'go'  olo, oo
ha' u  'come'  olo mai, oo mai
si'i  'small'  liliki, iiki

Many speakers consider the forms looloa and iiki to be Tongan. looloa obviously derives from loaloa, a form that has undergone reduplication Type I, by the assimilation of the vowel a to o usual in Tongan.

For the collective form of 'alu, most speakers exclusively use oo today, as in Tongan. The form olo is becoming obsolete and is used by only a small number of old speakers. Collocott’s stories (Collocott 1928) already show both olo and oo. Saamoan (Milner 1966) has oo in stead of the expected olo. In ‘Uvean (Bataillon 1932), however, olo seems to be in exclusive use.

olo mai and oo mai, given as the collective forms of ha'u, are actually olo and oo mentioned above plus the directional mai (II.2.5.1.2).

In general, collective forms are used in agreement with an S or O that indicates dual or plural persons or things. Only those that end in the suffix -(C)ī (II.2.4.1.(C-1.2)(1)) agree with A. However, their use is optional and the basic forms may be used regardless of the number of the arguments concerned.

(2.2.4.1.-124) Ko tana faanāu, ne notou
PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) children PART(Pst) DET(3Pl)

oo ki  te  'uu fonua kehekehe ʻo
go(Col) PART(All) DET(Spf) PL land various PART(Inc)
mamate  mavahevahe ai.
die(Col) separate DEM(Anaph)

'His children – they went to different countries
and died separately.'
(2.2.4.1.-125) (a) Ne lay tangatá te fe'i 'ufi. man DET(Spf) fruit-of yam
    'e te ongo PART(Pst) *fakatakokoto lay(Col)

'bThe men (DU) laid the yam.'

(b) Ne lay(Col) PART(Pst) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man
tangatá te 'uu fe'i 'ufi. DET(Spf) PL fruit-of yam

'bThe man laid the yams.'

But:

(2.2.4.1.-126) (a) Ne laugh-at(Col)
    *kakata'i lay(Col) PART(Pst) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man

'ia maatou. PART(Abs) PROI(1PLEXCL)

'bThe man laughed at us.'

(b) Ne laugh(Col) PART(Pst) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) people
    kakata'i 'e te kakal 'oku. PROII(1SgExc10)

'bThe people laughed at me.'

Some of the collective forms are used only when the arguments concerned are regarded as being together. This is especially true of nonofo, nonofo'i, tutu'u, taakokoto and tupu. Accordingly, a collective form is preferred in clauses like (2.2.4.1.-127) below, but not in clauses like (2.2.4.1.-128).

(2.2.4.1.-127) Ne PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) grow(Col) together PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
    notou tutupu fakataha 'i te feitu'u 'e taha.
    place PART(Nmr) one

'bThey grew up together in one place.'

(2.2.4.1.-128) Ne PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) grow separate PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
    notou tupu mavaevahe 'i te
    DET(3Pl) each village

'bThey grew up separately in their respective villages.'

The collective form nonofo is commonly used of an unmarried couple's illegitimate living together and is usually avoided otherwise.
The collective forms oo and olo may be used only in reference to the going of animate things. `alu is frequently used to refer to the passing of days, months and so on, but not oo or olo: Ne `alu te `aho `e tolu. `PART(Pst) go DET(SPF) PART(Nmr) three: Three days passed.' but Ne oo te `aho `e tolu.

The collective forms lalahi and liliki or iliiki are used only when they refer to sizes. lahi and si'ii have no special collective forms that are used in reference to quantities. – `uu fale lalahi `PL house large(Col): large houses' and `uu fale liliki (or iliiki) `PL house small(Col): small houses' but `uu fale lahi `PL house many: many houses' and `uu fale si'ii `PL house few: a few houses'.

Some speakers see no difference between tautau and tau and use the two forms indiscriminately.

2.4.2 Nominal Phrases

Nominal phrases that occur as verbal-phrase bases are as follows:

(A) Locative Nominal Phrases

Nominal phrases in the locative that indicate locations (II.3.1.(3)(i)) may occur as verbal-phrase bases. The particle `i is normally pronounced without a glottal stop when it occurs in nominal phrases that occur as verbal-phrase bases.

(2.2.4.2.-1) `Oku `i fea `ia Sione?
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) where PART(Abs) Sione

`Where is Sione?`

(2.2.4.2.-2) `Oku `iiaa au tau peni?
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) PROI(1SgExcl) DET(Spf2SgA) pen

`Your pen is with me.'

(2.2.4.2.-3) Ko ai ku `i heé?
PART(Npm) who PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Aspad)

`Who is it that is there?'

The anaphoric demonstrative ai (II.3.4.2.(D)) in the locative is used as verbal-phrase base to generally indicate existence. The particle `i is optional although most speakers prefer to use it.

(2.2.4.2.-4) `Oku `i ai he maka kasa
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) stone gas

`i te fale koloá?
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) house goods

`Are there any batteries in the shop?'

(2.2.4.2.-5) `Oku kailoa ke `i ai
PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph)

hana me'a ke fai.
DET(Nspf3SgA) thing PART(Sbj) do
'He does not have anything to do.'

(2.2.4.2.-6) 'Oku 'i ai te talo mo
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) taro PART(Ass)
te 'ufi mo te mei.
DET(Spf) yam PART(Ass) DET(Spf) bread-fruit

'There is a taro, yam and a bread fruit.'

(2.2.4.2.-7) 'Oku 'i ai taku puaka
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf1SgExclA) pig
e toko tolu.
PART(Nmr) ANIM three

'I have three pigs.'

(2.2.4.2.-8) Ne kala ke 'i ai 'ia
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) PART(Abs)
Mele 'i tono 'apl.
Mele PART(Loc) DET(Spf3Sg0) home

'Mele was not at home.'

(B) A-class and O-class Possessive Nominal Phrases

Nominal phrases in the A-class and O-class possessive (II.3.1.(7)) that indicate possessors may also occur as verbal-phrase bases. The distinction between A-class and Oclass possession which the particles 'a and 'o are associated with respectively is dealt with in II.6.1. The particles 'a and 'o are obligatory when they mark nominal phrases occurring as verbal-phrase bases and may never be replaced by the particle 'i 'Unspecified' dealt with in II.3.1.(9).

(2.2.4.2.-9) 'Oku 'a 'aku te hoosi
PART(Prs) PART(PssA) PROII(1SgExclA) DET(Spf) horse
ko 'ená.
PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)

'That horse is mine.'

(2.2.4.2.-10) 'Oku 'o 'ou te foo
PART(Prs) PART(Pss0) PROII(2Sg0) DET(Spf) laundry
'toku tautau 'i te uaea 'i
PART(Prs) hang PART(Loc) DET(Spf) wire PART(Loc)
heé?
DEM(Aspad)

'Is the clothes hanging on the wire there yours?'

(2.2.4.2.-11) 'Oku 'a te tangatá te 'uu
PART(Prs) PART(PssA) DET(SPF) man DET(Spf) PL
pulu ko 'ená.
bull PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)

'Those bulls are the man's.'

(C) A-class and O-class Benefactive Nominal Phrases

Nominal phrases in the A-class and O-class benefactive (II.3.1(8)) that indicate the goal of transferral of possession may also occur as verbal-phrase bases. The distinction between A-class and O-class possession which the particles ma'a and mo'o are associated with respectively is dealt with in II.6.1.

(2.2.4.2.-12) 'Oku ma'aue te me'a 'o fa
PART(Prs) PART(BnfA)-PROII(2SGA) DET(Spf) thing love
ko 'ená.
PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)

'That present is for you.'

(2.2.4.2.-13) 'Oku mo'o te 'alikë te fa le
PART(Prs) PART(Bnf0) DET(Spf) chief DET(Spf) house
ko 'ená.
PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)

'That house is for the chief.'

2.4.3 Common Words (Nominals)

As already dealt with to some extent in II.1.4.3., nominals may occur as bases of verbal phrases that indicate the provision, possession or the existence of what they signify. In general, this is possible only when the nominals are accompanied by quantitative modifiers, as in:

(2.2.4.3.-1) 'Oku tesī 'e ua te lokī.
PART(Prs) desk PART(Nmr) two DET(Spf) room

'The room has two desks.'

(2.2.4.3.-2) 'Oku tangata 'ata'ataa pee te 'api
PART(Prs) man pure just DET(Spf) home
ko iá.
PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)

'There are only men in that home.'

but it is not always the case, and as dealt with in III.1.2.1.(B), nominals that denote vehicles may occur as verbal-phrase bases, without quantitative modifiers, and modify verbs.

As dealt with in II.1.4.3., a nominal determiner must be used when some other word is co-ordinated with bases of verbal phrases in clauses like the examples above and thus reveals their nominal status.

Nominals used in this way are, however, somewhat different from other nominals in that, as dealt with in II.7.3., the particle 'e 'Numeral' that must otherwise obligatorily precede numerals that modify nominals is only optional with numerals that modify them.
It is quite possible that many words used as verbals — anga lelei 'nature good: good-natured', makamaka 'stone(Redup): stony' and so on — have been derived from nominals used in this way, but they are regarded as verbals since they are not preceded by an article when they are co-ordinated — tangata poto mo anga lelei 'man clever PART(As) nature good: clever and kind man', but not "tangata poto mo te anga lelei 'man clever PART(As) DET(Spf) nature good'.

Only common words may be used in this way, and although personal names and place names may be used like common words when they indicate persons or places with the name they signify, they may never occur as bases of verbal phrases (II.3.4.4.).

2.5 Directional Slot

Only one type of element, namely, directionals occur in the directional slot. All of the directionals occur in the verbal phrase. As already mentioned in II.1.4.6., directionals may be classified into two types, namely, those that basically indicate directions in relation to the speaker and those that indicate directions other than these. Those of the first type also occur in the corresponding slot of the nominal phrase.

2.5.1 atu, mai and ange

The first type of directionals include atu 'Away from Speaker', mai 'Toward Speaker' and ange 'To the Side'. They indicate direction not only in space but also in time and a few other conceptual relations and may, therefore, occur with verbals that do not involve actual motion as well as with verbals that do.

These occur in 'avatu, 'aumai and 'avange (< 'ave 'take, carry' + atu, mai and ange respectively), which are very common open verbals of induced motion.

(1) atu

atu indicates direction away from the speaker. It may be used when the speaker is not aware of the goal, as in:

(2.2.5.1.-1) Ne puna atu te manu puná. PART(Pst) fly DIR(Asp) DET(Spf) animal fly

'The bird flew away.'

and when the direction is toward the addressee(s), as in:

(2.2.5.1.-2) 'Oku ou faka'amu ke au PART(Prs) DET(1SgExcl) wish PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl)

'alu atu 'o eva atu ki go DIR(Asp) PART(Inc) visit DIR(Asp) PART(All)

hena.
DEM(Nad)

'I wish to go and visit you there.'
It also indicates the same direction in acts of communication, perception and mental processes and states and the like.

(2.2.5.1.-3) Peau fiafia ma'u pee ke au and-DET(1SgExcl) happy steady just PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl)
fanongo atu pe 'oku fefe'aki tau hear DIR(Asp) if PART(Prs) how DET(Spf2SgA)
ngaaue. work

'And I am always very happy to hear how your work is going.'

(2.2.5.1.-4) Kaataki pee 'o fakamlemole 'i te patient just PART(Inc) forgive PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
fakahela atu kiaa koe. tire DIR(Asp) PART(All) PROI(2Sg)

'Please forgive my bothering you!'

In third-person narratives, atu, besides ange 'To the Side' dealt with in II.2.5.1.(3), commonly indicate direction from the first of the interpersonal interactors to be mentioned to the second. Direction back to him is indicated by mai 'Toward Speaker' dealt with in II.2.5.1.(2) below.

(2.2.5.1.-5) ... Pea toe tangi atu pee si'ana and again cry DIR(Asp) just DET(Spf3SgAEmt1)
fa'ee: "Saalopeloe, ko ai mo koe mother Saalopeloe PART(Npm) who PART(Exp) PROI(2Sg)
'ena?" Tali mai leva 'e Saalopeloe: DEM(Nad) answer DIR(Tsp) SQC PART(Erg) Saalopeloe

"Ko au pee 'eni mo fo'i PART(Npm) PROI(1SgExcl) just DEM(Nsp) PART(Exp) fruit-of maanava mo fiakana." Pea atu leva ki breath PART(Exp) hunger and DIR(Asp) SQC PART(All)
aia te hopa 'o kai. ... DEM(ANaph) DET(Spf) banana PART(Inc) eat

' ... And her mother wept again: "Saalopeloe, who is with you?" Saalopeloe answered: "I am with breath and hunger." And then she gave her a banana to eat. ...'

In reference to time, atu indicates direction from the present toward the past or the future.

(2.2.5.1.-6) Ne ina tala'i mai ne mate PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Pst) die
tana tamal 'i te ta'u 'e
DET(SpF3SgA) father PART(Loc) DET(SpF) year PART(Nmr)

ua kua 'osi atú.
two PART(Prf) finished DIR(ASP)

'He told me that his father had died two years
before.'

(2.2.5.1.-7) Kotou hokohoko atu pee 'e kootou
DET(2pl) continue DIR(Asp) just PART(Erg) PROI(2Pl)

te ngaaué kaau 'alu 'ia
DET(SpF) work but-DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Abs)

au 'o 'au mai he 'uu
PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Inc) bring DET(NspF) PL

fe'i niu ke tou inu.
fruit-of coconut PART(Sbj) DET(1PlIncl) drink

'You continue our work while I go and fetch some
coconuts for us to drink.'

(2) mai

mai indicates direction toward the speaker.

(2.2.5.1.-8) Ne puna mai te manu puná.
PART(Pst) fly DIR(Tsp) DET(SpF) animal fly

'The bird flew over here.'

It also indicates the same direction in acts of communication, perception, mental
processes and states and the like.

(2.2.5.1.-9) Maaloo pee tau 'ofa 'o manatu'i
praiseworthy just DET(SpF2SgA) love PART(Inc) remember

mai 'ia au mo fa'a
DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Ass) often

tohi mai.
write DIR(Tsp)

'Thank you very much for your kindness to remember
me and write to me frequently.'

(2.2.5.1.-10) Kua 'osi fakangafua mai.
PART(Prf) already allow DIR(Tsp)

'Permission has already been given to us.'

As already mentioned in II.2.5.1.(1) above, mai, occurring in third-person
narratives, indicates direction back to the first of the interpersonal interactors from the
second, as exemplified by (2.2.5.1.-5) and (2.2.5.1.-22).

Unlike the other directional, mai also indicates directional orientation in
perceptual effects.
(a) Visual Effects

(2.2.5.1.-11) Sio ki te pusi 'oku ta'utu mai
see PART(All) DET(Spf) cat PART(Prs) sit DIR(Tsp)
'i heē.
PART(Loc) DEM(Aspad)

'Look at the cat that is sitting over there!'

(b) Auditory Effects

(2.2.5.1.-12) Ne longoa'a mai, ko te kulii.
PART(Pst) noisy DIR(Tsp) PART(Npm) DET(Spf) dog

'The thing that made noise — it was a dog.'

(c) Tactile Effects

(2.2.5.1.-13) Hanga 'o fusi'i te afo kaa
turn PART(Inc) haul DET(Spf) line PART-CONJ(Hyp)
pau 'e tosi'i mai 'e he
certain PART(Fut) pull DIR(Tsp) PART(Erg)DET(Nspf)

ika te mounū.
fish DET(Spf) bait

'Haul in the line if a fish pulls at the bait!'

Further, it indicates the obtaining of something.

(2.2.5.1.-14) Ne au 'alu ki Vava'u 'o
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) Vava'u PART(Inc)

'eva mo kumi mai 'i te
visit PART(As) search DIR(Tsp) PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

me'a ki te fakaafe 'i te
thing PART(All) DET(Spf) feast PART(Loc) DET(SPF)

faka'osi ta'ū.
complete yaer

'I went to Vava'u for a visit and also to look for a
thing for the feast at the end of the year.'

(2.2.5.1.-15) 'Okou fia inu mai he
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) want drink DIR(Tsp) DET(Nspf)
niu.
coconut

'I want to get some coconut to drink.'

In reference to time, it indicates the direction from the past toward the present.

(2.2.5.1.-16) Pea 'oku kei mofuike pee 'o a'u
and PART(Prs) still earthquake just PART(Inc) reach

mai ki te 'aho nei.
DIR(Tsp) PART(All) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)
'And we are still having earthquakes to this day.'

mai, indicating a direction in space, is incompatible with the verbal ha'ū 'come' — Ne ha'ū (*mai) te vakā 'anepoo. 'PART(Pst) come (DIR(Tsp)) DET(Spf) ship last-night: The ship came last night.' The occurrence of mai would be redundant since. basically, ha'ū always indicates motion toward the speaker. However, ha'ū may occur with mai when this indicates the obtaining of something — Ke ha'ū mai te vakā. 'PART(Sbj) come DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) ship: Oh, that the ship would come!'

(3) ange

ange indicates direction to the side, namely, a direction that is horizontal and parallel to the speaker.

(2.2.5.1.-17) 'Oku 'alu ange 'ia Sione 'i
PART(Prs) go DIR(Tsd) PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc)

hee.
DEM(Aspad)

'Sione is going along there.'

It is used when the direction is toward a third person, as in:

(2.2.5.1.-18) 'E au 'alu ange kiaa
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go DIR(Tsd) PART(All)

ia.
PROI(3Sg)

'I will go to him.'

The goal of the direction indicated by ange does not have to be a human, but it must normally be something animate that may potentially react to the situation referred to by the clause and may thus interact with the speaker or the addressee. In a clause like the following, atu 'Away from Speaker' dealt with in II.2.5.1.(1) must be used, and not ange.

(2.2.5.1.-19) Lii atu ki tu'a.
throw DIR(Asp) PART(All) outside

'Throw it outside!'

It also indicates the same direction in acts of communication, perception, mental processes and states and the like.

(2.2.5.1.-20) 'Aua 'e tala'i ange ki ai.
don't PART(Sbj) tell DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'Don't tell it to him!'

(2.2.5.1.-21) Tokoni ange ki te tangatá.
help DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DET(Spf) man

'Help the man!'

In third-person narratives, ange, besides atu 'Away from Speaker' dealt with in II.2.5.1.(1) above, may indicate direction from the first of the interpersonal interactors to
be mentioned to the second. However, direction back to him is normally indicated by 
mai 'Toward Speaker' dealt with in II.2.5.1.(2) above and not by ange.

(2.2.5.1.-22) ... 'Eke ange 'e te ongo maatu'á pe 
ask DIR(Tsd) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) DU parent if 
'oku ina 'ilo'i 'oku 'i fea 
PART(Prs) DET(3sg) know PART(Prs) PART(Loc) where 
'ia Mele. Pea tali mai 'e te 
PART(Abs) Mele and answer DIR(Tsp) PART(Erg) DET(spf) 
sianá 'oku 'alu 'ia Mele 'o taa 
fellow PART(Prs) go PART(Abs) Mele PART(Inc) cut 
mai he loutau ki te notou 
DIR(Tsp) DET(Nspf) leaf PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3pl) 
'umú. ...
earth-oven 

'... The parents asked him if he knew where Mele was. 
and the fellow answered that she had gone to get 
leaves for their earth oven. ...'

ange also occurs with a number of verbal s that concern certain types of mental 
activities — mostly, thinking and wishing — which do not involve any direction toward 
anyone or anything.4

(2.2.5.1.-23) Fakapapau'í ange pe 'e ha'u. 
decide DIR(Tsd) if PART(Fut) come 

'Decide whether he is coming.'

ange further indicates the comparative degree (III.7.1.). It occurs not only with 
stative verbal s but also with certain temporal words (II.3.4.2.(E)) relating to both the 
past and the future, as in 'anenai ange 'while-ago DIR(Tsd): still earlier' and 'aanai 
ange 'while-later DIR(Tsd): still later on'.

(4) atu, mai and ange as Verbal-phrase Bases 
atu 'Away from Speaker', mai 'Toward Speaker' and ange 'To the Side' may be used as 
verbal-phrase bases and refer to the inducement of motion in the direction they indicate. 
They are used transitively.

(2.2.5.1.-24) Mai te kató ke au sio. 
DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) basket PART(Sbj) DET(1sgExcl) see 

'Hand me the basket so that I can see it!'

---

4Speakers often explain that ange, occurring with these verbal s, indicates difference between two 
situations, that is, presumably, a conceptual direction from the real situation to the unreal 
situation in the mind of the speaker. In all probabil ty, ange indicates a similar conceptual 
direction when, as mentioned in the next paragraph, it indicates the comparative degree.
(2.2.5.1.-25) Ne ha'u te tangatá mo te me'a
PART(Pst) come DET(Spf) man PART(Asc) DET(Spf) thing
'ofa 'o ange ki ai.
love PART(Inc) DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DEM(Anaph)
'The man came with a present and gave it to him.'

An example of atu 'Away from Speaker' as a verbal-phrase base is Pea atu leva ... 'and
DIR(Asp) SQC ...' in (2.2.5.1.-5) above.

2.5.2 ake ~ hake, ifo ~ hifo and holo

The second type includes ake ~ hake 'up', ifo ~ hifo 'down' and holo 'about'. The
forms hake and hifo may have been borrowed from Tongan. In Collocott (1928), the
forms ake and ifo are in exclusive use, and today, the use of these forms is largely
confined to older speakers.

(1) ake ~ hake

ake ~ hake indicate a direction upwards.

(2.2.5.2.-1) Ko fea te fu'u 'akau ne kake
PART(Npm) where DET(Spf) big plant PART(Pst) climb
ake ai te tamasi'i?
DIR(up) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) boy

'Where is the tree the boy climbed?'

It is also used of a change toward a state with more activity.

(2.2.5.2.-2) 'I te 'ala ake te tangatá,
PART(loc) DET(Spf) wake DIR(up) DET(Spf) man
kua 'osi hopo te la'aá.
PART(prf) already rise DET(Spf) sun

'When the man woke up, the sun had already risen.'

(2.2.5.2.-3) 'Oku saisai ake tono puké.
PART(Prs) somewhat-good DIR(up) DET(Spf3Sg0) illness

'He is recovering from illness.'

(2.2.5.2.-4) Ne pongipongi hake.
PART(Pst) morning DIR(up)

'It became morning.'

It occurs in 'Okú ke fefe'aki ake? 'PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) how DIR(up): How are
you?', which is a very common greeting.

Further, it may indicate the comparative degree (III.7.1.).

(2) ifo ~ hifo

ifo ~ hifo indicates a direction downwards.
Nau a'u ifo mei te 
PART(Pst)-DET(1SGEXCL) reach DIR(down) PART(All) DET(Spf)

mo'unga 'anenai.
mountain while-ago

'I came down from the mountain a while ago.'

It is also used of a change toward a less active state.

Kua vaivai ifo te matang1.
PART(Prf) weak DIR(down) DET(Spf) wind

'The wind has calmed down.'

Pea poo'uli hifo pee 'i te poo 
and dark DIR(down) just PART(loc) DET(Spf) night

Falaité ... 
Friday

'And the Friday night came ...'

Further, it may indicate the comparative degree (III.7.1.).

(3) holo

holo indicates undifferentiated direction. It generally translates 'about' or 'around'.

'Oku lele holo te tamaliki 'i 
PART(Prs) run DIR(abut) DET(Spf) children(Col) PART(Loc)

te loto falé. 
DET(Spf) inside house

'The children are running about in the house.'

'Okou fofoli holo pee 'i 
PART(Prs)-DET(1SGExcl) stroll DIR(abut) just PART(Loc)

te fu'u alá. 
DET(Spf) big road

'I am just having a walk about in the street.'

(4) ake ~ hake, ifo ~ hifo as Verbal-phrase Bases

hake and hifo may be used as verbal-phrase bases and refer to the motion in the direction they indicate. They are used intransitively. In the contemporary language, at
least, the forms ake and ifo do not seem to be used in this way.  

They may, in turn, be followed by appropriate directionals.

(2.2.5.2.-10) Hake ki lunga.
    DIR(up) PART(All) up
    'Go up to the upper land!'

(2.2.5.2.-11) Ne au hakake ki te mo'ungá.
    PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) DIR(up) DIR(up) PART(All) DET(Spf) mountain
    'I went up the mountain.'

(2.2.5.2.-12) Pea hifo ifo 'ia Mele ki laló, and DIR(down) DIR(down) PART(Abs) Mele PART(All) down
    'oku 'i ai te fu'u moko
    PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) big gecko
    'o folo ai 'ia Mele 'e
    PART(Inc) swallow DEM(Anaph) PART(Abs) Mele PART(Erg)
    te fu'u mokó.
    DET(Spf) big gecko
    'And when Mele climbead down (the giant hibiscus),
    there was a big gecko and Mele was swallowed
    by the big gecko.'

---

5In Collocott (1928), however, there are three examples of ake used as a verbal. In one case, it seems to involve a general direction upwards — Pea naa o leva, o noutou o, ake kia Sinilau. 'and DET(2Du) go(Col) SRC PART(Inc) DET(3Pl) go(Col) DIR(up) PART(All) Sinilau: And they (= the two women) went (to the beach to fetch Hina), they (= the two women and Hina) came back and went up to Sinilau.' In the other two cases, however, it is used in the specific sense of 'go ashore' — Pea ake leva ki uta o tautu i te matatai. ... 'and DIR(up) SRC PART(All) shore PART(Inc) sit PART(Loc) DET(Spf) beach ... And she went ashore and sat on the beach, ...' and Pea noutou ake leva ki uta, ... 'and DET(3Pl) DIR(up) SRC PART(All) shore ... And they went ashore, ...'. In this particular sense, according to C.M. Churchward (1959), ake — besides hakake, with which it is probably cognate — is also used in Tongan. In Tongan, the form ake, associated with a general direction upwards, is noted as a directional as well as a verbal in a special style used in songs, chants and the like. However, there is apparently no corresponding use of the form ifo. In the following lines from Queen Saalote's poem, for instance, ake is used as a directional: ... matangi ake, matangi hifo, 'o fepaki tu'u i hoku lotó, ...' ... wind DIR(down) PART(Inc) collide astir PART(Loc) DET(Spf1SgExclO) inside ...: the wind blows up, the wind blows down, and they crash each other in my mind ...'. Otherwise, only the forms hakake and hifo are used in Tongan.

For 'Uvean, Fabre (1847) gives ake 'en haut, par en haut (up, upwards)' and hakake 'monter, lever, soulever (go up, raise, lift)', suggesting that the former occurs as a directional and the latter as a verbal. He also gives hifo 'descendre (descend)' but ifo is not listed. Bataillon (1932), on the other hand, gives ake 'monter, s'élèver, se relever, en haut (go up, rise, raise oneself, up)' and hakake 'monter, croître, progresser (go up, grow, develop)' and also ifo 'en bas (down)' and hifo 'descendre (descend)'.

2.6 Deictic Slot

Only one type of element, namely, deictics may occur in the deictic slot. There are four deictics, as set out in Table II.2.6. below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near Speaker</th>
<th>Near Addressee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>nei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other two deictics to be expected, namely, those that derive from Proto-Polynesian *raa ~ *ra indicating location away from both the speaker and the addressee, do not occur as a deictic. The phrase adjunct aa (III.1.3.1.(A)(2)) probably derives from the Proto-Polynesian deictic *raa, and according to Clark (1974), the definitive stress derives from Proto-Polynesian *ra (I.3.2.).

As already dealt with in I.3.1.1.(B), those given in B form phonological words with the preceding words. Many speakers consider these to be borrowings from Tongan.

Verbal-phrase bases may be followed by demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D)) and demonstratives preceded by the particle ko ‘Nominal Phrase Marking’ (II.3.1.(10)) as well as deictics. However, demonstratives and demonstratives preceded by ko that occur after bases in this way are regarded as postposed modifiers (III.1.2.), and not as deictics, since they permit the intervention of certain elements between them and the bases – Ne ‘alu pee ko iā. ‘PART(Pst) go just PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph): He went then.’ On the other hand, deictics may be better understood when contrasted with these elements. Therefore, all of these elements are included in the following.

Deictics, demonstratives and demonstratives preceded by ko that occur after verbal-phrase bases all indicate spatial and/or temporal distance of the situation referred to by the clause in relation to the speaker or the addressee. Demonstratives preceded by ko are accompanied by definitive stress (I.3.2.).

(2.2.6.1) (a-1) ‘Oku ngaauenai te tangatá ’i
PART(Prs) work DEIC(Nsp) DET(Spf) man PART(Loc)

Tonga.
Tonga

(a-2) ‘Oku ngaauéní te tangatá ’i
PART(Prs) work DEIC(Nsp) DET(Spf) man PART(Loc)

Tonga.
Tonga

(b) ‘Oku ngaaué eni te tangatá ’i
PART(Prs) work DEM(Nsp) DET(Spf) man PART(Loc)

Tonga.
Tonga
(c) 'Oku ngaaue ko 'enì te tangatá
PART(Prs) work PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp) DET(Spf) man
'i Tonga.
PART(Loc) Tonga
'The man is working in Tonga now.'

Although the same translation is given for all of the clauses above, there is some semantic
difference among them. (2.2.6.-1)(b) suggests that the man was working somewhere else
at an earlier time but that he works in Tonga now. (2.2.6.-1)(c) suggests that the man is
doing only this particular work in Tonga. (2.2.6.-1)(a-1) and (a-2) do not suggest any
contrast with other situations.

Other examples follow:

(2.2.6.-2) 'Oku ngaaue naa te tangatá ke
PART(Prs) work DEIC(Nad) DET(Spf) man PART(Sbj)
fakatau tana lolì.
trade DET(Spf3SgA) truck
'The man is working there (by you) to buy a
truck.'

(2.2.6.-3) Ne au ngaaue ko iá
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) work PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)
ke totongi toku ma'uá.
PART(Sbj) pay DET(Spf1SgExcl0) debt
'I did that job to pay off my debt.'

nei and ni, associated with the past tense, indicates recent past. They translate
'just now', 'recently' and the like.

(2.2.6.-4) Ne toki mofuike nei pee.
PART(Pst) then earthquake DEIC(Nsp) just
'There was an earthquake just now.'
CHAPTER 3

Nominal Phrase

3.1 Particle Slot

Only one type of element, namely, particles may occur in the particle slot of the nominal phrase. The particles that occur in the nominal phrase are all mutually exclusive, and not more than one of them may occur in a single phrase. As already mentioned in II.1.4.1., particles are highly V-N-sensitive, and with the exception of one — mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6), III.2.4.1.(1)) —, none of the particles dealt with in this section occur in the corresponding slot of the verbal phrase.

Nominal-phrase particles indicate the syntactic and semantic function of the phrase in which they occur. Nominal phrases in all functions may begin with a particle, but in some functions, particles are optional and nominal phrases may be unmarked. As to the extent to which such unmarked nominal phrases are permitted, there is some disagreement between younger and older speakers. The function of unmarked nominal phrases are indicated by other features of the language like word order or by context.

As already mentioned in II.1.1., nominal phrases have a wider syntactic distribution than verbal phrases and may occur as several different types of constituents in a clause, namely:

(1) as predicates of nominal clauses
(2) as arguments of the predicate
(3) as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers
(4) as verbal-phrase bases
(5) other (thematized nominal phrases (III.4.2.), nominal phrases in apposition (III.1.4.) and calls (III.9.1.))

None of the particles can, however, mark all of the five types of constituents above.

As dealt with in I.3.1.1.(D), particles and monosyllabic determiners form phonological words. When followed by a monosyllabic determiner, therefore, the stress pattern of disyllabic particles is affected, and the stress occurs on the last syllable of the particle.
The forms and the functions of the nominal-phrase particles are as follows:

(1) 'ia 'Absolutive'
'ia is not associated with any particular semantic function and marks nominal phrases, the interpretation of whose semantic function depends on the semantic nature of the predicate, the structure of the clause and so on, namely, nominal phrases in the following functions:

(i) associated with verbal-phrase bases used in transitively, nominal phrases that represent S, as in:

(2.3.1.-1) 'Oku kauvaka 'ia taatou.
PART(Prs) sailor PART(Abs) PROI(1PlExcl)

'We are sailors.'

(2.3.1.-2) Ne 'i fea 'ia Mele?
PART(Pst) PART(Loc) where PART(Abs) Mele

'Where was Mele?'

(ii) associated with verbal-phrase bases used transitively, nominal phrases that represent O, as in:

(2.3.1.-3) 'Okú ke 'ilo'i 'iá te tangata
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) know PART(Abs) DET(Spf) man

ne ha'u 'aneuhú?
PART(Pst) come this-morning

'Do you know the man who came this morning.'

(iii) nominal phrases that represent equational subjects, as in:

(2.3.1.-4) Ko te motu aa 'ia Kao?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) island what PART(Abs) Kao

'What sort of island is Kao?'

(2.3.1.-5) Ko te 'aliki lahi 'iá te
tangata nei.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) chief great PART(Abs) DET(Spf)

man DEIC(Nsp)

'This man is a great chief.'

(iv) nominals in apposition, as dealt with in III.1.4.

As dealt with in II.3.4., 'ia is optional with common words that are preceded by
determiners, preferred with pronouns of Type I and obligatory with all types of nominal-phrase bases that occur without determiners, excepting pronouns of Type II, demonstratives and temporal words with which it is incompatible.

(2) 'e 'Ergative'
'e, associated with verbal-phrase bases used transitively, marks nominal phrases that represent A, as in:

(2.3.1.-6) Ne'e. taa'i 'e Sione 'iá te
PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) Sione PART(Abs) DET(Spf)

	tamasi'1.
boy

'Sione hit the boy.'

In principle, only nominal phrases indicating human beings and animals that have control over the situation referred to by the clause may occur in this function. There are, however, exceptions to this. The most common exceptions are nominal phrases that refer to natural forces.

(2.3.1.-7) Ne vilingia'i atu toku tataá
PART(Pst) blow DIR(Asp) DET(Spf1SgExc10) hat

'e te havili.
PART(Erg) DET(Spf) wind

'My hat was blown away by the wind.'

(2.3.1.-8) Ne 'aumai 'e te peaú te
PART(Pst) bring PART(Erg) DET(Spf) wave DET(Spf)

niu ki 'uta.
coconut PART(All) shore

'The wave washed the coconut ashore.'

As dealt with in Ill.1.1.1.(C), 'e in front of common words that are preceded by determiners is optional for younger speakers when A precedes O.

(3) 'i 'Locative'
'i becomes 'iaa ~ 'aa when it precedes common words that are not preceded by determiners (II.3.4.1.(A)) and personal names (II.3.4.2.(A)), and 'iaa ~ 'iaa te ~ 'aa when it precedes pronouns of Type I (II.3.4.2.(C-1)). 'aa is less formal than the other forms. 'iaa te is confined to a very formal style.

'i marks nominal phrases in the following functions:

(i) nominal phrases that specify the location of some situation. Roughly speaking, it specifies a point in space ('at', 'in', 'on'), boundaries or limits in space ('among', 'within') or a path of motion ('through', 'along', 'over'). It may involve direct contact
with the referent of the nominal phrase or only adjacency. The precise interpretation depends on the physical nature of the referent of the nominal phrase, the semantic property of the predicate or context. Locative words (II.3.4.2.(F)) are often used to avoid ambiguity.

(a) Point in Space

(2.3.1.-9) 'Oku tu'u 'i fea te paitó?
PART(Prs) stand PART(Loc) where DET(Spf) kitchen

'Where is the kitchen?'

(2.3.1.-10) 'Oku nofo 'ia au 'iaa Teevita.
PART(Prs) stay PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Loc) Teevita

'I am staying with Teevita.'

(2.3.1.-11) Nau tataha atu pee ko
PART(Pst)-DET(1SgExcl) dash DIR(Asp) just PART(Npm)

iá, 'alu 'o toi 'i te
DEM(Anaph) go PART(Pss0) hide PART(Loc) DET(SPF)

fu'u maka.
big stone

'I then dashed away, went and hid myself behind a rock.'

(b) Boundaries or Limits in Space

(2.3.1.-12) Ne 'i ai he paalangi
PART(Pst) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) foreigner

'i te kau folau?
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) PL sail

'Were there any foreigners among the tourists?'

(c) Path of Motion

(2.3.1.-13) 'Alu 'i te fo'i ala ko éé.
go PART(Loc) DET(Spf) fruit-of road PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad)

'Go along that path!'

(2.3.1.-14) Ne huu mai te kaiha'á 'i
PART(Pst) enter DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) thief PART(Loc)

te matapaa sio'atá.
DET(Spf) door glass

'The thief came in through the window.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function not only represent arguments of the predicate, as in the examples above, but they also frequently occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers, as in:

(2.3.1.-15) 'Oku sai taha te sea 'i toku
PART(Prs) good one DET(Spf) chair PART(Loc) DET(1SgExcl0)
loki.
room

'The chair in my room is the best.'

and further as verbal-phrase bases, as dealt with in II.2.4.2.(A).

(ii) nominal phrases that specify the time of some situation. In correspondence with
the function given in (i) above, it may specify a point in time, boundaries or limits in
time or a period of duration.

(a) Point in Time

'The meeting will start at one o'clock.'

(b) Boundaries or Limits in Time

'They went to the bush twice last week.'

(c) Period of Duration

'I worked for three hours.'

In addition, it may mark nominal phrases that indicate a point in time at which a
situation starts if the point until which it continues is also indicated.

'I worked from three o'clock to four o'clock.'

In this case, it may alternate with nei dealt with in II.3.1.(5) below.
Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers, as in:

(2.3.1.-21) Ko te koniseniti 'i te uike
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) concert PART(Loc) DET(Spf) week

kua 'osi, ne sai 'aupito.
PART(Prf) finished PART(Pst) good totally

'The concert last week, it was very good.'

but apparently not as verbal-phrase bases. As dealt with in III.6.4.(6), however, the two
temporal words 'aaafea 'when (in the future)' and 'aneafea 'when (in the past)' may be
exceptions to this.

(iii) nominal phrases that indicate means in which someone or something travels or
is transported.

(2.3.1.-22) Ne ke ha'u 'i te vaka ko
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) come PART(Loc) DET(Spf) ship PART(Npm)

iá?
DEM(Anaph)

'Did you come in that ship?'

(2.3.1.-23) 'Ave te 'uu tohi 'i te puhá.
take DET(Spf) PL book PART(Loc) DET(Spf) box

'Carry the books in the box!'

Nominal phrases in this function may be used to indicate means that do not strictly
contain the person or thing that travels or is transported but which may not be directly
manipulated by that person or thing.

(2.3.1.-24) 'E au lii atu 'i te
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) send DIR(Asp) PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

meill,
mail

'I will send it to you by post.'

(2.3.1.-25) Ne maa talanoa 'i te telefoni.
PART(Pst) DET(1DuExcl) chat PART(Loc) DET(Spf) telephone

'We talked on the telephone.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-
phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-26) Ne fefe'aki te folau 'i te vaka
PART(Pst) how DET(Spf) sail PART(Loc) DET(Spf) ship

ko iá?
PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)

'How was the sail in that ship?'

Nominal phrases that indicate instruments that are directly manipulated by S or A
are marked by the phrase adjunct 'aki (III.1.3.1.(C)(2)).
(iv) nominal phrases that indicate cause. While nominal phrases marked by 'e Ergative' in III.3.1.(2) above normally indicate animate agents that have control over a situation, nominal phrases in the locative may only indicate cause that initiates a situation but has no control over it.

Most commonly, they are associated with predicates that contain stative verbs (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)), as in:

\[(2.3.1.-27)\] Ne au puke 'i te 'ea
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) ill PART(Loc) DET(Spf) weather
momokó.
cold

'I was taken ill from the cold weather.'

\[(2.3.1.-28)\] Ne mate te tangatá 'i te me'a
PART(Pst) die DET(Spf) man PART(Loc) DET(Spf) thing
kai kona.
eat poisonous

'The man died from poisonous food.'

However, it is not always the case. The anaphoric demonstrative al (II.3.4.2.(D)) in the locative commonly occurs with predicates that contain various types of verbal bases and indicates cause, as in:

\[(2.3.1.-29)\] Ko te aa 'okú ke tangi al?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Prs) DET(2SG) cry DEM(ANAPH)

What is the thing because of which you are crying

(= Why are you crying?)'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers.

\[(2.3.1.-30)\] 'Oku mafola 'i te fonua nei
PART(Prs) spread PART(Loc) DET(Spf) land DEIC(Nsp)

te mahaki 'i te kai kovli.
DET(Spf) disease PART(Loc) DET(Spf) eat bad

'A disease from bad food is spreading in this land.'

(v) associated with a number of intransitive verbs (II.2.4.1.(A)(a)) that are semantically extended to refer to uncontrolled mental processes such as ngaio 'submerge, forget', tupukoso 'originate, occur to one’s mind', langa 'rise, stir in one’s mind' and malave 'stick, remain in one’s mind', nominal phrases that indicate experiencers.
(2.3.1.-31) Kua ngalo tono hingoá 'iaa
PART(Prf) submerge DET(Spf3Sg0) name PART(Loc)
au.
PROI(1SgExcl)
'I have forgotten his name.'

(2.3.1.-32) Ne tupukoso ake 'iaa au
PART(Pst) originate DIR(up) PART(Loc) PROI(1SgExcl)
te fakakaukau kovi.
DET(Spf) thought bad
'A bad thought occurred to me.'

(2.3.1.-33) Ne langa ake 'iaa au te
PART(Pst) rise DIR(up) PART(Loc) PROI(1SgExcl) DET(Spf)
'ofa.
love
'Love stirred in me.'

(2.3.1.-34) 'Oku malave loto 'iaa au
PART(Prs) stick inside PART(Loc) PROI(1SgExcl)
tau 'ofá.
DET(Spf2SgA) love
'Your love remains deeply in my mind.'

(vi) associated with middle verbs (II.2.4.1.(A)(b)) and open verbs (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)) used like middle verbs which indicate perception and mental processes and states, nominal phrases that indicate what is perceived or what the mental process is concerned with. Nominal phrases with this semantic function are dealt with in III.1.1.1.(B).

(vii) nominal phrases that indicate partially affected patients. They are always associated with a number of open verbs (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)) and are dealt with in III.1.1.1.(B) (example (3.1.1.1.-15).

(viii) occurring in clauses of comparison, nominal phrases that indicate the standard, dealt with in III.7.1.

'i' is optional in front of the anaphoric demonstrative ai in the function in (i) above while it normally does not occur in front of the same word in the other of the functions above. In front of the other demonstratives, it is always optional. Demonstratives are dealt with in II.3.4.2.(D).

As dealt with in II.3.4.2.(E), 'i does not occur in front of temporal words in any of the functions above.
For many younger speakers, 'i is optional in front of common words that are preceded by determiners – 'Oku faka'lli'a 'ia au ('i) te me'a kai ko iá. 'PART(Loc)
dislike PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl) (PART(Loc)) DET(Spf) thing eat PART(Npm)
DEM(Anaph): I dislike that food.' This is in all probabilities motivated by influence from Tongan.

(4) ki 'Allative'
ki becomes kiaa ~ kaa when it precedes common words that are not preceded by determiners (II.3.4.1.(A)) and personal names (II.3.4.2.(A)), and kiaa ~ kiaa te ~ kaa when it precedes pronouns of Type I (II.3.4.2.(C-1)). kaa is less formal than the other forms. kiaa te is confined to a very formal style.

ki marks nominal phrases that indicate the goal of motion.

(i) nominal phrases that indicate the goal of motion.

(2.3.1.-35) Ko te vaka puná, 'oku puna mai
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ship fly PART(Prs) fly DIR(Tsp)
ki Niua nei 'i te ulike
PART(All) Niua DEIC(Nsp) PART(Loc) DET(Spf) week
kotoa pee.
all just
'The aeroplane – it flies over here to Niua every week.'

(2.3.1.-36) Kua pau ke taa 'ave te
PART(Prf) certain PART(Sbj) DET(1DuIncl) take DET(Spf)
peepé ki te tooketaá.
baby PART(All) DET(Spf) doctor
'We must take the baby to the doctor.'

(2.3.1.-37) 'Avange te moá ki ai.
take DET(Spf) fowl PART(All) DEM(Anaph)
'Take the fowl to him!'

In certain contexts, a clause like (2.3.1.-37) may involve transferral of possession, but it is not always the case. (2.3.1.-37) may be compared with (2.3.1.-96).

Nominal phrases with this semantic function may be associated with predicates which, in themselves, do not involve any motion if motion to their referent is a precondition for the situation referred to by the clause.

(2.3.1.-38) Kotou va'inga ki tu'a.
DET(2Pl) play PART(All) outside
'(Go and) play outside!'

(2.3.1.-39) Taa toki fetaulaki ki kolo.
DET(1DuIncl) then meet-each-other PART(All) town
'Let's (go and) meet in town later!' 

(2.3.1.-40) 'Oku nofo 'ia Sione ki Vava'u. 
PART(Prs) live PART(Abs) Sione PART(All) Vava'u

'Sione (went and) is staying in Vava'u.'

It also occurs with verbs like ofi 'close', as in:

(2.3.1.-41) Ne maa fetaulaki mo 
PART(Pst) DET(1DuExcl) meet-each-other PART(Ass)

ia 'o ofi ki te 
PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph) PART(Inc) close PART(All) DET(Spf)

fale mahaki.
house ill

'I met him near the hospital.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-42) 'Oku 'i fea te pasi ki Mu'á? 
PART(Prs) PART(LOc) where DET(Spf) bus PART(All) Mu'a

'Where is the bus for Mu'a?'

(ii) nominal phrases that indicate a point in time until which a situation continues.

(2.3.1.-43) Pea motou moe 'o fualoa, mahalo pee, 
and DET(1P1Excl) sleep PART(Inc) long think just

ki te tolu hengihengi.
PART(All) DET(Spf) three morning

'And we slept for a long time, maybe, until three in
the morning.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-44) 'Oku fai te kaatoanga ki 'aapongipongi 
PART(Prs) do DET(Spf) festival PART(All) tomorrow

ko te fakamanatu 'o te telité. 
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) commemorate PART(Inc) DET(Spf) treaty

'The festival until tomorrow is being held to commemorate
the treaty.'

(iii) nominal phrases that indicate addressees of communicative activities.

(2.3.1.-45) 'Aua 'e toe lea ki ai.
don't PART(Sbj) again speak PART(All) DEM(Anaph)
'Don't talk to him any more!'

(2.3.1.-46) Ne tuhutuhu mai te tangatā kiaa PART(Pst) gesticulate DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) man PART(All)
au ke 'alu. PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Sbj) go

'The man gesticulated to me that I should go.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occurs as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-47) Ko ia tana 'uluaki fehu'i kiaa aú. PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf3SgA) first question PART(All) PROI(1SgExcl)

'That was his first question to me.'

(iv) nominals that indicate someone or something that perceptive or mental activities or attitudes are directed toward.

(2.3.1.-48) 'Oku 'ita 'ia Mele kiaa au. PART(Prs) angry PART(Abs) Mele PART(All) PROI(1SgExcl)

'Mele is angry at me.'

(2.3.1.-49) 'Oku talahu'i 'aupito te tamasi'ī ki tana maatu'ā. PART(Prs) prudent totally DET(Spf) boy PART(All) DET(Spf3SgA) parent(Col)

'The boy is very rude to his parents.'

Most verbals of perception and mental activities that may be associated with nominal phrases in this function may also be associated with nominal phrases marked by 'i that are dealt with in II.3.1.(3)(vi) above. As dealt with in III.1.1.1.(B), the choice between the two particles is normally made on the basis of different degrees of voluntariness on the part of S.

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-50) Kua pau ke mafuli tana fakakaukau PART(Prf) certain PART(Sbj) change DET(Spf3SgA) thought
ki tana maatu'ā. PART(All) DET(Spf3SgA) parent(Col)

'He must change his attitude toward his parents.'

(v) it marks nominal phrases that indicate purpose.

(2.3.1.-51) 'Oku motou te teutu ki te fakaafa PART(Prs) DET(1P1Excl) prepare PART(All) DET(SPF) feast
'aapongipongi.
tomorrow

'We are preparing for the feast tomorrow.'

(2.3.1.-52) 'Oku notou ngaue ki Tonga.
PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) work PART(All) Tonga

'They work for Tonga.'

(2.3.1.-53) Ne 'au fakatau mai he faito'o
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) trade DIR(Tsp) DET(Nspf) medicine
ki 'aku.
PART(All) DET(Spf1SgExc1A) big plant

'I bought some medicine for my plant.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-
phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-54) 'Oku 'i ai hau 'uu maata'u
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf2SgA) PL hook
ki te taumaata'u 'angā?
PART(All) DET(Spf) catch shark

'Do you have hooks for catching sharks?'

(vi) associated with stative verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)) that indicate the speaker's
judgement, nominal phrases that indicate the scope in which the judgement holds.

(2.3.1.-55) 'Oku kovi te ifi tapakā ki te
PART(Prs) bad DET(Spf) smoke tabacco PART(All) DET(Spf)
sinō.
body

'Smoking tabacco is bad for the health.'

(2.3.1.-56) 'Oku lekaleka te kofū kiaa Mele.
PART(Prs) small DET(Spf) garment PART(All) Mele

'The dress is small for Mele.'

(vii) nominal phrases that indicate experiencers.

(2.3.1.-57) 'Oku mahino tana leā kiaa
PART(Prs) clear DET(Spf1SgExc1A) language PART(All)
koe?
PROI(2Sg)

'Is his language clear to you (= Do you understand
what he says)纨
(viii) associated with verbals that indicate communicative or mental activities and a small number of others like fai ‘do, concern’, kau ‘join, relate, concern’ and so on, nominal phrases that indicate someone or something with which what the verbal indicates is concerned, as in:

(2.3.1.-59) 'Oku fai te talanoā ki te
PART(Prs) do DET(Spf) story PART(All) DET(Spf)

motou kolō.
DET(1PlExcl) village

'The story is about our village.'

(2.3.1.-60) Ko te aa 'okū ke fakakaukau
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) think

ki aī?
PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'What are you thinking of?'

(2.3.1.-61) Ko ai ne ina ako'i 'ou
PART(Npm) who PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) teach PR0II(2Sg0)

ki aī?
PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'Who taught you that?'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-62) 'Okū ke 'ilo'i te fananga ki
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) know DET(Spf) folk-tale PART(All)

te ngellē?
DET(Spf) monkey

'Do you know the folk-tale about the monkey?'

(5) mei ‘Ablative’

mei is obviously derived from Proto-Plynesian *maï and thus shows the assimilation of a to e that is common in Tongan. According to Bataillon (1932), 'Uvean has maï. The form mei may, therefore, be a borrowing from Tongan. However, mei is the only form that is in use today. Collocott (1928) also shows only mei.

mei becomes meiiaa ~ mea when it precedes common words that are not preceded by determiners (II.3.4.1.(A)) and personal names (II.3.4.2.(A)), and meiiaa ~
mei a a te ~ meaa when it precedes pronouns of Type I (II.3.4.2.(C-1)). meaa is less formal than the other forms. meia a te is confined to a very formal style.

mea marks nominal phrases in the following functions:

(i) nominal phrases that indicate the source of motion, as in:

(2.3.1.-63) Ne ha'u mei fea te vaka ko
PART(Pst) come PART(Abl) where DET(Spf) ship PART(Npm)
eé?
DEM(AspAd)

'Where did that ship come from?'

(2.3.1.-64) ... mai leva 'i te fu'u hele 'o
DIR(Tsp) SQC PART(Uns) DET(Spf) big knife PART(Pss0)
tafa 'a kíi te fu'u mokó 'o to'o cut INSTP(UNS) DET(SPF) big gecko PART(Inc) take
hake 'ia Mele mei te loto kete
DIR(up) PART(Abs) Mele PART(Abl) DET(Spf) inside belly
'i te fu'u mokó.
PART(Uns) DET(Spf) big gecko

'... (they) then brought a knife and cut the gecko with it and picked up Mele from the gecko's belly.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function may be associated with predicates which, in themselves, do not involve any motion if motion from their referent is a precondition for the situation referred to by the clause.

(2.3.1.-65) Ne au fakatau mai te peni
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) trade DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) pen
mei kolo.
PART town

'I bought a pen in town (and have it here now).'

(2.3.1.-66) Ne notou taa mai te loutau mei
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) chop DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) leaves PART(Abl)
te vaó.
DET(Spf) bush

'They cut leaves (and brought them) from the bush.'

It also occurs with verbals like mana'o 'far', as in:

(2.3.1.-67) 'Oku mana'o 'aupito te motou 'api
PART(Prs) far totally DET(Spf) DET(SplExcl) home
mei hení.
PART(Abl) DEM(Nsp)

'Our home is very far from here.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers.
(2.3.1.-68) Ko te kau ifi mei fea?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL blow PART(Abl) where

'A brass band from where?'

(ii) nominal phrases that indicate the point in time at which a situation starts.

(2.3.1.-69) 'E au nofo heni mei te
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) stay DEM(Nsp) PART(Abl) DET(Spf)
taimi nei ki te 'aho taha valu
time DEIC(Nsp) PART(All) DET(Spf) day one eight

'o te maahina kaaha'ú.
PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) month coming

'I will stay here from now on until the 18th of
next month.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-
phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-70) Ko te aa tau lau ki
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf2SgA) opinion PART(All)
te 'ea mei 'aneafi?
DET(Spf) weather PART(Abl) yesterday

'What do you think of the weather since yesterday?

(iii) nominal phrases that indicate the place from which perceptive and
communicative activities originate.

(2.3.1.-71) 'Okū ke lava 'o sia kiaa
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) possible PART(Inc) see PART(All)
au mei hena?
PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Abl) DEM(Nad)

'Can you see me from there?'

(2.3.1.-72) Ne kaila mai te tangatá mei
PART(Pst) shout DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) man PART(Abl)
heee.
DEM(Aspad)

'The man shouted to me from there.'

Nominal phrases with this function may be associated with predicates which, in
themselves, do not indicate perceptive or communicative activities. The following
example is from a folk-tale and concerns a couple of parents who, after a long search, have
found their kidnapped daughter sitting in a house in the bush. The girl is described as
follows:
(2.3.1.-73) 'Oku si'i ta'utu pee mei fale.
PART(Prs) EMTL sit just PART(Abl) house
'She was sitting in the house.'
The occurrence of mei instead of 'i seems to indicate not only that the girl was sitting in
the house but also that she has also seen her parents and her attention is directed at
them.

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-
phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-74) Ne kala ke ina ongo'i tana ui mei ai.
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(3Sg) notice DET(Spf3SgA) call
PART(Abl) DEM(Anaph)
"He did not notice his call from there."

(iv) nominal phrases that indicate the material out of which something is made.

(2.3.1.-75) 'E ke lava o tui he kahoa mei te 'uu kakala nei?
PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) possible PART(Pss0) plait DET(Nspf)
lei PART(Abl) DET(Spf) PL flower DEIC(Nsp)
"Can you make a lei from these flowers?"
Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-
phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-76) 'Okú ke sa'ina 'i te uaine mei te laisse?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) like PART(Loc) DET(Spf) wine
PART(Abl) DET(Spf) rice
"Do you like wine made from rice?"

(6) mo 'Associative'
As already mentioned above, this particle also occurs not only as a nominal-phrase
particle but also as a verbal-phrase particle and indicates semantically very closely related
functions. Its functions as a verbal-phrase particle are dealt with in III.2.4.1.(1).

It marks nominal phrases in the following functions:

(i) nominal phrases that indicate people or things that keep company with, act
reciprocally or reciprocatively with or accompany S, A or O, as in:

(2.3.1.-77) 'E kotou ngaue mo Sione?
PART(Fut) DET(2Pl) work PART(Ass) Sione
"Will you work with Sione?"
(2.3.1.-78) 'Oku naa fai te naa kee mo PART(Prs) DET(3Du) do DET(Spf) DET(3Du) quarrel PART(Ass) 
Sione. 
Sione

'He is having a quarrel with Sione.'

(2.3.1.-79) Ko te 'uu taá, kuau PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL picture PART(Prf)-DET(1SGEXCL) 
'osi lii atu mo te tohi. already send DIR(Tad) PART(Ass) DET(Spf) letter 
'The pictures - I have already sent out with 
the letter.'

Associated with verbals of motion, it is also used of things that are carried by S, as in:

(2.3.1.-80) 'Alu mo te tohi ko 'eni. go PART(Ass) DET(Spf) letter PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp) 
'Go with this letter (= Take this letter with you)!

Further, it is used of accompanying circumstances, especially, the mental states of S 
or A, as in:

(2.3.1.-81) 'Okou fai atu 'i te PART(Prs)-DET(1SGEXCL) do DIR(Tad) PART(Uns) DET(Spf) 
tohi mo te loto fiafia 'i te letter PART(Ass) DET(Spf) inside happy PART(Loc) DET(Spf) 
tauhi mai taatou 'e te 'otuá care DIR(Tsp) PROI(1PlIncl) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) god 
pea tou lave ai. 
and DET(1PlExcl) share DEM(Anaph) 
'I am writing a letter with a happy heart because 
God takes care of us and we share it.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-
phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-82) Ne fakalata 'aupito te kai tunu PART(Pst) pleasing totally DET(Spf) eat roasted-food 
mo naatou. PART(Ass) PROI(3Pl)

'The picnic with them was much fun.'

(ii) associated with predicates that contain intransitive verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(a)) 
indicating similitude, equality, simultaneity, mutuality and the like, nominal phrases 
that indicate someone or something that shares these characteristics with the S.
(2.3.1.-83) 'Oku meimei tatau te lea faka-Niuafou'ou
PART(Prs) almost same DET(Spf) language Niuafou'ouan
mo te lea faka-'Uvea.
PART(Ass) DET(Spf) language 'Uvean
'The Niuafou'ou language is almost the same as the
'Uvean language.'

(2.3.1.-84) 'Oku kala fe'unga 'eni mo au.
PART(Prs) not suit DEM(Nsp) PART(Ass) PROI(1SgExcl)
'This does not suit me.'

(2.3.1.-85) Ku ke maheni mo
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) acquainted PART(Ass)
ia?
PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)
'Are you acquainted with him?'

(iii) associated with the verbal hala 'lack', it marks nominal phrases that indicate what is lacking.

(2.3.1.-86) 'Okou hala mo te pa'anga.
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) lack PART(Ass) DET(Spf) money
'I do not have money.'

(iv) occurring in imperative-hortative clauses (III.5.), it marks nominal phrases that indicate the reason why the commands are uttered.

(2.3.1.-87) 'Alu mo te longoa'á.
go PART(Ass) DET(Spf) noise
'Go because you are noisy!'

(2.3.1.-88) Taa'i 'ia Sione mo tana talahu'i.
hit PART(Abs) Sione PART(Ass) DET(Spf3SgA) rudeness
'Hit Sione because he is rude!'

(2.3.1.-89) 'Aua 'e va'inga 'i va'inga te 'ua.
don't PART(Sbj) play PART(Loc) DET(Spf) rain
'Don't play outside because it is raining!'

(v) it marks S and O, but not A, and indicate equality or similarity with reference to the immediately preceding context. It translates 'also', 'too' and so on.

(2.3.1.-90) Kaa pau 'e ke 'alu, 'e
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) go PART(Fut)
au 'alu mo au.
DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Ass) PROI(1SgExcl)
‘If you go, I will go, too.’

(2.3.1.91) Kaa pau ‘e ke fakapale’i
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) praise

‘ia Mele kua pau ke ke
PART(Abs) Mele PART(Prf) certain PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg)

fakapale’i mo ‘Ana.
praise PART(Ass) ‘Ana

‘If you give a prize to Mele, you will also have
to give one to ‘Ana.’

Equality or similarity with reference to arguments in other functions and the immediately preceding context may be expressed by the phrase adjunct foki ([III.1.3.1.(B)]).

(vi) it marks nominal phrases that are co-ordinated with the preceding nominal phrases.

(2.3.1.92) ‘Oku ‘i ai te ‘uu fala mo
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) ‘PL mat PART(Ass)

te ‘uu ngatu mo te fakamalu.
DET(Spf) PL tapa PART(Ass) DET(Spf) matress

‘There are mats, tapa cloths and mattresses.’

In the functions given in (v) and (vi), mo is often preceded by the conjunction pea ([III.2.5.1.(1)]).

(7) ‘a ‘A-class Possessive’ and ‘o ‘O-class Possessive’
‘a and ‘o mark possessors. They are associated with A-class and O-class possession respectively. The distinction between these two classes of possession is dealt with in II.6.1.

‘a and ‘o never relate nominal phrases to verbal phrases. They occur either as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers or as verbal-phrase bases. Nominal phrases marked by ‘a and ‘o that occur as verbal-phrase bases are dealt with in II.2.4.2.(B). They are, therefore, excluded from the following.

As dealt with in II.3.4.2.(C), ‘a and ‘o combine with pronouns of Type II and are incompatible with the pronouns of Type I with singular reference except the first person singular inclusive pronoun. They are optional in front of pronouns of Type II but are obligatory in front of pronouns of Type I that are compatible with them and nominal-phrase bases that are not preceded by a determiner.

(2.3.1.93) Ko te hoosi ‘eni (‘a)
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) horse DEM(Nsp) PART(PssA)

‘aku.
PR0II(1SgExc1A)
'This is my horse.'

(2.3.1.-94) Nau 'alu ki te 'api
PART(Pst)-DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) DET(Spf) home
'o Sione.
PART(Pss0) Sione
'I went to Sione's home.'

For some speakers, they are also optional in front of common words that are preceded by possessive determiners.

(2.3.1.-95) Ko fea te fale ('o) tau
PART(Npm) where DET(Spf) house PART(Pss0) DET(Spf2SgA)
tamai?
father
'Where is your father's house?'

In nominalized clauses, 'a is associated with S and A and 'o with O, as dealt with in III.1.5.

(8) ma'a 'A-class Benefactive' and mo'o 'O-class Benefactive'

As mentioned in 2.2.5., ma'a and mo'o obviously consist of two morphemes, namely, mV and one of the two particles — 'a and 'o — dealt with in II.3.1.(7) above. They are accordingly associated with A-class and O-class possession respectively and are incompatible with pronouns of Type I with singular reference except the first person singular inclusive pronoun.

They mark nominal phrases in the following functions:

(i) associated with verbals of induced motion, making and obtaining that are used transitively, nominal phrases that indicatethe goal of transferral of possession. The argument that undergoes the transferral of possession occurs as O.

(2.3.1.-96) 'Avange te moa ma'ana.
take DET(Spf) fowl PART(BnfA)-PROII(3SgA)
'Take the fowl to him (so that he will have it)!'

(2.3.1.-97) Ne langa te kakai te fale mo'o
PART(Pst) build DET(Spf) people DET(Spf) house PART(Bnf0)
teatali'i.
DET(Spf) chief
'The people built a house for the chief.'

(2.3.1.-98) Ne au fakatau mai he
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) trade DIR(Tsp) DET(Nspf)
faiz'o ma'a te tamaiki.
medicine PART(BnfA) DET(Spf) children(COL)
'I bought some medicine for the children.'

Nominal phrases with this semantic function also frequently occur as nominal-phrase postposed modifiers.

(2.3.1.-99) Ko fea te ika ma'a naato?  
PART(Npm) where DET(Spf) fish PART(BnfA) PROI(3Pl)

'Where is the fish for them?'

(ii) nominal phrases that indicate humans and animals that receive the benifit of some action.

(2.3.1.-100) Ne 'alu 'ia Sione ma'aku.  
PART(Pst) go PART(Abs) Sione PART(BnfA)-PROII(1SgExc1A)

'Sione went for me (as a service for me).'

Only nominal phrases that refer to human beings and animals may occur in the functions above. (2.3.1.-98) above may be compared with (2.3.1.-53) in II.3.1.(4). ki may be used in place of ma'a in (2.3.1.-98) but not ma'a in place of ki in (2.3.1.-53).

(9) 'i 'Unspecified'

'i is used only by younger speakers. It is obviously not associated with any particular semantic function and occurs in front of common words preceded by determiners wherever these may occur unmarked, namely, in the following functions:

(i) nominal phrases that represent S, as in:

(2.3.1.-101) 'Oku lahi 'i te 'ua 'i Niua  
PART(Prs) much PART(Uns) DET(Spf) rain PART(Loc) Niua
nei pea 'oku mokomoko lelei pee te  
DEIC(Nsp) and PART(Prs) cool good just DET(Spf)
'eá.  
weather

'We are having much rain in Niua and the weather
is nice and cool.'

(ii) nominal phrases that represent O, as in:

(2.3.1.-102) Tuku pee 'i te 'ilò mo te  
leave just PART(Uns) DET(Spf) fan PART(Ass) DET(Spf)
tapavalù ke teuteu 'aki tou  
eight-sided-mat PART(Sbj) decorate INSTR DET(Spf2Sg0)
loki ke faka'ofa'ofa.  
room PART(Sbj) beautiful
'Keep the fan and the eight-sided mat in your room
to decorate your room so that it will be beautiful.'

Other examples are 'i te fu'u hele 'PART(Uns) DET(Spf) big knife: a big knife' and
tafa 'aki i te fu'u mokó 'cut INSTR PART(Uns) DET(Spf) big gecko: cut the big
deco with it' in (2.3.1.-64) and 'i te tohi 'PART(Uns) DET(Spf) letter' in (2.3.1.-81)
above.

(iii) nominal phrases that represent equational subjects, as in:

(2.3.1.-103) Ko ai 'i te hingoa 'o
PART(Npm) who PART(Uns) DET(Spf) name PART(Pss0)
tau fa'ee?
DET(Spf2sgA) mother

'What is your mother's name?'

(iv) nominal phrases that represent A when they precede O, as dealt with in
III.1.1.1.(C).

(v) nominal phrases that represent possessors, as in:

(2.3.1.-104) Ko te ongo maatu'á, ko te
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DU parent(Col) PART(Npm) DET(Spf)
hingoa 'i te tangata'aliki, ko
name PART(Uns) DET(Spf) father PART(Npm)

'Ifimui pea ko te hingoa 'i
'Ifimui and PART(Npm) DET(Spf) name PART(Usp)
te fine'aliki ko 'Ifimea.
DET(Spf) mother PART(Npm) 'Ifimea

'The parents - the name of the father - it was 'Ifimui
and the name of the mother - it was 'Ifimea.'

Another example is mei te loto kete 'i te fu'u mokó 'PART(Abl) DET(Spf) inside
belly PART(Uns) DET(Spf) big gecko: from inside the gecko's belly' in (2.3.1.-64) above.

(10) ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking'

ko, like 'ia 'Absolutive' (II.3.1.(1)) and 'i 'Unspecified' (II.3.1.(9)), is not associated with
any semantic function, but while 'ia and 'i mark nominal phrases that are in a close
syntactic relationship with other elements of the clause and may not occur by
themselves,1 ko marks nominal phrases that may occur by themselves or are syntactically
relatively independent. That is, it marks nominal phrases in the following functions:

---

1Except, naturally, in echo questions (III.6.5.), such as: Ne ha'u 'ia Mele. 'PART(Pst) come
PART(Abs) Mele: Mele came.' - 'ia ai? 'PART(Abs) who: Who?' and addition clauses
(III.8.2.2.)
(i) nominal phrases that occur as predicates of nominal clauses (III.1.1.2.).

(2.3.1.-105) Ko Sione.
    PART(Npm) Sione

     'It is) Sione.'

(ii) nominal phrases that are thematized, as dealt with in III.4.2.

(iii) nominal phrases in apposition, as dealt with in III.1.4.

(11) 'a 'Appositive'
    'a occurs only with demonstratives and marks nominal phrases in apposition that involve
    relative clauses (III.2.3.2.).

(12) 'e 'Vocative'
    'e optionally marks nominal phrases that occur as calls (III.9.1.).

3.2 Determiner Slot

Elements that occur in the determiner slot of the nominal phrase indicate specificity
and possessors and are lexically of more varied types than elements that occur in the
 corresponding slot of the verbal phrase (II.2.2.). The following are the elements that occur
 in this slot:

(1) Nominal Determiners
    \[ (1-1) \text{Articles} \]
    \[ (1-2) \text{Possessive Determiners} \]

(2) Nominal Determiner + Person Determiner or
    Pronoun Type 1

With the exception of those dealt with in II.3.2.2.(C) below, nominal determiners do
not occur in any other slot. They may be classified into two main types, namely, articles
and possessive determiners.

The possessive determiners are all morphologically complex and consist of a
morpheme that indicates specificity or non-specificity – a variant of an article – and a
morpheme that indicates possession, or else they consist of these two morphemes plus a
morpheme that indicates person in the singular, which also occurs in the pronouns Type
II (II.3.4.2.(C-2)).

Possessors with dual and plural reference are indicated by the combinations of
nominal determiners and person determiners or pronouns Type I (II.3.4.2.(C-1)). Person
determiners also occur in the corresponding slot of the verbal phrase and are set out in
Table II.2.2. Pronouns Type I also occur as bases of the nominal phrase and are set out in Table II.3.4.2.(a).

Nominal determiners may be emotionally marked or unmarked. The emotionally marked forms are used to indicate affection, pity, triviality, as dealt with in II.3.2.3. below.

The distinction of the specificity and the non-specificity of nominal phrases is dealt with in II.4. and the distinction between A-class and O-class possession in II.6.

3.2.1 Articles

The articles are set out in Table II.3.2.1.(a) below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Emotional</th>
<th>Quantitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te</td>
<td>si'i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-specific</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>na'i</td>
<td>hina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The articles, besides the possessive determiners that are dealt with in II.3.2.2. below, precede nominal-phrase bases and mark them to be specific or non-specific. Nominal-phrase bases that may potentially be specific or non-specific, or definite or indefinite must always be marked for these categories except in a few functions. They must, accordingly, be preceded by one of the articles in most functions unless they are preceded by possessive determiners. The types of nominal-phrase bases that are preceded by articles are dealt with in II.3.4.1. and II.3.4.4.5.

The quantitative article hina, like the ordinary non-specific article he, marks the following base to be non-specific. It may, however, be used only of uncountable things. For instance, while he ika 'DET(Nspf) fish' may, though not necessarily, be used of some whole fish, hina ika 'DET(NspfQnt) fish' may only be used of some amount of fish meat. hina, therefore, is not compatible with words that mark the number of what the base signifies, but he is – he 'uu ika 'DET(Nspf) PL fish: some fishes'.

As mentioned in the Introduction 3., the occurrence of the quantitative article hina in a line of a song is noted by Dye (1980). The line he quotes in the article is presumably taken from a lullaby, which, according to Rev. M. Kava, goes as follows:

(2.3.2.1.-1) Peepee tama, peepee tama –  baby child baby child
Mai ke hahu, mai ke fafa.
DIR(Tsp) PART(Sbj) breast DIR(Tsp) PART(Sbj) piggy-back
Mai hina ika ma'a si'i tama
DIR(Tsp) DET(NspfQnt) fish PART(BnfA) DET(SpfEml1) child
Mo si'ana tangi fakalongoa'a.
PART(Ass) DET(SpfEml13SgA) cry noisy
'Baby, baby —
Give me the baby to feed from my breast,
give me the baby to ride on my back.
Give me some fish for the dear child
Because it is crying loudly.'

It seems that the quantitative article is becoming obsolete, and it is not familiar to many younger speakers. It is, however, still used by some older speakers. The following is another example of the quantitative article.

(2.3.2.1.-2) Ko \[\text{taku} \quad \text{ha'ú, ke} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{'o fa,} \]
PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExc1A) come PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) love
na'a 'oku 'i ai hina
PART-CONJ(Pt1) PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(NspfQnt)
ki'i toenga foo 'o tau peepéé
little remainder laundry PART(Pss0) DET(Spf2SgA) baby
ke nusinusí 'aki te 'uu naapikení 'o
PART(Sbj) rub INSTR DET(Spf) PL napkin PART(Pss0)
taku peepéé he 'oku kailoa ma'ú
DET(Spf1SgExc1A) baby for PART(Prs) not get
he me'i koa 'e toku hoá.
DET(Nspf) bit soap PART(Erg) DET(1SgExc10) spouse

'My coming — please — it is because I am wondering
if there is any left-over (of soap) from your baby's
washing to wash my baby’s napkins with, for my wife
does not have any soap.'

For 'Uvean, both Fabre (1842) and Bataillon (1932) give hina, besides he, as article indéfini 'indefinite article (= non-specific article)'. However, it does not seem to occur commonly, and neither of the later — though very sketchy — treatments of the language. Soper (1943) or Rensch (n.d.), mention it.²

²Rensch (n.d.:12) gives an identical form, he, for both the article définit 'definite article (= specific article)’ and the article indéfini ‘indefinite article (= non-specific article)’. It is, however, obvious that the form given for the former is a mistake for te.
3.2.2 Determiners Indicating Possessors

There are two sets of forms that correspond to the ordinary and emotional articles. In addition, there is another set that may be referred to as emphatic forms.

(A) Ordinary Possessive Determiners

The specific and the non-specific forms of the ordinary possessive determiners are set out in Tables II.3.2.2.(a) and II.3.2.2.(b) respectively.

**TABLE II.3.2.2.(a) Specific Ordinary Possessive Determiners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual and Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-class</td>
<td>O-class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excl</td>
<td>taku</td>
<td>toku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incl</td>
<td>tata</td>
<td>toto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tau</td>
<td>tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>tana</td>
<td>tona, tono</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE II.3.2.2.(b) Non-specific Ordinary Possessive Determiners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual and Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-class</td>
<td>O-class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excl</td>
<td>haku</td>
<td>hoku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incl</td>
<td>hata</td>
<td>hoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hau</td>
<td>hou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>hana</td>
<td>hona, hono</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms that indicate possessors with dual and plural reference are simply the combinations of an ordinary article and a person determiner. Therefore, no formal distinction is made between A-class and O-class possession. Phonologically, the articles te and he in these combinations still form a phonological word with the preceding particle (I.3.1.1.(D)). Some speakers sometimes ellipsis the article, as exemplified by (3.4.2.1.-1). When this happens, the distinction between the specific and non-specific forms is lost.

(B) Emotional Possessive Determiners

The specific and non-specific forms of the emotional possessive determiners are set out in Tables II.3.2.2.(c) and II.3.2.2.(d) respectively.
### TABLE II.3.2.2.(c) Specific Emotional Possessive Determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Dual and Plural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-class</td>
<td>O-class</td>
<td>A-class</td>
<td>O-class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Excl</td>
<td>si’aku</td>
<td>si’oku</td>
<td>si’a</td>
<td>si’o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Incl</td>
<td>si’ata</td>
<td>si’oto</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>si’au</td>
<td>si’ou</td>
<td></td>
<td>determiner</td>
<td></td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>si’ana</td>
<td>si’ona, si’ono</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE II.3.2.2.(d) Non-specific Emotional Possessive Determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Dual and Plural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-class</td>
<td>O-class</td>
<td>A-class</td>
<td>O-class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Excl</td>
<td>ni’aku</td>
<td>ni’oku</td>
<td>ni’a</td>
<td>ni’o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Incl</td>
<td>ni’ata</td>
<td>ni’oto</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ni’au</td>
<td>ni’ou</td>
<td></td>
<td>determiner</td>
<td></td>
<td>determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ni’ana</td>
<td>ni’ona, ni’ono</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms that indicate possessors with dual and plural reference consist of the possessive determiner ni’a ‘NspfEmtlA’ or ni’o ‘NspfEmtlO’ and a person determiner.

(C) Emphatic Possessive Determiners

The emphatic possessive determiners have only specific forms. They are set out in Table II.3.2.2.(e) below:

### TABLE II.3.2.2.(e) Emphatic Possessive Determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Dual and Plural</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-class</td>
<td>O-class</td>
<td>A-class</td>
<td>O-class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Excl</td>
<td>ta’aku</td>
<td>to’oku</td>
<td>ta’a</td>
<td>to’o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Incl</td>
<td>ta’ata</td>
<td>to’oto</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ta’au</td>
<td>to’ou</td>
<td>Type I</td>
<td>Type I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ta’ana</td>
<td>to’ona, to’ono</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms that indicate possessors with dual and plural reference consist of the possessive determiner ta’a ‘SpfEmphA’ or to’o ‘SpfEmphO’ and a pronoun Type I.

The emphatic forms are used when the possessors they refer to are contrasted with someone else, as in:
The Niuan people went back to Niua because they wanted to live in their land (and not anyone else's).

The emphatic forms deviate from other forms in several respects, namely:

1. As already exemplified by (2.3.2.2.-1) above, when they precede nominals, the definitive stress occurs on their last syllable, and not on the last syllable of the nominal.

2. Nominal phrases that contain them may be discontinuous. Equational subjects frequently intervene between them and the following elements. The following clauses are both acceptable.

(2.3.2.2.-2)(a) Ko ta'akú ongo kulii 'ena.
PART(Npm) DET(SpfEmph1SgExclA) DU dog DEM(Nad)

(b) Ko ta'akú 'ena ongo kulii.
PART(Npm) DET(SpfEmph1SgExclA) DEM(Nad) DU dog

'They are my dogs.'

3. They may function like nominal-phrase bases without being followed by any nominal when it is clear from context what the expected nominal is.

(2.3.2.2.-3) Ko taku kató, 'oku 'i hení. Ko fea ta'aú ia?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExclA) basket PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp) PART(Npm) where DET(Spf2SgA) UNEXP

'My basket - it is here. Where is yours?'

4. They may function as verbal-phrase bases, in which case they are not accompanied by any definitive stress.

(2.3.2.2.-4) Kua pau ke tou tokoni ange
PART(Prf) certain PART(Sbj) DET(iPlIncl) help DIR(Tsd)

ki te kakai 'oku to'o
PART(All) DET(Spf) people PART(Prs) DET(SpfEmph)

naatou fale ne holo 'i te
PROI(3Pl) house PART(Pst) collapse PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

afaá.
hurricane
'We must help the people whose house collapsed in the hurricane.'

(5) Nominals preceded by emphatic possessive determiners may occur as verbal-phrase bases, as exemplified by (3.2.3.1.-17)

3.2.3 Emotional Forms

The emotional forms indicate affection, pity, triviality and are appropriate for use in clauses like the following:

\[(2.3.2.3.-1)\] Kua mate si'aku kuli'i.
\[\text{PART(Prf) die DET(SpfEmtl1SgExclA) dog}\]

'My poor dog has died.'

\[(2.3.2.3.-2)\] Ne lavea ni'o'oku foha?
\[\text{PART(Pst) injured DET(NspfEmtl1SgExcl10) son}\]

'Was any of my sons injured?'

Similar emotions may be indicated by the pre-base modifier si'i that occurs with verbals (II.2.3.2.(1)).

3.3 Preposed Modifier Slot

Elements that occur in the preposed modifier slot of the nominal phrase are more varied than elements that occur in the corresponding slot of the verbal phrase (II.2.3.). That is, they may be of the following two major word classes:

(1) Pre-base Modifiers

(2) Common words

Pre-base modifiers may or may not be V-N-sensitive (II.1.4.5.). Therefore, the pre-base modifiers that will be dealt with in this section are of the following two types:

(1-1) Pre-base modifiers that occur in the preposed modifier slot of both the verbal and nominal phrase

(1-2) Pre-base modifiers that occur only in the preposed modifier slot of the nominal phrase

A few pre-base modifiers that occur in the nominal phrase are restricted to incomplete nominal phrases (III.1.2.) that function as bases of verbal phrases denoting provision.

\[\text{3Words of any word-class that occur in the preposed modifier slot are referred to as preposed modifiers. Pre-base modifiers, on the other hand, are a particular class of words that specifically occur in the preposed modifier slot. The terms 'preposed modifier' and 'pre-base modifier' must, therefore, be clearly distinguished.}\]
possession or existence (II.2.4.3.). These belong to either (1-1) or (1-2) above but are grouped together and dealt with in II.3.3.3. below.

Morphologically, pre-base modifiers may be simple or complex. Many pre-base modifiers in (1-2) have the suffix -(C)1 (II.3.3.2.(A)); this suffix is productive and is used to form preposed modifiers from common words. The members of (1-2) may, therefore, not be exhaustively enumerated. Otherwise, pre-base modifiers are lexically limited in number, but they constitute a fairly large set. In this section, only a selection of them will be dealt with. Pre-base modifiers that occur exclusively with numerals and other quantitative words like lahi ‘many’ and si’i ‘few’ are dealt with in II.7.8.

Common words that occur in the preposed modifier slot of the nominal phrase are of the following two types:

(2-1) Nominals that refer to the shape or quantity of what the base signifies

(2-2) Numerals

No common words occur in the corresponding slot of the verbal phrase. Numerals that occur in the preposed slot of the nominal phrase are dealt with in II.7.5. They are, therefore, excluded from the following.

As already mentioned in I.2.2.4.(B), it is not possible to make a clear distinction between compound words and the sequences of bases and their modifiers. For this reason, some sequences that may be regarded as compound words are also included in the following.

3.3.1 V-N-insensitive Pre-base Modifiers

The same pre-base modifiers as they occur in the corresponding slot of the verbal phrase are dealt with in II.2.3.1.

(1) fu‘u

fu‘u, frequently accompanied by postposed modifier elements like lahi ‘large’ for emphasis, indicates that the referent of the base is large, as in:

(2.3.3.1.-1) fu‘u maka
big stone
‘big stone, rock’

(2.3.3.1.-2) fu‘u ala
big road
‘big road, street’

(2.3.3.1.-3) fu‘u ika lahi
big fish big
‘big fish’

(2.3.3.1.-4) fu‘u tohi loaloa
big letter long
‘long letter’

It is often used to express fearfulness, terribleness and so on.

fu‘u, used with bases signifying plants, indicates that a whole plant is referred to, as in:
(2.3.3.1.-5) fu'u 'akau
   big plant
   'plant, tree'
(2.3.3.1.-6) fu'u niu
   big coconut
   'coconut tree'
(2.3.3.1.-7) fu'u mango
   big mango
   'mango tree'
(2.3.3.1.-8) fu'u talo
   big taro
   'taro plant'
(2.3.3.1.-9) fu'u limu
   big seaweed
   'seaweed'
(2.3.3.1.-10) fu'u vao
   big bush
   'weed'

In this case, fu'u may indicate plants of any size. In order to indicate a great size, postposed modifier elements must be used: fu'u mango lahi 'big mango large: big mango tree'. On the other hand, fu'u used in this way is still felt to be semantically incongruous with postposed modifier elements like si'i 'small', and it is not possible to say: *fu'u mango si'i 'big mango small: (small mango tree}'. A possible translation of 'small mango tree' would be mango si'i, but this can be ambiguous since it can also refer to a small mango fruit.

(2) ki'i

ki'i, frequently accompanied by postposed modifier elements like si'i 'small' for emphasis, indicates that the referent of the base is small, as in:

(2.3.3.1.-11) ki'i ipu
   little cup
   'small cup'
(2.3.3.1.-12) ki'i kulii
   small dog
   'small dog, doggie'
(2.3.3.1.-13) ki'i faie si'i
   little house small
   'small house'
(2.3.3.1.-14) ki'i puaka si'i si'i
   little pig small
   'small pig'

It is often used to express affection, pity or contempt without regard to the size.

(3) toe, tee (< common word toe 'remain, remainder') toe and tee generally correspond to English 'another', as in:

(2.3.3.1.-15) 'Oko ke fia si'o ki he toe
   PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) want see PART(All) DET(Nspf) another
   fo'i filimi?
   fruit-of film
   'Do you want to see another film?'

(2.3.3.1.-16) 'Aumai mo he toe mata'i ika 'e
   bring PART(Ass) DET(Nspf) another eye-of fish PART(Nmr)
   tolu.
   three
'Give me another three fish!'

(4) 'uluaki (< common word 'uluaki 'first')

'uluaki generally corresponds to English 'first', as in:

(2.3.3.1.-17) Ne langua te 'uluaki fale 'i te PART(Pst) build DET(Spf) first house PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
ta'u kua 'osi pea toki langua te fale year PART(Prf) finished and then build DET(Spf) house
tono ua 'i te ta'u nei.
DET(Spf3Sg0) two PART(Loc) DET(Spf) year DEIC(Nsp)

'The first house was built last year and then the second house was built this year.'

(5) toki
toki indicates that the referent is temporarily the first and the only one in existence, as in:

(2.3.3.1.-18) Ko te toki kaa 'eni 'i te PART(Npm) DET(Spf) first car DEM(Nsp) PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
koló.
town

'This is the first car in the village (and the only one).'

(2.3.3.1.-18) indicates that the village has just acquired the car referred to and that there is no other car in the village. toki is inappropriate for use in place of 'uluaki 'first' in a clause like (2.3.3.1.-17) above.

(6) kaungaa (< kau 'join' + -nga (II.3.4.1.(B-1)) + -a (II.3.3.2.(B))

kaungaa refers to people who co-operate in or share what the base signifies, as in:

(2.3.3.1.-19) kaungaa kaiha'a co-op thief

'fellow thief'

(2.3.3.1.-20) kaungaa ngaawe co-op work

'fellow worker'

(2.3.3.1.-21) kaungaa me'a co-op thing

'friend'

(2.3.3.1.-22) kaungaa 'api co-op home

'neighbourer'
3.3.2 V-N-sensitive Pre-base Modifiers

Most pre-base modifiers of this type are derived from common words by means of the suffix -(C)i or -a. There are also several that do not have any suffix. Obviously, these have also been derived from common words, and in fact, it is not possible to distinguish them from common words used like pre-base modifiers in II.3.3.4. below on formal grounds. In this study, words of this type are regarded as pre-base modifiers only when they have semantically deviated from the common words from which they are presumed to have been derived and acquired the general function of indicating number.

(A) Pre-base Modifiers that End in -(C)i

The suffix -(C)i occurs with stems that are used as nominals. The form -i is productive and may occur with newly introduced stems while the other forms occur only with a small number of stems.

The suffix -(C)i may be attached to stems that refer to a part of what the base signifies – matapaa ‘door’ → matapaa'i ‘door-of’: matapaa'i fale ‘door-of house: house door’, ‘ato ‘roof’ → ‘ato'i ‘roof-of’: ‘ato'i fale ‘roof-of house: house roof’ and so on. A number of stems undergo a formal change when they occur with this suffix. Many pre-base modifiers that are derived from stems referring to parts of the plant or body have an extensive metaphorical use. The following are given only as examples of the possible extent of their metaphorical use also because they occur frequently in other parts of this study.

(1) fe'i, fo'i and fua'i ( < fua ‘fruit’ + 'i)

fe'i, fo'i and fua'i may all refer to fruits of plants, as in:

```
(2.3.3.2.-1)  fe'i  [fo'i] 'akau
             [fua'i] plant  fruit-of

              'fruit'

(2.3.3.2.-2)  fe'i  [fo'i] mango
             [fua'i] mango  fruit-of

              'mango fruit'

(2.3.3.2.-3)  fe'i  [fo'i] niu
             [fua'i] coconut  fruit-of

              'coconut fruit'

(2.3.3.2.-4)  fe'i  [fo'i] siaine
             [fua'i] banana  fruit-of

              'banana fruit'
```

and eggs of birds, as in:

```

4Exceptionally, when referring to eggs without specifying the species of bird, fua ‘egg’ or fua'i manu puta ‘fruit-of animal fly: bird’s egg’ must be used. As in (2.3.3.2.-15), fe'i and fo'i, occurring with manu puta may only refer to a bird itself.
(2.3.3.2.-5) \{fe'i\} moa  (2.3.3.2.-6) \{fe'i\} pato
\{fo'i\} chicken  \{fo'i\} duck
fruit-of  fruit-of

'chicken's egg'  'duck's egg'

(2.3.3.2.-7) \{fe'i\} pekaapeka  (2.3.3.2.-8) \{fe'i\} malau
\{fo'i\} swallow  \{fo'i\} malau
fruit-of  fruit-of

'swallow's egg'  'malau's egg'

In reference to eggs other than eggs of birds, only \textit{fua'i} may be used, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-9) \{fua'i\} ika  (2.3.3.2.-10) \{fua'i\} paka
fruit-of fish  fruit-of crab

'fish egg'  'crab egg'

(2.3.3.2.-11) \{fua'i\} fonu  (2.3.3.2.-12) \{fua'i\} loo
fruit-of turtle  fruit-of ant

'turtle egg'  'ant egg'

\textit{fe'i} and \textit{fo'i}, but not \textit{fua'i}, may also refer to bulbs of plants, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-13) \{fe'i\} talo  (2.3.3.2.-14) \{fe'i\} 'ufi
\{fo'i\} taro  \{fo'i\} yam
fruit-of  fruit-of

'taro root'  'yam root'

and certain small and roundish animals such as birds, shellfish, crabs, larva and the like
(but never mammals), as in:

(2.3.3.2.-15) \{fe'i\} manu puna  (2.3.3.2.-16) \{fe'i\} pekaapeka
\{fo'i\} animal fly  \{fo'i\} swallow
fruit-of  fruit-of

'bird'  'swallow'

(2.3.3.2.-17) \{fe'i\} fiingota  (2.3.3.2.-18) \{fe'i\} paka
\{fo'i\} shellfish  \{fo'i\} crab
fruit-of  fruit-of

'shellfish'  'crab'

(2.3.3.2.-19) \{fe'i\} 'afato
\{fo'i\} 'afato
fruit-of

' 'afato'

and things that are more or less round, oval or cylindrical in shape, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-20) \{fe'i\} pulu  (2.3.3.2.-21) \{fe'i\} 'ulu
\{fo'i\} ball  \{fo'i\} head
fruit-of  fruit-of
'ball'  'head'

(2.3.3.2.-22) fe'i
   hina
   fo'i
   fruit-of

'bottle'

fe'i and fo'i are also used to give individuality to shapeless things, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-23) fe'i
   matangi
   fo'i
   wind
   fruit-of

'blow of wind'

(2.3.3.2.-24) fe'i
   maka
   fo'i
   stone
   fruit-of

'piece of stone, dry battery'

(2.3.3.2.-25) fe'i
   lea
   fo'i
   language
   fruit-of

'word'

(2.3.3.2.-26) fe'i
   sio'ata
   fo'i
   glass
   fruit-of

'lantern glass'

(2.3.3.2.-27) fe'i
   pepa
   fo'i
   paper
   fruit-of

'roll of paper'

(2.3.3.2.-28) fe'i
   maa
   fo'i
   bread
   fruit-of

'piece of bread (= whole piece from oven)'

fe'i and fo'i may also be used in reference to anything, in which case they indicate outstandingness, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-29) fe'i
   ta'ahine
   fo'i
   girl
   fruit-of

'nice girl'

(2.3.3.2.-30) fe'i
   ala sai
   fo'i
   path good
   fruit-of

'good path'

(2.3.3.2.-31) fe'i
   kaa lelei
   fo'i
   car good
   fruit-of

'nice car'

(2) kau'i (< kau 'stalk' + 'i')

kau'i refers to stems or stalks of small plants, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-32) kau'i
   'akau
   stem-of plant

'stem'

(2.3.3.2.-33) kau'i
   limu
   stem-of seaweed

'stem of seaweed'

and stems or stalks of flowers or fruits (that is, pedicels or peduncles) or stems or stalks of leaves (that is, petioles), as in:
(2.3.3.2.-34) kau'i kaute (2.3.3.2.-35) kau'i moli
  stem-of hibiscus  stem-of orange
  'stem of hibiscus
  flower or leaf'
  'stem of orange
  fruit or leaf'

It is also used in reference to handles, as in:
(2.3.3.2.-36) kau'i haamala (2.3.3.2.-37) kau'i toki
  stem-of hammer  stem-of adze
  'handle of hammer'
  'handle of adze'

and domestic animals (possibly because of the string on which they are lead), as in:
(2.3.3.2.-38) kau'i puaka (2.3.3.2.-39) kau'i hoosi
  stem-of pig  stem-of horse
  'pig'
  'horse'

Further, it occurs in:
(2.3.3.2.-40) kau'i nima (2.3.3.2.-41) kau'i va'e
  stem-of hand  stem-of leg
  'forearm'
  'shank'
(2.3.3.2.-42) kau'i maea
  stem-of rope
  'piece of rope'

(3) la'i and lau'i (< lau 'leaf' + 'i')

la'i and lau'i refer to leaves of plants, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
(2.3.3.2.-43) & \begin{cases} 
la'i \\
\text{la'u'i} \end{cases} \text{ plant} & (2.3.3.2.-44) & \begin{cases} 
la'i \\
\text{la'u'i} \end{cases} \text{ bread-fruit} \\
\text{leaf-of} & \text{leaf-of} & \text{leaf-of} \\
\text{ 'leaf'} & \text{ 'bread-fruit leaf'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(2.3.3.2.-45) & \begin{cases} 
la'i \\
\text{la'u'i} \end{cases} \text{ hibiscus} & (2.3.3.2.-46) & \begin{cases} 
la'i \\
\text{la'u'i} \end{cases} \text{ leaf-for-} \\
\text{leaf-of} & \text{leaf-of} & \text{leaf-of} \\
\text{hibiscus leaf'} & \text{leaf for oven'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

la'i, and rarely lau'i, also refer to flat things (but normally not mats (fala), tapa cloths (tapa) or cloths (tupenu)), as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
(2.3.3.2.-47) & \begin{cases} 
la'i \\
\text{la'u'i} \end{cases} \text{ pepa} & (2.3.3.2.-48) & \begin{cases} 
la'i \\
\text{la'u'i} \end{cases} \text{ sio'ata} \\
\text{leaf-of paper} & \text{leaf-of glass} & \\
\text{'sheet of paper'} & \text{ 'pane of glass'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(2.3.3.2.-49) & \begin{cases} 
la'i \\
\text{la'u'i} \end{cases} \text{ taa} & (2.3.3.2.-50) & \begin{cases} 
la'i \\
\text{la'u'i} \end{cases} \text{ maa} \\
\text{leaf-of picture} & \text{leaf-of bread} & \\
\text{'picture'} & \text{ 'loaf of bread'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

and further occur in:
(2.3.3.2.-51) la’i mata’i
  leaf-of flower
  ‘petal’

(2.3.3.2.-52) la’i ’ulu
  leaf-of head
  ‘hair’

(2.3.3.2.-53) la’i nima
  leaf-of hand
  ‘palm’

(2.3.3.2.-54) la’i va’e
  leaf-of leg
  ‘foot’

(2.3.3.2.-55) la’i talinga
  leaf-of ear
  ‘outer part of ear’

(2.3.3.2.-56) la’i mata’i
  leaf-of eye
  ‘eyelash’

(2.3.3.2.-57) la’i kemo
  leaf-of eyebrow
  ‘eyebrow’

(4) mata’i (< mata ‘eye, face’ + ‘i’)
mata’i refers to the eye or face, as in:5

(2.3.3.2.-58) mata’i ngeli
  eye-of monkey
  ‘eye or face of monkey’

(2.3.3.2.-59) mata’i fafine
  eye-of woman
  ‘eye or face of woman’

It also refers to small fish, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-60) mata’i ika
  eye-of fish
  ‘fish’

(2.3.3.2.-61) mata’i laapila
  eye-of tilapia
  ‘tilapia’

It also refers to the blade or point, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-62) mata’i hele
  eye-of knife
  ‘blade of knife’

(2.3.3.2.-63) mata’i toki
  eye-of adze
  ‘blade of adze’

(2.3.3.2.-64) mata’i fa’o
  eye-of nail
  ‘point of nail’

(2.3.3.2.-65) mata’i peni
  eye-of pen
  ‘nib’

(2.3.3.2.-66) mata’i huhu
  eye-of breast

5 mata’i, referring to the eye or face, may occur in a verbal phrase, as in: ‘Oku mata’i ngeli tia Sione. ‘PART[Prs] eye-of monkey PART[Abs] Sione: Sione has a face like that of a monkey.’ As dealt with in II.2.4.3., however, nominals may occur as bases of verbal phrase that denote the provision, existence or the possession of what the base signifies. mata’i, occurring in verbal phrases, may largely be regarded as occurring with a nominal that functions as their base. They are, accordingly, included here in II.3.3.2. rather than in II.3.3.1. above. mata’i, however, does occur with a small number of verbally-oriented words: mata’i poto ‘eye-of clever; smart-looking’.
'nipple'

Further, it occurs in many others, such as:

(2.3.3.2.-67) mata'i lavea (2.3.3.2.-68) mata'i tohi
eye-of injure eye-of writing

'cut in the
injure' 'character, letter'

(2.3.3.2.-69) mata'i talo (2.3.3.2.-70) mata'i tofe
.eye-of taro eye-of oyster

'taro top (for
planting)' 'pearl'

(5) sino'i (< sino 'body' + 'i')

sino'i refers to the body, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-71) sino'i tangata (2.3.3.2.-72) sino'i ika
body-of man body-of fish

'body of man' 'body of fish'

and trunks and main stems of plants, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-73) sino'i 'akau (2.3.3.2.-74) sino'i mango
body-of plant body-of mango

'trunk or main
stem of plant' 'trunk of mango
tree'

It also refers to the main part of various things, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-75) sino'i (2.3.3.2.-76) sino'i kasa
body-of body-of lamp

'body of lamp'

Further, it occurs in:

(2.3.3.2.-77) sino'i pa'anga (2.3.3.2.-78) sino'i nima
body-of money body-of hand

'capital' 'arm'

(2.3.3.2.-79) sino'i va'e
body-of leg

'leg'

Forms other than -'i occur in a very small number of examples. For instance, luoki
hole-of' (< luo 'hole, hollow' + ki), as in: luoki kekekele 'hole-of ground: hole in the
ground', luoki loo 'hole-of ant: hole made by ants', and so on.

(B) Pre-base Modifiers that End in -a

The suffix -a occurs with only a small number of stems. Unlike -(C)i in II.3.3.2.(A)
above, -a seems to occur in certain pre-base modifiers that also occur in the pre-base
modifier slot of the verbal phrase, as for instance, in kaungaa 'co-op' dealt with in II.3.3.1.(6). Examples of pre-base modifiers with -a which occur only in the pre-base modifier slot of the nominal phrase include:

(1) hoaa (< hoa 'partner' + a)
hoaa refers to partners, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
(2.3.3.2.-80) & \quad \text{hoaa} \quad \text{ngaaue} & (2.3.3.2.-81) & \quad \text{hoaa} \quad \text{pele} \\
\text{partner-of work} & \quad \text{partner-of card} \\
'\text{partner in work}' & \quad '\text{partner in card game}'
\end{align*}
\]

(2) mataa (< mata 'eye, face' + a)
mataa occurs in a number of fixed combinations like the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
(2.3.3.2.-82) & \quad \text{mataa} \quad \text{fonua} & (2.3.3.2.-83) & \quad \text{mataa} \quad \text{tai} \\
\text{eye-of land} & \quad \text{eye-of sea} \\
'\text{shore (as seen from sea)}' & \quad '\text{beach (as seen from inland)}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(2.3.3.2.-84) & \quad \text{mataa} \quad \text{one'one} & (2.3.3.2.-85) & \quad \text{mataa} \quad \text{matangi} \\
\text{eye-of sand} & \quad \text{eye-of wind} \\
'\text{sandy beach}' & \quad '\text{direction facing wind}'
\end{align*}
\]

(C) Others

As in the case of person determiners (II.2.2.) and pronouns (II.3.4.2.(C)), it is possible to distinguish three numbers for nominals. Nominals with singular reference are not marked. Nominals with dual and plural reference, on the other hand, are generally marked by one of the following pre-base modifiers which, as already mentioned above, have presumably been derived from nominals with collective reference.6

(1) ongo

ongo indicates the dual, regardless of whether the referent of the nominal with which it occurs is human or non-human, animate or inanimate.

\[
\begin{align*}
(2.3.3.2.-86) & \quad \text{ongo maatu'a} & (2.3.3.2.-87) & \quad \text{ongo fafine} \\
\text{DU parent} & \quad \text{DU woman} \\
'\text{couple of parents}' & \quad '\text{couple of women}'
\end{align*}
\]

---

6In addition to the four pre-base modifiers dealt with here, Tongan has another, ngaahi, which occurs with nominals referring to inanimate things and humans given in (iii) and (iv) in II.3.3.2.(C)[2] below and indicate the plural. However, it is almost invariably considered to be Tongan by Niuafo’ou speakers. It is, therefore, not included here.
(2.3.3.2.-88) ongo puaka
DU pig
‘couple of pigs’

(2.3.3.2.-89) ongo namu
DU mosquito
‘couple of mosquitoes’

(2.3.3.2.-90) ongo fale
DU house
‘couple of houses’

(2.3.3.2.-91) ongo fu‘u mango
DU big mango
‘couple of mango trees’

(2) ‘uu (< common word ‘uu ‘bundle’) ‘uu indicates the plural. It occurs with:

(i) nominals that refer to inanimate things, including plants, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-92) ‘uu fale
PL house
‘houses’

(2.3.3.2.-94) ‘uu fe‘i moa (2.3.3.2.-95) ‘uu fu‘u mango
PL fruit-of chicken
PL big mango
‘chickens’ eggs’
‘mango trees’

(ii) nominals that refer to animals, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-96) ‘uu puaka
PL pig
‘pigs’

(2.3.3.2.-98) ‘uu ika
PL fish
‘fish’

(iii) nominals that refer to kin, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-100) ‘uu kui
PL grandparent
‘grandparents’

(2.3.3.2.-102) ‘uu tuafaafine
PL sister-of-male
go(Col)
‘sisters of male
go’

(iv) nominals that refer to friends, chiefs, kings, gods and the like, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-104) ‘uu ‘otua
PL god
‘gods’

(2.3.3.2.-106) ‘uu hau‘aliki
PL chief(Col)
‘uu kaume’a
PL friend

(2.3.3.2.-105) ‘uu tu‘i
PL king
‘kings’
'chiefs'  'friends'

(v) nominals preceded by ki'i 'little' (II.3.3.1.(2)), as in:

(2.3.3.2.-108) 'uu ki'i male (2.3.3.2.-109) 'uu ki'i kulii
PL little house PL little dog

'little houses'  'little dogs'

(2.3.3.2.-110) 'uu ki'i tamaliki
PL little children(Col)

'little children'

(3) kau (< kau 'bunch')

kau indicates the plural. It is in complementary distribution with 'uu in II.3.3.2.(C)(2)
above and occurs with nominals that refer to humans, excepting those given in (iii) and
(iv). Accordingly, it occurs with nominals like the following:

(2.3.3.2.-111) kau tangata
PL man

'men'

(2.3.3.2.-112) kau fafine
PL woman

'women'

(2.3.3.2.-113) kau faiako
PL teacher

'teachers'

(2.3.3.2.-114) kau polisi
PL police

'policemen'

kau occurs not only with nominals that refer to humans, as in the examples above,
but also with certain other words, especially, verbally-oriented words. In this case, it does
not simply indicate number but refers to people associated with what the following word
signifies. However, it never occurs by itself as a common word meaning 'people'.

(2.3.3.2.-115) kau fiakaia
PL hungry

'hungry people'

(2.3.3.2.-116) kau ngaaua
PL work

'workers'

(2.3.3.2.-117) kau folau
PL sail

'travelers'

(2.3.3.2.-118) kau vaka
PL ship

'sailors'

As dealt with in II.3.3.5., kau occupies an unusual position in the nominal phrase
with respect to other pre-base modifiers.

(4) fanga

fanga indicates the plural. It occurs, besides 'uu in II.3.3.2.(C)(2) above, with nominals
given in (ii), (iii) and (v). Many speakers consider it to be Tongan though it is often used
in the contemporary language.

With the exception of fanga, the pre-base modifiers above may normally not occur
with nominals that have generic reference (II.4.). The pre-base modifiers indicating number are not obligatory. They are especially prone to be ellipped when there are other elements (numerals or words like lahi 'many') that indicate their number, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-119) Ne oo mai te (kau) tangata
    PART(Pst) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) PL man
    'e toko nima.
    PART(Nmr) ANTM five
    'Five men came.'

(2.3.3.2.-120) 'Oku toko lahi te ('uu) hoosi 'i
    PART(Prs) ANTM many DET(Spf) PL horse PART(Loc)
    Niuafo'ou.
    Niuafo'ou
    'There are many horses on Niuafo'ou.'

or when the nominals concerned refer to persons and things that normally exist in pairs, groups and so on, as in:

(2.3.3.2.-121) 'Oku nofo 'i fea tau (ongo)
    PART(Prs) live PART(Loc) where DET(SPF2SGA) DU
    maatu'ā?
    parent(Col)
    'Where do your parents live?'

(2.3.3.2.-122) Ne ha'i 'e te tangatā te
    PART(Pst) bind PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man DET(Spf)
    ('uu) va'e 'o te puakā.
    PL leg PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) pig
    'The man bound the legs of the pig.'

3.3.3 Pre-base Modifiers and Nominals that Occur as Bases of Verbal Phrases

As dealt with in II.2.4.3., nominals may occur as bases of verbal phrases that denote the provision, possession or existence of what they signify. mata'i 'face-of' in II.3.3.2.(A)(4) above and certain other pre-base modifiers that belong to the same type may occur in verbal phrases of this type. Those that are dealt with below are pre-base modifiers that occur with nominals that function as bases of such verbal phrases and do not occur in full nominal phrases.7

(1) lahi (< common word lahi 'many')

---

7 It is not very clear whether longolongo in II.3.3.3.(3) below belongs to the incomplete nominal phrase that function as a verbal-phrase base or to the verbal phrase that contains a nominal as base. As mentioned in II.2.4.3., however, nominals normally do not occur as verbal-phrase bases unless they are accompanied by quantitative modifiers or occur after verbs and denote vehicles. longolongo is included here because, as in the case of the others to be dealt with below, its presence makes it possible for nominals to occur freely as verbal-phrase bases.
lahi generally correspond to 'many'. An article must be used after the particle mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6)) when the base is co-ordinated with some other word, which reveals its nominal status.

\[(2.3.3.3.-1)\] Ne lahi 'aho mo te poo
\[
\text{PART(Pst) many day PART(Ass) DET(Spf) night}\\
\text{taku teuteú.}\\
\text{DET(SpfSgExclA) prepare}
\]

'My preparation lasted many days and nights.'

lahi may also occur with verbs (II.2.3.1.(6)).

(2) lau, laui, laulau and laulau

lau, laui, laulau and laulau occur with nominals that refer to units of time and measure and generally correspond to 'several' or 'some'. An article must be used after the particle mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6)) when the base is co-ordinated with some other word.

\[(2.3.3.3.-2)\] Ne laulau maile tata 'alu mei
\[
\text{PART(Pst) some mile DET(Spf1SgInclA) go PART(Abl)}\\
\text{Futu ki Peetani.}\\
\text{Futu PART(All) Peetani}
\]

'It is miles from Futu to Peetani.'

\[(2.3.3.3.-3)\] Ne laui 'aho mo te poo
\[
\text{PART(Pst) some day PART(Ass) DET(Spf) night}\\
\text{taku teuteú.}\\
\text{DET(Spf1SgExclA) prepare}
\]

'My preparation lasted several days.'

(3) longolongo (< common word longolongo 'silent' = Reduplication Type I (I.2.2.3.(A)) of longo)

longolongo indicates that the statement the speaker is making is based on his intuition, as in:

\[(2.3.3.3.-4)\] Ne au tafoki kote'uhi kua
\[
\text{PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) turn because PART(Prf)}\\
\text{longolongo tangata.}\\
\text{silent man}
\]

'I turned around because I felt that someone was there.'

The verbal-nominal status of the base is not so clear as in the case of II.3.3.3.(1) and (2) above, and the use of an article after mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6)) is optional for most speakers when it is co-ordinated with some other word.
(2.3.3.3.-5) Ne longongo tangata mo (te)
PART(Pst) silent man PART(As) DET(Spf)
teevolo 'aneppoo.
ghost last-night
'I felt that there were people and ghosts last
night.'
longongo also occurs with verbs (II.2.3.1.(7)).

3.3.4 Nominals that Occur in the Pre-base Modifier Slot of the Nominal Phrase

Nominals may occur in the pre-base modifier slot of the nominal phrase and indicate
the shape or quantity of what the base signifies, as in:

(2.3.3.4.-1) ipu kofi
cup coffee

(2.3.3.4.-2) kau siaine
bunch banana

(2.3.3.4.-3) 'atu motu
row island

(2.3.3.4.-4) pupunga fetu'u
cluster star

(2.3.3.4.-5) nga'asi fiingota
shell shellfish

(2.3.3.4.-6) nga'asi hina
shell bottle

'empty shell'

These differ from pre-base modifiers in that they are autonomous and may constitute
bases by themselves.

The sequence ipu kofi in (2.3.3.4.-1) may also mean 'coffee cup', in which case it
may be regarded as consisting of a base and its postposed modifier. In many cases,
however, it is difficult to distinguish the sequence of a pre-base modifier and a base from
that of a base and a postposed modifier, and the distinction between them must
necessarily be rather arbitrary.

3.3.5 Order of Elements within the Pre-base Modifier Slot

More than one pre-base modifier may occur in one phrase as long as there is no
semantic incongruity. When there is more than one pre-base modifier, they generally
occur in the order:

\[
\left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Majority of V-N} \\
\text{Insensitive Pre-} \\
\text{base Modifiers}
\end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{Pre-base Modifiers} \\
\text{Indicating Number} \\
\text{Factors (II.3.3.1.(1))} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{fu'u or ki'i} \\
\text{(II.3.3.2.(C))} \right\} + \text{Others}
\]

The following conforms to this order:

(2.3.3.5.-1) 'uluaki ongo fu'u fo'i lessi
first DU big fruit-of papaya

'first couple of big papaya fruits'
However, one of the pre-base modifiers that indicate number, kau (II.3.3.2.(C)(3)), deviates from the above and occurs after fu'u or ki'i, as in:

(2.3.3.5.-2) fu'u kau tangata
big PL man

‘big men’

This may be compared with the following:

(2.3.3.5.-3) ongo fu'u tangata (2.3.3.5-4) 'uu fu'u vaka
DU big man PL big ship

‘couple of big
men’

‘big ships’

3.3.6 Pre-base Modifiers and Nominals that Occur as Postposed Modifiers

Pre-base modifiers generally have the function of individuating the referent of the nominal phrase and/or semantic derivation. The difference between the forms with and without pre-base modifiers such as puaka ‘pig’ and kau'i puaka ‘stem-of pig’ in (2.3.3.2.-38) or ika ‘fish’ and mata'i ika ‘face-of fish’ in (2.3.3.2.-60), for instance, is mainly in the degree of individuality. Accordingly, while puaka and ika may have generic reference, kau'i puaka and mata'i ika may not. Similarly, while the sequence of a base and a postposed modifier ika liliki ‘fish small(Col): small fish’ may have generic reference, the sequence of a pre-base modifier and a base ki'i ika ‘little fish’ may not. Apart from nominals denoting means of transportation dealt with in III.1.2.1.(B), only nominals that have generic reference may occur as postposed modifiers of verbal or nominal phrases. Therefore, forms with pre-base modifiers like those mentioned above may not occur as postposed modifiers.

(2.3.3.6.-1) (a) Ne au kai ika.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat fish

‘I ate fish.’

(b) *Ne au kai mata'i ika.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat face-of fish

(2.3.3.6.-2) (a) Ne au kai ika liliki.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat fish small(Col)

‘I ate small fish.’

(b) *Ne au kai ki'i ika.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat little fish

However, pre-base modifiers do sometimes occur with nominals that occur as postposed modifiers. They are almost always confined to cases in which they involve a high degree of semantic derivation and their absence would also result in a change in meaning. For instance, while the use of a pre-base modifier is rather unusual in the following:
(2.3.3.6.-3) Ne au kai (?fo'i) mango.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat fruit-of mango
'I ate mangoes.'

since the ambiguity is extralinguistically excluded, it is perfectly possible to say:

(2.3.3.6.-4) Ne au kai fo'i moa.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat fruit-of chicken
'I ate eggs.'

since the absence of fo'i 'fruit-of' would result in a semantic change, as in:

(2.3.3.6.-5) Ne au kai moa.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat chicken
'I ate chicken.'

3.4 Base Slot

The elements that occur in the base slot of the nominal phrase are less varied than those that occur in the corresponding slot of the verbal phrase. Only the following may occur:

(1) Common Words (Nominals)

(2) Definite Words

(3) Emphatic Possessive Determiners

In nominalized clauses, common words occurring as verbals may also be used with nominal-phrase particles and determiners. As dealt with in II.1.4.3., however, they may still be regarded as basically verbal with respect to the distributional possibilities and the interpretative principles in relation to words other than the particles and the determiners. They are excluded from the following. The nominalization of clauses are dealt with in III.1.5.

Emphatic possessive determiners are dealt with in II.3.2.2.(C) and are, therefore, also excluded from this section.

3.4.1 Common Words

Common words that occur as nominals may potentially be specific or non-specific, or definite or indefinite (II.4.). Thus, as dealt with in II.3.4.1.(A) below, they always occur with some determiner (II.3.2.) that marks them as either specific or non-specific except in a few functions and, if they have definite referents, are also obligatorily accompanied by definitive stress (I.3.2.) unless they are followed by deictics (II.3.6).

Common words may be morphologically simple or complex and, in fact, show all sorts of morphological composition that are possible in Niuafo'ou. However, there are few morphological processes that specifically form nominally-oriented words, and nominally-
oriented words are morphologically less varied than verbally-oriented words. Only compounding may probably be regarded as equally productive in nominally- and verbally-oriented words. II.3.4.1.(B) deals with affixes, reduplication and compounding that are noted in nominally-oriented words.

As in the case of some verbally-oriented words, some nominally-oriented words have collective forms. They are dealt with in II.3.4.1.(C) below.

(A) Use of Common Words as Nominals

Common words used as nominals occur without any determiner when they have a generic meaning and occur as postposed modifiers (III.1.2.1.(C)). Also, as dealt with in II.3.4.3. below, certain common words may be used like definite words in a few functions. Further, common words that indicate non-specific and non-singular persons or things may occur without a determiner when they denote arguments other than A and O. When there is no determiner, they must be obligatorily preceded by the particle 'ia 'Absolutive' (II.3.1.(1)) in the absolutive, and the particles 'i 'Locative' (II.3.1.(3)), ki 'Allative' (II.3.1.(4)) and mei 'Ablative' (II.3.1.(5)) become 'iaa or 'aa, kiaa or kaa, and mei or mea respectively.

(2.3.4.1.-1) 'Oku laalanga ma'u pee 'ia fafine 'i
PART(Prs) weave steady just PART(Abs) woman PART(Loc)
te fale ko iā.
DET(Spf) house PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)

'Some women are always weaving in that house.'

(2.3.4.1.-2) Ne kala ke 'i ai 'ia
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) PART(Abs)
vaka puna 'i te mala'e vaka punā.
ship fly PART(Loc) DET(Spf) field ship fly

'There were no aeroplanes in the air-field.'

(2.3.4.1.-3) Ne ke ma'u he me'a 'ofa mei
PART(Pst) DET(2sg) get DET(Nspf) thing love PART(Abl)
fafine?
woman

'Did you receive any present from women?'

(2.3.4.1.-4) Ne ha'u 'ia Sione mo ta'ahine?
PART(Pst) come PART(Abs) Sione PART(Ass) girl

'Did Sione come with any girls?'

It is, however, also possible to use the non-specific article he (II.3.2.1.) and an appropriate pre-base modifier indicating number (II.3.3.2.(C)) in these functions.

Otherwise, common words used as nominals must appropriately be accompanied by a determiner and definitive stress which mark them as either specific or non-specific, or as
definite or indefinite. When there is a determiner, the particle `ia 'Absolutive' is optional, and nominal phrases in the absolutive occur most commonly without any particle, as in te vaka puna `DET(Spf) ship fly: the aeroplane' in (2.3.4.1.-7) below, except in a formal style.

(2.3.4.1.-5) Ne ha' u 'ia he fafine? PART(Pst) come PART(Abs) DET(Spf) woman

'Did any woman come?' (Non-specific)

(2.3.4.1.-6) Ne ke ha' u 'i te vaka puna fea? PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) come PART(Loc) DET(Spf) ship fly which

'Which aeroplane did you come in?' (Specific but Indefinite)

(2.3.4.1.-7) 'Oku te'e ki ai tau mai te vaka puna 'o te tu'i. PART(Prs) not-yet DEM(Aph) arrive DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) ship fly PART(PssO) DET(Spf) king

'The king's aeroplane has not arrived yet.' (Definite)

(B) Affixes, Reduplication and Compounding in Nominally-oriented Words

(B-1) Affixes

The only affix that is commonly used to form nominally-oriented words is the suffix -(C)anga. Like other suffixes with a thematic consonant (II.2.4.1.(C-1.2)-(C-1.3.)), the form with the glottal stop, `-anga, is the most common and is productive while other forms occur with only a small number of stems.

-(C)anga occurs with stems that are used as various types of verbals and forms the following types of nominally-oriented words:

(i) words that indicate the place where the action or state the stem signifies takes place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Nominally-Oriented Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kai</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td>kai-'anga 'eating place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moe</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>moe-'anga 'sleeping place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fakataha</td>
<td>'meet'</td>
<td>fakataha-'anga 'meeting place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaukau</td>
<td>'bathe'</td>
<td>kaukau-'anga 'bathing place'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

8In chants, songs, proverbs and so on, however, common words often occur without the expected determiner and/or definitive stress. Such an example is mo fo'i maanava mo fiakana `PART(Ass) fruit-of breath PART(Ass) hunger: with breath and hunger' in (2.2.5.1.-5), which was taken from a folk-tale. The conversations between Saalopele and her mother in this story are chanted with a melody.
hoka'ī 'stab'  hoka'ī-‘anga 'stabbed part'

(ii) words that indicate the cause of the action or state the stem signifies.

‘ofa 'love'  ‘ofa-‘anga 'lover, sweetheart'
‘ita 'angry'  ‘ita-‘anga 'cause for anger'
‘ilo 'know'  ‘ilo-‘anga 'clue, means to know'
fiafia 'happy'  fiafia-‘anga 'cause for happiness'

Stems that occur with non-productive forms of -(C)anga may also occur with the productive form ‘anga. However, there is normally a semantic contrast between words that have the form ‘anga and ones that have other forms. Words with a non-productive form are semantically more specific.

hoko 'unite, join'  hoko-tanga 'joint (of bones)'
hoko-‘anga 'joint (of anything)'
tau 'arrive'  tau-langa 'harbour'
tau-‘anga 'anchorage (any place where ships may remain at anchor)'

In addition to -(C)anga, Tongan has -nga, which has very similar functions. -nga also occurs in Niufo'ou – pupu 'close together' → pupu-nga 'cluster', tu'u 'stand' → tu'u-nga 'stand, pedestal, basis, reason' and so on – but it is used to a much less extent than in Tongan and is not productive.

(B-2) Reduplication

As in the case of verbally-oriented words, two types of reduplication are noted in nominally-oriented words although the second type is confined to a very limited number of examples. The forms of reduplicated words are dealt with 1.2.2.3.

(B-2.1) Reduplication Type I

Reduplication Type I in nominally-oriented words has the following semantic effects:

(i) Multiplicity
Reduplication Type I in nominally-oriented words firstly indicates multiplicity. It is especially common with words signifying things that exist in groups, bunches and so on. It simply indicates a great number and is incompatible with a definite number. Thus, words that have undergone this reduplication may not be qualified by numerals. This function is obviously the nominal counterpart of the semantic effects (i), (ii) and (iii) of Reduplication Type I in verbally-oriented words dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-2.1.).

(a) Bisyllabic Stems
aka 'root' aka-aka 'roots'
pesi 'claw' pesi-pesi 'claws'
kele 'dirt' kele-kele 'ground'

The last mentioned example, kelekele, shows some semantic extention.

(b) Polysyllabic Stems

loomaki 'flood' loo-loomaki 'floods'
taaputa 'hole on a seaside rock' taa-taaputa 'holes on seaside rocks'
takale 'head (Derog)' takale-kale 'heads (Derog)'

The word for 'sand(s)' is 'one' and its unreduplicated form, 'one', is used only in compound words like tongi 'one' 'make up (the hair) with fine sand' or 'one' 'uli 'black sand'.

(ii) Semantic Extention

Reduplication Type I in nominally-oriented words also serves to derive various words by semantic extention. In some cases, it seems to indicate, in correspondence with the function of reduplication Type I in verbally-oriented words dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-2.1), diminution in the sense that reduplicated forms signify something smaller than that signified by the unreduplicated forms. However, it is not always the case.

(a) Bisyllabic Stems

lupo 'crevalle jack' lupo-lupo 'baby crevalle jack'
(kind of fish)
peka 'flying fox' peka-peka 'swallow'
holo 'towel' holo-holo 'handkerchief'
humu 'trigger fish' humu-humu 'kind of fish similar to humu'
pako 'kind of plant' pako-pako 'kind of plant similar to pako'

(b) Polysyllabic Stems

talinga 'kind of fungus' talinga-linga 'kind of fungus similar to talinga'

The word kaleva and its reduplicated form kalevaleva apparently refer to the same species of bird.

The following words have reduplicated forms. However, there are no corresponding unreduplicated words. Words of this kind are very common with names of fauna and flora.
kisi-kisi  'dragonfly'  monga-monga  'beetle'  
kama-kama  'green crab'  kalihe-lihe  'kind of lizard'

(B-2.2) Reduplication Type II

Reduplication Type II is very rare in nominally-oriented words. The few examples that there are – longo 'shark (as an object of hunt)' \(\rightarrow\) lo-longo 'sharks (as objects of hunt)' – suggest that, like Reduplication Type I above, it also indicates multiplicity.

There are also examples in which the semantic effect of the reduplication is not clear, for instance, kano 'flesh' \(\rightarrow\) kakano 'flesh'. The unreduplicated form kano is not very commonly used except in the pre-base modifier kano'i 'flesh-SUF: flesh of'.

(B-3) Compounding

As already mentioned in I.2.2.4.(B), it is difficult to distinguish between compound words and sequences of bases and their modifiers. Nominals may follow other nominals and form sequences whose equivalents in languages like English would normally be regarded as compound words, but such nominals apparently still have a status as separate words, which is revealed by the occurrence of a determiner with the second of such nominals that are co-ordinated (III.1.2.3.(B)). For this reason, sequences that may be straightforwardly regarded as compound words are very small in number. Examples of typical compound words that are nominally-oriented include tama si'i 'man small: boy' and hu'a kau 'breast-of cow: milk' already mentioned in I.2.2.4.(B), where the characteristics that are indicative of compound words are dealt with.

(C) Collective Forms

The following nominally-oriented words, all indicating humans, have collective forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Forms</th>
<th>Collective Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'aliki</td>
<td>hau'aliki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(or 'aliki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fafine</td>
<td>faafine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(or fafine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finematu'a</td>
<td>finemaatu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or finemaatutu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matu'a</td>
<td>maatu'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokopuna</td>
<td>makapuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ofafine</td>
<td>'oofafine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takanga</td>
<td>taakanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamasi'i</td>
<td>'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tehina</td>
<td>'younger sibling of the same sex'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuafafine</td>
<td>'sister (of male)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The collective forms always indicate dual or plural people, and they must be obligatorily used when more than one person is indicated, except in the case of 'aliki 'chief' and fafine 'woman'. Unlike words indicating multiplicity dealt with in II.3.4.1.(B-2.1)(i) above, they are compatible with definite numbers — ongo maatu'a 'e toko ua 'DU elder-man (Col) PART ANIM two: two elder men'.

There is no uniform process by which the collective forms are derived. The majority are derived by the lengthening of one of the vowels — generally, the first vowel of the root — and the others are derived by vowel substitution, the prefixation of a morpheme or by the combination of vowel lengthening and the prefixation of a morpheme. finematu'a 'elder woman, wife' → finemaatutu'a and tamasi'i 'boy' → tamaliki are obviously compound words and in them, it is actually the verbally-oriented formative that undergoes change. The collective forms of verbally-oriented words are dealt with in II.2.4.1.(D).

In the contemporary language, the collective form fafine seems to be becoming obsolete, being replaced by the basic form fafine. Unlike many other Polynesian languages, Niuafo'ou has no special collective form for tangata 'man'.

The form maatu'a, when it occurs in the dual, can mean 'parents' as well as 'two elder men'.

The word tamasi'i, when it occurs in the singular, can only mean 'boy'. The collective form tamaliki, however, can refer to children of both sexes. In order to specify the sex, tamaliki tangata 'children(Col) man: boys' and tamaliki fafine 'children(Col) woman(Col): girls' or tamaliki fafine 'children(Col) woman: girls' are used.

### 3.4.2 Definite Words

Definite words may further be classified into six sub-classes. In principle, all of them are inherently definite and occur without being accompanied by any determiner (II.3.2.) or definitive stress (I.3.2.). As already mentioned in I.3.2., however, the members of a small number of sub-classes of definite words may optionally be accompanied by definitive stress.

(A) Personal Names

Personal names are obligatorily preceded by the particle 'ia 'Absolutive' (II.3.1.(1)) when they occur in the absolutive, as in:
(2.3.4.2.-1) ‘Oku anga lelei ‘ia Mele...
PART(Prs) nature good PART(Abs) Mele
‘Mele is kind.’

(2.3.4.2.-2) Ko te polisi ‘ia Sione.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) police PART(Abs) Sione
‘Sione is a policeman.’

When they precede personal names, the particles ‘i, ‘Locative’ (II.3.1.(3)), ki
‘Allative’ (II.3.1.(4)) and mei ‘Ablative’ (II.3.1.(5)) become ‘iaa or ‘aa, kiaa or kaa, and
meiiaa or meaa respectively, as in:

(2.3.4.2.-3) Ne ke sio ‘iaa Sione?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) see PART(Loc) Sione
‘Did you see Sione?’

(2.3.4.2.-4) ‘E au ‘alu kiaa Sione.
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) Sione
‘I will go to Sione.’

(2.3.4.2.-5) Kuá ke ‘osi ma’u he tohi
PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already get DET(Nspf) letter
meiiaa Mele?
PART(Abl) Mele
‘Have you received any letter from Mele yet?’

Personal names are compatible with all the particles that occur in nominal phrases
except ‘a ‘Appositive’ (II.3.1.(11), III.2.3.2).

(B) Place Names

Place names refer not only to places but also metaphorically to the whole
population of or the representative from the places concerned. The names of months are
also used in basically the same way as place names and are, therefore, included in the
following.

Place names are obligatorily preceded by the particle ‘ia (II.3.1.(1)) ‘Absolutive’
when they occur in the absolutive, as in:

(2.3.4.2.-6) ‘Oku faka’ofa’ofa ‘ia Niuafo’ou.
PART(Prs) beautiful PART(Abs) Niuafo’ou
‘Niuafo’ou is beautiful.’

(2.3.4.2.-7) Ko te motu si’isi’i ‘ia Niuafo’ou.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) island small PART(Abs) Niuafo’ou

---

9 This is also the case with common words that indicate places, such as kolo ‘town’, fonua ‘land’
and the like. Ne oo mai te fonuá ki te fakaafé. ‘PART(Pst) come(Col) DIR(tp) DET(Spf) land
PART(All) DET(Spf) feast: The whole population of the land came to the feast.’
'Niuafo'ou is a small island.'

(2.3.4.2.-8) 'Oku momoko 'ia Siulai mo 'Aokosi
PART(Prs) cold PART(Abs) July PART(Abs) August

'i Tonga.
PART(Loc) Tonga

'July and August are cold in Tonga.'

In contrast to personal names dealt with in II.3.4.2.(A) above, the particles 'i 'Locative' (II.3.1.(3)), ki 'Allative' (II.3.1.(4)) and mei 'Ablative' (II.3.1.(5)) do not undergo any change when they precede place names. as in:

(2.3.4.2.-9) 'Oku 'ofa 'ia taatou 'i
PART(Prs) love PART(Abs) PROI(IPlIncl) PART(Loc)

Niuafo'ou.
Niuafo'ou

'We love Niuafo'ou.'

(2.3.4.2.-10) Ne au 'alu ki Niuafo'ou
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) Niuafo'ou

'i Sune.
PART(Loc) June

'I went to Niuafo'ou in June.'

(2.3.4.2.-11) Ko te vaka ia mei Fisi.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ship DEM(Anaph) PART(Abl) Fiji

'It is a ship from Fiji.'

Place names are compatible with all the particles that occur in nominal phrases except 'a 'Appositive' (II.3.1.(11), III.2.3.2.). The particles 'e 'Ergative' (II.3.1.(2)), ma'a 'A-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)), mo'o 'O-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)) and 'e 'Vocative' (II.3.1.(12), III.9.1.) normally occur only with bases that indicate animate things. Therefore, place names occurring with these particles refer to the whole population of or the representative from the places concerned rather than the places themselves. Names of months normally do not occur with these particles.

(2.3.4.2.-12) Ne pule'i 'e Pilitaania 'ia 'Initia
PART(Pst) rule PART(Erg) Britain PART(Abs) India

ki mu'a 'i te tau.
PART(All) front PART(Loc) DET(Spf) war

'Britain ruled India before the war.'

(2.3.4.2.-13) 'Oku ngaaua te kau paalangi ko
PART(Prs) work DET(Spf) PL foreigner PART(Npm)

ia ma'a Tonga.
DEM(Anaph) PART(BnfA) Tonga

'Those foreigners are working for (the people of)
Tonga.

(2.3.4.2.-14) 'E Sapa'ata ee. PART(Voc) Sapa'ata INTERJ

'The people of Sapa'ata!' The metaphorical use of place names — and other words that indicate place — to refer to people is much more common in Niuafo'ou than in a language like English. Addresses like (2.3.4.2.-14) above, for instance, is commonly used in public speeches to address people from Sapa'ata.

Place names include the names of community facilities such as schools, shops and the like — 'Oku ngaue 'i Molisi. 'PART(Prs) work PART(Loc) Morris: (Someone) is woking in Morris (= name of shop).' However, they do not include the names of ships, which are used as common words — Kua 'osi 'alu te Nanaspau'ú ki Niuatoputapu. 'PART(Prf) already go DET(Spf) Nanaspau'u. PART(All) Niuatoputapu: The Nanaspau'u has already left for Niuatoputapu.'

Place names, especially those that indicate places with special cultural or political characteristics, may also indicate individual people from those places. In this sense, however, they are used as common words, as in: Ko te Tonga 'ia koe. 'PART(Npm) Tonga PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg): You are a Tongan.'

(C) Pronouns

There are two types of pronouns. They are in complementary distribution with respect to case functions, except that both may be used to indicate O. Pronouns are remarkably different from person determiners in their range of referents, and in the speech of the younger generation, the two types of pronouns are also somewhat different from each other in this respect (II.5.2.1-3.).

(C-1) Pronouns Type I

Pronouns Type I include forms for three persons — first, second and third — and three numbers — singular, dual and plural —, with a distinction of the inclusion or exclusion of the addressee(s) in the first person. Also, the word for 'who' is a pronoun of this type in Niuafo'ou.

The pronouns Type I are set out in Table II.3.1.2.(a) below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Excl</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>maaua</td>
<td>maatou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incl</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>taaua</td>
<td>taatou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>koe</td>
<td>koolua</td>
<td>kootou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>naaua</td>
<td>naatou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Niuafo'ou makes a distinction between inclusive and exclusive reference in the first person singular as well as in the first person dual and plural. The use of the first person singular inclusive reference is dealt with in II.5.1.

The word ai 'who' is dealt with in III.6.4.(2) and will, therefore, be excluded from the following.

The morphological composition of the dual and plural pronouns Type I is easily recognizable. They consist of the morphemes indicating the person — maa 'first person exclusive', taa 'first person inclusive', koo 'second person' and naa 'third person' — and those indicating the numbers — (1)ua 'two' and tou 'three'.

Pronouns Type I are preceded by the particle 'ia (II.3.1.(1)) 'Absolutive' when they occur in the absolutive. The use of 'ia is preferred when they indicate S or O and entirely optional when they are equational subjects.

(2.3.4.2.-15) 'E alu 'ia au.
PART(Fut) go PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl)
'I will go.'

(2.3.4.2.-16) Ne ne taa'i lahi 'ia koe.
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit much PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg)
'He hit you hard.'

(2.3.4.2.-17) Ko te polisi ('ia) koe.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) police PART(Abs) PROI(Sg)
'You are a policeman.'

When they precede pronouns Type I, the particles 'i 'Locative' (II.3.1.(3)), ki 'Allative' (II.3.1.(4)) and mei 'Ablative' (II.3.1.(5)) become 'iaa, 'aa or 'iaate, kiaa. kaa or kiaate and meiaa, meaa or meiaate respectively. The forms with -te are very formal and seldom used. Many speakers regard them to be Tongan and avoid them.
(2.3.4.2.-18) Kua ngalo 'iaa au tono
PART(Prf) forget PART(Loc) PROI(1SgExcl) DET(Spf3Sg0)

hingoá.
name

'I have forgotten his name.'

(2.3.4.2.-19) 'Ave te tohi nei kiaa ia.
take DET(Spf) letter DEIC(Nsp) PART(All) PROI(3Sg)
'Take this letter to him.'

(2.3.4.2.-20) Ne toki foki mai 'ia Mele meiaa
PART(Pst) then return DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Mele PART(Abl)
naatou.
PROI(3P1)

'Mele has just come back from them.'

The third person singular pronoun Type I 'ia must be clearly distinguished from the
anaphoric demonstrative ia in II.3.4.2.(D) below, which has a remarkably different range
of referents (II.5.3.). As dealt with in II.5.2.2., older speakers use pronouns Type I to refer
to humans only while younger speakers use them to refer to humans and animals.

The singular pronouns Type I – au, koe and ia – are incompatible with the
particles 'a 'A-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)), 'o 'O-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)), ma'a 'A-
class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)) and mo'o 'O-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)). Pronouns Type
II dealt with in II.3.4.2.(C-2) below must be used in functions indicated by these particles.
Apart from this, pronouns Type I may occur with all the particles that occur in nominal
phrases except 'a 'Appositive' (II.3.1.(11), III.2.3.2.) and 'e 'Vocative' (II.3.1.(12),
III.9.1.), as in:

(2.3.4.2.-21) Ne fai pee 'e koe te ngaaué?
PART(Pst) do just PART(Erg) PROI(2Sg) DET(Spf) work

'Did you do the work yourself?'

(2.3.4.2.-22) 'Oku tu'u 'i fea te 'api 'o
PART(Prs) stand PART(Loc) where DET(Spf) home PART(Pss0)
naatoú?
PROI(3P1)

'Where is their home?'

(2.3.4.2.-23) 'Oku notou oo 'o ma'u he
PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) go(Col) PART(Inc) get DET(Nspf)

ika ma'a kootou.
fish PART(BnfA) PROI(2P1)

'They have gone to get fish for you.'

and so on.

The dual and plural forms of pronouns Type I are also used with the emphatic A-
class and O-class possessive determiners ta’a and to’o and indicate possessors (II.3.2.2.(C)).

(C-2) Pronouns Type II

Pronouns Type II include forms for the singular only. There is also only one form for the first person, namely, the exclusive form. On the other hand, pronouns Type II have distinct forms associated with A-class and O-class possession (II.6.).

The pronouns Type II are set out in Table II.3.4.2.(b) below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Possession Class</th>
<th>Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A-class</td>
<td>O-class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>‘aku</td>
<td>‘oku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>‘au</td>
<td>‘ou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>‘ana</td>
<td>‘ona</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphologically, pronouns Type II obviously consist of the morphemes indicating possession – ‘a ‘A-class POssession’ and ‘o ‘O-class Possession’ – and the morphemes indicating person – ku ‘first person’, u ‘second person’ and na ‘third person’.

The same morphemes are recognizable in the singular possessive determiners – taku ‘Spf1SgExclA’, ni’ou ‘NspfEmnt2SgO’, ta’ana ‘SpfEmph3SgA’ and so on.

Pronouns Type II occur with the particles ‘a ‘A-class Possessive’ (II.3.1.(7)), ‘o ‘O-class Possessive’ (II.3.1.(7)), ma’a ‘A-class Benefactive’ (II.3.1.(8)) and mo’o ‘O-class Benefactive’ (II.3.1.(8)). Particles and pronouns Type II must agree in the class of possession. The particles ma’a and mo’o are obligatorily fused with the pronouns Type II, and the sequences become ma’aku ‘PART(BnfA)-PROII(1SgExclA)’, mo’ou ‘PART(BnfO)-PROII(2SgO)’, ma’ana ‘PART(BnfA)-PROII(3SgA)’ and so on. As already mentioned in II.3.1.(7), the particles ‘a and ‘o are often ellipted in front of pronouns Type II.

(2.3.4.2.-24) Ko fea te kulii (‘a) ‘au?
PART(Npm) where DET(Spf) dog PART(PssA) PROII(2SgA)
‘Where is your dog?’

(2.3.4.2.-25) ‘Alu ki te fale (‘o) ‘oku.
go PART(All) DET(Spf) house PART(Pss0) PROII(1SgExc10)
'Go to my house.'

(2.3.4.2.-26) Fakamolemole kaá ke 'aumai he me'a kai forgive but DET(2Sg) bring DET(Nspf) thing eat ma'aku.
PART(BnfA)-PROII(1SgExcl)

'Please bring food for me!'

(2.3.4.2.-27) Ko te sea 'eni mo'ona.
PART(Npm) DET(SpF) chair DEM(Nsp) PART(BnfA)-PROII(3Sg0)

'This is a chair for him.'

The O-class forms of pronouns Type II are also used to indicate O. In this case, they are not preceded by any particle.

(2.3.4.2.-28) Ne ne taa'i lahi 'ou.
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit much PROII(2Sg0)

'He hit you hard.'

(2.3.4.2.-29) Ne au fekau'i 'ona ke
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) order PROII(3Sg0) PART(Sbj)

ha'u.
come

'I ordered him to come.'

In this function, pronouns Type II may alternate with corresponding pronouns Type I. (2.3.4.2.-28) above may be compared with (2.3.4.2.-16).

The third person forms of pronouns Type II, 'ana and 'ona may only be used to refer to humans (II.5.2.3.).

The same set of pronouns are also found in other Polynesian languages, but the use of these pronouns to indicate O seems to be unique to Niuafo'ou. It may well be presumed that its development was motivated by analogy to nominal phrases like the one in (2.3.4.2.-25) above. As dealt with in II.6.1. and III.1.5., O-class possession is often associated with the marking of O. This development is undoubtedly very recent and in all probability took place after Niuafo'ou separated from 'Uvean.

(D) Demonstratives

The demonstratives make four distinctions as to the relative distance of their referents from the speech participants. They are unmarked for number and may have singular, dual or plural referents. The range of referents of demonstratives is dealt with in II.5.2.4.

The demonstratives are set out in Table II.3.4.2.(c) below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near Speaker</th>
<th>'eni ~ henl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near Addressee</td>
<td>'ena ~ hena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Away from Both</td>
<td>ee ~ hee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaphoric</td>
<td>ia ~ ai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The anaphoric demonstrative ia ~ ai refers to something that has been mentioned earlier and is known to both the speaker and the addressee.

As may be seen from the table, each demonstrative has two forms. The forms henl, hena, hee and ai occur after the particles 'i 'Locative' (II.3.1.(3)), ki 'Allative' (II.3.1.(4)) and mei 'Ablative' (II.3.1.(5)) and the forms 'eni, 'ena, ee and ia after the other particles. henl, hena and hee, but not ai, also occur with the prefix pe-(II.2.4.1.(C-1.1)(3)). The form ia must be clearly distinguished from the third person singular pronoun Type 1 since the two differ considerably in the range of referents (II.5.3.).

Demonstratives are incompatible with the particle 'ia (II.3.1.(1)) 'Absolutive' and are not preceded by any particle when they occur in the absolutive, as in:

(2.3.4.2.-30) '0ku sa1 'eni.
PART(Prs) good DEM(Nsp)

'This is good.'

(2.3.4.2.-31) '0kú ke fiama'u 'ena?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) want DEM(Nad)

'Do you want that?'

(2.3.4.2.-32) Ko taku 'uu puaka 'eni.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExclA) PL pig DEM(Nsp)

'These are my pigs.'

The forms of the particles they occur with in the locative (II.3.1.(3)), allative (II.3.1.(4)) and the ablative (II.3.1.(5)) are 'i, ki and mei. However, the particle 'i is optional in front of demonstratives. Its occurrence in front of ai is rather rare and almost confined to cases where the particle has the function of locating a situation in space – namely, the functions dealt with in II.3.1.(3)(i) and (iii) – and, especially, when the speaker wants to emphasize that the particle has this particular semantic function and not the others. In front of the other two demonstratives, on the other hand, the particle 'i is always optional. The demonstratives henl, hena and hee may optionally be
accompanied by definitive stress when they occur in the locative, allative and the ablative.

(2.3.4.2.-33) Ko te 'uu peni ko 'ená, 'oku
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL pen PART(Npm) DEM(Nad) PART(Prs)
notou sai ange ('i) hení.
DET(3Pl) good DIR(Tsp) PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp)
'Those pens - they are better than this (or these).'

(2.3.4.2.-34) 'Okú ke sa'ina ('i) hená?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) like PART(Loc) DEM(Nad)
'Do you like that (= person or thing)?'
'Do you like those (= persons or things)?'

(2.3.4.2.-35)(a) Ko te aa ne ke ha'u
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) come
'i aí?
PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph)
'In what (= car, ship and so on) did you come?'
(b) Ko te aa ne ke ha'u
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) come
aí?
DEM(Anaph)
'Why (= because of what) did you come?'

(2.3.4.2.-36) 'Okú ke sa'ina (?'i) aí?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) like PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph)
'Do you like it (or him or her)?'
'Do you like them (= persons or things)?'

As dealt with in II.2.4.2.(A), the anaphoric demonstrative in the locative is used as a verbal-phrase base to generally indicate existence.

The anaphoric demonstrative does not occur with the particles 'a 'A-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)) and 'o 'O-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)). Otherwise, demonstratives may occur with all the particles that occur in nominal phrases except 'e 'Vocative' (II.3.1.(12), III.9.1.).

(2.3.4.2.-37) Ko ia ne sai taha 'i
PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph) PART(Pst) good one PART(Loc)
te 'uu fe'i mangó.
DET(Spf) PL fruit-of mango
'It was that one that was the best of the mangoes.'

(2.3.4.2.-38) Ko te taa'i 'e 'ena.
PART(Spf) DET(Spf) hit PART(Erg) DEM(Nad)
'He was hit by that/those (= person(s)).'

(2.3.4.2.-39) 'Alu mo  
  eni. 
go  PART(Ass) DEM(Nsp)

'Take this/those (= person(s) or thing(s)) with you!'

(2.3.4.2.-40) Ko  te  
mahu'inga  'o  
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) price  PART(Pss0) DEM(Nsp)
ko  te  pa'anga  'e  
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) pa'anga PART(Nmr) two
  ua.

'The price of this/these – it is two pa'angas.'

and so on.

(E) Temporal Words

Temporal words are easily recognizable since they all indicate deictic relationship in time. Further, those referring to future time begin with the prefix 'aa-' and those referring to past time with 'ane-.'

Temporal words are exhaustively listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future Time</th>
<th>Past Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'aanai</td>
<td>'a while later (within today)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aaafiafi</td>
<td>'this (coming) afternoon or eveing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aaho'ataa</td>
<td>'this (coming) midday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aapoo</td>
<td>'tonight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aahengihengi</td>
<td>'early tomorrow morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aatata'aho</td>
<td>'tomorrow morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aa'uhu</td>
<td>'tomorrow morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aapongipongi</td>
<td>'tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'aneafii'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aa'anoiha</td>
<td>'day after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aamuli</td>
<td>'future'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aa'afea</td>
<td>'when (in the future)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As indicated by the translations, 'aapongipongi' may refer to the whole of the day that is following today although 'anepongipongi' may only refer to the morning of today that has already passed. The stem pongipongi means 'morning'.

The words 'aafeni and 'anefena are dealt with in III.6.4.(6) and are, therefore, excluded from the following.

Temporal words are not preceded by any determiners. They most commonly occur in the locative (II.3.1.(3)) but are incompatible with the particle 'i 'Locative' and occur without any particle, as in:

(2.3.4.2.-41) Ne au 'alu 'o tautai
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Inc) catch-fish

(*'i) 'aneafi.
PART(Loc) yesterday

'I went fishing yesterday.'

(2.3.4.2.-42) 'E toki 'alu te vaká (*'i)
PART(Fut) then go DET(Spf) ship PART(Loc)

'aapongipongi.
tomorrow

'The ship will not leave until tomorrow.'

In (2.3.4.2.-41) and (2.3.4.2.-42) above, the temporal words specify a point in time. Temporal words are similarly not preceded by any particle when they occur in other functions of the locative. In the following, for instance, the temporal word, occurring without a particle, indicates the standard in comparison (III.7.1.).

(2.3.4.2.-43) 'Oku vela ange te 'aho nei
PART(Prs) hot DIR(Tsd) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)

(*'i) 'aneafi.
PART(Loc) yesterday

'Today is hotter than yesterday.'

Temporal words may also occur in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)). In this case, too, they are not preceded by any particle.

(2.3.4.2.-44) Ko te 'aho ua faa 'o Suné
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) day two four PART(Pss0) June

'aapongipongi.
tomorrow

'Tomorrow is the 24th of June.'

The absence of a particle in front of temporal words in the locative and the absolutive often makes it difficult to determine whether a temporal word occurs in the locative or the absolutive. However, this may be revealed when the temporal word is thematized (III.4.2.) and co-referenced by the anaphoric demonstrative since, as dealt
with in II.3.4.2.(D) above, the anaphoric demonstrative has the form ia in the absolutive and ai in the locative. Thus, corresponding to (2.3.4.2.-41) and (2.3.4.2.-44) above, the following are possible:

(2.3.4.2.-45) Ko 'aneafi, ne au 'alu
PART(Npm) yesterday PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go
ai 'o tautai.
DEM(Anaph) PART(Inc) catch-fish

'Yesterday — I went fishing (then).'

(2.3.4.2.-46) Ko 'aapongipongi, ko te 'aho ua
PART(Npm) tomorrow PART(Npm) DET(Spf) day two
faa ia 'o Suné.
four DEM(Anaph) PART(Pss0) June

'Tomorrow — it will be the 24th of June.'

Temporal words are compatible with all the other particles except 'a 'Appositional'
(II.3.1.11), III.2.3.2.) and those that occur only with bases that indicate animate things.

(2.3.4.2.-47) 'E fai te fakataha ki
PART(Fut) do DET(Spf) meeting PART(All)

'aapongipongi.
tomorrow

'The meeting will go on until tomorrow.'

(2.3.4.2.-48) Talu mei 'aneafi mo nofo henil.
pass PART(Abl) yesterday PART(Ass) stay DEM(Nsp)

'I have been staying here since yesterday.'

(2.3.4.2.-49) 'E toki tau mai te vaká 'i
PART(Fut) then arrive DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) ship PART(Loc)
te poo 'o 'aapongipongi.
DET(Spf) night PART(Pss0) tomorrow

'The ship will not arrive until tomorrow night.'

(F) Locative Words

Locative words are exhaustively listed below:

(a) Spatial Relationship with Respect to Various Objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lunga</td>
<td>'up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'olunga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loto</td>
<td>'inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu'a</td>
<td>'outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu'a</td>
<td>'front'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muli</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Spatial Relationship with Respect to Island

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaa'uta</td>
<td>'upland'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaalalo</td>
<td>'downland'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(c) Other

feā 'where'

With the exception of fanua ‘land (as seen from sea)’, locative words that indicate spatial relationship with respect to an island have the prefix nga-, naa- or laa.

With the exception of feā ‘where’, all the locative words may optionally be accompanied by definitive stress. feā is dealt with in III.6.4.(3) and is, therefore, excluded from the following.

The two locative words mu'a and muli may also indicate anteriority and posteriority in time. They occur, for instance, in the conjunctural phrases ki mu'a peā 'PART(All) front and: before' or ki mu'a ke 'PART(All) front PART(Sbj): before', and ki muli nei 'PART(All) back DEIC(Nsp): after' dealt with in III.2.5.2.(5) and (6).

Locative words are not preceded by any determiners. All locative words occur with the particles 'i 'Locative' (II.3.1.(3)), ki 'Allative' (II.3.1.(4)) and mei 'Ablative' (II.3.1.(5)).

(2.3.4.2.-50) 'Oku kei va'inga te tamaliki 'i PART(Prs) still play DET(Spf) children(Col) PART(Loc)
tu'á.
outside

'The children are still playing outside.'

(2.3.4.2.-51) Nau 'alu 'i te poopo PART(Pst)-DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Loc) DET(Spf) canoe
ki tai 'o fai taku tautai PART(All) sea PART(Incl) do DET(Spf1SgExclA) catch-fish
peau 'a'alo ki ngaatai.
CONJ-DET(1SgExcl) paddle PART(All) outer-sea

'I went to the sea in a canoe to catch fish and
paddled out to the outer sea.'

(2.3.4.2.-52) Nau hifo mei te PART(Pst)-DET(1SgExcl) descend PART(Abl) DET(Spf)
mo'unga ki lalo.
mountain PART(All) down

'I came down from the mountain.'

Locative words in (a) above may be used with nominals that indicate the object in relation to which they indicate spatial relationship. In this case, locative words are followed by nominal phrases in the locative, as in:

(2.3.4.2.-53) Ko te puā 'aku PART(Npm) DET(Spf) cat PART(PssA) PROII(1SgExclA)
'oku moe 'i mu'a 'i te
PART(Prs) sleep PART(Loc) front PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

fu'u maká.
big stone

'It is my cat that is sleeping in front of the rock.'

or are directly followed by nominals. However, these sequences of locative words and nominals seem to constitute compound words and are normally used like common words. That is, they are normally accompanied by a determiner and, if definite, also by definitive stress, as in:

(2.3.4.2.-54) 'Oku lele holo te tamaliki
PART(Prs) run DIR(about) DET(Spf) children(Col)

'i te loto falé.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) inside house

'The children are running about in the house.'

Apart from the locative words given in (a) above, there are a sizable number of words that indicate spatial relationship in relation to various objects. For instance:

funga 'top'
mata 'front'
tafa'aki 'side'
vaha'a 'between'
tumu'aki 'summit'
fukahi 'surface'
kilisi 'bottom'

However, these are obviously common words and, as such, they must appropriately be accompanied by determiners and definitive stress. When they occur with nominals that indicate the objects in relation to which they indicate spatial relationship, they are followed by nominal phrases in the O-class Possessive (II.3.1.(7)) – 'i te funga 'o te fu'u maká 'PART(Loc) DET(Spf) top PART(PssO) DET(Spf) big stone: on top of the rock' –, and not by nominal phrases in the locative. They may also be directly followed by nominals – 'i te funga fu'u maká 'PART(Loc) DET(Spf) top big stone: on top of a rock'.

Locative words in (a) may also occur with particles other than mentioned above. They are obligatorily preceded by the particle 'ia 'Absolutive' (II.3.1.(1)) when they occur in the absolutive.

(2.3.4.2.-55) 'Oku ma'a 'ia loto.
PART(Prs) clean PART(Abs) inside

'It is clean inside.'

(2.3.4.2.-56) Ko te pulumu 'ena 'o loto.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) broom DEM(Nad) PART(PssO) inside

'That is a broom for inside.'
3.4.3 Use of Common Words like Definite Words

In the locative (II.3.1.(3)), allative (II.3.1.(4)) and the ablative (II.3.1.(5)), common words that indicate places — kolo 'town', tai 'sea', mataatai 'beach' and so on — and various things that serve as landmarks — uau 'wharf', fale mahaki 'hospital' and so on — may be used, like place names, without any determiners and definitive stress if they have uniquely identifiable referents.

(2.3.4.3.-1) Ne au sio 'iaa Mele 'i kolo.
PART(Pst) DET(1SGExcl) see PART(Loc) Mele PART(Loc) town
'I saw Mele in town.'

(2.3.4.3.-2) Huu ki fale.
enter PART(All) house
'Go inside the house.'

In (2.3.4.3.-1), kolo refers to the nearest town. (2.3.4.3.-2) may be used to someone in the yard in reference to the building that belongs to the same homestead as the yard.

3.4.4 Use of Definite Words like Common Words

Personal names and place names may be used like common words and occur with an appropriate determiner and, if definite, also with definitive stress when they indicate persons or places that have the names concerned, as in:

(2.3.4.4.-1) 'Oku 'i ai te ongo Mele
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) DU Mele
'e toko ua 'i te motou
PART(Nmr) ANIM two PART(Loc) DET(Spf) DET(1PlExcl)
klasī.
class
'There are two Meles in our class.'

(2.3.4.4.-2) 'Oku fa'a 'alu te vakā ki te
PART(Prs) often go DET(SPpf ship PART(All) DET(Spf)
ongo Niuā.
DU Niuā
'The ship often goes to the two Niuas.'

However, they still differ from common words in that they may not be used as bases of verbal phrases that indicate the provision, possession or existence of what the base signifies (II.2.4.3.). Thus, it is not possible to say:

(2.3.4.4.-3) 'Oku Mele 'e toko ua te motou
PART(Prs) Mele PART(Nmr) ANIM two DET(Spf) DET(1PlExcl)
klausī.
class
('There are two Meles in our class.')
(2.3.4.4.-4) *'Oku Niua 'e ua 'ia Tonga.
PART(Prs) Niua PART(Nmr) two PART(Abs) Tonga

(There are two Niuas in Tonga.)

3.4.5 Metalinguistic Elements

All linguistic forms — words of all classes, phrases, clauses and so on — are used like common words when the speaker talks about them themselves and not what they signify.

(2.3.4.5.-1) Ko te fo'ī lea faka-Niua ki
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fruit-of language Niuan PART(All)
to kimoutolū, ko te kootou.
DET(Spf) PROI(2P1) PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PROI(2P1)

'The Niuan word for (Tongan) kimoutolu is kootou

(= Second person plural Pronoun Type I (II.3.4.2.(C)).'

(2.3.4.5.-2) Ko te hingoa 'o te tohi,
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) name PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) book
ko te Kon Tiki.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) Kon Tiki

'The name of the book — it is "Kon Tiki".'

Metalinguistic elements may also occur as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases (III.1.2.3.).

(2.3.4.5.-3) 'Oku 'i ai tona 'ai 'e
PART(prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(SpfSsg0) put PART(Nmr)
taha 'o te fo'ī lea hinā.
one PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) fruit-of language DET(NspQ)

'There is another usage of the word hina (= Non-specific Quantitative Article (II.3.2.1.), name of goddess, 'bottle').'

3.5 Directional Slot

Only those directionals that indicate directions in relation to the speaker, namely, atu ‘Away from Speaker’, mai ‘Toward Speaker’, and ange ‘To the Side’ may occur in the directional slot of the nominal phrase.

atu and mai indicate direction in space away from and toward the speaker respectively in comparing distance between two or more persons or things.

(2.3.5.-1) Ko te fale atu ko éē.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) house DIR(Asp) PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad)

'The house further away (= farther than some other

house(s).')
(2.3.5.-2) Ko te fale mai ko 'eni.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) house DIR(Tsp) PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp)
'The house further this way (= nearer than some
other house(s).'

ange indicates alternateness between two or more persons or things.

(2.3.5.-3) Ko te fale ange 'e taha.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) house DIR(Tsd) PART(Nmr) one
'Another house.'

(2.3.5.-3) does not necessarily indicate that the house is to the side of some other
house(s).

atu is also used in reference to time. That is, it occurs with nominals like 'aho
'day', uiike 'week', maahina 'month' and so on and indicates the one next but one both
in the past and the future.

(2.3.5.-4) 'aho atu
'.day DIR(Asp)

(2.3.5.-5) uiike atu
'week DIR(Asp)

'day before yesterday,
'day after tomorrow'

'week before last,
'week after next'

3.6 Deictic Slot

As in the case of its corresponding slot of the verbal phrase (II.2.6.), all of the four
deictics, namely, nei and ni indicating location near the speaker and naa and na
indicating location near the addressee may occur in the deictic slot of the nominal phrase.

As in the case of verbal-phrase bases, nominal-phrase bases may also be followed by
demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D)) preceded by the particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking'
(II.3.1.(10)). These are actually relative clauses and, as such, permit the intervention of
certain elements between them and the bases – ko te fale pee ko 'eni :PART(Npm)
DET(Spf) house just PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp): only this house'. As in the case of the
verbal phrase, however, deictics in nominal phrases may better be understood when
 contrasted with these elements. They are, therefore, also included in the following.

Deictics and demonstratives preceded by the particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking'
indicate spatial and/or temporal distance of the referent of the preceding nominal in
relation to the speaker or the addressee. As dealt with in I.3.1.1.(B), the monosyllabic
deictics ni and na form phonological words with the preceding word. Demonstratives
preceded by ko are accompanied by a definitive stress (I.3.2.).

(2.3.6.-1)(a-1) fale nei
house DEIC(Nsp)

(2.3.6.-2)(a-1) fale naa
house DEIC(Nad)

(a-2) fale ni
house DEIC(Nsp)

(a-2) falé na
house DEIC(Nad)
(b) fale ko 'eni
house PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp)
'this house'

(b) fale ko 'ená
house PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)
'that house (by you)'

(2.3.6.-3) fale ko éé (2.3.6.-4) fale ko íá
house PART DEM(Aspad) house PART DEM(Anaph)
'that house (over there)'

'Many speakers make a semantic distinction between nei and ni on the one hand and ko 'eni on the other and use nei and ni only when the speaker is spatially or temporally inside the referent of the nominal with which they occur and ko 'eni when the speaker is outside. For these speakers, (a-1) and (a-2) in (2.3.6.-1) above are accordingly appropriate for use only when the speaker is inside the house and (b) when he is outside. The same distinction may be noted in 'aho nei or 'ahó ni 'day DEIC(Nsp): today' versus Saapate ko 'eni 'Sunday PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp): this coming Sunday' and so on.'
CHAPTER 4
Specificity and Definiteness

Specificity and definiteness are marked by nominal determiners (II.3.2.) and definitive stress (I.3.2.). As dealt with in II.3.4.1., common words which may potentially be specific or non-specific, or definite or indefinite must be marked as one of these except in a few functions mentioned in II.3.4.1.(A).

Specific forms are used when the speaker has a particular referent in mind while non-specific forms are used otherwise. Specific forms may further be either definite or indefinite. Definite forms are used when the speaker assumes that the addressee can uniquely identify the referent of the nominal phrase. In the following, vai is non-specific in (a), specific but indefinite in (b) and definite in (c):

(2.4.-1) (a) Ne kala kau inu he
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj)-DET(1SgExcl) drink DET(Nspf)

vai.
water

'I did not drink any water.'

(b) Ne au inu te vai.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) drink DET(Spf) water

'I drank (a certain amount of) water.'

(c) Ne au inu te vai.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) drink DET(Spf) water

'I drank the water.'

Definite forms are also used to indicate generic reference. As mentioned in II.3.3.2.(C), pre-base modifiers that indicate plural number have apparently been derived from nominals meaning ‘bunch’, ‘bundle’ and the like, and they are not appropriate for use with nominals with generic reference.

(2.4.-2) ‘Oku va‘e ua te (*kau) tangatá.
PART(Prs) leg two DET(Spf) PL man

'Man has two legs.'

(2.4.-3) ‘Oku va‘e faa te (*‘uu) puakā.
PART(Prs) leg four DET(Spf) PL pig

'Pigs have four legs.'
The use of kau (II.3.3.2.(C)(3)) and 'uu (II.3.3.2.(C)(2)) in the examples above would indicate that the speaker is referring to a particular group of people and pigs. However, the pre-base modifier fanga (II.3.3.2.(C)(4)) seems to be an exception to this and frequently occurs with nominals with generic reference, as in:

(2.4.-4) 'Oku va'e faa te fanga puaká.
PART(Prs) leg four DET(Spf) PL pig

'Pigs have four legs.'

The collective forms of nominals (II.3.4.1.(C)), on the other hand, may have generic reference, as in:

(2.4.-5) 'Oku pau'u te tamaliki 'o te
PART(Prs) naughty DET(Spf) children(Col) PART(PssO) DET(Spf)
matu'a ko íá 'i te feitu'u
age PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph) PART(Loc) DET(Spf) place
kotua pee.
all just

'Children of that age are naughty everywhere.'

Also, the collective forms of verbals (II.2.4.1.(D)) are often used in agreement with nominals with generic reference, as in:

(2.4.-6) 'Oku lalahi te tanifá kaa 'oku
PART(Prs) large(Col) DET(Spf) tigar-shark but PART(Prs)
toe lalahi ange te tofua'á.
again large(Col) DIR(Tsd) DET(Spf) whale

'Tigar sharks are large but whales are still larger.'
CHAPTER 5
Person Determiners, Pronouns and Demonstratives

The Niuafo'ou pronominal system distinguishes three persons – first, second and third – and three numbers – singular, dual and plural. In the first person, it also distinguishes whether or not the reference includes the addressee. This distinction between inclusive and exclusive reference is made in widely scattered languages of the world, and as far as the first person dual and plural are concerned, it is clear enough and requires no further explanation. In Niuafo'ou, however, the same distinction is also made in the first person singular, as is the case with Tongan (C.M. Churchward 1951) and Rotuman (C.M. Churchward 1940). Saamoan similarly distinguishes two forms in the first person singular, but the distinction between the two forms seems to be solely associated with different styles of speech (S. Churchward 1951). Some other Polynesian languages like 'Uvean (Bataillon 1932), Futunan (Grézel 1878), and Nukuoro (Carroll-Soulik 1973) have forms which are cognate to the first person singular inclusive and exclusive forms in Niuafo'ou and Tongan, but the semantic distinction between the two forms is not clear in the treatments of these languages that have been published so far. The use of the first person singular inclusive is dealt with in II.5.1. below.

Except in metaphorical contexts, first and second persons inherently refer to human beings. Third person, on the other hand, includes anything, be it human or non-human, living or non-living and, in this sense, it is semantically complex. As it will be seen in II.5.2., the third person forms of Niuafo'ou person determiners (II.2.2.) and pronouns (II.3.4.2.(C)) have different ranges of reference. The range of reference of demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D)) will also be dealt with.

On the basis of the different ranges of reference and the possibilities of compatibility with some particles, it is possible to distinguish two homophonous words ia, one of which is a pronoun and the other a demonstrative. The demonstrative ai has an allomorph form ai. II.5.3. deals with these words in detail.

In addition to the above, the person determiners and the pronouns show some differences with respect to their syntactic and pragmatic functions. These differences will be discussed in II.5.4-5.
5.1 Use of First Person Singular Inclusive

As in Tongan (C.M. Churchward 1951), the first person singular inclusive – indicated by the person determiner kita (II.2.2.), pronoun Type I kita (II.3.4.2.(C-1)), and the possessive determiners tata ‘Spf1SgInclA’, hata ‘Nspf1SgInclA’ and so on (II.3.2.2.) – have two distinct functions. In fact, only the first of these functions has first person singular inclusive reference.

Firstly, the first person singular inclusive is used when the speaker refers to himself and his addressee(s) – hence, inclusive –, but not as a group but with each individual in mind – hence, singular. It is especially common in proposals and premonitions which each of the people present – the speaker and the addressee(s) alike – must take note of, as in:

(2.5.1.-1) 'Aua na'a kita kaihaa'a. don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(1SgIncl) steal

'Let each of us not steal.'

(2.5.1.-2) 'Oku totonu ke kita faka'apa'apa PART(Prs) right PART(Sbj) DET(1SgIncl) respect

ki tata ongo maatu'á. PART(All) DET(Spf1SgInclA) DU parent(Col)

'We should each respect our parents.'

Since the reference is made to each individual, the collective forms of verbs (II.2.4.1.(D)) may not be used in association with the first person singular inclusive.

(2.5.1.-3) 'Aua na'a kita 'alu ki ai. don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(1SgIncl) go PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'Let each of us not go there.'

but not:

(2.5.1.-4) *'Aua na'a kita oo ki
don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(1SgIncl) go(Col) PART(All)

ai.

DEM(Anaph)

In certain contexts, the first person singular inclusive may be interpreted like generic 'we' (everyone including the speaker), but it can be quite misleading to treat it as impersonal, as Shumway (1971) does for Tongan, or to equate it with such indefinite pronominal forms as German man or French on. In Niufo'ou, the plural of various persons and words like kakai ‘people’ as well as the first person singular inclusive are used to express genericality, and one of these must be chosen according to context. For instance:

(2.5.1.-5) 'Oku kotou fa'a kai puaka 'i 'Aositeleeliea?
PART(Prs) DET(2pl) often eat pig PART(Loc) Australia
'Do you often eat pork in Australia?'

(2.5.1.-6) 'Oku kailoa ke motou fakatâu 'i
PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) DET(1PlExcl) trade PART(Loc)

Niua nei.
Niua DEIC(Nsp)

'We do not sell or buy here on Niua.'

(2.5.1.-7) 'Oku. lea fakaaa te kakal 'i Taiwani?
PART(Prs) speak like-what DET(Spf) people PART(Loc) Taiwan

'What language do people speak in Taiwan?'

In German or French, man or on can be used in clauses like these. In Niuafo'ou, however, the first person singular inclusive cannot be used in any of them since the reference does not include the speaker in (2.5.1.-5), the addressee(s) in (2.5.1.-6) and either the speaker or the addressee(s) in (2.5.1.-7). The first person singular inclusive can only be used when both the speaker and the addressee(s) are included in the reference.

Secondly, the first person singular inclusive is used when the speaker refers to himself only. In this case, it does not differ from the first person singular exclusive except that it sounds less self-assertive and, therefore, more humble and polite.

(2.5.1.-8) 'Oku kailoa ke kita lava 'o
PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgIncl) possible PART(Inc)

ngaau lelei 'i te 'aho nei kote'uhi
work good PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp) because

ko te langa toto 'ulū.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) pain DET(Spf1SgInc10) head

'I can not work well today because I have a headache.'

5.2 Range of Reference of Third Person Determiners, Pronouns and Demonstratives

5.2.1 Third Person Determiners

As dealt with in II.2.2. and II.5.5., person determiners occur in the verbal phrase and indicate S or A. The dual and plural forms also occur in the nominal phrase, in which case they indicate possessors (II.3.2.2.(A)-(B)).

The third person determiners – ina or ne 'Singular', naa 'Dual' and notou 'Plural' – may refer to anything – humans, animals, and plants and inanimate things.

(A) Referring to Humans

(2.5.2.1.-1) Ko te tangatat. 'e notou oo
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man PART(Fut) DET(3Pl) go(Col)
ki ngaa'utá.
PART(All) inland

'The men — they will go up inland.'

(2.5.2.1.-2) Pea oo mai te ongo maatu'á ia,
and come(Col) DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) DU parent(Col) UNEXP
kua puli te naa ki'i fafiné pea
PART(Prf) disappear DET(Spf) DET(3Du) little woman and
talaki leva 'i te koló ke
announce SQ C PART(Loc) DET(Spf) village PART(Sbj)
notou oo 'o kumi si'a naa
DET(3Pl) go(Col) PART(Inc) search DET(SpfEmt1A) DET(3Du)
ki'i fafiné.
little woman

And when the parents came back, their daughter was
missing and they made it known in the village so
so that they (= village people) would go and
look for the little girl.'

(B) Referring to Animals

(2.5.2.1.-3) Ne 'ilifia te kulii 'i te
PART(Pst) afraid DET(Spf) dog PAR T(Loc) DET(Spf)
tamasii pea ina u'usi ia.
boy and DET(3Sg) bite DEM(Anaph)/PR0(3Sg)

'The dog was afraid of the boy and bit him.'

(2.5.2.1.-4) Ne motou mulimuli ange ki
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) follow DIR(Tsd) PART(All)
te 'uu manu puná 'o a'u ki
DET(Spf) Pl animal fly PART(Inc) reach PART(All)
te notou punungá.
DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) nest

'We followed the birds until we reached their nest.'

(C) Referring to Plants and Inanimate Things

(2.5.2.1.-5) Ko te 'uu matala'i 'akaú, ne
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL flower-of plant PART(Pst)
otou faka'ofa'ofa 'aupito.
DET(3Pl) beautiful totally

'The flowers — they were very beautiful.'
(2.5.2.1.-6) Ko te ongo sea ko 'ená,
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DU chair PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)

'oku maumau te naa va'eé.
PART(Prs) broken DET(Spf) DET(3Du) leg

'The chairs - their legs are broken.'

5.2.2 Pronouns Type I

As dealt with in II.3.4.2.(C-1), the third person pronouns Type I are compatible
with most of the particles that occur in nominal phrases, but not with those that occur
with pronouns Type II (II.3.4.2.(C-2)) dealt with in II.5.2.3. below. Preceded by the
emphatic possessive determiner ta'a 'A-class' or to'o 'O-class', they also occur in the
nominal phrase and indicate possessors (II.3.2.2.(C))

Older speakers use the third person pronouns Type I - ia 'Singular', naaua 'Dual'
and naatou 'Plural' - to refer to humans only. Younger speakers, on the other hand, use
them to refer to humans and animals but not to plants or inanimate things, as is the case
with the corresponding Tongan forms.

(A) Referring to Humans - Accepted by both Older and Younger Speakers

(2.5.2.2 -1) Ko te ongo tangatá, ne taamate'i
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DU man PART(Pst) kill

'e naaua te puaka naa.
PART(Erg) PROI(3Du) DET(Spf) pig DEIC(Nad)

'The two men - they killed that pig.'

(2.5.2.2.-2) Ne foki te kau Niuá ki Niua kote'uhi
PART(Pst) return DET(Spf) PL Niua PART Niua because

ko te notou fia nofo 'i
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) want live PART(Loc)

to'o naatou kelekele.
DET(SpfEmph0) PROI(3Pl) ground

'The Niuans returned to Niua because they wanted to
live on their own land (and no one else's).'  

(B) Referring to Animals - Accepted by Younger Speakers Only

(2.5.2.2.-3) Ko te ongo kulii 'ia naaua.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DU dog PART(Abs) PROI(3Du)

'They are dogs.'

(2.5.2.2.-4) Ne motou ma'u 'i te ika
PART(Npm) DET(1PlExcl) get PART(3s) DET(Spf) fish

'ihi 'o kai naatou.
several PART(Inc) eat PROI(3Pl)
'We caught several fish and ate them.'

The following clauses are not acceptable at all since neither older speakers nor younger speakers use pronouns Type I to refer to plants or inanimate things.

(2.5.2.2.-5) *Ko te 'uu fu'u kofe 'ia naatou.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL plant bamboo PART(Abs) PROI(3p1)

('They are bamboo.')

(2.5.2.2.-6) *Ko te 'uu tohi, kuau 'osi
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL letter PART(Prf)-DET(1SG) alreay

'ave 'ia naatou ki te pousiofisl.
take PART(Abs) PROI(3p1) PART(All) DET(Spf) post-office

('The letters - I have already taken them to the
post office.')

In clauses like these, demonstratives must be used instead of pronouns as dealt with in II.5.3. below. (2.5.2.2.-5) and (2.5.2.2.-6) may be compared with (2.5.3.-11) and (2.5.3.-12).

5.2.3 Pronouns Type II

As dealt with in II.3.4.2.(C-2), pronouns Type II occur with the particles 'a 'A-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)), 'o 'O-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)), ma'a 'A-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)) and mo'o 'O-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)). The O-class forms of pronouns Type II also occur without any particle and indicate O.

Both older and younger speakers used the third person pronouns Type II - 'ana 'A-class' and 'ona 'O-class' - to refer to humans only.

(2.5.2.3.-1) Ne 'alu te tangata pe'a hanga e
PART(Pst) go DET(Spf) man and turn PART(Erg)

 te fu'u ikâ 'o ma'u 'ona.
DET(Spf) big fish PART(Inc) get PROII(3Sg0).

'The man went and the big fish got him.'

The following are not acceptable.

(2.5.2.3.-2) *Ne u'usi 'oku 'e te
PART(Pst) bite PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Erg) DET(Spf)

kuli peau taa'i 'ona.
dog CONJ-DET(1SgExc1) hit PROII(3Sg0)

('The dog bit me and I hit him.')

(2.5.2.3.-3) *Ko te letiö, ne maumauki
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) radio PART(Pst) break

'ona te tamasi'i.
PROII(3Sg0) DET(Spf) boy

('The radio - the boy broke it.')
In clauses like these, demonstratives must be used instead of pronouns Type II, as dealt with in II.5.3. (2.5.2.3.-2) and (2.5.2.3.-3) may be compared with (2.5.3.-13) and (2.5.3.-14).

The third person non-emphatic possessive determiners – tana 'Spf3SgA', hana 'Nspf3SgA', tona (or tono) 'Spf3SgO', si'a tana 'SpfEmt3SgA' and so on (II.3.2.2.(A)-(B)) – also contain apparently the same morphemes as the third person pronouns Type II, but both older and younger speakers use them to refer to anything – humans, animals, and plants and inanimate things.

(A) Referring to Humans

(2.5.2.3.-4) Ko te pepeé, 'oku te 'eki ai
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) baby PART(Prs) not-yet DEM(Anaph)
hono nifo.
DET(Nspf3SgO) tooth

'The baby – it has no teeth yet.'

(B) Referring to Animals

(2.5.2.3.-5) Ne moloki te kulii 'e te
PART(Pst) run-over DET(Spf) dog PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
misinī pea lavea si'ono va'eeē.
tractor and injured DET(SpfEmt3SgO) leg

'The dog was run over by a tractor and – alas –
its leg was injured.'

(C) Referring to Plants and Inanimate Things

(2.5.2.3.-6) Ne kake ake te tamasi'ī 'i
PART(Pst) climb DIR(up) DET(Spf) boy PART(Loc)
te fu'u 'akaú pea ina pakí'i mai
DET(Spf) big plant and DET(3Sg) break DIR(Tsp)
tono va'akau.
DET(Spf3SgO) branch

'The boy climbed the tree and broke and brought
its branch.'

(2.5.2.3.-7) Ko te vaka fo'oú, 'oku fu'u vave
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ship new PART(Prs) big fast
ange 'aupito tana 'alú 'i te
DIR(Tsd) totally DET(Spf3SgA) go PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
vaka matu'á.
ship old
'The new ship — it sails much faster than the old.'

5.2.4 Demonstratives

The demonstratives each have two forms — 'eni ~ henì 'Near Speaker', 'ena ~ hena 'Near Addressee', ee ~ hee 'Away from Speaker and Addressee' and ia ~ ai 'Anaphoric' (II.3.4.2.(D)). They may refer to anything — humans, animals, and plants and inanimate things, and unlike person determiners dealt with in II.5.2.1. and pronouns dealt with in II.5.2.2-3. above, are neutral as to the number of referents.

Since the anaphoric demonstrative ia ~ ai is dealt with in detail in II.5.3. below, it will be excluded from the following.

(A) Referring to Humans

(5.2.4.1) Ko 
  
  ongo maatu'á 'ena.
  
  PART(Npm) DET(Sp1SgA) DU parent(Col) DEM(Nad)

'Those (by you) are my parents.'

(5.2.4.-2) 'E 
  
  kulaa mali mo 'eni?
  
  PART(Fut) DET(2Du) marry PART(Asa) DEM(Nsp)

'Will you marry this (person) ?'

(B) Referring to Animals

(5.2.4.-3) Ko 
  
  'uu puaka 'ena 'a 'ai?
  
  PART(Npm) DET(Sp) PL pig DEM(Nad) PART(PssA) who

'Whose pigs are those (by you) ?'

(5.2.4.-4) Ko 
  
  'uu moá, 'oku lahi ange
  
  PART(Npm) DET(Sp) PL fowl PART(Prs) large DIR(Tsd)

'i henì.
  
  PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp)

'The fowls — they are larger than this (or these).'

(C) Referring to Plants and Inanimate Things

(5.2.4.-5) Kua 
  
  kamata ke fua te fu'u moli
  
  PART(Prf) begin Part(Sbj) fruit PART(Sp) big orange

ko 'eni, kaa ko éé, 'oku
  
  PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp) but PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad) PART(Prs)

te'eki ai.
  
  not-yet DEM(Anaph)

'That orange tree has begun to bear fruit but that one (over there) hasn't.'

(5.2.4.-6) 'Oku 
  
  kailoa ko tau tohi 'ena.
  
  PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DET(Sp2SgA) book DEM(Nad)
'That (by you) is not your book.'

(2.5.2.4.-7) 'Okú ke fia lau 'eni?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) want read DEM(Nsp)

'Do you want to read this?'

Demonstratives very frequently refer to places.

(2.5.2.4.-8) Ko Tonga 'eni.
PART(Npm) Tonga DEM(Nsp)

'This is Tonga. (= We are in Tonga.)'

(2.5.2.4.-9) 'Okú ke nofo 'i 'Eua pe ko
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) live PART(Loc) 'Eua or PART(Npm)

'eni?
DEM(Nsp)

'Do you live on 'Eua or here?'

(2.5.2.4.-10) 'Okú ke lava 'o sio kiaa
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) possible PART(Inc) see PART(All)

au mei hena?
PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Abl) DEM(Nad)

'Can you see me from there (where you are),'

(2.5.2.4.-11) 'Unu ki hee.
move PART(All) DEM(Aspad)

'Move over there.'

5.3 The Anaphoric Demonstrative ia and ai and the Pronoun Type I ia

The anaphoric word ai occurs throughout Polynesia and has been described in quite diverse manners in the grammars of different languages. Chapin (1974) made a survey of ai in nineteen Polynesian languages and revealed some of the important aspects of its functions in these languages and the course of its development from Proto-Polynesian. However, scarcely any attention has so far been paid to its relationship with other words that are used anaphorically. Possibly as a result of this, some of the most basic characteristics of this word have, it seems, been entirely neglected, and at least as far as a language like Tongan is concerned, its description has been quite unsatisfactory. The following holds for both Niuafo'ou and Tongan ai.

In Niuafo'ou, and so also in Tongan, the word ai has an allomorphic form ia. The two forms are in complementary distribution, ai occurring after the particles ending in the vowel i and ia elsewhere. They are clearly classifiable as demonstratives, and as such, they share all the syntactic and semantic characteristics with the other demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D), II.5.2.4.).
The form ia is homophonous with the third person singular pronoun Type I (II.3.4.2.(C-1)), but the two can be distinguished from each other in clauses like the following:

(2.5.3.-1) Ko te loi 'ia ia.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) liar PART(Abs) PROI(3Sg)

'He is a liar.' (Pronoun ia)

(2.5.3.-2) Ko te loi ia.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) lie DEM(Anaph)

'It is a lie.' (Demonstrative ia)

As dealt with in II.3.4.2.(D), demonstratives can not be preceded by the particle 'ia 'Absolutive' (II.3.1.(1)) while pronouns Type I can. In (2.6.3.-1), ia is preceded by the particle 'ia. Therefore, it is a pronoun Type I and as such refers to a human being. In (2.5.3.-2), on the other hand, ia refers to an inanimate thing. As dealt with in II.5.2.2., pronouns Type I can not refer to inanimate things. Therefore, the ia in this clause is a demonstrative.

However, the particle 'ia is optional with pronouns Type I in equational clauses (II.3.4.2.(C-1)). Moreover, demonstratives can refer not only to inanimate things but also to humans (II.5.2.4.). Therefore, the clause Ko te loi ia. can also mean 'He is a liar.', and the ia in this case can be either a demonstrative or a pronoun. ((2.5.3.-1) above can not mean 'It is a lie'.)

After the particles mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6)) and ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking' (II.3.1.(10)), the two can be distinguished only to a very limited extent.

(2.5.3.-3) Ne ha'u 'ia Mele mo ia.
PART(Pst) come PART(Abs) Mele PART(Ass) --

(a) 'Mele came with him.' (Demonstrative or Pronoun)

(b) 'Mele came with them (= people).'</n (Demonstrative)

(c) 'Mele came with it.' (Demonstrative)

(d) 'Mele came with them (=things).'</n (Demonstrative)

(2.5.3.-4) Ko ia ne 'alu 'anepeó.
PART(Npm) -- PART(Pst) go last-night

(a) 'It is him that went last night.'

(Demonstrative or Pronoun)

(b) 'It is them (=people) that went last night.'

(Demonstrative)

(c) 'It is it that went last night.'

(Demonstrative)

(d) 'It is them (=things) that went last night.'

(Demonstrative)
The form ai can easily be distinguished from the third person pronoun Type I ia.

(2.5.3.-5) Ne au sio kiaa ia.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) see PART(All) PROI(3Sg)
'I saw him.'

(2.5.3.-6) Ne au sio ki ai.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) see PART(All) DEM(Anaph)
(a) 'I saw him.'
(b) 'I saw them (= people).'</n(c) 'I saw it.'
(d) 'I saw them (= things).'</n
After the particle 'e 'Ergative' (II.3.1.(2)), ia can refer only to a human or, in the language of the younger generation, an animal in the singular and is, therefore, a pronoun.

Unlike the other demonstratives, the anaphoric demonstrative does not occur after the particles 'a 'A-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)) and 'o 'O-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)) or ma'a 'A-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)) and mo'o 'O-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)). Pronouns Type I or II must be appropriately used instead – 'a 'ana 'PART(PssA) PROII(3SgA): of him' (referring to a human), 'o naatou 'PART(PssO) PROI(3Pl): of them' (referring to humans or, in the language of the younger generation, animals), ma'a na 'PART(BnfA) PROII(3SgA): for him', mo'o naaua 'PART(BnfO) PROI(3Du): for them' (referring to humans or, in the language of the younger generation, animals) and so on – or determiners indicating possession – tana 'Spf3SgA', hona 'Nspf3SgO', (te) naa 'DET(Spf) DET(3Du)', (he) notou 'DET(Nspf) DET(3Pl)' (all referring to humans, animals or plants and inanimate things) and so on. As dealt with in II.3.1.(8), the particles ma'a and mo'o can only be used with bases that denote humans or animals.

Due to their more restricted range of reference, pronouns Type I and Type II can be used only in limited cases. Both the anaphoric determiner and pronouns Type I and Type II may be used to refer to humans, and younger speakers use both the anaphoric determiner and pronouns Type I to refer to animals, but otherwise only the anaphoric determiner may be used.

(A) Referring to Humans

(2.5.3.-7) Ne ma'u 'e te teevoló te kakai
PART(Pst) get PART(Erg) DET(Spf) ghost DET(Spf) people
'ihī 'o kai 'ia naatou.
several PART(Inc) eat PART(Abs) PROI(3Pl)
'The ghost caught several people and ate them.'

or

(2.5.3.-8) Ne ma'u 'e te teevoló te kakai
PART(Pst) get PART(Erg) DET(Spf) ghost DET(Spf) people

'ihi 'o kai (*'ia) ia.
several PART(Inc) eat PART(Abs) DEM(Anaph)

(B) Referring to Animals

(2.5.3.-9) Ne motou puke te ongo puaká 'o
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) grab DET(Spf) DU pig PART(Inc)

motou 'ave ange 'ia naaúa ki
DET(1PlExcl) take DIR(Tsd) PART(Abs) PROI(3Du) PART(All)

te 'alikilí.
DET(Spf) chief

'We caught the two pigs and took them to the chief.'

(Younger Speakers Only)

or

(2.5.3.-10) Ne motou puke te ongo puaká 'o
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) grab DET(Spf) DU pig PART(Inc)

motou 'ave (*'ia) ia ki te
DET(1PlExcl) take PART(Abs) DEM(Anaph) PART(All) DET(Spf)

'alikilí.
chief

(Both Older and Younger Speakers)

(C) Referring to Plants and Non-living Things

(2.5.3.-11) Ko te 'uu kofe (*'ia) ia.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL bamboo PART(Abs) DEM(Anaph)

'They are bamboos.'

(2.5.3.-12) Ko te 'uu tohi, kuau
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL letter PART(Prf)-DET(1SgExcl)

'oši 'ave (*'ia) ia ki te
already take PART(Abs) DEM(Anaph) PART(All) DET(Spf)
pousi'ofisli.
post-office

'The letters — I have already take them to the post
office.'

(2.5.3.-13) Ne u'usi 'oku 'e te kulii
PART(Pst) bite PROI(1SgExcl0) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) dog
peau taa’i (‘ia) ia.
CONJ-DET(1SgExcl) hit PART(Abs) DEM(Anaph)/PROI(3Sg)

‘The dog bit me and I hit him.’

(Use of ‘ia Only by Younger Speakers)

(2.5.3.-14) Ko te letió, ne maumaui (*‘ia)
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) radio PART(Pst) break PART(Abs)

ia ‘e te tamasi’i.
DEM(Anaph) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) boy

‘The radio - the boy broke it.’

Like the other demonstratives (II.5.2.4.), the anaphoric demonstrative also frequently refer to places.

(2.5.3.-15) Ne au folau ki Vava’u ‘o
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) sail PART(All) Vava’u PART(Inc)

nofo ai ‘o maahina ‘e ua.
stay DEM(Anaph) PART(Inc) month PART(Nmr) two

‘I sailed to Vava’u and stayed there for two months.’

5.4 Anticipatory Reference of Person Determiners

Person determiners may include in their reference arguments indicated by nominal phrases with the particle mo ‘Associative’ (II.3.1.(6)) that occur later in the clause. This is possible only when the nominal phrases in the associative have the first two semantic functions mentioned in II.3.1.(6), that is, when they indicate people or things that keep company with, act reciprocally or reciprocatively with or accompany S, A or O, or when they indicate people or things that share similarity, equality, simultaneity, mutuality and the like with S, A or O. Thus, a clause like ‘Will you (Sg) go with Mele?’ may be translated not only by:

(2.5.4.-1) ‘E ke {‘alu go mo Mele?
PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) oo PART(Ass) Mele

but also by:

(2.5.4.-2) ‘E kulaa {‘alu go mo Mele?
PART(Fut) DET(2Du) oo PART(Ass) Mele

with the second person dual determiner kulaa referring to Mele as well as the addressee. The inclusion of arguments in the associative in the reference of person determiners, however, is not obligatory. Therefore, (2.5.4.-2) can also mean: ‘Will you (Du) go with Mele?’ and is ambiguous to some extent, but ‘Will you (Sg) go with Mele?’ is the more natural interpretation, and in this sense, it is more commonly used than (2.5.4.-1).
Consequently, a clause like the following may be used when the speaker has one, two or more addressees.

(2.5.4.3) 'E kotou [ 'alu go ] mo Mele mo Sione?
PART(Fut) DET(2Pl) oo PART(Ass) Mele PART(Ass) Sione
{go(Col)}

'Will you (Sg, Du or Pl) go with Mele and Sione?'

Further examples follow:

(2.5.4.4) Taa . oo mo koe?
DET(1DuIncl) go(Col) PART(Ass) PROI(2Sg)

'Shall (or May) I come with you?'

(2.5.4.5) 'Oku kulaa hingoa tatau mo te ta'ahine
PART(Prs) DET(2Du) name same PART(Ass) DET(Spf) girl
ko eé.
PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad)

'You (Sg or Du) have the same name as that girl.'

(2.5.4.6) Ne motou fai te ngaaué mo
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) do DET(Spf) work PART(Ass)

{te maa tamai.
DET(Spf) DET(1DuExcl) father

'We (Du) did the work with our (Du) father.'

The arguments to be included in the reference of person determiners do not have to be humans. This holds not only for third person determiners but also the first and second person determiners since the dual and plural of first person can actually be a combination of first person and third person.

(2.5.4.7) Ne naa oo mai mo tana
PART(Pst) DET(3Du) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) PART(Ass) DET(Spf3SgA)
kulii.
dog

'He (or They (Du)) came with his dog.'

(2.5.4.8) Ne maa oo mai mo te
PART(Pst) DET(1DuExcl) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) PART(Ass) DET(Spf)
puha ko iá.
box PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)

'I (or We (Du)) came with that box. (= I (or We (Du)) brought that box.)'

(2.5.4.9) Ne motou fetaulaki mo
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) encounter-each-other PART(Ass)
te misini 'i Mata'aho.
DET(Spf) tractor PART(Loc) Mata'aho
'We (Du) (or We (Pl)) came across the tractor in Mata'aho.'

Anticipatory reference is also possible when nominal phrases in the associative are non-specific and, in actuality, may not have any referents at all, as in:

\[(2.5.4.-10) \quad 'E \quad \text{kulaa} \quad oo \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{ai}?'\]
\[\text{PART(Fut)} \quad \text{DET(2Du)} \quad \text{go (Col)} \quad \text{PART(Ass)} \quad \text{who}\]

'Who will you (Sg) (or you (Du)) go with?'

\[(2.6.4.-11) \quad 'E \quad \text{kulaa} \quad oo \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{taha}?'\]
\[\text{PART(Fut)} \quad \text{DET(2Du)} \quad \text{come (Col)} \quad \text{PART(Ass)} \quad \text{DET(Nspf)} \quad \text{one}\]

'Will you (Sg) (or you (Du)) go with anyone?'

Unlike person determiners, pronouns (II.3.4.2(C)) can not include in their reference arguments in the associative that follow them. Therefore, a clause like:

\[(2.5.4.-12) \quad 'E \quad \text{kotou} \quad oo \quad \text{ia} \quad \text{kotou} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{Mele}?'\]
\[\text{PART(Fut)} \quad \text{DET(Pl)} \quad \text{go(Col)} \quad \text{PART(Abs)} \quad \text{PROI(2Pl)} \quad \text{PART(Ass)} \quad \text{Mele}\]

can only be interpreted as meaning: 'Will you (Pl) go with Mele?'. Also, as in this example, person determiners and pronouns that have the same referents often occur in one clause (II.5.5.), but they must agree in number, and a clause like:

\[(2.5.4.-13) \quad *'E \quad \text{kotou} \quad oo \quad \text{ia} \quad \text{koolua} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{Mele}?'\]
\[\text{PART(Fut)} \quad \text{DET(2Pl)} \quad \text{go(Col)} \quad \text{PART(Abs)} \quad \text{PROI(2Du)} \quad \text{PART(Ass)} \quad \text{Mele}\]

is unacceptable although kotou in itself could refer to the two addressees and Mele if it were not for the pronoun koolua.

5.5 Syntactic and Pragmatic Functions of Person Determiners, Pronouns and Anaphoric Demonstrative.

Person determiners (II.2.2.) occur as preposed elements and are associated with a restricted range of syntactic functions. That is, they indicate only either S or A when they occur in verbal phrases, as dealt with in II.2.2., and possessors (II.6.) when they occur in nominal phrases, as dealt with in II.3.2.2.(A) and (B). The third person singular determiner, however, can only occur in verbal phrases and normally indicate only A and, to a limited extent, also the S of certain clauses that presuppose two arguments, such as that of middle clauses (III.1.1.1.(B)). Also, the singular person determiners do not occur in nominal phrases, and possessive determiners are used in their place.

Pronouns (II.3.4.2.(C)) and the anaphoric demonstrative (II.3.4.2.(D)), on the other hand, occur as nominal-phrase bases and, with the help of various particles, can have various syntactic functions. In functions where there is a choice between person determiners on the one hand and pronouns and the anaphoric demonstrative on the other, pragmatic consideration usually determine the choice.
Firstly, there is a choice between person determiners and pronouns Type I or the anaphoric demonstrative to indicate S and A. The pronouns and the anaphoric demonstrative in this function are more emphatic than person determiners and are used when the speaker wants to contrast the referents with other people or things. However, unlike focused arguments (III.4.1.2.), they do not necessarily provide new information.

(A) Indicating S

(2.5.5.-1) ‘E ke ‘alu? PAR(Fut) DET(2Sg) go
‘Are you going?'

(2.5.5.-2) ‘E ‘alu ‘ia koe? PAR(Fut) go PAR(Abs) PROI(2Sg)
‘ARE YOU going? (Not the others)'

(B) Indicating A

(2.5.5.-3) Ne ina kai te iká? PAR(Pst) DET(3Sg) eat DET(Spf) fish
‘he ate the fish.'

(2.5.5.-4) Ne kai ‘e ia te iká? PAR(Pst) eat PAR(Erg) PROI(3Sg) DET(Spf) fish
‘HE ate the fish. (Not the others)’

Person determiners often occur with pronouns Type I or the anaphoric demonstrative that share the same referent(s).

(2.5.5.-5) ‘E ke ‘alu ‘ia koe? PAR(Fut) DET(2Sg) go PAR(Abs) PROI(2Sg)
‘ARE YOU going? (Not the others)’

(2.5.5.-6) Ne maa laalanga mo taku PAR(Pst) DET(1DuExcl) weave PAR(Ass) DET(SpflSgExclA)
fa’eé te fala ko eé, kaa te mother DET(Spf) mat PAR(Npm) DEM(Aspad) but DET(Spf)
kato ko ‘eni, ne au laalanga basket PAR(Npm) DEM(Nsp) PAR(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) weave
pee ‘e au.
just PAR(Erg) PROI(1SgExcl)
‘I made that mat with my mother, but this basket - I made it MYSELF.’

(2.5.5.-7) Ko taatou, ‘e tou oo PAR(Npm) PROI(1P1Incl) PAR(Fut) DET(1P1Incl) go(Col)
‘ia taatou ki ngaalaló kaa ko PAR(Abs) PRO(1P1Incl) PAR(All) download but PAR(Npm)
"Us - WE will go downland but those men - THEY will go upland."

In the third person, person determiners can occur with nominals that have the same referents, but it seems that this is not very common.

(2.5.5.-8) Pea notou ha'u leva te fanga teevoló mo and DET(3Pl) come then DET(Spf) PL spirit PART(Ass)

Moso, oo mai 'o ta'aki 'iá
Moso come(Col) DIR(Tsp) PART(Inc) dig PART(Abs)

ta te fo'i nofo'anga ko ia,
DET(Spf) fruit-of dwelling-place PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)

ko Tafahi.
PART(Npm) Tafahi

'And the spirits then came with Moso, came to dig up the dwelling place, Tafahi.'

Pronouns Type I and the anaphoric demonstrative also occur with the particle mo 'Associative', which, as dealt with in II.3.1.(6)(v), indicates the similarity or equality of S or O with reference to the immediately preceding context.

(2.5.5.-9) 'E au 'alu mo au.
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Ass) PROI(1SgExcl)

'I will go, too.'

Secondly, there is a choice between determiners occurring in nominal phrases and pronouns preceded by the particle 'a 'A-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)) or 'o 'O-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)) to indicate possessors. In this case, too, the constructions with pronouns are more emphatic than that with determiners and are used when the speaker wants to contrast the referents with other people or things.

(2.5.5.-10) Ne au 'alu ki te notou
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl)

falé.
house

'I went to their house.'

(2.5.5.-11) Ne au 'alu ki te fale
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) DET(Spf) house

'o naatou.
PART(Pss0) PROI(3Pl)
'I went to THEIR house. (Not others' house)'

(2.5.5.-12) 'Oku puke lahi si'ana fa'eé. PART(Prs) ill much DET(SpfEmt13SgA) mother

'His mother is very ill.'

(2.5.5.-13) 'Oku puke lahi si'i fa'ee 'a PART(Prs) ill much DET(SpfEmt1) mother PART(PssA)
aná: PROII(3SgA)

'HIS mother is very ill. (Not others' mother)'

Determiners and pronouns that share the same referents may occur in one clause.

(2.5.5.-14) 'Oku ofi pee te 'api 'o Melé PART(Prs) close just DET(Spf) home PART(Pss0) Mele

kaa ko te motou 'api 'o but PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(1PlExc1) home PART(Pss0)

maatoú ia. 'oku mama'o 'aupito. PROI(1PlExc1) UNEXP PART(Prs) far totally

'Mele's house is near but OUR house is very far away.'

In the third person, determiners indicating possession may occur with nominals that have the same referents in one clause.

(2.5.5.-15) Ko te aa tono 'uhinga 'o PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf3Sg0) meaning PART(Pss0)

te fo'i lea nei? DET(Spf) fruit-of language DEIC(Nsp)

'What is the meaning of this word?'

In other functions, only pronouns Type I or II and the anaphoric demonstrative may occur, and there is, therefore, no choice. Depending on the nature of predicates, some arguments in these functions must be obligatorily expressed, as for instance, middle objects (III.1.1.1.(B)). If, however, it is not the case, third person arguments in these functions are normally not expressed unless they are contrasted with other people or things.

Pronouns of both types and the anaphoric demonstrative may also be used reflexively, as in:

(2.5.5.-16) Ne ina taamate'i pee ina PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) kill just PROII(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)

'He killed himself.'
(2.5.5. - 17) Nau
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) see PART(All) PROI(1SgExcl)
'sio kiaa au'

'i te sio'ata.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) mirror

'I looked at myself in the looking-glass.'
CHAPTER 6
Possession

A distinction is made between two classes of possession,¹ which are referred to as A- and O-classes on the basis of the morphemes a and o that mark them. Basically the same distinction occurs in all Polynesian languages, but it seems to have disappeared or almost disappeared in Niuean (MacEwen 1970) and in certain Outlier languages like Mae (Capell 1962). There are some indications of its decline in Niuao’ou, too, and as dealt with in II.6.2 below. O-class forms are apparently being replaced by A-class forms in the language of the younger generation.

6.1 A-class versus O-class

As has been pointed out by Schütz and Nawadra (1972) and Wilson (1976, 1982), it is basically the possessor’s control over the relationship between him and the possessum that determines the choice between A- and O-class. A-class indicates relationships which the possessor may initiate at his will and are, therefore, controlled. Therefore, it requires the possessor to be animate except, as mentioned later in this section, in nominalized clauses (III.1.5.). O-class, on the other hand, indicates relationship that are inherent and may not be controlled.

Thus, A-class is used of various things that the possessor may produce, obtain or disposes of by his will, such as:

(i) things he produces

(2.6.1.-1) fala ’a te fafiné mat PART(PssA) DET(SpF) woman 'the woman's mat'

(2.6.1.-2) tohi ’a te tangatá letter PART(PssA) DET(SpF) man 'the man's letter'

(ii) manipulable things and animals he uses, sells, takes care of and so on, including vehicles and animals for riding

(2.6.1.-3) pa’anga ’a te tangatá money PART(PssA) DET(SpF) man 'the man’s money'

¹The term 'possession' (also, ‘possessive’, ‘possessor’ and so on) is used in this study to refer to a grammatical category. It indicates not only ownership but also a wide variety of relationship.
(2.6.1.-4) peni ‘a te tangatá ‘the man’s pen’
pen PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-6) kaa ‘a te tangatá ‘the man’s car’
car PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-7) puaka ‘a te tangatá ‘the man’s pig’
pig PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-8) hoosi ‘a te tangatá ‘the man’s horse’
horse PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

(iii) food and drinks

(2.6.1.-9) me’a kai ‘a te tangatá ‘the man’s food’
thing eat PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-10) ‘ota ‘a te tangatá ‘the man’s raw fish’
raw-fish PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-11) vai ‘a te tangatá ‘the man’s water’
water PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-12) inu moli ‘a te tangatá ‘the man’s orange’
drink orange PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

O-class, on the other hand, is used of things that the possessor was born with, such as:

(i) body and soul

(2.6.1.-13) sino ‘o te tangatá ‘the man’s body’
body PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(ii) body parts, including secretions and excreta

(2.6.1.-14) nima ‘o te tangatá ‘the man’s hand’
hand PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-15) iku ‘o te kulili ‘the dog’s tail’
tail PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) dog

(2.6.1.-16) toto ‘o te tangatá ‘the man’s blood’
blood PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(iii) innate characteristics

(2.6.1.-17) le’o ‘o te tangatá ‘the man’s voice’
voice PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-18) anga ‘o te tangatá ‘the man’s nature’
nature PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

and things associated with the possessor through the agency of others, such as:

(2.6.1.-19) hingoa ‘o te tangatá ‘the man’s name’
name PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-20) taa ‘o te tangatá ‘the man’s picture’
picture PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

and things in which the possessor rests or moves, including things that he wears, such as:
(2.6.1.-21) fonua 'o te tangatá 'the man's land' land PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-22) fale 'o te tangatá 'the man's house' house PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-23) moe'anga 'o te tangatá 'the man's bed' bed PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-24) sote 'o te tangatá 'the man's shirt' shirt PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-25) mata sio'ata 'o te tangatá 'the man's spectacles' eye glass PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) tangatá man

It also indicates various whole-part relationships.

(2.6.1.-26) vaelua 'o ke kakai 'half of the people' part PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) people

(2.6.1.-27) 'ato 'o te falé 'roof of the house' roof PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) house

(2.6.1.-28) ngata'anga 'o te fanangá 'end of the folk-tale' PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) folk-tale

It is thus used of things of which one is a member.

(2.6.1.-29) kaangi 'o te tangatá 'the man's family' family PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-30) kalasi 'o te ta'ahe 'the girl's class' class PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) girl

(2.6.1.-31) kautaha 'o te kauvaká 'the sailor's company' company PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) sailor

The examples above do not mean that a particular nominal is always associated with either the A- or the O-class. In fact, most nominals may be associated with both classes, depending on the changing relationships that obtain between the possessor and the possessum in different contexts. Thus, nominals that are associated with the O-class in the examples above may also occur with the A-class, as, in contrast to (2.6.1.-1) and (2.6.1.-11), for instance, in:

(2.6.1.-32) fala 'o te fafiné 'the woman's mat (= the mat on which the woman rests)' mat PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) woman

(2.6.1.-33) vai 'o te tangatá 'the man's water (= the man's pool or tank of water)' water PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) man

and, conversely, nominals that are associated with the O-class in the examples above may also occur with the A-class, as, in contrast to (2.6.1.-19), (2.6.1.-20) and (2.6.1.-24), for instance, in:
(2.6.1.-34) hingoa 'a te tangatá name PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man 'the man's name (= the name the man made for someone)'

(2.6.1.-35) taa 'a te tangatá picture PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man 'the man's picture (=the picture the man drew)'

(2.6.1.-36) sote 'a te tangatá shirt PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man 'the man's shirt (= the shirt the man makes or sells)'

It is, therefore, not appropriate to attribute the choice between the classes to the semantic properties of nominals or, as in the case of gender of nouns referring to sexless things in European languages, to arbitrariness. However, probably because of the speakers' culture-specific way of thinking in the past, it is not always possible to predict the choice in the frame of a synchronic analysis. For instance, most tools are always associated with the A-class, as in: hele 'a te tangatá 'knife PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man: the man's knife (= the knife he uses or the knife he produced or sells)', but toki 'adze' must be associated with the O-class when the adze concerned is for the possessor's own use: toki 'o te tangatá 'adze PART(PssO) DET(Spf) man: the man's adze' while it is associated with the A-class when the adze is the product or merchandize of the possessor: toki 'a te tangatá 'adze PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man: the man's adze'. Used in the same way as toki are a small number of nominals that refer to certain tools, weapons and vehicles which must have been culturally very important in the past, namely, 'illi 'fan', huo 'spade', kupenga 'fishing net', paa 'shield', tao 'spear', poopao 'canoe', vaka 'ship' and so on.

Such unpredictability becomes more evident with nominals referring to human beings (and human-like beings such as gods, ghosts and so on). Certainly, the same principle applies for the choice between the two classes of possession in the case of many of these nominals. For instance, the A-class is used in the following cases, in which the possessor may initiate a relationship with the possessor by employing, taking care of, giving birth to, and so on:

(2.6.1.-37) tamasi'i 'a te tangatá 'the man's boy' boy PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

(2.6.1.-38) peepee 'a te fainé 'the woman's baby' baby PART(PssA) DET(Spf) woman

and O-class is used in the following cases, in which the possessor may not initiate a relationship with the possessor:

(2.6.1.-39) 'otua 'o te kakal 'the people's god' god PART(PssO) DET(Spf) people

(2.6.1.-40) 'aliki 'o te kakal 'the people's chief' chief PART(PssO) DET(Spf) people
However, this apparently does not apply in certain cases, especially with respect to nominals that relate to kinship relationship. The most common of which are set out in Table II.6.1. As will be seen, A-class is used of all kins in the ascending generation (−1, −2, −3, ...) except the father’s sister and the mother’s brother while O-class is used of all kins in the descending generation (−1, −2, −3, ...) except the -1 generation of female Ego. It seems that the distribution of the A- and the O-class does not correspond to any of the present speakers’ classificatory system of kinship relationship such as, for instance, the rank in the family.

O-class is also used of nominals like kaume‘a ‘friend’, kaungaame‘a ‘friend’, ofa‘anga ‘lover, sweetheart’, soo ‘lover, sweetheart’, fili ‘enemy’ and so on.

The nominal ‘aliki ‘chief’, which occurs in (2.6.1.-40) above, is often used in reference to parents. In this case, it takes A-class like tamai ‘father’ or fa‘ee ‘mother’ in Table II.6.1. The nominal tamasi‘i ‘boy, on the other hand, always takes A-class even if a father uses it to refer to his son and may not take O-class like foha ‘son’ in the same table. Personal names also always take A-class regardless of the relationship of their referents with the possessor.

(2.6.1.-41) Sione ‘a ‘akú
Sione PART(PssA) PROII(1SgExcl) ‘my Sione (it may be my son, my father, my lover, the person named Sione I am talking about, and so on)’

The A-class is further used to indicate the person that initiates a situation and the O-class the person or thing that receives its effect. In nominalized clauses (III.1.5.), the argument that would correspond to A in verbal clauses is thus indicated by the A-class and the one that corresponds to O by the O-class.

(2.6.1.-42) taku taa‘i ‘oná
DET(Spf1SgExclA) hit PROII(3Sg0) ‘my hitting him’

(2.6.1.-43) tono taamate‘i ‘o
DET(Spf3Sg0) kill PART(Pss0) ‘the killing of the dog’

tekuli
DET(Spf) dog

The argument that would correspond to S is indicated by either the A- or the O-class, depending on its semantic function determined by the semantic property of the word with which it occurs or by context. In this case, as already mentioned above, A-class does not require the possessor to be animate.

(2.6.1.-44) tegalulu ‘a te
DET(Spf) shake PART(PssA) DET(Spf) ‘the shaking of the land’

fonuá
land
(2.6.1.-45) Ne'e au taa'i 'ia Mele ko
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) hit PART(Abs) Mele PART(Npm)
toku 'itá kaa 'i te
DET(SpfiSgExclA) anger(y) but PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
taimi nei, kua 'osi taku
time DEIC(Nsp) PART(Prf) over DET(SpfiSgExclA)

'itá.
angr(y)

'I hit Mele because I was angry but now my anger is over.'

Due to the V-N-insensitivity of common words (II.1.4.3.), however, it must be noted that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a phrase involves nominalization or not and, accordingly, whether the possessor may be related to S, A or O, especially, S, as in (2.6.1.-45) above.

6.2 Marking of Possession

Possessors or intended possessors may be indicated by the following two types of elements:

1) possessive determiners alone or the combinations of possessive determiners or articles and person determiners or pronouns Type I (II.3.2.2.). They precede the nominals that indicate possessums.

2) nominal phrases marked by 'a 'A-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)) and 'o 'O-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)), and ma'a 'A-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)) and mo'o 'O-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)) which follow the nominals that indicate possessums.

The following examples illustrate (1):

(2.6.2.-1) Ko ai koaa tono hingoá?
PART(Npm) who RECALL DET(SpfiSg0) name

'What was his name again?'

(2.6.2.-2) Ne au 'alu ki tai 'o
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExclA) go PART(All) sea PART(Inc)
tautai kaa ne kala ma'u haku
catch-fish but PART(Pst) not get DET(NspfiSgExclA)

ika.
fish

'I went fishing in the sea but no fish was caught
(for me to have).'

Intended Possessor

(2.6.2.-3) Pea kua 'ofa si'i ongo maatu'á ki and PART(Prf) love DET(SpfEmt1) DU parent(Col) PART(All)

si'a naa ki'i fafiné.
DET(SpfEmt1A) DET(3Du) little woman

'And the poor parents missed their little girl.' Possessor

and the following examples (2):

(2.6.2.-4) Ne au fakatau te peni 'a PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) buy DET(Spf) pen PART(PssA)

Sione.
Sione

'I bought Sione's pen (= bought a pen from or for
Sione).'
Possessor or Intended Possessor

(2.6.2.-5) Ne notou taanaki pa'anga ma'a Sione.
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) collect money PART(BnfA) Sione

'They collected money for Sione.' Intended Possessor

The distinction between the A- and the O-class is morphologically matched by two series of possessive determiners (II.3.2.2.), two pairs of the particles 'a 'A-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)) and 'o 'O-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)), and ma'a 'A-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)) and mo'o 'O-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)) and also by two series of pronouns Type II (II.3.4.2.(C-2)) that are characterized by the morphemes a and o. As already mentioned in II.3.2.2.(A), however, the ordinary forms for possessors in all persons with dual and plural reference consist of an ordinary article and a person marker, and with these forms, the distinction between the two classes is morphologically not marked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific</th>
<th>Non-specific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2.6.2.-6)(a)</td>
<td>te motou puaka DET DET(1 pig (Spf) PlExcl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.6.2.-7)(a)</td>
<td>te motou 'api DET DET(1 home (Spf) PlExcl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.6.2.-8)(a)</td>
<td>te kulaa puaka DET DET pig (Spf)(2Du)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.6.2.-9)(a)</td>
<td>te kulaa 'api DET DET home (Spf)(2Du)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.6.2.-10)(a)</td>
<td>te notou puaka DET DET pig (Spf)(3Pl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The article, both specific and non-specific, is often ellipted.

'A couple of parents -- they had a daughter ...'

The 'Uvean equivalents of these forms make a clear distinction between the A- and the O-class (Bataillon 1932), and so do the Tongan equivalents. The two languages, accordingly, differ distinctly from Niuafo'ou in this respect. According to Pawley (1967), forms like those of Niuafo'ou occur in Saamoan (together with forms that make a distinction between the two classes), Tokelauan, Vaitupu and a number of Outlier languages, but in most cases, to a more limited extent (only in the first and third person or after the 'definite plural article').

In contemporary Niuafo'ou, the distinction between the A- and the O-class seems to be in decline, and A-class forms are apparently replacing O-class forms in the language of the younger generation. Thus, younger speakers accept both A- and O-class forms to indicate O-class possession. However, the same speakers accept only A-class forms to indicate A-class possession.

### Younger Speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Older Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toku</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET(Sp1)</td>
<td>hingoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SgExc10</td>
<td>DET(Sp1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SgExc10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toku</td>
<td>hingoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET(Sp1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SgExc1A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'my name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(O-class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toku</td>
<td>kului</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET(Sp1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SgExc1A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(A-class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toku</td>
<td>kului</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET(Sp1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SgExc1A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(A-class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tou</td>
<td>nima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET(Sp1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0-class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tou</td>
<td>nima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET(Sp1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0-class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau</td>
<td>pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET(Sp1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SgA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(A-class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tau</td>
<td>pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET(Sp1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SgA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(A-class)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is most evident with ordinary possessive determiners. With the other possessive
determiners, the particles ‘a ‘A-class Possessive’ and ‘o ‘O-class Possessive’, and ma’a
‘A-class Benefactive’ and mo’o ‘O-class Benefactive’, and pronouns Type II, younger
speakers as well as older speakers normally accept only O-class forms to indicate O-class
possession.

The decline of the O-class forms has probably been motivated because, at least in
contexts that are common in daily life, the O-class is only used to indicate the possession
of a more or less limited number of things, such as body parts, houses, names and the like
while the A-class is used of things that are infinite in number and may also be introduced
and easily increase as the cultural environment changes. In Niueean, according to
MacEwen (1970: xvi), the O-class forms have ‘almost disappeared ... although hōku (my)
and hō (your) are found as fossils’. It is almost certain that the distinction between the
A- and the O-class possession in Niueean has undergone the same historical process of
change.
CHAPTER 7
Numerals

Numerals are common words (II.1.3.) and occur frequently as both verbals and nominals (II.1.4.3.). Further, as already mentioned in II.3.3., many of them may also occur in the preposed modifier slot of the nominal phrase. The particle ‘e ‘Numeral’ (II.7.3.) occurs exclusively with numerals and distinguishes them as a distinct sub-class from other common words when they occur as verbals. The particle maa ‘Numeral Linking’ (II.7.1.) also occurs with certain of numerals only.

7.1 System of Numerals

The numerical system is decimal. The basic numerals are listed below:

| 0  | noa |
| 1  | taha |
| 2  | ua, lua |
| 3  | tolu |
| 4  | faa |
| 5  | nima |
| 6  | ono |
| 7  | fitu |
| 8  | valu |
| 9  | hiva |
| 10 | hongofulu |
| 100 | teau |
| 1,000 | taha afe |
| 10,000 | taha mano |
| 100,000 | taha kilu |
| 1,000,000 | taha miliona |

The numerals also include the interrogative word fia ‘how many’ (III.6.4.(5)).

noa does not occur with either the particle ‘e ‘Numeral’ (II.7.3.) or the particle maa ‘Numeral Linking’ that is dealt with later in this section. Its word-class affiliation, therefore, is not very clear. (It may have been derived from the common word noa ‘unimportant, meaningless’.)

lua is today almost obsolete and is used by only a few old speakers. Most speakers use ua as in Tongan. Some compound words, however, always contain the form lua, as for instance, tauhua ‘pair’. (The form lua also occurs in Tongan in these compound words.)

hongofulu and teau may not be preceded by taha.

20 is expressed by ua or lua plus fulu or ngofulu. The numerals for 30, 40, ..., 90 are formed by the numerals for 3, 4, ..., 9 plus ngofulu. That is:
20 ua fulu, lua fulu, ua ngofulu, lua ngofulu
30 tolu ngofulu
40 faa ngofulu

90 hiva ngofulu

and also: **fia ngofulu** 'how many tens'.

The numerals for 200, 300, ..., 900 are formed by the numerals 2, 3 ..., 9 plus **ngeau**. That is:

200 ua ngeau, lua ngeau
300 tolu ngeau

900 hiva ngeau

and also: **fia ngeau** 'how many hundreds'.

The numerals for 2,000, 3,000, ..., 9,000; 20,000, 30,000, ..., 90,000 and so on up to 9,000,000 are formed by the numerals for 2, 3, ..., 9 plus **afe, mano, kilu** and **miliona**. That is:

2,000 ua afe, lua afe
50,000 nima mano
700,000 fitu kilu

9,000,000 hiva miliona

and also: **fia afe** 'how many thousands', **fia mano** 'how many ten thousands' an so on.

10,000,000 is **hongofulu miliona**, 100,000,000 is **teau miliona**, an so on.

The intermediate numbers like 11, 12, ..., 19; 21, 22, ..., 29, and so on are expressed by linking two or more numerals dealt with above. The particle **maa** 'Numeral Linking' precedes the numerals for 1, 2, ..., 9 and **fia** 'how many' as in:

11 hongofulu maa taha
65 ono ngofulu maa nima
101 teau maa taha

334 tolu ngeau tolu ngofulu maa faa
also: **nima ngofulu maa fia** 'fifty and how many' and sometimes also the numerals for 10, 20, ..., 90 if they occur last in the numerals, as in:

110 teau (maa) hongofulu
360 tolu ngeau (maa) ono ngofulu
4,570 faa afe nima ngeau (maa) fitu ngofulu.

It does not occur elsewhere:
1,100 taha afe teau
33,000 tolu mano tolu afe
360,000 tolu kilu ono mano

Numbers above 9 are also frequently indicated by enumerating the numerals for 0, 1, 2, ..., 9 in sequence. Indicating numbers in this way is especially common when referring to clock time (‘i te taha tahá ‘PART(Loc) DET(Spf) one one: at 11’), dates (‘i te ‘aaho tolu noa ‘PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day three three: on the 30th’), years (‘i te ta’u taha hiva valu faá ‘PART(Loc) DET(Spf) year one nine eight four: in the year 1984’) and various identification numbers (loki ua tolu valu ‘room two three eight: Room 238’) or reading written numbers, but it is not confined to such cases.

7.2 Counting in Sequence

When counting in sequence (‘one, two, three, ...’), numerals are used by themselves without any accompanying elements: taha, ua (or lua), tolu, ..., hongofulu (or taha noa), hongofulu maa taha (or taha taha), ...

7.3 Numerals as Verbals

As dealt with in II.2.4.1.(A), common words as they occur as verbals may be classified into several sub-classes. Numerals are used intransitively, and although they are compatible with various tenses, aspects and moods, they do not occur in the imperative-hortative (III.5.). Thus, they most closely resemble stative verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)).

Numerals in the verbal function firstly indicate the number of S, as in:

\[(2.7.3.-1) \text{Ne} \text{ hongofulu maa ua te notou} \]
\[
\text{PART(Pst) ten PART(Nmrlnk) two DET(Spf) DET(3Pl)}
\]

vaká.
ship

‘Their ships were twelve in number.’

They also occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases, as in:

\[(2.7.3.-2) \text{‘E liunga ua pe tolu te toko lahi} \]
\[
\text{PART(Fut) multiply two or three DET(Spf) ANIM many}
\]

‘o te tamaliki akó ‘i
\[
\text{PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) children(Col) learn PART(Loc)}
\]

\[\text{te kaaha’ú. DET(Spf) future}\]

‘The number of pupils will multiply by two or three times in the future.’
Numerals in this function are not preceded by particles or determiners, but like other postposed modifiers in the verbal function (III.1.2.1.(A)-(B)), they may be focused (III.4.1.1.) and occur as verbal-phrase bases in the predicate: 'E ua pe tolu te lianga 'a te toko lahi 'o te tamaliki ako 'i te kaaha'ú. 'PART(Fut) two or three DET(Spf) multiply PART(PssA) DET(Spf) ANIM many PART(PssO) DET(Spf) children(Col) learn PART(Loc) DET(Spf) future: It is by two or three times that the number of pupils will multiply in the future'.

When numerals in the verbal function occur as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases, they must be preceded by the numerals particle 'e 'Numerals' and thus form relative clauses (III.1.2.3.(C), III.2.3.). In this respect, they differ from stative verbs.

(2.7.3.-3) Ne au fakatau mai te peni PART(Pst) DET(1StExcl) trade DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) pen
mo te sila 'e ua ngofulu. PART(Asp) DET(Spf) envelope PART(Nmr) two ten
'I bought two pens and ten envelopes.'

(2.7.3.-4) 'Oku 'i ai te 'uu fu'u mango PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) PL big mango
'e ua ono 'i te koló. PART(Nmr) two six PART(Loc) DET(Spf) village
'There are twenty-six mango trees in the village.'

If, however, the nominals that are modified by them function as verbal-phrase bases that denote the provision, possession or existence of what the base signifies (II.2.4.3.), the particle 'e 'Numerals' is mostly optional.

(2.7.3.-5) Kõ te tangatá, 'oku va'ea ('e) ua. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man PART(Prs) leg PART(Nmr) two
'Man - he is two-legged'

(2.7.3.-6) 'Oku tesi ('e) faa te loki. PART(Prs) desk PART(Nmr) four DET(Spf) room
'There are four desks in the room.'

Numerals in the verbal function also indicate the possession, provision or the existence of a specified number of something that is apparent from context, as fitu in the following:

(2.7.3.-7) 'Oku tikili'i 'e ua ono te 'aho nei PART(Prs) degree PART(Nmr) two six DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)
pea ne ua fitu 'aneafi. and PART(Pst) two seven yesterday
'It is twenty-six degrees today and it was twenty-seven yesterday'
Finally, numerals in the verbal function indicate order or sequential position in a
set, as in:

(2.7.3.8) Ne 'uluaki ha'u 'ia Mele pea toki ua
PART(Pst) first come PART(Abs) Mele and then two

'ia Sione.
PART(Abs) Sione

'Mele arrived first and Sione was second.'

7.4 Numerals as Nominals

As dealt with in Part II.3.4.1., common words as they occur as nominals may be
specific or non-specific, or definite or indefinite. Numerals are, therefore, appropriately
marked for specificity and/or definiteness by means of a determiner and definitive stress.

Numerals in the nominal function firstly refer to numbers they denote, as in:

(2.7.4.1) 'Oku ke lava 'o lau mel
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) possible PART(Inc) count PART(Abl)

te taha ki te hongofulú?
DET(Spf) one PART(All) DET(Spf) ten

'Can you count from one to ten?'

(2.7.4.2) Kaa pau 'e ke taanaki te
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) add DET(Spf)
tolu ki te ua noa, 'e ke ma'u
three PART(All) DET(Spf) two zero PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) get

te ua tolu.
DET(Spf) two three

'If you add three to twenty, you will get twenty-three.'

They also occur as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases, in which case they
indicate numbers by means of which the referent of the modified nominal is identified
from the others in a set, as in:

(2.7.4.3) Ne au tau mai 'i te
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) arrive DIR(Tsp) PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

'a ho tolu 'o te maahina kua 'osi.
day three PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) month PART(Prf) finished

'I arrived on the 3rd of last month.'

(2.7.4.4) Ne au lau ia 'i te
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) read DEM(Anaph) PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

peesi tolu onó
page three six

'I read it on page 36.'

Numerals in this function are not preceded by any particle or determiner, but their
nominal status becomes clear when more than one numeral in this function is co-ordinated. That is, a numeral in this function is normally preceded an article when it occurs after the particle mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6)), as in:

\[(2.7.4.-5) ~ \text{Ko} ~ \text{te} ~ \text{ongo 'aho ua mo} ~ \text{te} ~ \text{tolu} \]
\[
\text{PART(Npm)} \quad \text{DET(Spf)} \quad \text{DU} \quad \text{day two PART(Ass)} \quad \text{DET(Spf)} \quad \text{three}
\]
\[\text{ 'o} ~ \text{te} ~ \text{maahina nei, ne } ~ \text{ 'ua} \]
\[
\text{PART(Pss0)} \quad \text{DET(Spf)} \quad \text{month DEIC(Nsp)} \quad \text{PART(Pst)} \quad \text{rain}
\]
\[\text{lahi 'aupito.} \]
\[\text{much totally}
\]
\[\text{ 'The 3rd and 4th of this month - it rained very much.'}
\]

Numerals in the nominal function may also refer to a specified number of something that is apparent from context, as in:

\[(2.7.4.-6) ~ \text{Mei} ~ \text{te} ~ \text{fo'i moa 'e hongofulu,} \]
\[
\text{PART(Abl)} \quad \text{DET(Spf)} \quad \text{fruit-of fowl PART(Nmr)} \quad \text{ten}
\]
\[\text{ne} ~ \text{au} \quad \text{kai te} ~ \text{ua peau} \]
\[
\text{PART(Pst)} \quad \text{DET(1SgExcl)} \quad \text{eat DET(Spf)} \quad \text{two CONJ-DET(1SgExcl)}
\]
\[\text{foaki tono} ~ \text{toé ma'a Mele.} \]
\[\text{give DET(Spf3Sg0)} \quad \text{remainder PART(BnfA)} \quad \text{Mele}
\]
\[\text{'Of the ten eggs, I ate two and gave the rest to Mele.'}
\]

and also to something apparent from context that is identified from the others in a set by means of numbers, as in:

\[(2.7.4.-7) \text{Taa mai kiaa au 'i te} \]
\[
\text{ring DIR(Tsp)} \quad \text{PART(All)} \quad \text{DET(1SgExcl)} \quad \text{PART(Loc)} \quad \text{DET(Spf)}
\]
\[\text{nima ono fitu faa.} \]
\[\text{five six seven four}
\]
\[\text{'Ring me at 5674.'}
\]

and, particularly, to chronological years, as in:

\[(2.7.4.-8) \text{Ne'e au nofo leva mei te ako} \]
\[
\text{PART(Pst)} \quad \text{DET(1SgExcl)} \quad \text{stay SQC PART(Abl)} \quad \text{DET(Spf)} \quad \text{learn}
\]
\[\text{ 'o au 'alu 'o ngaaua fakasetuata} \]
\[
\text{PART(Inc)} \quad \text{DET(1SgExcl)} \quad \text{go PART(Inc)} \quad \text{work as-steward}
\]
\[\text{'i te ta'u 'e hongofulu maa} \]
\[
\text{PART(Loc)} \quad \text{DET(Spf)} \quad \text{year PART(Nmr)} \quad \text{ten PART(Nmrlnk)}
\]
\[\text{nima, mei te taha hiva nima tahá ki} \]
\[\text{five PART(Abl)} \quad \text{DET(Spf)} \quad \text{one nine five one PART(All)}
\]
\[\text{te taha hiva ono ó.} \]
\[\text{DET(Spf)} \quad \text{one nine six six}
\]
\[\text{'I then left school and went to work as a steward for}
\]
\[\text{fifteen years, from 1951 to 1966.'}
\]

and to clock time, as in:
7.5 Numerals in Preposed Modifier Slot

Numerals may precede the nominal ta'u 'year' (rarely, also maahina 'month'), in which case they indicate ordinal numbers. The numeral taha 'one', however, does not occur in this function; the preposed modifier 'uluaki 'first' (II.3.3.1.(4)) must be used in its place. For 10, 11, 12, ..., only the forms hongofulu, hongofulu maa taha, hongofulu maa ua (or hongofulu maa lua), ... occur in this function, and not taha noa, taha taha, taha ua (or taha lua), ...

(2.7.5.-1) Ne kaatoanga'i 'i e taku tamai
PART(Pst) celebrate PART(Erg) DET(Spf1SgExclA) father
tono onono gngoful ta'u
DET(Spf3Sg0) six ten year
'My father celebrated his sixtieth birthday.'

(2.7.5.-2) Ko te ta'u taha afe hiva ngeau valu
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) year one thousand nine hundred eight
ngofulu maa tolu 'eni 'o te
ten PART(Nmrlnk) three DEM(Nsp) PART(Pss0) DET(Spf)
tohi maahina 'a te hihifo.
book month PART(PssA) DET(Spf) west
'This is the 1983rd year of the Western calendar.'

(2.7.5.-3) Ko te tolu maahina 'eni taku
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) three month DEM(Nsp) DET(Spf1SgExclA)
'i henl.
PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp)
'This is the third month of my stay here.'

7.6 Numerals and Other Words Indicating Quantity and Sequence in O-class

Possessive Construction

Numerals preceded by the third person singular O-class ordinary possessive determiners tono or tona 'Specific' and hono or hona 'Unspecific' (II.3.2.2.(A)) indicate ordinal numbers. They are followed by nominal phrases in the O-class possessive (II.3.1.(7)) which refer to the objects to be assigned order, as in:
(2.7.6.-1) Ne notou oo mai ‘i tona taha 
PART(Pst) DET(SPl) come DIR(Tsp) PART(Loc) DET(Spf3Sg0) one 
hiva ua tolu ‘o te ta’u. 
nine two three PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) year

‘They came in the 1923rd year.’

They also occur as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases, as in:

(2.7.6.-2) Ko te ‘uluaki vaká, ne ha‘u ‘i 
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) first ship PART(Pst) come PART(Loc) 
te ‘uluaki ‘aho ‘o te maahina 
DET(Spf) first day PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) month 
kio ia, ko te vaka tona 
PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph) PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ship DET(Spf3Sg0) 
uá, ‘i te ‘aho tolu, ko te 
two PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day three PART(Npm) DET(Spf) 
vaka tona tolu, ‘i te ‘aho 
ship DET(Spf3Sg0) three PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day 
nimá, ... Ko te vaka tona taha 
five PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ship DET(Spf3Sg0) one 
tahá mo te taha uá, ne náa 
one PART(Ass) DET(Spf) one two PART(Pst) DET(Du) 
OO mai fakataha. ... Ko te 
come(Col) DIR(Tsp) together PART(Npm) DET(Spf) 
vaka tona teau mo te 
ship DET(Spf3Sg0) hundred PART(Ass) DET(Spf) hundred 
maa tahá, ne lalahi taha ‘i 
PART(Nmrlnk) one PART(Pst) large(Col) one PART(Loc) 
te ‘uu vaka kaatoá. 
DET(Spf) PL ship all

‘The first ship — it came on the first day of that 
month, the second ship on the third, the third ship 
on the fifth, ... The eleventh and the twelfth ship 
— they came together. ... The hundredth and the 
hundred and first ship — they were the largest of 
all the ships.’

Numerals in this function may, in most cases, be replaced by numerals in the nominal 
function which, witout any accompanying element, similarly occur as postposed modifiers 
of nominal phrases (II.7.4.). (That is, it is possible to paraphrase (2.7.6.-2) by: Ko te 
‘uluaki vaká, ne ha‘u ‘i te ‘uluaki ‘aho ‘o te maahina ko ia, ko te vaka uá, ‘i te 
‘aho tolu, ko te vaka tolu, ‘i te ‘aho nimá, ...)
Numerals in the third person singular O-class possessive construction that occur as postposed modifiers may be not only definite, as in (2.7.6.-2) above, but also unspecific, as in the following:

(2.7.6.-3) Ne motou sio ki te vaka 'e PART(Pst) DET(1P1Exc1) see PART(All) DET(Spf) ship PART(Nmr)
ua pea motou fakasio he vaka hono two and DET(1P1Exc1) watch DET(Nspf) ship DET(Nspf3Sg0)
tolu.
three

'We saw two ships and watched for a third.'

Numerals in the third person singular O-class possessive construction are also used without any accompanying nominal phrase when their referents are apparent from context, as in:

(2.7.6.-4) Ne notou taangungutu 'i te 'otu PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) sit(Col) PART(Loc) DET(Spf) row
tono uá pea ko maatou. 'i DET(Spf3Sg0) two and PART(Npm) PROI(1P1Exc1) PART(Loc)
tono tolú.
DET(Spf3Sg0) three

'They sat in the second row and we in the third.'

As in the case of numerals in the preposed modifier slot (II.7.5), taha 'one' does not occur in this function. The word most commonly used for 'first' is 'uluaki, which not only occurs as a preposed modifier of verbal and nominal phrases (II.2.3.1.(4), II.3.3.1.(4)) — (2.7.6.-2) above contains two examples of its occurrence as a preposed modifier of nominal phrases — but also as a base, especially, of nominal phrases, as in:

(2.7.6.-5) Ko te 'uluaki 'o te 'uu fale, PART(Npm) DET(Spf) first PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) PL house
ne langa 'i te ta'u taha valu ua PART(Pst) build PART(Loc) DET(Spf) year one eight two
uá.
two

'The first of the houses — it was built in 1822.'

and as a postposed modifier of nominal phrases, as in:

(2.7.6.-6) Ko te kato 'uluaki, kua 'osi maha PART(Npm) DET(Spf) basket first PART(Prf) already empty
ia.
DEM(Anaph)

'The first basket — it is already empty.'

but not as a postposed modifier of verbal phrases.

It also occurs in the third person singular O-class possessive construction so that
(2.7.6.-3) and (2.7.6.-6) above may be paraphrased by Ko tono ‘uluaki ‘o te ‘uu faié, ...
... ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgO) first PART(PssO) DET(Spf) PL house...: first: The first house ...
' and Ko te kato tono ‘uluaki, ...
... ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf) basket DET(Spf3SgO) first ...: The first basket ...
' respectively.

‘uluaki does not always correspond to English 'first'. 'Page one', for instance, must be either ‘uluaki peesi 'first page' or peesi ‘uluaki ‘page first', and not ‘peesi taha 'page one'. taha is only rarely used indicate a number that serves the purpose of identification (II.7.3.) although it is not entirely impossible as, for instance, in: 'i te taimi tahá ‘PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time one: at one o'clock'.

Besides ‘uluaki, there are a number of words that more or less correspond to English 'first'. They include the pre-base modifiers that occur in verbal phrases fu'aki and tomu'a 'temporarily first', the pre-base modifier toki (II.3.3.1.(5)), the common word mu'amua 'first (in spatial sequence)' and so on.

Apart from numerals, a number of words that indicate quantity or sequence may occur in the O-class possessive construction and be used in the same ways.

(2.7.6.-7) Ne oo mai te kakai tono PART(Pst) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) people DET(Spf3SgO)

kaatoá.
all

'All the people came.'

(2.7.6.-8) Ne toki tau mai ‘i te maahina PART(Pst) then arrive DIR(Tsp) PART(Loc) DET(Spf) month

tono hoko mai.
DET(Spf3SgO) follow DIR(Tsp)

'He did not arrive until the following month.'

7.7 Numerals in Clauses of Comparison

The numeral taha 'one' follows verbals and indicates the superlative. 'Second ...
est, third ...est, ...' are indicated by numerals in the third person singular O-class possessive function tono ua (tono lua), tono tolu, ... dealt with in II.7.6. above which similarly follow verbals. Clauses of comparison that involve numerals are dealt with in III.7.2.

7.8 Pre-base Modifiers that Occur with Numerals and Other Quantitative Words

There are a number of pre-base modifiers that specifically occur with numerals and words like lahi 'many', sii 'few' and other common words that have a quantitative meaning. The sequences of these pre-base modifiers and bases, however, differ from the
sequences of other pre-base modifiers and bases dealt with in II.2.3. and II.3.3. and resemble phrase adjuncts of Type II (III.1.3.1.(B)) with respect to their syntactic distribution.

(1) **toko**

As dealt with in Introduction 3., this pre-base modifier occurs as **toka** in Collocott’s stories (Collocott 1928). However, the form **toka** is unfamiliar to contemporary speakers.

**toko** occurs with numerals and common words in both verbal and nominal functions that indicate the number of humans and animals, but not that of plants or inanimate things. It is almost obligatory with the number of human beings, as in:

(2.7.8.-1) ‘Oku toko fitu te kau faiako ‘i te PART(Prs) ANIM seven DET(Spf) PL teacher PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

‘api ako nei. home learn DEIC(Nsp)

‘There are seven teachers in this school.’

(2.7.8.-2) Ne ke sio ki te toko tolú? PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) see PART(All) DET(Spf) ANIM three

‘Did you see the three of them?’

and optional with the number of animals, as in:

(2.7.8.-3) ‘Oku (toko) lahi ‘aupito tana ‘uu hoosí. PART(Prs) ANIM many totally DET(Spf3SgA) PL horse

‘He has very many horses.’

Its occurrence with the number of small animals such as birds, fish, insects and the like is rare.

**toko** also occurs with numerals and common words in the verbal function that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases.

(2.7.8.-4) Ne naa foki toko ua mai. PART(Pst) DET(3Du) return ANIM two DIR(Tsp)

‘They came back, the two of them together.’

Although **ua** in (2.6.8.-4) above is not preceded by any particle or determiner, it is a verbal. Thus, like other relatively long postposed modifiers in the verbal function and in contrast to nominals that occur as postposed modifiers, **toko ua** in this clause permits certain elements to intervene between it and the base (III.1.2.2.), as in:

(2.7.8.-5) Ne naa foki mai toko ua. PART(Pst) DET(3Du) return DIR(Tsp) ANIM two

‘They came back, the two of them together.’

It is also possible to focus (III.4.1.1.) numerals and common words preceded by **toko** in clauses like (2.7.8.-4) and (2.7.8.-5) above, and when this happens, they occur as verbal-phrase bases in the predicate, as in:
(2.7.8.-6) Ne toko ua te naa foki mai.  
PART ANIM two DET DET(3Du) return DIR(Tsp)
'It was the two of them together that came back.'

In clauses with more than one argument, words preceded by toko are used like phrase adjuncts of Type II (III.1.3.1.(B)). That is, when they occur immediately after the predicate, they may relate to any of the arguments and the interpretation of the clause depends on context, as in:

(2.7.8.-7) Ne notou taa'i toko tolu 'ia naatou.  
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) hit ANIM three PART(Abs) PROI(3Pl)
(a) 'The three of them hit them.'
(b) 'They hit the three of them.'

When (2.7.8.-7) occurs out of context, it seems that the interpretation (a) is much more common than (b). However, the following example clearly shows that toko tolu occurring in this position in a clause may relate O:

(2.7.8.-8) Ne ina taa'i toko tolu 'ia naatou.  
PART(Pst) DET(3sg) hit ANIM three PART(Abs) PROI(3Pl)
'He hit the three of them.'

When words preceded by toko occur immediately after a nominal phrase that represents a particular argument, on the other hand, they relate specifically to this nominal phrase, as in:

(2.7.8.-9) Ne notou taa'i 'ia naatou toko tolu.  
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) hit PART(Abs) PROI(3Pl) ANIM three
'They hit the three of them.'

toko may also occur with words that function as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases. In the following examples, toko occurs with numerals and common words in the verbal function that occur as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases. Since toko does not affect the word-class affiliation of the words with which it occurs, numerals must be preceded by the particle 'e 'Numeral' (II.7.3.) while common words are not.

(2.7.8.-10) tangata 'e toko ua ngeau  
man PART(Nmr) ANIM two hundred
'two hundred men'

(2.7.8.-11) kakai ('e) toko si'i  
people PART(Nmr) ANIM few
'few people'

As dealt with in III.1.2.4., numerals that are preceded by the particle 'e 'Numeral' permit certain elements to intervene between them and the bases they modify while common words do not.

As dealt with in II.7.3. above, the particle 'e 'Numeral' is mostly optional with
numerals that modify nominals that occur as bases of verbal phrases denoting provision, possession or existence. When 'te `Numerals' does not occur, toko may not occur even if the numeral refers to the number of human beings or animals.

(2.7.8.-12)(a) ‘Oku polisi ‘e toko ua te motú.
PART(Prs) police PART(Erg) ANIM two DET(Spf) island

(b) ‘Oku polisi (‘toko) ua te motú.
PART(Prs) police ANIM two DET(Spf) island

‘There are two policemen on the island.’

As dealt with in II.7.4. above, numerals in the nominal function may also occur as postposed modifiers. They are not preceded by toko even if the bases they modify refer to humans or animals as long as the numerals indicate numbers by means of which persons and things are distinguished from one another and not the number of human beings or animals.

(2) tautau

tautau indicates distributive number. It occurs exclusively with words that indicate the number of human beings and animals and is always followed by the pre-base modifier toko dealt with in II.7.8.(1) above.

It occurs with numerals and common words in both verbal and nominal functions, as in:

(2.7.8.-13) ‘Oku tautau toko ua noa te fanga móá
PART(Prs) DISTR ANIM two zero DET(Spf) PL fowl
ki te ‘aa.
PART(All) DET(Spf) pen

‘There are twenty chickens in each pen.’

(2.7.8.-14) Ko te loli ma’á te tautau toko
tolu.
three

PART(Npm) DET(Spf) truck PART(BnfA) DET(Spf) DISTR ANIM
tolu.
three

‘It is a truck for groups of three.’

It also occurs with numerals and common words in the verbal function that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases, as in:

(2.7.8.-15) Ne notou fai tautau toko tolu ki te
disable DISTR ANIM three PART(All) DET(Spf)
kalapu ‘iá te ngaaué.
group PART(Abs) DET(Spf) work

‘They did the work in groups of three.’

As in the case of other long postposed modifiers in the verbal function (III.1.2.2.), certain elements tend to intervene between postposed modifiers with tautau and their bases.
(2.7.8.-16) (a) Ne notou oo mai tautau toko PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) DISTR ANIM
    ua ki henī. two PART(All) DEM(Nsp)

(b) Ne notou oo mai ki PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) PART(All)
    henī tautau toko ua. DEM(Nsp) DISTR ANIM two

'They came here in pairs.'

Numerals and common words preceded by tautau in clauses like (2.7.8.-15) and (2.7.8.-16) above may be focused (III.4.1.1.) and occur as verbal-phrase bases in the predicate, as in:

(2.7.8.-17) Ne tautau toko ua te notou oo PART(Pst) DISTR ANIM two DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) come(Col)
    mai ki henī. DIR(Tsp) PART(All) DEM(Nsp)

'It was in pairs that they came here.'

Numerals and common words preceded by tautau may also be used like phrase adjuncts of Type II (III.1.3.1.(B)). In the following example, tautau toko ua and tautau toko tolu relate to the nominal phrase that immediately precede them.

(2.7.8.-18) Ne oo mai kau tangatā tautau toko ua PART(Pst) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) PL man DISTR ANIM two
    pea mo te kau fafinē tautau toko tolu. and PART(Ass) DET(Spf) PL woman DISTR ANIM three

'The men came in groups of two and the women in groups of three.'

(3) taki

Taki also indicates distributive number.

It firstly occurs with nominals that function as bases of verbal phrases that denote provision, possession or existence of what the base signifies (II.2.4.3.), as in:

(2.7.8.-19) 'Oku taki tesi 'e ua te loki. PART(Prs) DISTR desk PART(Nmr) two DET(Spf) room

'The rooms have two desks each.'

(2.7.8.-20) 'Oku notou taki moa 'e toko ua ngofulu. PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) DISTR fowl PART(Nmr) ANIM two ten

'They have twenty chickens each.'

It also occurs with numerals in the verbal function, as in:
The rooms have two desks each.'

As will be seen from (2.7.8.-21) above, numerals preceded by taki involve two nominal phrases in the absolutive (II.3.1(1)). Personal determiners that occur with numerals preceded by taki always refer to the argument that has the referents of the nominal phrase in the absolutive.

'They have twenty chickens each.'

It also occurs with nominals and numerals in the verbal function that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases, as in:

(2.7.8.-23) (a) Ne fusi taki ika 'e tolu te kau
PART(Pst) pull DISTR fish PART(Nmr) three DET(Spf) PL

tangatá.
man

(b) Ne fusi taki tolu te ika te kau
PART(Pst) pull DISTR three DET(Spf) fish DET(Spf) PL

tangatá.
man

'The men caught three fish each.'

However, it does not seem to be possible to focus (III.4.1.1) numerals and common words preceded by taki in clauses like (2.7.8.-23) above, and it is not possible to say:

(2.7.8.-24) (a) *Ne taki ika 'e tolu te fusi
PART(Pst) DISTR fish PART(Nmr) three DET(Spf) pull

'a te kau tangatá.
PART(PssA) DET(Spf) PL man

(b) *Ne taki tolu te ika te fusi
PART(Pst) DISTR three DET(Spf) fish DET(Spf) pull

'a te kau tangatá.
PART(PssA) DET(Spf) PL man

(It was three fish each that the men caught.)

taki further occurs in a construction like the following:

(2.7.8.-25) (a) Ne fusi 'e te kau tangatá te
PART(Pst) pull PART(Nmr) DET(Spf) PL man DET(Spf)

notou taki ika 'e tolu.
DET(3P1) DISTR fish PART(Nmr) three

(b) Ne fusi 'e te kau tangatá te
PART(Pst) pull PART(Nmr) DET(Spf) PL man DET(Spf)

notou taki tolu te ika.
DET(3P1) DISTR three DET(Spf) fish
'The men caught three fish each.'

The numeral taha 'one' that is preceded by taki has a wider syntactic distribution than other numerals and nominals that are preceded by the same pre-base modifier. That is, taki taha is used not only in the functions dealt with above but also occurs as a postposed modifier of the nominal phrase, as in:

(2.7.8.-26) Ne notou foki ki te notou loki
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) return PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) room

\[
\text{taki taha.} \\
\text{DISTR one}
\]

'They returned to their respective rooms.'

and also in the preposed modifier slot of both verbal and nominal phrases, as in:

(2.7.8.-27) Ne notou taki taha fehu'i kiaa naatou.
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) DISTR one ask PART(All) PROI(3Pl)

'They each asked them a question.

(2.7.8.-28) Ne notou foki ki te notou taki
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) return PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) DISTR

\[
\text{taha loki.} \\
\text{one room}
\]

'They returned to their respective rooms.'

It is further used like a phrase adjunct of Type II (III.1.3.1.(B)), as in:

(2.7.8.-29) Ne notou lea taki taha kiaa naatou.
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) speak DISTR one PART(All) PROI(3Pl)

(a) 'Each of them talked to them.'

(b) 'They talked to each of them.'

(2.7.8.-30) Ne notou lea kiaa naatou taki taha.
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) speak PART(All) PROI(3Pl) DISTR one

'They talked to each of them.'

(2.7.8.-31) Ne notou foki ki te notou
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) return PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl)

\[
\text{loki taki taha.} \\
\text{room DISTR one}
\]

'They returned to their respective rooms.'

(2.7.8.-31) may be compared with (2.7.8.-26). The difference in the syntactic function of taki taha is reflected by the different positions of definitive stress.

(4) tu'a

tu'a indicates iterative number.

It occurs with numerals and common words in both verbal and nominal functions, as in:
(2.7.8.-32) 'Oku tu'a ua taku fai tohi ki
PART(Prs) ITER two DET(Spf1SgExclA) do letter PART(All)
-api 'i te uike.
home PART(Loc) DET(Spf) week
'It is twice a week that I write home.'

(2.7.8.-33) Ko te tu'a ua 'eni taku ma'u
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ITER two DEM(Nsp) DET(Spf1SgExclA) get
tei kahi peheni.
DET(Spf) fish large like-this
'It is the second time that I caught a big fish like this.'

It also occurs with numerals and common words in the verbal function that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases, as in:

(2.7.8.-34) 'Oku au fai tohi tu'a ua ki 'api
PART(Prs) DET(1SgExcl) do letter ITER two PART(All) home
-i te uike.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) week
'I write home twice a week.'

Numerals and common words preceded by tu'a in clauses like (2.7.8.-34) above may be focused (III.4.1.1.) and occur as verbal-phrase bases in the predicate, as already exemplified by (2.7.8.-32).

Numerals and common words preceded by tu'a may further be used like phrase adjuncts of Type II (III.1.3.1.(B)). In the following example, tu'a ua and tu'a tolu relate to the nominal phrase immediately preceding them.

(2.7.8.-35) Ne au fetaulaki mo Sione
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) encontre-each-other PART(Ass) Sione
tu'a ua peá mo Mele tu'a tolu.
ITER two and PART(Ass) Mele ITER three
'I came across Sione twice and Mele three times.'

7.9 Fractions

Fractions are indicated by the common word vae or vahe 'divide' plus numerals.

That is:

1/2 vae ua, vahe ua, vae lua, vahe lua
1/3 vae tolu, vahe tolu
1/4 vae faa, vahe faa
These are used like common words and occur frequently as both vebals and nominals. In the verbal function, they occur either as transitively-oriented open verbals or, with the suffix -i (II.2.4.1.(C-1.2)(1)), as transitive verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(c)).

(2.7.9.-1) Ne motou vahe tolu'i te fo'i meleni.
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) divide three DET(Spf) fruit-of melon.

'We cut the melon into three pieces.'

In the nominal function, they are often followed by 'e taha 'PART(Nmr) one', as in:

(2.7.9.-2) Ko te vahe tolu ('e taha) 'o PART(Nmr) DET(Spf) divide three PART(Nmr) one PART(Pss0)
tamatiki ko 'eni, 'oku DET(Spf) children(Col) PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp) PART(Prs)
notou nofo 'i Sapa'ata.
DET(3Pl) live PART(Loc) Sapa'ata

'One third of these children - they live in Sapa'ata.'

2/3, 3/4, ... are indicated by the equivalents of two 1/3's, three 1/4's, ... That is:

2/3 vae tolu 'e ua, vahe tolu 'e ua

3/4 vae faa 'e tolu, vahe faa 'e tolu

(2.7.9.-3) Ko te vahe tolu 'e ua 'o PART(Npm) DET(Spf) divide three PART(Nmr) two PART(Pss0)
te ngaaue, kuau 'osi fai.
DET(Spf) work PART(Prf)-DET(1SgExcl) already do

'Two thirds of the work - I have already done it.'
PART III
CLAUSAL SYNTAX
Overview

Clauses may be classified into a considerable number of types on the basis of several criteria. All clauses may be classified into one of the two types, verbal and nominal clauses, according to whether their predicate is a verbal or nominal phrase. Some clauses are simple and occur independently of other clauses while others are linked together and form various types of complex clauses. Clauses also contrast in terms of modalities and may be declarative, interrogative or imperative-hortative. All of these types may be affirmative or negative. Further, some clauses involve the thematization of certain elements while others do not.

Chapter I of Part III deals with the description of the simple clause. A number of interrogative and imperative-hortative clauses and complex clauses are included in this chapter in connection with the description of the order of phrases in a clause, postposed modifiers and phrase adjuncts, but basically, this chapter deals only with simple declarative clauses that form the basis for the various types of clauses dealt with in the subsequent chapters. Chapter II deals with the processes by means of which clauses are linked together to form complex clauses. Chapters III-VIII deals with different types of clauses – imperative-hortative clauses, interrogative clauses, thematic clauses and clauses of comparison – and also with negation and ellipsis. Chapter IX deals with non-clause structures.

Part II did not include the description of the postposed modifier slot. Elements that occur as postposed modifiers are dealt with below in Part III (III.1.2.). Similarly, Part III includes the description of those classes of words that could not be dealt with in the previous part – phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.), linking-particles (III.2.4.1.), conjunctions (III.2.5.), particle-conjunctions (III.2.6.), interjections (III.9.2.2.) and onomatopoeias (III.9.2.3.).
CHAPTER 1

Simple Clauses

Clauses are either verbal or nominal. The predicate of a verbal clause is a verbal phrase and that of a nominal clause a nominal phrase. Verbal clauses are accordingly marked for tense, aspect and mood while nominal clauses are not. As dealt with in III.1.1.1. below, verbal clauses have three basic types that correspond to different degrees of transitivity.

The base of a phrase may be modified by postposed modifiers. As dealt with in III.1.2. below, postposed modifiers may range from words to clauses and occur after the base that they modify. With the exception of phrases that involve emphatic possessive determiners (II.3.2.2.(C)), simple phrases are syntactically cohesive and do not permit elements from outside them to occur between their constituent elements. In contrast with this, complex phrases that involve postposed modifiers are very frequently discontinuous, and certain elements may occur between postposed modifiers and the bases they modify.

As mentioned in II.1.1., phrases may be preceded or followed by phrase adjuncts. Phrase adjuncts are words that indicate various types of modality and words with such meaning as 'only', 'also' and the like, and relate, syntactically and semantically, to whole phrases or clauses. They constitute a class with a limited number of members, but only the most common are dealt with in this study.

This chapter also deals with appositional phrases (III.1.4.) and the nominalization of clauses (III.1.5.). Nominalized clauses may occur as independent utterances, but as discussed below, it is doubtful that nominalized clauses may constitute independent clauses.

1.1 Structure of Simple Clauses

1.1.1 Verbal Clauses

Verbal clauses have three basic types, namely, intransitive, middle and transitive clauses. Intransitive clauses refer to situations that presuppose one or two arguments while middle and transitive clauses refer to situations that presuppose two arguments. In reference to situations that presuppose two arguments, intransitive clauses differ from
middle and transitive clauses in the degree of individuation of the argument that receives
the effect of the process referred to by the predicate. Middle clauses and transitive
clauses contrast with each other in the degree of affectedness of the argument that
similarly receives the effect of the process referred to by the predicate.

(A) Intransitive Clauses

The predicates of intransitive clauses may contain a wide variety of elements as
bases, namely, intransitive verbs (II.2.4.1.(A)(a)), open verbs (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)),
nominal phrases in the locative, possessive and the benefactive (II.2.4.2.), nominals
(II.2.4.3.), directionals of Type II (II.2.5.2.(4)) and emphatic possessive determiners
(II.3.2.2.(C)). Intransitive clauses firstly refer to situations that presuppose only one
argument which is denoted by a nominal phrase in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)). Elements
that occur as bases of the predicates of intransitive clauses are semantically diverse, and
the semantic function of the argument denoted by the nominal phrase in the absolutive
may vary to a great extent, depending on the semantic properties of the predicate.

(3.1.1.1.-1) Ne ha'u 'ia Mele.
PART(Pst) come PART(Abs) Mele
'Mele came.'

(3.1.1.1.-2) 'Oku 'i henì tau penì.
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp) DET(Spf2SgA) pen
'Your pen is here.'

Intransitive clauses can also refer to situations that presuppose two arguments. In
this case, the argument that initiates the situation is denoted by a nominal phrase in the
absolutive, and the argument that receives its effect by a nominal phrase occurring as a
postposed modifier (III.1.2.) that follows the base of the predicate. Nominal phrases that
occur as postposed modifiers are not preceded by any determiner and can only have a
generic meaning. They can not, therefore, refer to individuated arguments.

(3.1.1.1.-3) 'Oku fa'a inu kava te kakai Tongà.
PART(Prs) often drink kava DET(Spf) people Tonga
'The Tongan people often drink kava.'

Intransitive clauses that involve this construction are dealt with in more detail in
III.1.2.1.(C) below.

In contrast to the argument denoted by a nominal phrase in the absolutive in
transitive clauses dealt with in III.1.1.1.(C) below, the argument denoted by a nominal
phrase in the absolutive in intransitive clauses is referred to as S. S may also be denoted
by person determiners (II.2.2.), as in:

(3.1.1.1.-4) 'Okou 'ita.
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) angry
'I am angry.'

(3.1.1.1.-5) 'Oku notou fa'a inu kava.
PART(Prs) DET(3P1) often drink kava

drink kava.

'They often eat fish.'

As dealt with in II.2.2., however, the third person singular person determiner is normally used only when the situation referred to by the clause presupposes two arguments.

S does not have to be overtly expressed if it is obvious from context and if, also, it is not contrasted with anyone or anything else.

(3.1.1.1.-6) Ne 'alu.
PART(Pst) go
(Someone) went.'

(B) Middle Clauses

The predicates of middle clauses contain either middle verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(b)) or open verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)) as bases. Middle clauses refer to situations that presuppose two arguments which are denoted by a nominal phrase in the absolutive (II.3.1.1) and another in either the locative (II.3.1.3) or the allative (II.3.1.4). Middle verbals typically refer to cognition, perception and other mental activities, and activities that involve pursuit. When the predicate contains one of these verbs, the nominal phrase in the absolutive denotes the experiencer or the pursuer, and the nominal phrase in the locative or the allative the argument with which the mental activities are concerned or the argument that is pursued. Open verbals, on the other hand, are semantically diverse. When the predicate contains one of these verbs, the nominal phrase in the absolutive denotes the argument that initiates the situation, and the nominal phrase in the locative or the allative the argument that receives its effect.

(3.1.1.1.-7) 'Oku 'o fa'a Sione 'iaa Mele.
PART(Prs) love PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc) Mele

'Sione loves Mele.'

(3.1.1.1.-8) 'Oku fa'a manatu te tamasi'i ki
PART(Prs) often think DET(Spf) boy PART(All)
tana ongo maatu'a.
DET(Spf3SgA) DU parent(Col)

'The boy often thinks of his parents.'

The semantic contrast between the locative and the allative may be easily recognized when the predicate refers to a process that involves movement, as in:

(3.1.1.1.-9) Ne au mulimuli ange i
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) follow DIR(Tsd) PART(Loc)
te tangatá.
DET(Spf) man
‘I followed the man (= I went with him).’

(3.1.1.1.-10) Ne au mulimuli ange ki
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) follow DIR(Tsd) PART(All)
tangatá.
DET(Spf) man

‘I followed the man (= I pursued him).’

When, on the other hand, the predicate refers to cognition, perception and other mental activities, the allative is used if the argument denoted by the nominal phrase in the absolutive has control over the situation, and the locative if it has no control.

(3.1.1.1.-11) ‘Okou sio kiaa Mele.
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) see PART(All) Mele

‘I am watching Mele.’

(3.1.1.1.-12) Ne au sio ‘iaa Mele ‘aneafi.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) see PART(Loc) Mele yesterday

‘I saw (= happened to see) Mele yesterday.’

Thus, the use of the locative is incompatible with certain modalities.

(3.1.1.1.-13)(a) Sio kiaa Mele.
see PART(All) Mele

‘Look at Mele!’

(b) *Sio ‘iaa Mele.
see PART(Loc) Mele

(3.1.1.1.-14)(a) ‘Okou fia sio kiaa Mele.
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) want see PART(All) Mele

‘I want to see Mele.’

(b) *‘Okou fia sio ‘iaa Mele.
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) want see PART(Loc) Mele

Nominal phrases in the locative or the allative never denote arguments that are totally affected. Accordingly, middle clauses that contain an open verbal normally indicate a sharp semantic contrast with corresponding transitive clauses. The clause:

(3.1.1.1.-15) Ne-e kai ‘iá te tangatá ‘í
PART(Pst) eat PART(Abs) DET(Spf) man PART(Loc)

iká.
DET(Spf) fish

‘The man ate some of the fish (= The man partook
of the fish).’

may, for instance, be compared with (3.1.1.1.-20) below.

As in the case of intransitive clauses dealt with in III.1.1.1.(A) above, the argument denoted by nominal phrases in the absolutive is referred to as S. S may also be denoted by person determiners (II.2.2.), as in:
(3.1.1.1.-16) 'Okou fakalili'a ai.
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) dislike DEM(Anaph)

'I dislike it.'

S does not have to be overtly expressed if it is obvious from context and, also, if it is not contrasted with anyone or anything else. The argument denoted by the nominal phrase in the locative or the allative, on the other hand, must always be expressed.

(3.1.1.1.-17) 'Oku sa'ina ai.
PART(Prs) like DEM(Anaph)

'(Someone) likes it.'

(3.1.1.1.-18) *'Oku sa'ina.
PART(Prs) like

'(Someone) likes (something).')

This argument is referred to as middle object.

(C) Transitive Clauses

The predicates of transitive clauses contain either transitive verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(c)), open verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)) or directionals of Type I (II.2.5.1.(4)) as bases. Transitive clauses refer to situations that presuppose two arguments which are denoted by a nominal phrase in the ergative (II.3.1.(2)) and another in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)). Both transitive and open verbals are semantically diverse. In general, the nominal phrase in the ergative denotes the agent that has control over the situation, and the nominal phrase in the absolutive the argument that receives its effect.

(3.1.1.1.-19) Ne'e taa'i 'e te tangatá te
PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man DET(Spf)
tamasi'i.
boy

'The man hit the boy.'

(3.1.1.1.-20) Ne'e kai 'e te tangatá 'iá
PART(Pst) eat PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man PART(Abs)
te iká.
DET(Spf) fish

'The man ate the fish.'

In the language of older speakers, the nominal phrase in the ergative must always be marked by the particle 'e 'Ergative' (II.3.1.(2)). In the language of younger speakers, on the other hand, the particle 'e may be ellipted if the base of the nominal phrase is preceded by a determiner and if, also, the nominal phrase in the ergative precedes the nominal phrase in the absolutive. As dealt with in II.3.1.(9), younger speakers often use the particle 'i 'Unspecified' with nominal phrases that can occur unmarked in this way. Accordingly, in addition to (3.1.1.1.-19) above, younger speakers also accept the following:
(3.1.1.-21) Ne taa'ī ('i) te tangatā ('i)
PART(Pst) hit PART(Uns) DET(Spf) man PART(Uns)
te tamasi'ī.
DET(Spf) boy

'The man hit the boy.'

Most speakers, however, avoid the repetition of the particle 'i so that the clause above most commonly realizes as one of the following:

(3.1.1.-22)(a) Ne taa'ī te tangata te tamasi'ī.
PART(Pst) hit DET(Spf) man DET(Spf) boy

(b) Ne taa'ī te tangatā 'ī te tamasi'ī.
PART(Pst) hit DET(Spf) man PART(Uns) DET(Spf) boy

c) Ne taa'ī 'ī te tangatā te tamasi'ī.
PART(Pst) hit PART(Uns) DET(Spf) man DET(Spf) boy

Thus, in the language of younger speakers, the distinction between middle and transitive clauses – for instance, (3.1.1.1.-15) and (3.1.1.1.-20) – is often not formally marked.

The particle 'e may never be ellipted in clauses like the following:

(3.1.1.1.-23) Ne taa'ī 'e Sione
PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) Sione

{('iā)} PART(Abs) te
{('i)} PART(Uns) DET(Spf)
tamasi'ī.
boy

'Sione hit the boy.'

(3.1.1.1.-24) Ne taa'ī
PART(Pst) hit

{('iā)} PART(Abs) te tamasi'ī 'e
{('i)} PART(Uns) DET(Spf) boy PART(Erg)
te tangatā.
DET(Spf) man

'The boy was hit by the man.'

In (3.1.1.1.-23), the particle 'e precedes a personal name and there is no nominal determiner. In (3.1.1.1.-24), on the other hand, the ellipsis of the particle 'e would result in the reversal of the relationship of the two arguments.

There are two cases in which the ellipsis of the particle 'e is generally accepted by younger speakers although the nominal phrase in the absolutive precedes the one in the ergative. These are:
(1) when the base of the nominal phrase in the absolutive is a pronoun (either Type I (II.3.4.2.(C-1)) or Type II (II.3.4.2.(C-2)), as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.1.1.-25) & \quad \text{Ne} \quad \text{taa'i} \quad \text{PART(Abs)} \quad \text{PROI(1SgExcl)} \quad (\text{\textquoteleft i}) \\
& \quad \text{PART(Pst)} \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{\textquoteleft au} \\
& \quad \text{\textquoteleft oku} \quad \text{PROII(1SgExcl10)} \\
& \quad \text{te} \quad \text{tangatá.} \\
& \quad \text{DET(Spf) man} \\
& \quad \text{\textquoteleft I was hit by the man.\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) when the nominal phrase in the absolutive is thematized (III.4.2.) and occurs at the beginning of the clause, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.1.1.-26) & \quad \text{Ko} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{tamasi\textquoteleft i}, \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{taa'i} \quad (\text{\textquoteleft i}) \\
& \quad \text{PART(Npm)} \quad \text{DET(Spf) boy} \quad \text{PART(Pst)} \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{PART(Uns)} \\
& \quad \text{te} \quad \text{tangatá.} \\
& \quad \text{DET(Spf) man} \\
& \quad \text{\textquoteleft The boy – he was hit by the man.\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

The ellipsis of the particle \textquoteleft e has obviously been motivated because nominal phrases in the ergative usually precede nominal phrases in the absolutive\(^1\) and the relationship of the two arguments is clear from word order as long as this word order is maintained. However, the direct motivation for this ellipsis in Niuafo\textquoteleft ou may perhaps be attributed to Tongan influence since the ellipsis of the particle \textquoteleft e also takes place in a similar environment in an informal style in Tongan. – Na\textquoteleft e kai (\textquoteleft e) he tangatá (\textquoteleft a) e iká. PART(Pst) eat (PART(Erg)) DET(Spf) man (PART(Abs)) DET(Spf) fish: The man

---

\(^1\)This is at least so in isolated clauses. When understood from context, third person arguments are simply ellipted unless they are contrasted with someone or something else. Consequently, the occurrence of two nominal phrases in the A and O functions in one clause is rare in contextually bound clauses, and their order in such clauses may not be dealt with in this study. On the basis of texts collected by several authors, Mosel (1985) observes that, in Saamoan, the two orders V A O and V O A are equally common in contextually bound clauses. She notes that the prevalence of the order V A O over V O A in isolated clauses in Saamoan may be attributed to the \textquoteleft inherent natural attention flow\textquoteright (DeLancy (1981)) but that the natural attention flow often does not hold for contextually bound clauses that describe situations in relation to the preceding or following situations.
ate the fish.\textsuperscript{2}

In contrast with the argument denoted by the nominal phrase in the absolutive in intransitive and middle clauses dealt with in III.1.1.1.(A) and (B) above, the argument denoted by the nominal phrase in the absolutive in transitive clauses is referred to as O. The argument denoted by the nominal phrase in the ergative, on the other hand, is referred to as A. A may also be denoted by person determiners (II.2.2.), but not O.

(3.1.1.1.-27) Ne' e ina taa'i 'ia te tamasi'ī. PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit PART(Abs) DET(Spf) boy

'He hit the boy.'

Neither A not O has to be overtly expressed if it is obvious from context and if, also, it is not contrasted with anyone or anything else.

(3.1.1.1.-28) Ne taa'i te tamasi'ī. PART(Pst) hit DET(Spf) boy

'The boy was hit (by someone).' 

(3.1.1.1.-29) Ne taa'i 'e te tangtā. PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man

'The man hit (someone).'

(3.1.1.1.-30) Ne taa'i. PART(Pst) hit

'(Someone) hit (someone).'

1.1.2 Nominal Clauses

Nominal clauses constitute equational clauses. The predicate of a nominal clause contains a nominal as base and is marked by the particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking' (II.3.1.(10)). The nominal phrase that indicates the equational subject occurs in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)).

(3.1.1.2.-1) Ko toku tokoua 'ia Sione. PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExcl10) brother PART(Abs) Sione

\textsuperscript{2}In Tongan, however, the specific nominal determiners have different forms according to whether the preceding vowel is a front vowel or not, and accordingly, nominal phrases in the ergative and the absolutive are still formally distinguished by the different forms of the specific article, that is, he for the ergative and e for the absolutive. (However, it is not possible to invert the order of the two phrases since, in Tongan, the particle 'i 'Locative' is also frequently ellipted and, without the particle 'i, the phrase he tangatā could only be interpreted as being in the locative — Na'e kai ('a) e iikā 'e he tangatā. 'PART(Pst) eat [PART(Abs)] DET(Spf) fish PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man: The fish was eaten by the man.' but Na'e kai ('a) e iikā ('i) he tangatā. 'PART(Pst) eat [PART(Abs)] DET(Spf) fish [PART(Loc)] DET(Spf) man: The fish was eaten (by someone) at the man.')

In Niueean (McEwen 1970, Seiter 1979), the different forms of the specific article serve to distinguish nominal phrases in the absolutive and the ergative, that is, e for the absolutive and he for the ergative, and the particles a 'Absolutive' and e 'Ergative' seem to be even incompatible with nominal phrases that contain a specific article.
'Sione is my brother.'

The equational subject does not have to be overtly expressed if it is obvious from context and if, also, it is not contrasted with anyone or anything else.

(3.1.1.2.-2) Ko te sea.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) chair

'(It is) a chair.'

As dealt with in III.4.1.2., nominal clauses are used to indicate focusing. The predicate of nominal clauses that indicate the focusing of certain arguments may, however, be marked by the particle 'i 'Locative' (II.3.1.(3)) as well as ko.

1.1.3 Order of Phrases

As may be seen from the examples in III.1.1.1-2. above, both verbal and nominal clauses begin with a predicate unless thematization (III.4.2.) of some argument is involved. Clauses often consist of predicates alone but may also contain nominal phrases that denote S, A, O and various other arguments.

As mentioned in II.3.1., nominal phrases are, except in a small number of functions, marked by particles that explicitly indicate their syntactic and semantic functions. This permits much freedom with respect to the order of phrases. Certain tendencies may, however, be noted. Namely:

(1) The anaphoric demonstrative in the locative ai (II.3.4.2.(D)) normally occurs immediately after the predicate.

(3.1.1.3.-1) Ko te aa ne taa'i ai
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Pst) hit DEM(Anaph)

'ou 'e Sione?
PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Erg) Sione

'Why did Sione hit you?'

(2) Pronouns, especially when denoting O, and nominal phrases in any function that contain interrogative words (III.6.4.) tend to precede other nominal phrases, except the demonstrative ai mentioned in (1) above.

(3.1.1.3.-2) Ne u'usi 'ia naaue 'e te
PART(Pst) bite PART(Abs) PROI(3Du) PART(Erg) DET(Spf)

kulii ko ee.
dog PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad)

'They were bitten by that dog.'

(3.1.1.3.-3) 'Oku nofo 'i fea tau maatu'á?
PART(Prs) live PART(Loc) where DET(Spf2SgA) parent

'Where do your parents live?'
(3.1.1.3.-4) 'E ke 'alu 'aafea ki Tonga?
PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) go when PART(All) Tonga

'When will you go to Tonga?'

(3.1.1.3.-5) 'E ke 'avange kiaa ai te me'a
PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) take PART(All) who DET(Spf) thing

'ofoa? love

'Who are you going to take the present to?'

(3) Nominal phrases denoting S, A and O tend to precede other nominal phrases except those mentioned above. Nominal phrases that specify location and time normally occur at the end of clauses. Nominal phrases that specify location normally precede ones that specify time if both occur in one clause.

(3.1.1.3.-6) 'Oku nofo taku maatu'á 'i 'Eua.
PART(Prs) live DET(Spf1SgA) parent PART(loc) 'Eua

'My parents live on 'Eua.'

(3.1.1.3.-7) 'E maa oo mo Mele ki
PART(Fut) DET(1DuExcl) go(Col) PART(Ass) Mele PART(All)
tea faiakó 'aapingipongi.
DET(Spf) teacher tomorrow

'I will go to the teacher with Mele tomorrow.'

1.2 Postposed Modifiers

Bases of both verbal and nominal phrases may be modified by postposed modifiers. As seen below, several types of words, phrases and clauses occur as postposed modifiers. There is no class of words that occur exclusively as postposed modifiers.

Words that occur as postposed modifiers are actually bases of phrases and may be accompanied by modifiers but never by particles (II.2.1., II.3.1.) or determiners (II.2.2., II.3.2.). Phrases that do not have particles and determiners are referred to as incomplete phrases in contrast to phrases that have these elements (which, where contrast with incomplete phrases is necessary, are referred to as full phrases).

As already mentioned in I.2.2.4.(B), it is, due to the same stress patterns and similar principles of interpretation, not always possible to distinguish compound words from the sequences of bases and modifiers. This section, therefore, also includes some sequences that may be regarded as compound words.
1.2.1 Postposed Modifiers of Verbal Phrases

The following elements occur as postposed modifiers in the verbal phrase:

(1) Incomplete Phrases with Following Types of Common Words as Bases:

1-1) Verbals
   - (a) Stative Verbs
   - (b) Numerals

1-2) Nominals
   - (a) Nominals (Means of Transportation)
   - (b) Nominals (Patients and Other Similar Arguments)

(2) Numeral taha ‘one’, and Other Numerals in O-class Possessive Construction

(3) ta'e + Nominal Phrase

(4) Clauses

Elements other than the above are sometimes noted to occur after verbal-phrase bases. Most of these are, however, confined to fixed combinations. Combinations of this type that are commonly used will be mentioned in III.1.2.1.(E) below.

Numerals are dealt with in II.7. Numerals without pre-base modifiers that modify other verbals are dealt with in II.7.3. and numerals with pre-base modifiers in II.7.8. The numeral taha ‘one’, and other numerals in the O-class possessive construction occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases in clauses of comparison. They are dealt with in II.7.7. and III.7.2. Numerals are, therefore, excluded from the following.

ta'e is dealt with in III.3.5. Nominal phrases preceded by ta'e are, therefore, also excluded from the following.

(A) Stative Verbs

Stative verbals (II.2.1.1.(A)(a-2)), occurring as postposed modifiers in verbal phrases, typically indicate degrees and manners.

(3.1.2.1.-1) Ne hiva lelei 'ia Mele. PART(Pst) sing good PART(Abs) Mele

'Mele sang well.'

(3.1.2.1.-2) 'Oku ita lahi 'ia Sione. PART(Prs) angry much PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione is very angry.'

Stative verbals that occur as postposed modifiers may, in turn, be modified by other postposed modifiers or accompanied by such postposed elements as phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.), the directionalss and numerals that indicate degrees of comparison (III.7.).
(3.1.2.1.-3) Ko tana fa'ee, 'oku lea faka-Niua
PART(Npm) DET(Sp3SgA) mother PART(Prs) speak Niuan
'ata'ataa pee.
pure just

'His mother — she speaks purely in Niuan.'

- followed by a phrase adjunct -

(3.1.2.1.-4) 'Oku 'ita lahi 'aupito 'ia Sione.
PART(Prs) angry much totally PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione is very, very angry.'

- followed by a directional or a numeral that indicates a degree of comparison -

(3.1.2.1.-5) 'Oku ngaue lahi ange 'ia Mele 'iaa
PART(Prs) work much DIR(Tsd) PART(Abs) Mele PART(Loc)

Sione.
Sione

'Mele works more than Sione.'

(3.1.2.1.-6) 'Oku lele vave taha te tamasi'i 'i
PART(Prs) run fast one DET(Sp2) boy PART(Loc)
te kalasi.
DET(Sp2) class

'The boy runs fastest in the class.'

Stative verbs that occur as postposed modifiers may be co-ordinated by means of the particle mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6)). Since they are verbals, the second of the co-ordinated postposed modifiers is not preceded by any nominal determiner.

(3.1.2.1.-7) 'Oku notou ngaue vave mo lelei.
PART(Prs) work work fast PART(Ass) good

'They work fast and well.'

Stative verbals may occur as bases of predicates. Therefore, in correspondence with (3.1.2.1.-1) and (3.1.2.1.-2) above, for instance, it is possible to say:

(3.1.2.1.-8) Ne lelei te hiva 'a Melé.
PART(Pst) good DET(Sp2) sing PART(PssA) Mele

'Mele's singing was good.'

(3.1.2.1.-9) Ne lahi te 'ita 'a Sione.
PART(Pst) much DET(Sp2) angry PART(PssA) Sione

'Sione's anger was great.'

As dealt with in III.4.1.1., clauses like (3.1.2.1.-8) and (3.1.2.1.-9) are used to bring focus on what is indicated by the stative verbals. The possibility or the impossibility to occur as
bases of predicates in this way serves to distinguish phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.) from
verbals used as postposed modifiers and also reveals certain aspects of the grammatical
status of nominals used as postposed modifiers, as discussed in III.1.2.1.(B).

(B) Nominals (Means of Transportation)

Used with verbals of travel and transferrence, nominals occurring as postposed
modifiers indicate means, as in:

(3.1.2.1.-10) Ne notou oo kaa.
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) go(Col) car
‘They went by car.’

(3.1.2.1.-11) ‘Oku lii meili mai ‘e tono fohá
PART(Prs) send post DIR(Tsp) PART(Erg) DET(Spf3Sg0) son
              te pa’anga.
              DET(Spf) money
‘His son sends money by post.’

They may, in turn, be modified by postposed modifiers.

(3.1.2.1.-12) Ne notou oo vaka Fisi.
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) go(Col) ship Fiji
‘They went on a Fijian ship.’

Although they are not preceded by any particle or determiner, the nominal status of
these postposed modifiers may be revealed when they are co-ordinated by the particle mo
‘Associative’ (II.3.1.(6)). That is, an appropriate nominal determiner must be used in
front of the one that follows mo.

(3.1.2.1.-13) Ne au ha’u leelu mo te
PART(pst) DET(1SgExcl) come railway PART(Asc) DET(Spf)
              vaka puna.
              ship fly
‘I came by railway and aeroplane.’

Nominals that occur in this function look very similar to nominals denoting patients
and other similar arguments that are dealt with in III.1.2.1.(C) below, and in fact, both of
these nominals have been dealt with as if they were derivable by the same syntactic
process in the treatments of certain Polynesian languages (for instance, Seiter (1979) for
Niuean). However, nominals that indicate means of transportation differ markedly from
nominals that denote patients in the following respects:

(1) They may be accompanied by quantitative modifiers. The particle ‘e ‘Numeral’
(II.7.3.) is optional with numerals that modify nominals in this function.

(3.1.2.1.-14) Ne notou oo kaa (‘e) ua.
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) go(Col) car PART(Nmr) two
'They went in two cars.'

(2) When they are accompanied by quantitative modifiers, they may be focused and occur in the predicate, in which case they are preceded by verbal-phrase particles.

(3.1.2.1.-15) Ne kaa ('e) ua te notou óo.  
PART(Pst) car PART(Nmr) two DET(Spf) DET(3P1) go(Col)  
'Their going was in two cars (It was in two cars that they went).'

(3) They permit certain elements to intervene between them and the modified bases, as exemplified by (3.1.2.2.-4).

These points, especially (1) and (2), suggest that nominals that indicate means of transportation are actually in the function of bases of verbal phrases that denote the provision, possession or the existence (II.2.4.3.) and are, therefore, functionally equivalent to stative verbals dealt with in III.1.2.1.(A) above. It must, however, be noted that, as a general rule, verbal phrases that contain nominals as bases may occur as predicates of clauses only when they also contain quantitative modifiers but that nominals that occur as postposed modifiers and denote means of transportation do not have to be accompanied by quantitative modifiers.

(C) Nominals (Patients and Other Similar Arguments)

Used with open verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)) and a few others like taamate 'kill' (intransitive verbal), tau 'play (a game)' (intransitive verbal), sio 'see' (intransitive verbal), fanongo 'hear' (intransitive verbal) manako 'like' (middle verbal), nominals occurring as postposed modifiers denote patients and other similar arguments that receive the effect of the situation referred to by the clause. They have a generic meaning and, thus, may not indicate individualized arguments. As mentioned in II.2.4.1.(A)(c), transitive verbals, namely, verbs that end in the suffix -(C)i, may not be followed by nominals in this function.

Nominal phrases that denote agents occur in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)).

(3.1.2.1.-16) 'Oku fa'a kai ika te kakai Tongá.  
PART(Prs) often eat fish DET(Spf) people Tonga  
The Tongan people often eat fish.'

(3.1.2.1.-17) 'Oku ngafua pee ke taamate tofua'a  
PART(Prs) allowed just PART(Sbj) kill whale  
'i te taimi nei.  
DET(LOC) DET(Spf) time DEIC(Nsp)  
'í killed the whale at time.'
'It is permitted to kill whales now.'

(3.1.2.1.18) 'Oku motou fa'a tau 'akapulu.
PART(Prs) DET(1P1Excl) often play rugby

'We often play rugby.'

They may, in turn, be modified by postposed modifiers. Unlike nominals indicating means of transportation that are dealt with in II.1.2.1.(B) above, however, they are incompatible with quantitative modifiers because they have a generic meaning.

(3.1.2.1.19) Ne au kai ika liliki.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat fish small(Col)

'I ate small fish.'

(3.1.2.1.20) 'Oku kai ika mei tai 'i te
PART(Prs) eat fish PART(Abl) sea PART(Uns) DET(Spf)

man
tangatá.

'The man eats fish from the sea.'

In the following example, tohi 'book' relates as postposed modifier to lau 'read', and lau tohi, in turn, to manako 'like'.

(3.1.2.1.21) Ko te tamasi'i manako lau tohi.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) boy like read book

'He is a boy who likes reading books.'

Their compatibility with pre-base modifiers is dealt with in II.3.3.6.

As in the case of nominals that indicate means of transportation that are dealt with in II.1.2.1.(B) above, their nominal status may be revealed when they are co-ordinated by the particle mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6)). That is, an appropriate nominal determiner must be used in front of the one that follows mo.

(3.1.2.1.22) 'Oku kai ika mo te feke mo
PART(Prs) eat fish PART(Ass) DET(Spf) octopus PART(Anss)
te limu te kakai Tonga.
DET(Spf) seaweed DET(Spf) people Tonga

'The Tongan people eat fish, octopi and seaweed.'

(D) Clauses

Demonstratives preceded by the particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking' (II.3.1.(10)) that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases may be regarded as clauses. They are, however, dealt with in II.2.6. and are, therefore, excluded from the following.

Other clauses that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases are mostly verbal clauses that consist of predicates alone. They specify the time of the situation referred to
by the clause in which they occur. Only clauses in the present tense (II.2.1.(2)) and perfect aspect (II.2.1.(4)) seem to occur as postposed modifiers.

When clauses that occur as postposed modifiers refer to situations simultaneous with that of the clause in which they occur, the particle ‘oku ~ ku ‘Present’ (II.2.1.(2)) may be ellipted together with person determiners (II.2.2.), if any.

(3.1.2.1.-23) Ne au ‘alu (‘oku) kei pongipongi
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Prs) still morning
ki mataa tai.
PART(All) face-of sea

'I went to the beach while it was still morning.'

(3.1.2.1.-24) Ne kai (‘oku) ma‘uli pe‘e te
tangatá te iká.
PART(Pst) eat PART(Prs) alive just PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
man DET(Spf) fish

'The man ate the fish alive.'

(3.1.2.1.-25) Ne au ma‘u (‘okou)
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) get PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl)
kei ta‘u tolu te mahaki helá.
still year three DET(Spf) ill tire

'I got asthma when I was still three years old.'

(3.1.2.1.-26) Ne au fanongo (‘oku ke) kei
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) hear PART(Prs) DET(2Sg)) still
mama'o atu ‘i tau leá.
far DIR(Asp) PART(Loc) DET(Spf2SgA) language

'I heard you when you were still far away.'

(3.1.2.1.-27) Ne au ‘alu kua ‘osi afiafi
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Prf) already evening
ki mataa tai.
PART(All) face-of sea

'I went to the beach after it had already become
evening.'

(3.1.2.1.-28) Ne kamata ako kua ‘osi vaivai te
PART(Pst) begin learn PART(Prf) already weak DET(Spf)
tangatá.
man

'The man began to study after he had already
become old.'

(E) Other Elements that Occur as Postposed Modifier of Verbal Phrases
As already mentioned, certain elements other than those dealt with above occur as postposed modifiers. The following are the most common of such elements.

(1) a number of intransitive verbals such as tu‘u ‘stand’, ta‘utu ‘sit’, takoto ‘lie’, kata ‘laugh’ and so on.

(3.1.2.1.-29) Tuku tau kai tu‘u. 
stop DET(SpflSgExclA) eat stand
‘Stop eating while standing!’

(3.1.2.1.-30) ‘Oku notou talanoa kata. 
PARI(Prs) DET(3P1) chat laugh
‘They are chatting, laughing.’

(2) the locative word lalo ‘down’ (II.3.4.2.(F)) occurs in the combinations: ‘alu lalo ‘go down: go on foot’ and ha‘u lalo ‘come down: come on foot’, lue lalo ‘walk down: walk’.

(3) many common words that refer to places occur with the intransitive verbal nofo ‘stay’, as in: nofo ‘api ‘stay home: stay at home’, nofo kolo ‘stay village: stay in the village’, nofo vao ‘stay bush: stay in the bush’, nofo tai ‘stay sea: stay at the sea’ and so on.

Some also occur with the intransitive verbal moe ‘sleep’, as in: moe vao ‘sleep bush: sleep in the bush’, moe tai ‘sleep sea: sleep at the sea’ and so on.

1.2.2 Intervention of Elements between Bases and Postposed Modifiers of Verbal Phrases

As indicated in Table II.1.1., the postposed modifier slot is situated immediately after the base slot and in front of the directional and the deictic slot. However, some modifiers permit certain elements to occur between them and the verbal-phrase bases they modify and, accordingly, occur farther back in the clause. Thus, on the basis of their potential positions in the clause, the following three types of modifiers may be distinguished:

(a) those that may occur only immediately after the base

(b) those that may also occur immediately after the predicate

(that is, after the directional and/or the deictic, if
any) but not farther back

(c) those that may also occur farther back

Postposed modifiers dealt with in III.1.2.1.(C) and (E) always occur immediately
after the base. All of them, therefore, belong to (a). Apart from this, there are no criteria by means of which the potential positions of a particular postposed modifier may be predicted. There is also considerable disagreement among speakers. It may only be noted that postposed modifiers that consist of one morpheme generally do not permit any element to occur between them and the verbals they modify while long ones tend to occur in positions after the predicate phrase.

Examples of (a):

(3.1.2.2.-1)(a) Ne foki tuai mai te sianá.
PART(Pst) return late DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) fellow
'The fellow came back late.
(b) ?Ne foki mai tuai te sianá.
(c) *Ne foki mai te sianá tuai.

(3.1.2.2.-2)(a) Ne foki maamaalie mai 'ia Sione.
PART(Pst) return slow DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Sione
'Sione came back slowly.'
(b) ?Ne foki mai maamaalie 'ia Sione.
(c) *Ne foki mai 'ia Sione maamaalie.

Examples of (b):

(3.1.2.2.-3)(a) Ne foki lelei mai 'ia Mele.
PART(Pst) return good DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Mele
'Mele came back safely.'
(b) Ne foki mai lelei 'ia Mele.
(c) *Ne foki mai 'ia Mele lelei.

(3.1.2.2.-4)(a) Ne foki vaka puna mo te leelue
PART(Pst) return ship fly PART(Ass) DET(Spf) railway
maí 'ia Sione.
DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Sione
'Sione came back by aeroplane and railway.'
(b) Ne foki mai vaka puna mo te leelue 'ia Sione.
(c) *Ne foki mai 'ia Sione vaka puna mo te leelue.

Examples of (c):

(3.1.2.2.-5)(a) Ne lea faka-Niua mai te tangatá.
PART(Pst) speak Niuan DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) man
'The man spoke in Niuan.'
(b) Ne lea mai faka-Niua te tangatá.
(c) Ne lea mai te tangatá faka-Niua.
(3.1.2.2.-6) (a) Ne foki toko taha mai 'ia Sione
PART(Pst) return ANIM one DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Sione
ki 'api.
PART(All) home
'Sione came back home by himself.'
(b) Ne foki mai toko taha 'ia Sione ki 'api.
(c) Ne foki mai 'ia Sione ki 'api toko taha.

However, (3.1.2.2.-7) below differs from (3.1.2.2.-6)(a)-(c) in meaning since, as dealt with in II.7.8.(1), numerals preceded by the pre-base modifier toko 'Animate' can be used like phrase adjunct of Type II (III.1.3.1.(B)).

(3.1.2.2.-7) Ne foki mai 'ia Sione toko taha
PART(Pst) return DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Sione ANIM one
ki 'api.
PART(All) home
'Sione alone came back home.'

1.2.3 Postposed Modifiers of Nominal Phrases

The following elements occur as postposed modifiers in the nominal phrase:

(1) Incomplete Phrases with Following Types of Common Words as Bases:

(1-1) Verbs – Stative Verbs, and Common Intransitive Verbs and Open Verbs with Habitual Meaning

(1-2) Nominals

(2) Numerals and Common Words Indicating Quantity or Sequence in O-class Possessive Construction

(3) Full Nominal Phrases

(4) Clauses

As in the case of the adjacent slots, most of the elements that occur in the nominal-phrase postposed modifier slot are paralleled by those that occur in corresponding slot of the verbal phrase. However, the following differences must be noted.

Numerals which, occurring as verbs, modify other nominals must be preceded by the particle 'e 'Numeral' (II.7.3.). As dealt with in III.1.2.4. below, numerals that are preceded by this particle permit certain elements to occur between them and the modified nominal-phrase bases and may thus be regarded as relative clauses. Therefore, they are not included in (1-1) as in the case of the postposed modifier slot of the verbal phrase dealt with in III.1.2.1. Numerals occurring as nominals may, however, modify other nominals as other nominals do. These are dealt with in II.7.4.
Numerals in the O-class possessive construction given in (2) above may be non-specific as well as specific when they occur as postposed modifiers in the nominal phrase, and indicate ordinal numbers. The numeral taha 'one' does not occur in this function, and the common word 'uluaki 'first' is used in its place. A number of common words that have a quantitative meaning may also be used in the same way to modify nominals. Numerals and quantitative words in this function are dealt with in II.7.6.

Particles that introduce full nominal phrases that modify nominals are dealt with in II.3.1. Therefore, full phrases that occur as postposed modifiers are excluded from the following.

(A) Stative Verbals, and Common Intransitive and Open Verbals with Habitual Meaning

Not only stative verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)) but also common intransitive verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-1)) and open verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(d)) that have a habitual meaning may occur as postposed modifiers and typically indicate quantity and quality, characteristics and the like.

(3.1.2.3.-1) Kua maumau te 'uu fale lahi.
PART(Prf) broke DET(Spf) PL house many

'Many houses have been broken.'

(3.1.2.3.-2) Ko te fale fo'ou.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) house new

'It is a new house.'

(3.1.2.3.-3) Ko te ta'ahine loi 'ia Mele.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) girl lie PART(Abs) Mele

'Mele is a girl who always tells lies.'

Verbals that occur as postposed modifiers may, in turn, be modified by other postposed modifiers dealt with in III.1.2.1. above or accompanied by such postposed elements as phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.), the directionals and numerals that indicate degrees of comparison (III.7.).

- followed by another postposed modifier -

(3.1.2.3.-4) Ko te kolo lahi mo'oni.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) town large true

'It is a truly large town.'

(3.1.2.3.-5) Ko te siana inu pia.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fellow drink beer

'He is a fellow who always drinks beer.'

- followed by a phrase adjunct -

(3.1.2.3.-6) Ko te hoosi lelei 'aupito, 'aupito.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) horse good totally totally
'It is a very, very good horse.'

- followed by a directional or a numeral that indicates a degree of comparison:

(3.1.2.3.-7) 'E au kumi he puha lahi
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) search DET(Nspf) box large
ange henì.
DIR(Tsd) DEM(Nsp)

'I will look for a box larger than this.'

(3.1.2.3.-8) Ko te ika lahi tahá 'eni.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish large one DEM(Nsp)

'This is the largest fish.'

The compatibility of verbals that occur as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases with pre-base modifiers is dealt with in II.2.3.4.

Verbals that occur as postposed modifiers may be co-ordinated by means of the particle mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6)). Since they are verbals, no nominal determiner occurs in front of the postposed modifier that occurs after mo.

(3.1.2.3.-9) Ko te fale fo'ou mo masanisani.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) house new PART(As) beautiful

'It is a new and beautiful house.'

As in the case of stative verbals that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases (III.1.2.1.(A)), verbals that occur as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases may be may be focused (III.4.1.) and occur as verbal-phrase bases in predicates. Thus, in correspondence with (3.1.2.3.-1) - (3.1.2.3.-3) above, it is possible to say:

(3.1.2.3.-10) 'Oku fo'ou te falé.
PART(Prs) new DET(Spf) house

'The house is new.'

(3.1.2.3.-11) 'Oku loi te ta'ahiné, ko Mele.
PART(Prs) lie DET(Spf) girl PART(Npm) Mele

'The girl, Mele, lies.'

(3.1.2.3.-12) 'Oku lahi te 'uu fale kua maumau.
PART(Prs) many DET(Spf) PL house PART(Prf) broken

'The houses that have been broken are many.'

As dealt with in II.2.4.1.(D), certain verbals have collective forms that are used in agreement of the number of S, A or O. Collective forms may be used to modify nominals if there is a suitable relationship between them and the modified nominals when they are paraphrased into the predicate.

(B) Nominals
Nominals may also occur as postposed modifiers in the nominal phrase. This may be regarded as the nominal counterpart of the function of nominals that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases dealt with in III.1.2.1.(C).

\[(3.1.2.3.-13) \text{ fe}\text{a} \text{n}i \text{u} \quad \text{ (3.1.2.3.-14) } \text{ fe'}\text{auhi} \text{ teni} \text{s}i \text{ c}ompetition\text{ tennis} \]

'coconut shed' 'tennis competition'

\[(3.1.2.3.-15) \text{ ofi} \text{si pule'anga} \quad \text{ (3.1.2.3.-16) } \text{ mala'e vaka puna} \text{ f}i\text{l}y \text{ c}ompetition\text{ ship f}ield \text{ fly} \]

'governmental office' 'air field'

As already mentioned several times, it is not very easy to distinguish compound words from the sequences of bases and modifiers. This is especially true of combinations that involve two or more nominals. In fact, it may seem that the combinations of nominals all constitute compound words. However, as in the case of other postposed modifiers, nominals that follow other nominals may be co-ordinated by means of the particle \text{mo} 'Associative' (II.3.1.(6)), and when this happens, the nominal that follows \text{mo} must be preceded by an appropriate nominal determiner, which suggest that these nominals have, at least, some status as separate words.

\[(3.1.2.3.-17) \text{ fe'}\text{auhi} \text{ teni} \text{s}i \text{ mo} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{volli} \text{polo} \text{ c}ompetition\text{ tennis PART(Ass) DET(Spf) volleyball} \]

'tennis and volleyball competition'

(3.1.2.3.-17) may only refer to one function in which tennis and volleyball games are played. In order to refer to separate functions for tennis and volleyball games, \text{fe'}\text{auhi} 'competition' must be repeated.

\[(3.1.2.3.-18) \text{ fe'}\text{auhi} \text{ teni} \text{s}i \text{ mo} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{fe'}\text{auhi} \text{ c}ompetition\text{ tennis PART(Ass) DET(Spf) competition} \]

volli\text{polo} volleyball

'tennis and volleyball competitions'

Nominals in this function may not be put into the base of a predicate.

(C) Clauses

Both verbal and nominal clauses may occur as postposed modifiers in nominal phrases. In contrast to clauses that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases dealt with in III.1.2.1.(D), clauses that occur as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases may have a greater variety of forms in the sense that they may have various types of arguments and may also be complex as well as simple in structure.

\[(3.1.2.3.-19) \text{'E nofo pee te } \text{ tamali} \text{ki} \quad \text{'oku} \text{ PART(Fut) stay just DET(Spf) children(Col) PART(Prs)} \]

si'i ifo te notou ta'u matu'a 'i
little DIR(down) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) year old PART(Loc)

te ua noa 'i 'api.
DET(Spf) two zero PART(Loc) home

'The children whose age is under twenty will stay
at home.'

(3.1.2.3.-20) 'Oku lelei te fale 'okou
PART(Prs) good DET(Spf) house PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl)
'ai.
DEM(Anaph)

'The house in which I live is good.'

(3.1.2.3.-21) 'Oku 'i ai he taha ko
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) one PART(Npm)
te polisi tana tamal?
DET(Spf) police DET(Spf3SgA) father

'Is there anyone whose father is a policeman?'

Clauses that modify nominals do not have to be introduced by particles. Clauses
that lack particles are only possible when their predicate contains a stative verbal or an
intransitive or open verbal that has a habitual meaning, and the modified nominal is co-
referential with the S, O or possessor that occurs in them. In place of (3.1.2.3.-19), for
instance, it is possible to say:

(3.1.2.3.-22) 'E nofo pee te tamaliki si'i
PART(Fut) stay just DET(Spf) children(Col) little
ifo te notou ta'u matu'a 'i
DIR(down) DET(Spf) DET(3pl) year old PART(Loc)

te ua noa 'i 'api.
DET(Spf) two zero PART(Loc) home

'The children whose age is under twenty will
stay at home.'

It is, therefore, not possible to distinguish clauses that modify nominals on the one
hand and stative, intransitive and open verbs dealt with in III.1.2.3.(A) above that
similarly modify nominals on the other as completely discreet types of postposed
modifiers. However, clauses that are not introduced by any particle resemble verbs dealt
with in III.1.2.3.(A) and differ from clauses that are introduced by a particle in that, as
dealt with in III.1.2.4. below, they do not permit any element to occur between them and
the nominal they modify. In this study, clauses that are not preceded by any particle are
not regarded as relative clauses and excluded from the treatment of relative clauses in
III.2.3.
1.2.4 Intervention of Elements between Bases and Postposed Modifiers of Nominal Phrases

As in the case of postposed modifiers of verbal phrases, certain types of postposed modifiers of nominal phrases permit certain elements to occur between them and the bases they modify. That is:

(1) Full nominal phrases that modify nominals permit equational subjects to occur between them and the nominals they modify.

(3.1.2.4.-1)(a) Ko te 'aliki 'o te fonua
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) chief PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) land
nei 'ia Fusitu'a.
DEIC(Nsp) PART(Abs) Fusitu'a

(b) Ko te 'aliki 'ia Fusitu'a 'o te fonua nei.

'Fusitu'a is a chief of this land.'

(3.1.2.4.-2)(a) Ko te tohi mei taku
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) letter PART(Abl) DET(Spf3SgA)
tamai 'eni.
father DEM(Nsp)

(b) Ko te tohi 'eni mei taku tamai.

'This is a letter from my father.'

(2) Clauses that modify nominals – but not clauses without particles mentioned in III.1.2.3.(C) and stative, intransitive and open verbals dealt with in III.1.2.3.(A) – similarly permit equational subjects to occur between them and the nominals they modify. In fact, they normally occur after the equational subjects unless these are accompanied by some modifier and are very long.

(3.1.2.4.-3) Ko te ika 'eni ne au
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish DEM(Nsp) PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1)
ma'u 'anepō'o.
ge last-night

'This is the fish that I caught last night.'

They also permit phrase adjuncts of Type II (III.1.3.1.(B)) to occur between them and the nominals they modify.

(3.1.2.4.-4)(a) Ko te kakai ne notou kai
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) people PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) eat
ai pee, kua notou puke.
DEM(Anaph) just PART(Prf) DET(3Pl) ill

(b) Ko te kakai pee ne notou kai ai, kua notou puke.
'Only the people who had a share of it — they have got sick.'

As mentioned in II.3.6. and III.7.3., demonstratives and numerals which, preceded by the particles ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking' (II.3.1.(10)) and 'e 'Numeral' respectively, modify nominals constitute clauses. Therefore, although they always consist of only one phrase, they permit phrase adjuncts of Type II to occur between them and the nominals they modify like any other clauses — tangata ko iá pee 'man PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph) just: only that man' or tangata pee ko iá, 'aho 'e taha pee 'day PART(Nmr) one just: only one day' or 'aho pee 'e taha, tangata 'e toko tolu 'man PART(Nmr) ANIM three: only three men' or tangata pee 'e toko tolu (but tangata toko si'i pee 'man ANIM few just: only few men' and never "tangata pee toko si'i since si'i 'few' is not a numeral but a stative verbal and, as such, not preceded by any particle).

1.3 Phrase Adjuncts

1.3.1 Classification of Phrase Adjuncts

On the basis of their potential positions in the clause, phrase adjuncts may be classified into two major types. There are also a few that deviate from these two types.

A small number of phrase adjuncts are V-N-sensitive (II.1.4.) in the sense that they may relate to verbal phrases or clauses. Apart from these, phrase adjuncts are all V-N-insensitive.

(A) Phrase Adjuncts Type I

Phrase adjuncts of Type I occur immediately after the predicate phrase (that is, after the directional (II.2.5.) and/or the decitic (II.2.6.), if any).

An example of this type of phrase adjuncts is leva, which indicates immediateness, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-1) 'Alu leva he kua 'osi toomuli. go SQC for PART(Prf) already late

'Go immediately for it is already late!'

(3.1.3.1.-2) 'E kala ke au 'alu leva. PART(Fut) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) go SQC

'I will not go immediately.'

or, occurring in in various types of complex clauses or contextually-bound clauses, temporal or logical sequence, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-3) Kaa pau 'oku kailoa ko te PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DET(Spf)
faiako 'ia Sione, ko te aa leva
teacher PART(Abs) Sione PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what SQC

'ia ia?
PART(Abs) PROI(3Sg)

'If Sione is not a teacher, what is he then?'

(3.1.3.1.-4) 'Osi pee te houa 'e taha pe ua
finished just DET(Spf) hour PART(Nmr) one or two
mel te motou kai peau
PART(Abl) DET(Spf) DET(1P1Excl) eat CONJ-DET(1SgExcl)

'alu leva 'o moe.
go SQC PART(Inc) sleep

'One or two hours after we ate, then I went to sleep.'

Other phrase adjuncts of this type that commonly occur include:

(1) angee and mu'a

angee and mu'a occur exclusively in imperative-hortative clauses (III.3.) and indicate politeness, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-5) Tala'i ange angee ki ai.
tell DIR(Tsd) please PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'Please tell it to him!'

(3.1.3.1.-6) Li mai mu'a 'i te meilli.
send DIR(Tsp) please PART(Loc) DET(Spf) mail

'Please send it to me by post!'

angee does not occur in negative imperative-hortative clauses, but mu'a does, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-7) 'Aua mu'a 'e tala'i ange ki
'don't please PART(Sbj) tell DIR(Tsd) PART(All)

ai.
DEM(Anaph)

'Please don't tell it to him!'

(2) aa

aa is firstly used in imperative-hortative clauses (III.5.) to urge the addressee. It may be used to politely urge the addressee to do something, or to indicate that a situation that has been refrained from or neglected should now take place.

(3.1.3.1.-8) Tala'i ange aa ki ai.
tell DIR(Tsd) URGE PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

(a) 'Please, please tell it to him!'

(b) 'Now, tell it to him!'

It is also used to indicate disapproval or disappointment and commonly occurs with the negator koloto (III.3.), which is marked for similar emotions, as in:
(3.1.3.1.-9) Ne koloto pee aa ke au ma' u
PART(Pst) not just URGE PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) get
he mata'i ika 'e taha.
DET(Nspf) eye-of fish PART(Nmr) one
'I did not even catch a single fish.'

It occurs in the common greetings of farewell (Appendix) and also after the
conjunction kote'uh i 'because' (III.2.5.2.(2)), which has obviously been derived from a
nominal phrase, and the verbal phrase kaa pau 'PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain' (III.2.6.(2)),
which is used to form conditional clauses, and so on.

(3) 'aupito
'aupito indicates thoroughness or great degree, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-10) 'E ke lava 'o tuku 'aupito
PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) possible PART(Inc) stop totally
tenifi tapaka?
DET(Spf) smoke tabacco
'Will you be able to stop smoking completely?'

(3.1.3.1.-11) Ko te 'aho vela 'aupito.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) day hot totally
'It is a very hot day.'

Exceptionally, 'aupito may precede or follow directionals (II.2.5.) and deictics
(II.2.6.) like postposed modifiers. Thus, the following are both possible:

(3.1.3.1.-12)(a) Ne 'alu 'aupito atu 'ia Sione.
PART(Pst) go totally DIR(Asp) PART(Abs) Sione

(b) Ne 'alu atu 'aupito 'ia Sione.
PART(Pst) go DIR(Asp) totally PART(Abs) Sione
'Sione went for good.'

However, 'aupito differs from verbs that occur as postposed modifiers in that it never
occurs in the predicate.

(4) fuli
fuli occurs in information questions (III.6.4.) and indicates that question words, which
are in themselves neutral to number, specifically concern plural people or things, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-13) Ko ai fuli 'e oo?' PART(Npm) who Pl-Q PART(Fut) go(Col)
'Who are the people that will go?'

(3.1.3.1.-14) 'E kotou oo fuli ki fea?
PART(Fut) DET(2Pl) go(Col) Pl-Q PART(All) where
'What are the places that you are going to?'

(B) Phrase Adjuncts Type II

Phrase adjuncts of Type II occur either immediately after the predicate phrase (that is, after the directional (II.2.5.) and/or the deictic (II.2.6.), if any), in which case they semantically relate to the whole clause or any of the nominal phrase in the clause, according to the context, or after the nominal phrase they semantically relate to.

An example of this type of phrase adjuncts is foki, which generally translates 'also' or 'too'. It firstly occurs immediately after the predicate phrase, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-15) Ne taa'i foki 'e te faia'ok te tamasi'i.
PART(Pst) hit also PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher DET(Spf)
boy

'The teacher also hit the boy.'

When occurring out of context, (3.1.3.1.-15) above allows the following interpretations:

(a) '(The teacher did something and) he also hit the boy.'

(b) '(Someone hit the boy and) the teacher also hit the boy.'

(c) '(The teacher hit someone and) he also hit the boy.'

The following clauses, on the other hand, allows only the (b)-interpretation:

(3.1.3.1.-16) Ne taa'i 'e te faia'ok foki te tamasi'i.
PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher also DET(Spf)
boy

and the following only the (c)-interpretation:

(3.1.3.1.-17) Ne taa'i 'e te faia'ok te tamasi'i foki.
PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher DET(Spf)
boy also

As dealt with in II.3.1.(6)(v), the particle mo 'Associative', occurring with nominal phrases that denote S and O or an equational subject, also translate 'also' or 'too'. When this particle is also used, there is no ambiguity regardless of the position of foki. Both of the following allow only the interpretation given in (c):

(3.1.3.1.-18)(a) Ne taa'i foki 'e te faia'ok mo tamasi'i.
PART(Pst) hit also PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher DET(Spf)
PART(Ass) boy

(b) Ne taa'i 'e te faia'ok mo tamasi'i.
PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher PART(Ass)
(1) **pee**

pee generally translates 'only' or 'just'. A clause like:

(3.1.3.1.-19) Ne taa'i pee 'e te faikó te PART(pst) hit just PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher DET(Spf)

tamasi'i.
boy

'The teacher only hit the boy.'

can be interpreted to mean: (a) the teacher did not do anything else, (b) only the teacher hit the boy, or (c) the teacher hit only the boy. However, a clause like:

(3.1.3.1.-20) Ne taa'i 'e te faikó pee te PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher just DET(Spf)

tamasi'i.
boy

allows only the (b)-interpretation, and a clause like:

(3.1.3.1.-21) Ne taa'i 'e te faikó te PART(Pst) hit PART(Erg) DET(Spf) teacher DET(Spf)

tamasi'i pee.
boy just

**pee**, occurring immediately after the predicate, frequently indicates that a situation has not undergone any change, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-22) Kua foki mai 'ia Mele mo Seini PART(Prf) return DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Mele PART(Ass) Seini

ki Tonga, kaa 'oku kei nofo pee 'ia PART(All) Tonga but PART(Prs) still live just PART(Abs)

Sione ia 'i Niuafou.
Sione UNEXP PART(Loc) Niuafou

'Mele and Seini has come back to Tonga, but Sione is still living on Niuafou (as before).'

(2) **koaa**

koaa is used to indicate that the speaker is trying to recall something into his mind. It does not translate easily into English but often corresponds to German noch, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-23) Ko ai koaa tono hingoá?
PART(Npm) who RECALL DET(Spfs0g) name

'What is his name again? (Wie hiess er noch?)'
(3.1.3.1.-24) Ne ke 'alu koaa ki kolo?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) go RECALL PART(All) town
'You went to town, do I remember right?'

(3.1.3.1.-25) Ne ke 'alu ki kolo koaa?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) go PART(All) town RECALL
'You went to - it was town, do I remember right?'

As dealt with in III.6.2., it commonly occurs after 'inée, which forms confirmation questions.

(3) nai and 'apee

nai and 'apee are used to indicate that the speaker is uncertain about what he says.

(3.1.3.1.-26) Ne ke 'alu nai ki kolo?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) go DOUBT PART(All) town
'Did you go to town, I wonder?'

(3.1.3.1.-27) Ne ke 'alu ki kolo nai?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) go PART(All) town DOUBT
'You went to - is it town, I wonder?'

(3.1.3.1.-28) 'E ha'u 'apee 'ia Sione?
PART(Fut) come DOUBT PART(Abs) Sione
'Will Sione come, I wonder?'

(3.1.3.1.-29) 'E ha'u 'ia Sione 'apee?
PART(Fut) come PART(Abs) Sione DOUBT
'Is it Sione, I wonder, that will come?'

'apee occurs exclusively in questions, but nai is not necessarily confined to questions.

(3.1.3.1.-30) Ne kamata te fakataha 'i te
PART(Pst) begin DET(Spf) meeting PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

 toler nai pe ofi ki ai.
three DOUBT or close PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'The meeting started at three o'clock - was it? - or
close to it.'

(4) ai pee and ma'u pee

ai pee 'continually' and ma'u pee 'always' obviously consist of the anaphoric demonstrative ai (II.3.4.2.(D)) or the common word ma'u 'steady' plus the phrase adjunct pee 'just' dealt with in III.1.3.1.(B)(1) above. These combinations may be used like phrase adjuncts of Type II, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-31) Ko tana 'alu ange ai pee
PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) go DIR(Tsd) DEM(Anaph) just
neongo te fakatu'utaamaki.
though DET(Spf) accident

'He goes as before in spite of the accident.'

(3.1.3.1.-32) Kua 'osi te vaka fo'oú kaa 'oku
PART(Prf) finished DET(Spf) ship new but PART(Prs)
kei notou oo 'i te vaka matu'á
still DET(3Pl) go(Col) PART(Loc) DET(Spf) ship old
ai' pee pea kailoa ke notou
DEM(Anaph) just and not PART(Sbj) DET(3Pl)
ngaaue 'aki te vaka fo'oú.
work INSTR DET(Spf) ship new.

'The new boat has been finished but they go in the
old boat as before and do not use the new one.'

(3.1.3.1.-33) 'Oku maalohi ma'u pee te motou
PART(Prs) strong staedy just DET(Spf) DET(1PlExc1)
timì.
team

'Our team is always victorious.'

(3.1.3.1.-34) 'Oku kamata te fakatahá 'i tolú
PART(Prs) begin DET(Spf) meeting PART(Loc) three
ma'u pee.
steady just

'The meeting always starts at three.'

As dealt with in II.7.8., numerals that are preceded by certain pre-base modifiers
are used like phrase adjuncts of this type.

(C) Others

The phrase adjuncts that deviate from the two types dealt with above are as
follows:

(1) mahalo and takua
mahalo 'maybe' — obviously derived from the verbal mahalo 'think' and often followed
by pee or nai dealt with in III.1.3.1.(B)(1) and (3) above — and takua 'it is said' occur
at the beginning of a clause or immediately after the predicate phrase, in which case they
semantically relate to the whole clause or any nominal phrase, according to the context,
or else they occur immediately in front of the nominal phrase they semantically relate to,
but not immediately in front of the nominal phrase that denotes A, S, O or the equational
subject. Thus, while clauses like:
(3.1.3.1.-35) Mahalo pee ne faangota te tangatá
maybe just PART(Pst) catch-fish DET(Spf) man
'anepoo.
last-night
'Maybe, the man went fishing last night.'

or

(3.1.3.1.-36) Takua ne nofo te ongo maatu'á
it-is-said PART(Pst) live DET(Spf) DU parent(Col)
'i te motú.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) island
'It is said that the parents lived on the island.'
can be ambiguous, depending on the element to which the phrase adjuncts semantically relate, clauses like:

(3.1.3.1.-37) Ne faangota te tangata mahalo 'anepoo.
PART(Pst) catch-fish DET(Spf) man maybe last-night
'The man went fishing — maybe, it was last night.'

or

(3.1.3.1.-38) Ne nofo te ongo maatu'á takua
PART(Pst) live DET(Spf) DU parent(Col) it-is-said
'i te motú.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) island
'The parents lived on the island — it is said
it was on the island.'

are not.

(2) 'aki

'aki marks instruments that may be directly manipulated by A or S. The nominal phrase that indicates the instrument itself occurs in the absolutive (II.3.1(1)), and 'aki occurs either immediately after the predicate phrase, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-39) Ne kai 'aki 'e te tangatá te
PART(Pst) eat INSTR PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man DET(Spf)
iká tono nimá mo au.
fish DET(Spf3Sg0) hand PART(Ass) PROI(1SgExcl)
'The man ate the fish with his hands with me.'
or in front of any nominal phrase that occurs after the predicate phrase so that, in correspondence to the example just given, it is also possible to say:

(3.1.3.1.-40)(a) Ne kai 'e te tangatá 'aki
PART(Pst) eat PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man INSTR
However, it normally does not occur in front of nominal phrases that occur after the nominal phrase that indicates the instrument:

(3.1.3.1.-41)\( ^{\text{?}}\)Ne kai 'e te tangata te iká PART(Pst) eat PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man DET(Spf) fish
tono nimá 'aki mo au.
DET(Spf3Sg0) hand INSTR DET(Spf3Sg0) PROI(1SG) PROI(1SG)

If there is possibility of ambiguity, the nominal phrase that indicates the instrument follows O. Thus:

(3.1.3.1.-42) Ne motou fetongi'i 'aki 'ia Sione PART(Pst) DET(1Pl) replace INSTR PART(Abs) Sione

'ia Mele.
PART(Abs) Mele

is normally to be interpreted as meaning: 'We replaced Sione by Mele.'.

As mentioned in II.2.4.1.(C-1), the grammatical status of 'aki occurring immediately after the predicate phrase is not clear. It resembles a suffix in that it affects the word-class affiliation of words with which it occurs. As dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-1.2)(3), nominally-oriented words followed by 'aki become verbally-oriented and are used transitively. Similarly, intransitive verbs that are immediately followed by 'aki are also used transitively, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-43)(a) 'Oku 'alu 'aki 'e te tangatá PART(Prs) go INSTR PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man
tono ongo va'á.
DET(Spf3Sg0) DU leg

'Man walks with his two legs.'

(b) *'Oku 'alu 'ía te tangatá 'aki PART(Prs) go PART(Abs) DET(Spf) man INSTR
tono ongo va'á.
DET(Spf3Sg0) DU leg

On the other hand, 'aki differs from suffixes in that it allows certain elements to intervene between it and the preceding verbal, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-44) Ne kai vave 'aki 'e te tangata PART(Pst) eat fast INSTR PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man
te iká tono nimá.
DET(Spf) fish DET(Spf3G0) hand

'The man ate the fish quickly with his hands.'

(3.1.3.1.-45) Ne kai koaa 'aki te tangatá te
PART(Pst) eat RECALL INSTR DET(Spf) man DET(Spf)

iká tono nimá?
fish DET(Spf3G0) hand

'Did the man eat the fish with his hands?'

'aki that occurs with the prefix fe- and forms reciprocal and reciprocative verbs is
dealt with in II.2.4.1.(C-1.3). In this case, it may have a thematic consonant other than
the glottal stop.

(3) ia

ia indicates that a situation is contrary to the expectation of the addressee. It occurs
immediately after nominal phrases that denote A, S, O or equational subjects, whether
they are thematized (III.4.2.) or not, as in:

(3.1.3.1.-46) 'Oku kailoa ko te 'uu puaka 'eni
PART(prs) not PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL pig DEM(Nsp)
ia 'a te tangatá.
UNEXP PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man

'These are not (as you think) the man's pigs.'

(3.1.3.1.-47) Ne vahe kaatoa te tamaliki kaa ko
PART(Pst) pay all DET(Spf) children(Col) but PART(Npm)

Teevita ia, 'oku kei ta'e vahe pee.
Teevita UNEXP PART(Prs) still un- pay just

'All the boys got their salary, but (contrary to what
you think) Teevita — he has not been payed yet.'

1.3.2 Order of Phrase Adjuncts

More than one phrase adjunct may occur after the predicate. Phrase adjuncts that
have a modal meaning tend to follow others, as in:

(3.1.3.2.-1) Ne aa leva koaa, Sione, 'i te lau
PART(Pst) what SQC RECALL Sione PART(Loc) DET(Spf) story

ne 'alu 'ia Sima 'o ma'u koe
PART(Pst) go PART(Abs) Sima PART(Inc) get PROI(2Sg)

'i tau tau laapilá?
PART(Loc) DET(2SgA) catch tilapia

'How, then, did the story go. Sione, that Sima went and
captured you while you were catching tilapia (illegally)?
angee ‘please’, mu’a ‘please’ and aa ‘URGE’ in III.1.3.1.(A)(1) and (2) above occur in the order: angee – aa – mu’a. The following are all possible and mean: ‘Please bring it!’:

(3.1.3.2.-2) (a) ‘Aumai angee aa.
(b) ‘Aumai angee mu’a.
(c) ‘Aumai aa mu’a.
(d) ‘Aumai angee aa mu’a.

‘apee and nai dealt with in III.1.3.1.(B)(3), both indicating the speaker’s uncertainty, may occur in one clause, in which case either may precede the other:

(3.1.3.2.-3)(a) Ko te faiako ‘apee nai ‘ia Sione?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) teacher DOUBT DOUBT PART(Abs) Sione
(b) Ko te faiako nai ‘apee ‘ia Sione?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) teacher DOUBT DOUBT PART(Abs) Sione

‘Is Sione a teacher, I wonder?’

‘aki may follow phrase adjuncts with a modal meaning, as in (3.1.3.1.-45) above.

1.4 Appositional Phrases

Appositional phrases are generally marked by the particle ko ‘Nominal Phrase Marking’ (II.3.1.(10)) or occur in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)), as in:

(3.1.4.-1) Ne au ‘alu’toku tuanga’ané,
PART(Pst) DET(15gExc1) go DET(Spf15gExc10) brother

{ ko
PART(Npm) Sione.
{ ‘ia
PART(Abs) Sione

‘I went with my brother, Sione.’

Certain appositional phrases may also be marked by the particle ‘a ‘Appositional’.

Appositional phrases that are marked by ‘a are dealt with in III.2.3.2.

1.5 Nominalization of Clauses

Verbal clauses may be nominalized and occur as functional equivalents of nominal phrases. Nominalized clauses are, accordingly, not marked for tense, aspect or mood but are marked for such categories as cases and specificity. The predicate of a nominalized clause, therefore, contains those particles and determiners that are characteristic of nominal phrases. In nominalized clauses, S, A and O may be indicated in the following ways:

(1) as in verbal clauses, that is, S and O by nominal phrases in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)) and A by nominal phrases in the ergative (II.3.1.(2)).
(2) as possessors, that is, by nominal phrases in the Possessive (II.3.1.7) or by determiners (II.3.2.2). As dealt with in II.6., A is associated with A-class possession and O with O-class possession. S may be associated with either class, depending on its semantic function. It is not possible to indicate both A and O as possessors. Therefore, if one is indicated as a possessor, the other must be indicated by a nominal phrase in the absolutive or the ergative. Determiners may occur with co-referential nominal phrases in the absolutive, ergative or the possessive.

(3.1.5.-1) 'I te sio 'a te tangatā
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) see PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man
ki te me'a kai, ne ongo'i leva
PART(All) DET(Spf) thing eat PART(Pst) feel SQC

'tana fiakaia.
DET(Spf3SgA) hunger

'When the man saw the food, he felt hungry.'

(3.1.5.-2) 'I tono taa'i pehe'i 'e te
PART(Spf) DET(Spf3SgO) hit like-that PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
tangata 'ia Sione, ne fu'u 'ita 'aupito
man PART(Abs) Sione PART(Pst) very angry totally

'ia
PART(Abs) Sione

'When the man hit Sione like that, Sione was very angry.'

Arguments other than S, A and O are indicated as in verbal clauses, as exemplified by ki te me'a kai 'PART(All) DET(Spf) thing eat' in (3.1.5.-1) above.

As dealt with in III.3.2.2., negators may not be directly associated with S, A or O. In nominalized clauses, however, negators may be preceded by determiners that indicate S or A, as in:

(3.1.5.-3) 'I tana kala ma'u 'e te tangatā
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) not get PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man
he ika, 'e fiakaia tono faamili.
DET(Nspf) fish PART(Fut) hungry DET(Spf3SgO) family

'When the man does not catch any fish, his family

will be hungry.'

As already dealt with in II.1.4.3., the base of the predicate phrase of a nominalized clause is still a verbal. When some other common word is co-ordinated with it by means of the particle mo 'Associative' (II.3.1.6), therefore, it is not preceded by any nominal determiner. Its compatibility with preposed modifiers and various postposed elements and the interpretative principles that obtain between it and these elements are also basically
the same as those of verbals that occur in verbal clauses and different from those of nominals.

Nominalized clauses often constitute independent utterances. Most commonly, such nominalized clauses refer to situations that are on-going or have just been completed at the moment of speech or some other point in time indicated by context, as in:

(3.1.5.-4) Ko \(taku\) 'alu nei \(ki\) kolo.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExclA) go DEIC(Nsp) PART(All) town

'I am on my way to town.'

(3.1.5.-5) Ko \(taku\) toki foki mai mei kolo.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExclA) then return DIR(Tsp) PART(Abl) town

'I have just come back from town.'

It seems, however, that these clauses are focus clauses which, as dealt with in III.4.1.2., are equational in structure. In fact, if the predicate of the nominalized clause contains a verbal other than those that indicate movement, as in (3.1.5.-4) and (3.1.5.-5) above, an equational subject is normally overtly expressed. In the following, for instance, 'oku fai 'PART(Prs) do: (the thing) that is being done' constitutes the equational subject:

(3.1.5.-6) Ko \(te\) motou laalanga 'oku fai.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(1PlExcl) weave PART(Prs) do

'It is our weaving that is being done (= It is weaving that we are doing).'

(3.1.5.-6) above may be derived from 'Oku fai te motou laalanga. 'PART(Prs) do DET(Spf) DET(1PlExcl) weave: Our weaving is being done: We are weaving.'.

Nominalized clauses that occur as independent utterances, therefore, seem to constitute predicates of larger clauses, and it is doubtful that nominalized clauses may constitute simple clauses.
CHAPTER 2
Clause-linking

Simple clauses may be linked together by a number of types of processes. Some are nominalized and occur as consituents of other clauses, some are linked together without any formal modification at all, and others are linked together by certain words and phrases.

In this study, any clause that consists of more than one clause is referred to as a complex clause regardless of the nature of the syntactic relationship between the two clauses, and any clause that constitutes a part of another clause is referred to as a dependent clause.

2.1 Clause-linking by Nominalization

The structure of nominalized clauses is dealt with in III.1.5. Nominalized clauses may occur as independent utterances, but as already discussed in III.1.5., these seem to constitute predicates of focus clauses (III.4.1.) and thus parts of clauses of a complex structure rather than simple clauses. As dealt with in III.2.4.2., nominalized clauses that are introduced by the particle ko ‘Nominal Phrase Marking’ (II.3.1.(10)) may also indicate reason.

In addition, nominalized clauses may occur as various arguments in other clauses, as in:

(3.2.1.-1) Ko te me’a sai te notou oo
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) thing good DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) come(Col)
mai ‘anepoô.
DIR(Tsp) last-night

‘It is a good thing that they came last night.’

(3.2.1.-2) ‘Oku kovi te notou fu’u longoa’a ‘i
PART(Prs) bad DET(Spf) DET(3pl) very noisy PART(Loc)
te ‘aho Saapaté.
DET(Spf) day Sabbath

‘It is bad that they make a lot of noise on Sunday.’

(3.2.1.-3) Tuku tau tui ki tana leá.
stop DET(Spf2SgA) believe PART(All) DET(Spf) language
'Stop believing his words!' 

(3.2.1.-4) 'Oku fiafia te tamasi'il 'i tana PART(Prs) happy DET(Spf) boy PART(Loc) DET(Spf3SgA) ma'u te me'a 'ofá. get DET(Spf) thing love 'The boy is happy that he received the present.' 

(3.2.1.-5) 'Ave te tamalikí ki tu'a mo take DET(Spf) children(Col) PART(All) outside PART(Ass) te notou hoha'a te tou ngaaué. DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) disturb DET(Spf) DET(1PlInc1) work 'Take the children outside because they disturb our work.' 

and so on. 

Verbals of cognition, perception and other mental activities and some stative verbals that indicate degrees of truthfulness like mo'oni 'true', loi 'false' and so on may occur with nominalized clauses, as in: 

(3.2.1.-6) Ne'e au ongo'i 'ia te ngalulu PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) feel PART(Abs) DET(Spf) shake 'a fonuá. PART(PssA) land 'Did you feel the shaking of the land?' 

(3.2.1.-7) 'Okú ke loto ki te naa oo PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) want PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3Du) go(Col) atu 'o ako'i 'ou ki te DIR(Asp) PART(Inc) teach PROII(2Sg0) PART(All) DET(Spf) hivá? sing 'Do you want them to go and teach you singing?' 

(3.2.1.-8) 'Oku mo'oni tono kai 'e te PART(Prs) true DET(Spf3Sg0) eat PART(Erg) DET(Spf) tēevoló? ghost 'Is it true that he was eaten by a ghost?'

or, as dealt with in III.2.2.2., with clauses of indirect quotation. Nominalized clauses are, however, more restricted in modality and may normally alternate only with clauses of quotation that represent declarative clauses. 

The S, O or the middle object (III.1.1.1.(B)) of nominalized clauses that occur with verbals of cognition, perception and other mental activities may also be directly be associated with the preceding verbal as O or a middle object. Thus, corresponding to (3.2.1.-6) and (3.2.1.-7) above, the following are also possible:
(3.2.1.-9) Ne’e au ongo’i ‘ia te fonuá
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) feel PART(Abs) DET(Sp) land

hana
DET(Sp1SgA) shake

‘I felt the land shaking.’

(3.2.1.-10) ‘Okù ke loto kiaa naaaua te
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) want PART(All) PROI(3Du) DET(Sp)

naa oo atu ‘o ako’i ‘ou
DET(3Du) go(Col) DIR(Asp) PART(Inc) teach PROI(2Sg0)

ki te hiva?
PART(All) DET(Sp) sing

‘Do you want them to go and teach you singing?’

Nominalized clauses, occurring in the locative (II.3.1.(3)), may specify the time of
the situation referred to by the clause in which it occurs. If, as in the (b)-clauses in the
following examples, such nominalized clauses are thematized (III.4.2.) and occur in front
of the other clause and if, also, there is a temporal sequence or a logical contradiction
between the situations referred to by the two clauses, the conjunction pea ‘and’
(III.2.5.1.(1)) or kaa ~ kae ‘but’ (III.2.5.1.(2)) may occur between the two clauses.

(3.2.1.-11)(a) ‘Alu ‘i te ‘osi tau kal.
go PART(loc) DET(sp) finished DET(Sp1SgA) eat

‘Go when you finish eating!’

(b) Ko te ‘osi tau kal peá
PART(Npm) DET(Sp) finished DET(Sp2SgA) eat and

ke ‘alu.
DET(2Sg) go

‘When you finish eating, go!’

(3.2.1.-12)(a) Ko ai ‘e ne taa te fafìé
PART(Npm) who PART(Fut) DET(3Sg) cut DET(Sp) firewood

‘I tau ‘alú?
PART(Sp) DET(2SgA) go

‘Who is it that will cut the firewood when/if you go?’

(b) ‘I tau ‘alú kaa ko ai ‘e
PART(Loc) DET(Sp2SgA) go but PART(Npm) who PART(Fut)

ne taa te fafìé?
DET(3Sg) cut DET(Sp) firewood

‘When/if you go, who is it that will cut the firewood?’
2.2 Clauses of Quotation

Quotation may be direct or indirect. Direct quotation is simply a verbatim repetition of what the speaker has heard, read or thought. Indirect quotation, on the other hand, is a rephrasing of what the speaker wants to report from his point of view at the moment of speech and, accordingly, involves the switching of various deictic elements (‘I’, ‘you’, ‘here’, ‘today’, and so on).

Clauses that represent both of these two types of quotation are used with verbals and nominals that refer to communicative activities or thinking and indicate the content of someone’s utterance or thought. Clauses of the type that indicate indirect quotations have a wider range of use and may also be used with words that refer to various mental processes or indicate degrees of truthfulness.

2.2.1 Clauses of Direct Quotation

As already mentioned above, direct quotation involves a verbatim repetition of what the speaker has heard, read or thought. Accordingly, clauses of any type – declarative, imperative-hortative or interrogative – may be used as clauses of direct quotation without any modification.¹ Clauses of direct quotation that represent interrogative clauses are often introduced by the conjunction pe ‘if’ (III.2.5.1.(4)), but the conjunction is always optional since the modal status of clauses of direct quotation is always obvious from the structure of the clause, the presence of a question word (III.6.4.) or the intonation.

Clauses of direct quotation follow the elements with which they syntactically relate. They firstly occur with verbals, as in:

(a-1) Representing Declarative Clauses

\[\text{(3.2.2.1.1)} \quad \text{Ne tala'i mai 'e te sianá:} \]
\[
\text{PART(Pst) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) fellow}
\]
\[
\"'E au toe ha'u.".
\]
\[
\text{PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) again come}
\]

¹In fact, direct quotation does not have to involve clauses. Non-clausal elements or elements smaller or larger than clauses may constitute quotations and may be used in the same way as the clauses that are dealt with here. – Ne fai atu leva 'e te kumaá: "Kii, kii, kii.". PART(Pst) do DIR(Asp) SQC PART[Erg] DET(Spf) mouse squeak squeak squeak: The mouse squeaked: "Kii, kii, kii."

Also, clauses that constitute quotations may occur as syntactically independent utterances: "Oiau ee." Ko te kaila ia 'a te tēevo. "Ko te aa 'okú ke kata ai 'i hení? Kaá ke toe kata longoa'a, 'e au taamatei 'ou." 'INTERJ INTERJ. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) shout DEM(Anaph) PART(PsaA) DET(Spf) ghost. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) laugh DEM(Anaph) PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp). PART-CONJ(Hyp) DET(2Sg) again laugh loud PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) kill PROH(2SgO): "Oh!", the ghost cried (= It was the cry of the ghost). "Why are laughing here? If you laugh loudly again, I will kill you."."
'The fellow said: "I will come again."'

(3.2.2.1.-2) Ne ke tala'i mai: "Ko PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Npm)
au toko taha pe ne 'alú.". PROI(1SgExcl) ANIM one just PART(Pst) go

'You said: "It was only I that went."'

(a-2) Representing Imperative-hortative Clauses

(3.2.2.1.-3) Kole ange ki ai: '"Aumai mu'a ask DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DEM(Anaph) bring please
he fe'i lesi.". DET(Nspf) fruit-of pawpaw

'Ask him: "Please give me a pawpaw!"!'

(3.2.2.1.-4) Ne au tala'i ange ki te PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) tell DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DET(Spf)
tamaliki: '"Aua 'e kotou va'inga children(Colon) don't PART(Sbj) DET(2Pl) play
'i hee.". PART(Loc) DEM(Aspad)

'I said to the children: "Don't play there!".'

(a-3) Representing Interrogative Clauses

(3.2.2.1.-5) Ne ne fehu'i mai: (pe) "'Okú PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) ask DIR(Tsp) if PART(Prs)
ke fa'a 'alu ki te lotú?". DET(2Sg) often go PART(All) DET(Spf) pray

'He asked me: "Do you often go to church?".'

(3.2.2.1.-6) Ne'e 'eke mai 'e Teevita kiaa PART(Pst) ask DIR(Tsp) PART(Erg) Teevita PART(All)
maua: (pe) "Ne kulaa oo ki PROI(1PlExcl) if PART(Pst) DET(2Du) go(Colon) PART(All)
fea 'anepoo?". where last-night

'Teevita asked us: "Where did you go last night?".'

(3.2.2.1.-8) 'Eke ange ki ai: (pe) "Ko ask DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DEM(Anaph) if PART(Npm)
koe te polisi ne ha'u 'anepó?". PROI(2Sg) DET(Spf) police PART(Pst) come last-night

'Ask him: "Are you the policeman who came last night?"!'

In the examples above, verbals that clauses of quotation occur with are all used transitively. However, clauses of quotation do not have to be used with verbals used
transitively, but they may also occur with verbals used intransitively and verbals used as
or like middle verbals, as in:

(3.2.2.1.-9) Ne au fakakaukau: "Kua kovi
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) think PART(Prf) bad
te me'a kotoa pee.".
DET(Spf) thing all just
'I thought to myself: "What a mess I am in!".'

(3.2.2.1.-10) Ne lea mai 'ia Mele kiaa
PART(Pst) speak DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Mele PART(All)
au: "'E au 'alu atu."
PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go DIR(Asp)
'Mele said to me: "I will come.".'
They also occur in a construction like the following:

(3.2.2.1.-11) Ne fai 'e te tangatā tana
PART(Pst) do PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man DET(Spf3SgA)
fakatangi: "Ko au 'eni
chante PART(Npm) PROI(1SgExcl) DEM(Nsp)
kuau mei mate 'i te
PART(Prf)-DET(1SgExcl) almost die PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
fiakaia. ..."
hunger
'The man chanted: "Here I am, I am dying of hunger. ..."'

Clauses of direct quotation also occur with nominals. In this case, the definitive
stress (1.3.2.) that relates with the nominal normally occurs on the last syllable of the
nominal or, if any, on the last syllable of the modifier that modifies it, and not on the last
syllable of the clause of quotation.

(3.2.2.1.-12) Ko tana leá: "'Okou
PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) language PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl)
'ofa atu kiaa koe."
love DIR(Asp) PART(All) PROI(2Sg) PART(Prs) not true
'His statement: "I love you." — it is not true.'

(3.2.2.1.-13) 'Oku ta'e fakapotopoto tana kolé: "Lea
PART(Prs) un- tactful DET(Spf3SgA) request speak
kiaa Sione."
PART(All) Sione
'His request: "Talk to Sione!" is not tactful.'

(3.2.2.1.-14) Ne ta'e 'amanakina tana fehu'i: (pe)
PART(Pst) un- expected DET(Spf3SgA) question if
"Ko te kaiha'a koe?".
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) thief PROI(2Sg)
'His question: "Are you a thief?" was astounding.'

Clauses of direct quotation further occur with thematized elements (III.4.2.), as in:

(3.2.2.1.-15) Ko te me'a ne ke tala'i
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) thing PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) tell
mai: "'Oku kala mahino kiaa au.'.
DIR(Tsp) PART(Prs) not clear PART(All) PROI(1SgExcl)
'The thing you told me — it was: "I don't understand.".'

(3.2.2.1.-16) Ko tana motó: "Mate ma'a Tonga."
PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) motto die PART(BnfA) Tonga
'His motto — it is: "Die for Tonga!".'

(3.2.2.1.-17) Ko tana 'uluaki fehu'i: (pe) "E
PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) first question if PART(Fut)
ke ha'u mo koe?".
DET(2Sg) come PART(Ass) PROI(2Sg)
'His first question — it was "Are you coming, too?".'

2.2.2 Clauses of Indirect Quotation

As already mentioned, clauses of indirect quotation involve a switching of various deictic elements. As in the case of clauses of direct quotation, clauses of indirect quotation that represent declarative and imperative-hortative clauses are not preceded by any conjunction while clauses of indirect quotation that represent interrogative clauses are often introduced by the conjunction pe "if" (III.2.5.1.(4)). In the case of indirect quotation, however, the modal status of clauses that represent interrogative clauses can be unrecognizable without the conjunction pe since clauses of indirect quotation that represent yes-no questions (III.6.1.) are not marked by the rising intonation. The conjunction pe is, accordingly, obligatory unless the modal status of the clause concerned is clear from the structure of the clause, the presence of a question word (III.6.4.) or the semantic property of the element with which the clause is used.

Clauses of indirect quotation that represent imperative-hortative clauses are marked by the particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)). Other clauses of indirect quotation may be introduced by those particles that also introduce independent clauses, namely, 'e 'Future' (II.2.1.(1)), 'oku ~ ku 'present' (II.2.1.(2)), ne'ė ~ ne 'Past' (II.2.1.(3)) and kua 'Perfect' (II.2.1.(4)). As dealt with in II.2.1., however, tenses in clauses in indirect quotation have relative time reference. Occurring with words that refer to thinking and a number of other words like hangee 'resemble, likely', hangehangee, 'resemble somewhat, somewhat likely', ngali 'seem' and ngalingali 'seem somewhat', clauses of indirect quotation that represent declarative clauses may also be introduced by the
particle-conjunction na'a 'Potential' (III.2.6.(1)), in which case it is indicated that the speaker is not certain about the truthfulness of the situation referred to by the clause.

As in the case of clauses of direct quotation dealt with in III.2.2.1. above, clauses of indirect quotation follow the elements with which they syntactically relate. They also occur with the same types of elements as clauses of direct quotation. That is, they firstly occur with verbals, as in:

(a) Representing Declarative Clauses

(3.2.2.2.-1)(a) Ne pehee 'e te kakai kua
PART(Pst) think PART(Erg) DET(Spf) people PART(Prf)

mole te vaka 'i te afaa.
lost DET(Spf) ship PART(Loc) DET(Spf) hurricane

'The people thought that the boat had been lost in the hurricane.'

(b) Ne pehee 'e te kakai
PART(Pst) think PART(Erg) DET(Spf) people

na'a kua mole te vaka
PART-CONJ(Ptl) PART(Prf) lost DET(Spf) ship

'i te afaa.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) hurricane

'The people thought that, maybe, the boat had been lost in the hurricane.'

(3.2.2.2.-2) Ne ina tala'i mai ko tomo
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Npm) DET(Spf3Sg0)

'api ee.
home DEM(Aspad)

'He told me that that is his home.'

(b) Representing Imperative-hortative Clauses

(3.2.2.2.-3) Tala'i ange kiaa Mele ke ha'u
tell DIR(Tsd) PART(All) Mele PART(Sbj) come

'aamongiponi.
tomorrow

'Tell Mele to come tomorrow!'

(3.2.2.2.-4) Ne au tala'i ange ki te
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) tell DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DET(Spf)

tamaliki ke 'aua 'e va'inga 'i
children(Col) PART(Sbj) don't PART(Sbj) play PART(Loc)

hee.
DEM(Aspad)
'I told the children not to play there.'

(c) Representing Interrogative Clauses

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.2.2.2.-5) & \text{ Ne ne fehu'i mai (pe) 'e toe PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) ask DIR(Tsp) if PART(Fut) again } \\
& \text{ ha'u 'ia Sione 'aapongipongi. come PART(Abs) Sione tomorrow } \\
& \text{ 'He asked me if Sione will come tomorrow.' }
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.2.2.2.-6) & \text{ 'Eke ange ki ai (pe) ko te ask DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DEM(Anaph) if PART(Npm) DET(Spf) } \\
& \text{ kumala 'oku ina fiama'ũ pe ko sweet-potato PART(Prs) DET(3Sg) want or PART(Npm) } \\
& \text{ te 'ufi. DET(Spf) yam } \\
& \text{ 'Ask him if he wants sweet potatoes or yams.' }
\end{align*}
\]

As in the case of clauses of direct quotation, clauses of indirect quotation do not have to be used with verbals used transitively, as in the examples above, but they may also occur with verbals used intransitively and verbals used as or like middle verbals, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.2.2.2.-7) & \text{ Ne au fakakaukau kua kovi te PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) think PART(Prf) bad DET(Spf) } \\
& \text{ me'a kotoa pee. thing all just } \\
& \text{ 'I thought to myself what a mess I was in.' }
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.2.2.2.-8) & \text{ Ne lea mai 'ia Mele kiaa PART(Pst) speak DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Mele PART(All) } \\
& \text{ au 'e ha'u. PROI(1SgExc1) PART(Fut) come } \\
& \text{ 'Mele told me that she would come.' }
\end{align*}
\]

They also occur in a construction like the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.2.2.2.-9) & \text{ Ne fai 'e te tanganá tana PART(Pst) do PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man DET(Spf3SgA) } \\
& \text{ fakatangi ko ia kua mei mate chant PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph) PART(Prf) almost die } \\
& \text{ 'i te fiakaia. ... PART(Loc) DET(Spf) hunger } \\
& \text{ 'The man chanted that he was dying of hunger....' }
\end{align*}
\]

The conjunction pe which introduces quotational clauses is optional in (3.2.2.2.-5) and (3.2.2.2.-6) above since their modal status is clear from the semantic property of the verbal with which the clauses are used and, in the case of (3.2.2.2.-6), also from the structure of the clause. On the other hand, the conjunction is obligatory in clauses like the following:
Ne fafana mai te tangatā kiaa
PART(Pst) whisper DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) man PART(All)
au pe 'e ha'u 'ia Sione.
PROI(1SgExcl) if PART(Fut) come PART(Abs) Sione

'The man whispered if Sione would come.'
since, apart from the conjunction, there is nothing that indicates the modal status of the
quotational clause and its absence would, therefore, result in a semantic difference, that is:

Ne fafana mai te tangata kiaa
PART(Pst) whisper DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) man PART(All)
au 'e ha'u 'ia Sione.
PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Fut) come PART(Abs) Sione

'The man whispered that Sione would come.'

Clauses of indirect quotation also occur with nominals. In contrast to the case of
clauses of direct quotation, however, the definite stress (I.3.2.) that relates with the
nominal normally occurs on the last syllable of the clause of quotation, and not on the
last syllable of the nominal itself or its modifier.

Ko tana lea 'oku 'ofa atu
PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) language PART(Prs) love DIR(Asp)
kiaa koē, 'oku kala mo'oni.
PART(All) PROI(2Sg) PART(Prs) not true

'His statement that he loves you is not true.'

'Ooku ta'e fakapotopoto tana kole
PART(Prs) un- tactful DET(Spf3SgA) request
ke au lea kiaa Sione.
PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) speak PART(All) Sione

'His request that I should talk to Sione is not
tactful.'

Ne ta'e 'amanakina tana fehu'i (pe)
PART(Pst) un- expected DET(Spf) question if
ko te kaiha'a aú.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) thief PROI(1SgExcl)

'His question if I was a thief was astounding.'

Clauses of indirect quotation further occur with thematized elements (III.4.2.), as in:

Ko te me'a ne au 'uluaki
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) thing PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) first
fakatokanga'i ko te fuapotopoto
notice PART(Npm) DET(Spf) round
The first thing I noticed — it was that its shape was round.'

(3.2.2.16) 'E sai tahā, ke ke 'alu 'o PART(Fut) good one PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) go PART(Inc)
'ake ki ai.
ask. PART(All) DEM(Anaph)
'That which is the best — it is to go and ask him.'

(3.2.2.17) Ko tana 'uluaki fehu'i, (pe) 'e PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) first question if PART(Fut)
au 'alu mo ia.
DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Ass) DEM(Anaph)/PROI(3Sg)
'His first question — it was whether I would go with him, too.'

It is possible to thematize nominal phrases within clauses of indirect quotation unless the clause of quotation is introduced by the particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.2) or the particle-conjunction na'a 'Potential' (III.2.6.1).

(3.2.2.18) Ne tala'i mai 'e te tangatā PART(Pst) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man
ko te lea faka-Niua, 'e mole PART(Npm) DET(Spf) language Niuan PART(Fut) lost
'i te kaaha'ū.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) future
'The man told me that the Niuan language — it will be lost in the future.'

(3.2.2.19) Ne au 'eke ange ki ai PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) ask DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DEM(Anaph)
pe 'i te taimi ko iā, if PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)
ne 'i ai he taha 'i PART(Pst) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) one PART(Loc)
te motū.
DET(Spf) island
'I asked him if there was anyone on the island at that time.'

Clauses of indirect quotation may be expanded into various types of complex clauses. When two or more clauses of indirect quotation that represent interrogative clauses are linked together by means of the conjunction pe'a 'and' (III.2.6.1.1), the conjunction pe may be used to introduce only the first of the clauses.
(3.2.2.2.-20) Ne ne 'eke mai (pe) ne PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) ask DIR(Tsp) if PART(Pst)
               au fai ia 'anefea pea (*pe)
               DET(1SgExcl) do DEM(Anaph) when and if
               ko te aa tono 'uhingá.
               PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf3Sg0) reason
               'He asked me when I did it and what its reason
               was.'

As already mentioned above, clauses of indirect quotation occur not only with elements that refer to communicative activities and thinking, as in the examples above, but also with certain other elements, namely, with the following:

(a) Words Referring to Cognition, Perception and Other Mental Activities

Clauses of indirect quotation may occur with words that refer to cognition, perception and other mental activities. The majority of these words are verbally-oriented and are used as verbs of varied types.

(3.2.2.2.-21) Ne ke ongo'i 'oku lulu'i te PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) feel PART(Pst) shake DET(Spf)
               fale 'e te matangi?
               house PART(Erg) DET(Spf) wind
               'Did you feel that the house was being shaken
               by the wind?'

(3.2.2.2.-22) Ne kala ke au 'ilo'i ko PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) know PART(Npm)
               te polisi te tangata.
               DET(Spf) police DET(Spf) man
               'I did not know that the man was a policeman.'

(3.2.2.2.-23) Ne ke sio pe ne fefē'aki te PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) see if PART(Pst) how DET(Spf)
               vela 'i te ta'u faa tolú?
               eruption PART(Loc) DET(Spf) year four three
               'Did you see how the eruption in 43 was?'

(3.2.2.2.-24) 'Aua 'e ngalo 'iaa koe ke don't PART(Sbj) forget PART(Loc) PROI(2Sg) PART(Sbj)
               'aumai ha'aku me'a lelei.
               bring DET(Nspf1SgExclA) thing good
               'Don't forget to bring something good for me!'

The A, S, O or the equational subject of clauses of indirect quotation occurring with verbals of cognition, perception and other mental activities may be directly associated as
O or middle object \((3.1.1.1.(B))\) with the preceding verbal. Thus, corresponding with \((3.2.2.2.-21)-(3.2.2.2.-24)\) above, the following are also possible:

\[(3.2.2.2.-25)\]

(a) Ne ke ongo'i te matangi ‘oku
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) feel DET(Spf) wind PART(Prs)

lulu'i te falé?
shake DET(Spf) house

‘Did you feel the wind shaking the house?’

(b) Ne ke ongo'i te falé ‘oku
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) feel DET(Spf) house PART(Prs)

lulu'i ‘e te matangi?
shake PART(Erg) DET(Spf) wind

‘Did you feel the house being shaken by the wind?’

\[(3.2.2.2.-26)\]

Ne kala ke au ‘ilo’i te
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) know DET(Spf)

tangatá ko te polisi.
man PART(Npm) DET(Spf) police

‘I did not know the man to be a policeman.’

\[(3.2.2.2.-27)\]

Ne ke sio te vela ‘i
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) see DET(Spf) eruption PART(Loc)

te ta’u faa tolú pe ne fefe‘aki?
DET(Spf) year four three if PART(Pst) how

‘Did you see how the eruption in 43 was?’

\[(3.2.2.2.-28)\]

‘Aua ‘e ngalo ‘iaa koe
don’t PART(Sbj) forget PART(Loc) PROI(2Sg)

ha‘aku me’a lelei ke ‘aumai.
DET(Nspf1SgExclA) thing good PART(Spf) bring

‘Don’t forget to bring something good for me!’

As mentioned in \(III.2.1.\) above, clauses of indirect quotation that are verbal and represent declarative clauses may, in most cases, be paraphrased by nominalized clauses when they occur with verbals dealt with above.

(b) Words Indicating Degrees of Truthfulness.

Clauses of indirect quotation may also occur with neutral or verbally-oriented words used as stative verbals \((III.1.1.)\) that indicate degrees of truthfulness such as mo‘oni ‘true, truth’, pau ‘certain’, mahino ‘clear’ and loi ‘false, lie’ and so on, and a number of verbally-oriented common words used as common intransitive verbals \((II.2.4.1.(A)(a-1))\) such as hangee ‘resemble, likely’ and its reduplicated form hangehangee ‘resemble somewhat, somewhat likely’, ngali ‘seem’ and its reduplicated form ngalingali ‘seem somewhat’, and matamata ‘look as if’. The three last-mentioned
verbals also occur as pre-base modifiers, as dealt with in II.2.3.2.(2) and (3). The reduplicated forms indicate less truthfulness than the corresponding unreduplicated forms.

(3.2.2.2.-29) Ne mahino lelei kiaa maatou 'oku
PART(Pst) clear good PART(All) PROI(1P1Excl) PART(Prs)
kala mo'oni tana leá.
not true DET(Spf3SgA) language

'It was clear to us that what he said was not true.'

(3.2.2.2.-30) 'Oku mo'oni ko te polisi 'ia
PART(Prs) true PART(Npm) DET(Spf) police PART(Abs)
Sione.
Sione

'It is true that Sione is a policeman.'

(3.2.2.2.-31) 'Oku te'eki pau pe ko 'aafe'a 'e
PART(Prs) not-yet certain if PART(Npm) when PART(Fut)
ha'u ai te vaká.
come DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) ship

'It is not yet certain when the ship will come.'

(3.2.2.2.-32)(a) 'Oku hangehangee 'e 'ua 'aapongipongi.
PART(Prs) likely PART(Fut) rain tomorrow

'It seems that it will rain tomorrow.'

(b) 'Oku hangehangee na'a 'ua
PART(Prs) likely PART-CONJ(Ptl) rain
tagomipongi.
tomorrow

'It seems that it would rain tomorrow.'

As already mentioned in III.2.1. above, clauses of indirect quotation that are verbal and represent declarative clauses may, in most cases, be paraphrased by nominalized clause when they occur with stative verbals dealt with above.

2.3 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses follow the nominals they modify. As dealt with in III.1.2.3-4., relative clauses differ form other postposed modifiers of nominal phrases in that they are introduced by a particle or a particle-conjunction and permit certain elements to intervene between them and the modified nominals.

Relative clauses that modify the nominals occurring as equational subjects in focus clauses have some unique characteristics. Such relative clauses are excluded from the following and are dealt with in III.4.1.2.
2.3.1 Structure of Relative Clauses

Relative clauses may be verbal or nominal. They follow the nominals they modify. They may be introduced by the particle ke ‘Subjunctive’ (III.2.4.1.(1)) or the particle-conjunction kaa ‘Hypothetical’ (III.2.6.(2)), as well as by one of the particles ‘e ‘Future’ (II.2.1.(1)), ‘oku ~ ku ‘Present’ (II.2.1.(2)), ne ‘e ~ ne ‘Past’ (II.2.1.(3)), kua ‘Perfect’ (II.2.1.(4)) and ko ‘Nominal Phrase Marking’ (III.3.1.(10)), which also introduce independent clauses. As mentioned in III.1.2.3-4., numerals preceded by the particle ‘e ‘Numeral’ (II.7.3.) may also be regarded as relative clauses. Numerals preceded by ‘e are dealt with in II.7.3. Relative clauses that are introduced by the particle-conjunction kaa are basically confined to consequential clauses that occur with conditional clauses and are dealt with in III.6.(2). The argument denoted by the modified nominal may have any case function in relative clauses. As dealt with below, this argument is either ellipted or indicated by some anaphoric element in relative clauses.

(A) Relativisation on S, A, O and Equational Subject

When the argument denoted by the modified nominal has the function of S or A in the relative clause, person determiners (II.2.2.) may be used to indicate it, but not pronouns (II.3.4.2.(C)) or demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D)). The third person singular determiner is normally used only to indicate A.

- Relativization on S -

(3.2.3.1.-1) 'Oku kai 'e te fafiné 'ia te PART(Prs) eat PART(Erg) DET(Spf) woman PART(Abs) DET(Spf)
siaine ne ha'u mo tona hoá. banana PART(Pst) come PART(Ass) DET(Spf3Sg0) husband

'The woman is eating the banana that her husband brought (= that came with her husband).'

(3.2.3.1.-2) Ko te kakai 'oku (notou) nofo PART(Npm) DET(Spf) people PART(Prs) DET(3PL) live
'i te motu ko ia, 'oku PART(Loc) DET(Spf) island PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph) PART(Prs)
notou poto 'aupito 'i te tautai DET(3PL) clever totally PART(Loc) DET(Spf) catch-fish

'angá.
shark

'The people who live on that island — they are very good at catching sharks.'

- Relativization on A -
(3.2.3.1.-3) 'Okú ke 'ilo'i he taha 'oku
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) know DET(Nspf) one PART(Prs)

(ina) 'ilo'i ia?
DET(3Sg) know DEM(Anaph)

'Do you know anyone who knows it?'

(3.2.3.1.-4) Ko te kakai 'oku (notou) langa
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) people PART(Prs) DET(3PL) build

te fale 'i heé, ko te
DET(Spf) house PART(Loc) DEM(Aspad) PART(Npm) DET(Spf)

kaainga 'o 'Aná.
family PART(Pss0) 'Ana

'The people who are building the house there — they
are 'Ana's family.'

When, on the other hand, the argument denoted by the modified nominal has the
function of O or the equational subject in the relative clause, it is not indicated at all.

- Relativization on O -

(3.2.3.1.-5) Ko fea te ongo tamaliki ne
PART(Npm) where DET(Spf) DU children(Col) PART(Pst)

u'usi 'e te kuliï?
bite PART(Erg) DET(Spf) dog

'Where are the children who were bitten by the dog?'

(3.2.3.1.-6) 'Oku 'i fea te ika ke
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) where DET(Spf) fish PART(Sbj)

au kai?
DET(1SgExcl) eat

'Where is the fish that I should eat?'

- Relativization on Equational Subject -

(3.2.3.1.-7) Ko te tangata ko ee ko
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad) PART(Npm)

te polisi, ko toku tokouá.
DET(Spf) police PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExcl0) brother

'That man there who is a policeman — he is my brother.'

Equational relative clauses look very much like appositional phrases. However, they
differ from appositional phrases (III.1.4.) in that the definitive stress (I.3.2.) that relates
to the preceding nominal occurs on their last syllable, and not on the last syllable of the
preceding nominal.

(B) Relativisation on Possessor

When the argument denoted by the modified nominal has the function of a
possessor (II.6.) in the relative clause, it may be indicated in the following ways:
(i) by a determiner preceding a nominal. A pronoun in the A-class or O-class possessive (II.3.1.(7)) may not be used. The nominal phrase that indicates the possessum (II.6.) may firstly occur as an equational subject, as in:

\[(3.2.3.1.-8) \] '0ku ai he taha ko
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) one PART(Npm)
te polisi tana tamal?
DET(Spf) police DET(Spf3SgA) father

'Is there anyone whose father is a policeman?'

\[(3.2.3.1.-9) \] Ne au fe'iloaki mo he
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) know-each-other PART(Ass) DET(Nspf)
tangata ko Sione tono hingoá.
man PART(Npm) Sione DET(Spf3Sg0) name

'I met a man whose name is Sione.'

It may also occur as S. It may be focused (III.4.1.), but focusing is not obligatory. In the following pairs of examples, the (b)-clauses involve focusing while the (a)-clauses are their unfocused counterparts:

\[(3.2.3.1.-10)(a) \] Ko te tangata 'eni ne ha'u
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man DEM(Nsp) PART(Pst) come
tono fohá 'anená.
DET(Spf3Sg0) son while-ago

'This is the man whose son came a while ago.'

\[(3.2.3.1.-10)(b) \] Ko te tangata 'eni ko
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man DEM(Nsp) PART(Npm)
tono fohá ne ha'u 'anená.
DET(Spf3Sg0) son PART(Pst) come while-ago

'This is the man whose son it is that came a while ago.'

\[(3.2.3.1.-11)(a) \] '0ku tangi te tangata kua mate
PART(Prs) cry DET(Spf) man PART(Prf) die
tono mali.
DET(Spf3Sg0) wife

'The man whose wife has died is crying.'

\[(3.2.3.1.-11)(b) \] '0ku tangi te tangata ko
PART(Prs) cry DET(Spf) man PART(Npm)
tono mali kua maté.
DET(Spf3Sg0) wife PART(Prf) die

'The man whose wife it is that has died is crying.'
When it denotes an argument other than S, it must be focused, as in:

(3.2.3.1.-12) Ko te tangata ee ko PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man DEM(Aspad) PART(Npm)

tana moa ne kaiha'asi 'e DET(Spf3SgA) fowl PART(Pst) steal PART(Erg)

Sione.
Sione

'That is the man whose fowl it is that Sione stole.'

(3.2.3.1.-13) Ko te aa te ngaaue 'a PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf) work PART(PssA)

te tamasi'i ko ee ko DET(Spf) boy PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad) PART(Npm)

tono tokoua ne taa toki DET(Spf3SgO) brother PART(Pst) DET(1DuIncl) then

fetaulaki nei pee mo meet-each-other DEIC(Nsp) just PART(Ass)

ia 'i te alá? PROI(2Sg)/DEM(Anaph) PART(Loc) DET(Spf) path

'What is the work of the boy we have just come across in the path?'

(ii) by a pronoun in the A-class or O-class possessive ([II.3.1.(7)]) that occurs as a verbal-phrase base, as in:

(3.2.3.1.-14) Ko fea te kakai 'oku 'a PART(Npm) where DET(Spf) people PART(Prs) PART(PssA)

naatou te hoosi kua puliá? PROI(3P1) DET(Spf) horse PART(Prf) disappear

'Where are the people whose horse has disappeared?'

(3.2.3.1.-15) 'Okú ke maheni mo te tangata PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) acquainted PART(Ass) DET(Spf) man

'oku 'o 'ona te fale 'oku PART(Prs) PART(PssO) PROII(3SgO) DET(Spf) house PART(Prs)

nofo ai te kau folau? stay DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) PL sail

'Do you know the man in whose house the travellers are staying?'

(iii) by an emphatic possessive determiner ([II.3.2.2.(C)]) that occurs as a verbal-phrase base, as in:
As dealt with in II.2.4.3., nominals may occur as bases of verbal phrases that indicate the provision, possession or the existence of what they signify. Thus, in addition to the three constructions above, a clause like the following is, in many cases, also possible, in which the argument that correspond to the possessor occurs as S and the argument that corresponds to the possessum as a verbal-phrase base:

(3.2.3.1.-18) 'Aumai te 'uu sea 'oku (notou) va'e
bring DET(Spf) PL chair PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) leg
maumaú.
broken

'Bring the chairs whose legs are broken!'

(C) Relativisation on Other Arguments

When the argument denoted by the modified nominal has functions other than those mentioned in III.2.3.1.(A) and (B) above, it must be appropriately indicated by a pronoun of Type I (II.3.4.2.(C-1)), a pronoun of Type II (II.3.4.2.(C-2)) or the anaphoric demonstrative ia ~ ai (II.3.4.2.(D)), the choice being made on the basis of the different distributional possibilities of pronouns Type I and Type II (II.3.4.2.(C)), and the different semantic range of pronouns Type I, pronouns Type II and the anaphoric demonstrative (II.5.2-3.). In some cases, it is possible to use either a pronoun Type I or the anaphoric demonstrative. In such cases, the anaphoric demonstrative seems to be preferred in relative clauses. This is especially so when the argument concerned is in the locative (II.3.1.(3)) in the relative clause.
Melé?
Mele

'What is the name of the boy Mele likes?'

(3.2.3.1.-20) Ko te kakai ne au toki PARt(NpM) DET(SpF) people PARt(PSt) DET(1SgExcl) then
ki al PARt(All) DEM(Anaph)
'avange te moa take DET(SpF) fowl ki naatoú PARt(All) PROI(3Pl)
'oku notou kaainga mo au. PARt(Prs) DET(3Pl) family PARt(AsS) PROI(1SgExcl)

'The people to whom I have just given the fowl — they are related to me.'

(3.2.3.1.-21) Kuá ke 'osi 'alu ki te 'uu PARt(PrF) DET(2Sg) already go PARt(All) DET(SpF) Pl
motu ne notou oo mai mei island PARt(PSt) DET(3Pl) come(col) DIR(Tsp) PARt(Abl)
aí? DEM(Anaph)

'Have you been to the islands from which they came?'

(3.2.3.1.-22) Ko te tamaliki ne fakatau PARt(NpM) DET(SpF) children(Col) PARt(PSt) buy
mai te faito'o ma'a naatoú, kua DIR(Tsp) DET(SpF) medicine PARt(BnfA) PRO(3Pl) PARt(PrF)
notou 'osi sai.
DET(3Pl) already good

'The children for whom I bought the medicine — they have already recovered.'

As dealt with in II.5.4., person determiners may anticipatorily include in their reference arguments denoted by nominal phrases in the associative (II.3.1.(6)) that occur later in the clause. When the modified nominal denotes such an argument in the relative clause, it may be indicated by a person determiner and the nominal phrase in the associative itself may be ellipted, as in:

(3.2.3.1.-23) Tala'i taku 'ofa ki te 'uu tell DET(SpF1SgExclA) love PARt(All) DET(SpF) PL
tamaliki ako 'oku kotou ako 'i children(Col) learn PARt(Prs) DET(2Pl) learn PARt(Loc)

hená.
DEM(Nad)

'Send my regards to the students you are studying
with there!

Relative clauses may be complex in structure. That is, it is possible to relativize arguments of clauses of indirect quotation (III.2.2.2.) and verbal clauses that are linked to the preceding clause without any conjunction or conjunctural phrase (III.2.4.1.).

(3.2.3.1.-24) Kaa pau 'oku 'i ai
 PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph)

he me'a lelei 'okú ke sio 'oku
DET(Nspf) thing good PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) see PART(Prs)

fe'unga mo au pea 'aumai ki
suit PART(Ass) DET(1SgExcl) and bring PART(All)

te kilisimasi.
DET(Spf) Christmas

'If there is anything which you see suits me, bring
it to me for Christmas!'

(3.2.3.1.-25) Ko fea te 'okú ke pehee
PART(Npm) where DET(Spf) PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) think

'oku nofo ai te tangatá?
PART(Prs) live DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) man

'Where do you think is the house in which the man
lives?'

(3.2.3.1.-26) 'E au 'eke kiaa Sione ko
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) ask PART(All) Sione PART(Npm)

tonono 'api 'okou tui
DET(Spf3Sg0) home PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) believe

ne fakataha ai te kaka'i.
PART(Pst) meet DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) people

'I will ask Sione in whose house, I believe, it is
that the people had a meeting.'

(3.2.3.1.-27) Ko ai te tangata ne ha'u 'ia
PART(Npm) who DET(Spf) man PART(Pst) come PART(Abs)

Sione 'o lea ki 'ai?
Sione PART(Inc) speak PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'Who is the man Sione came to talk to?'

2.3.2 Relative Clauses in Appositional Construction

An appositional construction that involves relative clauses is used to give additional
information about someone or something the addressee is already expected to be able to
identify. For instance:

(3.2.3.2.-1) Ko 'Eu'a, ko te motu ne
PART(Npm) 'Eu'a PART(Npm) DET(Spf) island PART(Pst)
notou oo mai mei al, DET(SPl) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) PART(Abl) DEM(Anaph)
ko te motu lahi. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) island large

"Eua, the island from which they came – it is a large island."

Demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D)) are frequently used in the appositional contraction of this type, in which case they are marked by the particle 'a 'Appositional', as in:

(3.2.3.2.-2) Ko Niuafo'ou nei. 'a ia PART(Npm) Niuafo'ou DEIC(Nsp) PART(App) DEM(Anaph)
'oku tou nofo ai, ko te PART(Prs) DET(1PlIncl) live DEM(Anaph) PART(Npm) DET(Spf)
motu si'isi'i. island small

"Niuafo'ou, where we live – it is a small island."

(3.2.3.2.-3) Ko te falé, 'a 'ena 'oku PART(Npm) DET(Spf) house PART(App) DEM(Nad) PART(Prs)
kotou nofo ai, 'oku fa'a ngaau e aki DET(2Pl) stay DEM(Anaph) PART(Prs) often work INSTR
ko te fale faiva. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) house performance

'The building, in which you are staying – it is often used as a movie theatre.'

(3.2.3.2.-4) Ne 'aumai te tohī 'e te PART(Pst) bring DET(Spf) letter PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
tamasi'i ko Sione, 'a ia ne boy PART(Npm) Sione PART(App) DEM(Anaph) PART(Pst)
au fanongo ne toki tau mai DET(1SgExcl) hear PART(Pst) then arrive DIR(Tsp)
mei Tonga 'i te vakā. PART(Abl) Tonga PART(Loc) DET(Spf) ship

'A boy named Sione, who, as I heard, had just arrived from Tonga in the ship, brought the letter.'

(3.2.3.2.-5) Ne au 'alu 'o 'a'ahi ange PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Inc) visit DIR(Tsd)
kiaa Mele mo Teevita, 'a ee PART(All) Mele PART(Abs) Teevita PART(App) DEM(Aspad)
ko te naa 'ofafinê ne kala PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(3Du) daughter PART(Pst) not
ke au 'ilo'i ne au PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) know PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl)
'osi fe'iloa ki mo ia
already know-each-other PART(Ass) PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)

'i Tongá.
PART(Loc) Tonga

'I went to visit Mele and Teevita, of whose daughter
I did not know that I had already met in Tonga.'

2.4 Clause-linking without Conjunctions or Conjunctional Phrases

As already dealt with in III.2.2. and III.2.3., clauses of quotation and relative clauses are generally linked to other clauses without conjunctions or conjunctional phrases. It is also the case with negated clauses that are dealt with in III.3.2. As dealt with below, both verbal and nominal clauses may also occur as a number of other types of dependent clauses without conjunction or conjunctional phrases.

2.4.1 Verbal Clauses

As mentioned in II.2.1., there are two types of particles that occur in the verbal phrase. The first of these types, that is, 'e 'Future' (II.2.2.(1)), 'oku ~ ku 'Present' (II.2.2.(2)), ne'e ~ ne 'Past' (II.2.2.(3)) and kua 'Perfect' (II.2.2.(4)), introduce independent clauses. As dealt with in III.2.2. and III.2.3. above, they may also introduce clauses of quotation and relative clauses.

The second type of particles, which are referred to as linking particles, introduce exclusively dependent clauses and link them to the preceding clause. One of the particles, ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)), may introduce clauses that occur as independent utterances, but as dealt with in III.5:3., these clauses actually seem to be derived from complex clauses by ellipting the clauses that precede them. Accordingly, the particle ke may still be regarded basically as a linking particle.

Three of the linking particles have a very limited distribution. The particles 'e 'Numeral' and maa 'Numeral Linking' occur exclusively with numerals. The particle 'e 'Subjunctive' specifically introduces clauses that are negated by the negator 'aua 'don't'. They are excluded from the following, and 'e 'Numeral' and maa 'Numeral Linking' are dealt with in II.7.3., and 'e 'Subjunctive' in III.5.2.1.

(1) mo 'Associative'

mo also occurs in the corresponding slot of the nominal phrase (II.3.1.(6)). As a verbal-phrase particle, it is neutral as to tense, aspect and mood and introduces clauses that refer to situations that are co-ordinated with the situations of the preceding clauses. It may optionally be preceded by the conjunction pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)).
(3.2.4.1.-1) Ne notou oo ki te ngoue'angá PART(PST) DET(3PL) go(COL) PART(ALL) DET(SPF) plantation
ke too manioke (pea) mo taa siaime. PART(Sbj) plant cassava and PART(Asc) chop banana
'They went to the plantation to plant cassava and get bananas.'

(3.2.4.1.-2) Ne ne paaki 'oku (pea) mo PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) slap PROI1(1SgExc10) and PART(Asc)
tuleki. push
'He slapped me and pushed me.'

Clauses introduced by (pea) mo may be used to refer to situations that are simultaneous with the situations of the preceding clauses. Thus, the examples:

(3.2.4.1.-3) Ne'e oo mai te tamaliki (pea) PART(Pst) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) children(Col) and
mo notou hiva. PART(Asc) DET(3PL) sing

(3.2.4.1.-4) 'Oku fai te kau fafiné te notou PART(Prs) do DET(Spf) PL woman DET(Spf) DET(3PL)
laalanga (pea) mo notou talanoa fiafia. weave and PART(Asc) DET(3PL) chat happy
may be interpreted as meaning not only: 'The children came and sang.' and 'The women did weaving and chatted merrily.' respectively but also as meaning: 'The children came, singing.' and 'The women did weaving, chatting merrily.'

Clauses that are linked by (pea) mo have some restrictions with respect to the syntactic functions of their arguments. These restrictions are dealt with in III.8.2.1.(B-1.1.).

(2) ke 'Subjunctive'
ke introduces several types of clauses, all of which refer to situations that have an irrealis status. Thus, it introduces negated clauses that are dealt with in III.3.2., clauses of indirect quotation that represent imperative-hortative clauses (III.2.2.2.) and relative clauses that refer to situations that someone wants to take place, as for instance in (3.2.3.1.-6) above. ke also introduces clauses that occur with verbals like kamata 'begin', feinga 'try' and hala 'fail', verbals with causative meaning like 'ai 'put, make' tuku 'leave, let' and fakangafua 'allow', and a number of stative verbals like sai 'good', lelei 'good', totonu 'right' and pau 'certain', as in:

(3.2.4.1.-5) Ne au 'ai ke fai 'e PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) make PART(Sbj) do PART(Erg)
te tangatá te ngaaue.
DET(Spf) man DET(Spf) work

'I made the man do the work.'

(3.2.4.1.-6) Ne au tuku ange ke notou
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) let DIR(Tsd) PART(Sbj) DET(3Pl)

kai he me'a pee 'oku notou sa'ina
eat DET(Nspf) thing just PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) like

ai.
DEM(Anaph)

'I let them eat whatever they like.'

(3.2.4.1.-7) 'E sai ke ke tala'i ange
PART(Fut) good PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) tell DIR(Tsd)

te mo'oni.
DET(Spf) truth

'It will be good for you to tell the truth.'

Clauses introduced by ke that occur with the verbs kamata 'begin', totonu 'right' and pau 'certain' are dealt with in II.2.4.1.(B).

ke further introduces clauses that indicate purpose. In this case, it may optionally be preceded by the conjunction kote'ahi 'because' (III.2.5.2.(2)).

(3.2.4.1.-8) Ne au 'alu ki kolo (kote'ahi)
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) town because

ke fakatou mai taku peni.
PART(Sbj) trade DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf1SgExclA) pen

'I went to town in order to buy a pen.'

(3.2.4.1.-9) 'Aumai ee (kote'ahi) ke au sio
bring DEM(Aspad) because PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) see

lelei.
good

'Bring that to me so that I may see it well!'

(3.2.5.1.-10) Ne au fakatou te faito'ó
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) trade DET(Spf) medicine

ki te peepyé (kote'ahi) ke 'aua
PART(All) DET(Spf) baby because PART(Sbj) don't

na'a puke lahi.
PART-CONJ(Ptl) ill much

'I bought the medicine for the baby so that it
would not get seriously ill.'

(3.2.4.1.-8) may be compared with (3.2.4.1.-11) below. (3.2.4.1.-8) does not necessarily mean that the buying of a pen actually took place.

(3) 'o 'Incorporative'
'o is neutral as to tense, aspect and mood and introduces clauses that refer to situations that are logically subordinate to the situations of the preceding clauses. As the following examples show, they function as semantically quite diverse types of specifying clauses and may indicate the result, time, location and so on of the situations referred to by the preceding clauses.

(3.2.4.1.-11) Ne au 'alu ki kolo 'o
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) town PART(Inc)

fakatau mai taku peni.
buy DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf1SgExclA) pen

'I went to town and bought a pen.'

(3.2.4.1.-12) Ne notou taamate'i te puaka 'o
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) kill DET(Spf) pig PART(Inc)

kai leva.
eat SQC

'They killed the pig and then ate it.'

(3.2.4.1.-13) Ne au nofo ai 'o ta'u
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) live DEM(Anaph) PART(Inc) year

'e ono.
PART(Nmr) six

'I lived there for six years.'

(3.2.4.1.-14) Ne maa fetaulaki mo
PART(Pst) DET(1DuExcl) meet-each-other PART(Ass)

ia 'o ofi ki te
PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph) PART(Inc) close PART(All) DET(Spf)

fale mahakī.
house ill

'We met him near the hospital.'

(3.2.4.1.-15) Ne kamata leva te ta'ahiné ke hiva
PART(Pst) begin SQC DET(Spf) girl PART(Sbj) sing

'o peheee.
PART(Inc) like-that

'The girl then began to sing like this.'

(3.2.4.1.-14) 'Oku lahi pee 'ia Teevita 'o tatau
PART(Prs) large just PART(Abs) Teevita PART(Inc) same

mo tou tokouá.
PART(Ass) DET(Spf3Sg0) brother

'Teevita is as big as your brother.'

(3.2.4.1.-11) may be compared with (3.2.4.1.-8) and (3.2.5.1.-3). (3.2.4.1.-11) is appropriate for use only when the buying of a pen actually took place and also when it was not coincidental with the going to town.
'o is optional for many speakers, especially in clauses that specify time and location.

2.4.2 Nominal Clauses

Apart from clauses of quotation (III.2.2.), relative clauses (III.2.3.) and negated clauses (III.3.2.), nominal clauses without conjunctions or conjunctural phrases firstly occur with a number of verbs and refer to resultant situations, as in:

(3.2.4.2.-1) 'I te kaaha'ū, 'e hoko ko PART(Loc) DET(Spf) future PART(Fut) become PART(Npm)
            te tangata lahi.
            DET(Spf) man great

'In the future, he will become a great man.'

(3.2.4.2.-2) Ne liliu te teevoló ko te PART(Pst) change DET(Spf) ghost PART(Npm) DET(Spf)
              ki'i manu puna.
              little animal fly

'The ghost turned into a small bird.'

(3.2.4.2.-3) Ne fakahingoa 'e te sianá PART(Pst) give-name PART(Erg) DET(Spf) fellow
              tono 'ofafine ko Mele.
              DET(Spf3Sg0) daughter PART(Npm) Mele

'The fellow named his daughter Mele.'

(3.2.4.2.-4) 'Oku fa'a ngaauê 'aki 'e te kau PART(Prs) often work INSTR PART(Erg) DET(Spf) PL
              tautal te motu ko te fisherman DET(Spf) island PART(Npm) DET(Spf)

              maalooloo'anga.
              resting-place

'The fishermen often use the island as a resting-place.'

Further, they may occur as clauses that indicate purpose or reason. In this case, they may optionally be preceded by the conjunction kote'uhì 'because' (III.2.5.2.2).²

² As mentioned in III.2.5.2.(2), it is obvious that kote'uhì itself has been derived from a nominal phrase occurring in this construction, but it differs from other nominal phrases in that it may precede as well as follow the clause with which it is linked — Kote'uhì ko te afaa, ne kailoa notou tuku folau. 'because PART[Npm] DET[Spf] hurricane PART[Pst] not DET[3Pl] set voyage: Because of the hurricane, they did not set sail.' but 'Ko te afaa, ne kailoa notou tuku folau. 'PART[Pst] DET[Spf] hurricane PART[Pst] not DET[3Pl] set voyage' Therefore, it is regarded as a conjunction of Type II and is dealt with in more detail in III.2.5.2.(2).

Nominal clauses that indicate purpose or reason always consist of predicates alone, and formally, they may not be distinguished from nominal phrases that denote arguments. However, they are normally outside the scope of negation, and as mentioned in III.3.2.3., this suggests that there is a clause boundary between them and the preceding elements.
(3.2.4.2.-5) Ne kailoa notou tuku folau (kote'ahi) ko
PART(Pst) not DET(3Pl) set voyage because PART(Npm)
teqaa.
DET(Spf) hurricane

'They did not set sail because of the hurricane.'

(3.2.4.2.-6) 'E kala 'alu 'i te tangata (kote'ahi)
PART(Fut) not go PART(Uns) DET(Spf) man because
ko te puke tono malie.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ill DET(Spf3Sg0) wife

'The man will not go because his wife is ill.'

(3.2.4.2.-7) Ko te motou oo 'eni ki
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(1PlExc1) go(Col) DEM(Nsp) PART(All)
Vai Lahi (kote'ahi) ko te motou tau
Vai Lahi because PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(1PlIncl) catch
laapila.
tilapia

'We are going to Vai Lahi to catch tilapia.'

2.5 Clause-linking with Conjunctions and Conjunctional Phrases

There are two types of conjunctions and conjunctional phrases, which will be
referred to as Type I and Type II. Clauses introduced by conjunctions and conjunctional
phrases of Type I may only be linked to the clause that precedes them. Therefore,
conjunctions and conjunctional phrases of Type I always occur between the two clauses
they link. Clauses introduced by conjunctions and conjunctional phrases of Type II, on
the other hand, may either precede or follow the clause with which they are linked.

2.5.1 Conjunctions and Conjunctional Phrases Type I

Conjunctions and conjunctonal phrases of Type I are:

(1) pea

The sequence of pea and the first person singular exclusive determiner au becomes pea
(II.2.2.). The monosyllabic person determiners affect the position of stress – peak e 'and
DET(2Sg)' and peane 'and DET(3Sg)' (I.3.1.1.(C)).

pea links clauses in co-ordination, as in:

(3.2.5.1.-1) 'Oku polisi 'ia Sione pea 'oku faiako
PART(Prs) police PART(Abs) Sione and PART(Prs) teach

'ia Mele.
PART(Abs) Mele

'Sione works as a policeman and Mele works as a
teacher.'
(3.2.5.1.-2) Ko Sione te hingoa 'o te PART(Npm) Sione DET(Spf) name PART(Pss0) DET(Spf)
tamasi'i pea ko Mele te hingoa 'o boy and PART(Npm Mele DET(Spf) name PART(Pss0)
te ta'ahiné. DET(Spf) girl

'The boy's name is Sione and the girl's name is Mele.'

It also links clauses that refer to sequential situations, as in:

(3.2.5.1.-3) Ne au 'alu ki kolo PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) town
peau fakatau mai taku and-DET(1SgExcl) trade DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf1SgExclA)
peni.
pen

'I went to town and bought a pen.'

(3.2.5.1.-3) may be compared with (3.2.4.1.-11). (3.2.5.1.-3) may be used even if the going
to town and the buying of a pen were coincidental.

As dealt with in II.3.1.(6) and III.2.4.1.(1), pea often precedes the particle mo
'Associative'.

(2) kaa ~ kae

Some speakers always use the form kae. However, as a general rule, the form kaa occurs
immediately in front of verbal- and nominal-phrase particles and singular person markers
and the form kae immediately in front of verbal-phrase bases. Both forms occur in front
of dual and plural person determiners and preposed modifiers.

The sequence of kaa and the first person singular exclusive determiner au becomes
kaau (II.2.2.). The monosyllabic person determiners affect the position of stress — kaa
ke 'but DET(2Sg)' and kaa ne 'but DET(3Sg)' (I.3.1.1.(C)).

kaa ~ kae introduce adversative clauses, as in:

(3.2.5.1.-4) Ne maa oo \{kaa\ but \} maa \{kae\ but \} foki
PART(Pst) DET(2DuExcl) go(Col) DET(1DuExcl) return
vave mai.
fast DIR(Tsp)

'We went but came back quickly.'

(3.2.5.1.-5) Ne puke te siana 'i tana PART(Pst) ill DET(Spf) fellow PART(Loc) DET(Spf3SgA)
fa'a inu lahi but toe inu pee.
often drink much \{kaa\ again drink just
but
of\ kae\
'The fellow got ill because of much drinking but he still drinks.'

(3.2.5.1.-6) Ko te polisi 'ia Sione kaa ko PART(Npm) DET(Spf) police PART(Abs) Sione but PART(Npm)
te faiako 'ia Mele. DET(Spf) teacher PART(Abs) Mele

'Sione is a policeman while Mele is a teacher.'

(3.2.5.1.-7) Ne hiva 'ia 'Ana mo Seini kae PART(Pst) sing PART(Abs) 'Ana PART(Ass) Seini but
fanongo pee 'ia maatou. hear just PART(Abs) PROI(1PlExcl)

'Ana and Seini sang while we just listened.'

(3) he introduces clauses that indicate reason, as in:

(3.2.5.1.-8) Ne au nofo pee 'i 'api he PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) stay just PART(Loc) home for
ne kala sai te matangi. PART(Pst) not good DET(Spf) wind

'I stayed at home for the weather was not good.'

(3.2.5.1.-9) Pau pee, 'oku kailoa ke fu'u mamafa certain just PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) very expensive
te mama ko 'ená he ko te DET(Spf) ring PART(Npm) DEM(Nad) for PART(Npm) DET(Spf)
siuei loi ia. jewel false DEM(Anaph)

'Certainly, that ring is not expensive for it is a false jewel.'

(4) pe
As already dealt with in III.2.2. above, pe firstly introduces clauses of quotation that represent interrogative clauses. It also introduces disjunctive clauses which occur in alternative questions dealt with in III.6.3. and concessional clauses, as in:

(3.2.5.1.-10) Pea ko tono 'uhingá, ke 'aumai and PART(Npm) DET(Spf3Sg0) meaning PART(Sbj) bring
mu'a he fa'ahinga ika pee 'o tatau please DET(Nspf) kind fish just PART(Inc) same
pee pe 'e lahi pe 'e si'isi'i kae just if PART(Fut) large or PART(Fut) small but
kehe pee ke 'aumai he ika.
different just PART(Sbj) bring DET(Nspf) fish

'And its meaning – it is that you should, please,
bring me any sort of fish, be it large or small,
but that, in any case, you should bring me a fish.'

(3.2.5.1.-11) Nedngo pee ko he ta'ahine pe ko although just PART(Npm) DET(Nspf) girl or PART(Npm)
he tamasi'i, 'e sai pee.
DET(Nspf) boy PART(Fut) good just

'Whether it will be a girl or boy, it will be good.'

It also introduces clauses that indicate paraphrases, as in:

(3.2.5.1.-12) Kaa kua mole 'o kailoa he PART-CONJ(Hyp) PART(Prf) lost PART(Inc) not DET(Nspf)
taha ke ina toe 'ilo' i pea 'e one PART(Sbj) DET(3Sg) again know and PART(Fut)
mo'oni ai te lea 'oku taka true DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) language PART(Prs) current
'i te fonua 'o hau'ali ki pe PART(Loc) DET(Spf) land PART(Pss0) chif(Col) or
ko te paloovepi faka-Tongā: 'Ko te PART(Npm) DET(Spf) proverb Tongan PART DET(Spf)
fakatoma, kaa kua too ki mala.' regret but PART(Prf) fall PART(All) misfortune

'If it has been lost and there is no one to know it
any more, then, the words that are current in the
chiefly land will be true, or the Tongan proverb:
"When you regret, you have already fallen into
misfortune."

(5) (pea + Particile) or (he + Particle) tala'i 'e ai
tala'i 'e ai 'tell PART(Erg) who: who says', like English 'who knows?', is used
rhetorically to negate something. It is also used like a conjunction and introduces clauses
that indicate the basis for the speaker's observation expressed by the previous clause. It
may translate 'because ... not', 'seeing ... not' and the like. It may optionally be preceded
by the conjunction pea 'and' or he 'for' dealt with in III.2.5.1.(1) and (3) above. When
preceded by a conjunction, it may also be preceded by an appropriate particle. It often
takes a stress on its last syllable.
(3.2.5.1.-13) Ne malemo 'ia Sione he tala'i 'e
PART(Pst) drown PART(Abs) Sione for tell PART(Erg)
ai ne poto 'i te kaka'u.
who PART(Pst) clever PART(Loc) DET(Spf) swim
'Sione got drowned because he could not swim.'

(3.2.5.1.-14) Ne sai 'aupito tana lelē pea ne
PART(Pst) good totally DET(Spf3SgA) run and PART(Pst)
tala'i 'e ai ko he taha maheni
tell PART(Erg) who PART(Npm) DET(Nspf) one familiar
sipoti ia.
sport PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)
'His run was very good, seeing that he is not a person
familiar with sports.'

(3.2.5.1.-15) 'Oku kailoa ke au 'ilo pe
PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) know if
ko te tu'utu'uni 'a te
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) instruction PART(PssA) DET(Spf)
pule'anga ke langa te fale ngaue fo'oū,
government PART(Sbj) build DET(Spf) house work new
'e lava pe kailoa tala'i 'e ai
PART(Fut) possible or not tell PART(Erg) who
'oku 'i ai he sino'i
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) body-of
pa'anga pau.
money steady
'I do not know whether the government's instruction
to build a new workshop - it will be possible or
not, seeing that there is no stable fund.'

(6) kae 'aua
The verbal 'aua 'don't' (III.5.2.), preceded by the conjunction kae 'but' dealt with in
III.2.5.1.(2) above, may occur in front of verbal clauses introduced by the particle kua
'Perfect' (II.3.1.(4)) or ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) and form temporal clauses that
more or less correspond to English 'until'-clauses. 'aua is often followed by the phrase
adjunct leva 'Sequence' (III.1.3.1.(A)) or pee 'just' (III.1.3.1.(B)(1)).

(3.2.5.1.-16) Ne motou nofo pee 'i te
PART(Pst) DET(ip1Excl) stay just PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
mataa tai kae 'aua kua puli te
face-of sea but don't PART(Prf) disappear DET(Spf)
vaká.
ship

'We stayed at the beach until the ship went out of
sight.'

(3.2.5.1.-17) 'Aua 'e 'alu kae 'aua leva ke foki
don't PART(Sbj) go but don't just PART(Sbj) return
mai taku tamai.
DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf1SgExclA) father

'Don't go until my father comes back!'

(7) (kae) taa and (kae) koloto
The verbs taa 'contrary' and koloto 'not' may introduce adversative clauses, though
the conjunction kae 'but' (III.2.5.1.(2)) may also be used in front of them. As dealt with
in III.3., koloto is an emotionally marked negator.

(3.2.5.1.-18) Ne au pehee ko te polisi
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) think PART(Npm) DET(Spf) police

'ia Teevita (kae) taa ko te
PART(Abs) Teevita but contrary PART(Npm) DET(Spf)

faiako ia.
teacher PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)

'I thought that Teevita was a policeman, but he
is a teacher.'

(3.2.5.1.-19) Ne fonu te vaká (kae) koloto ke
PART(Pst) full DET(Spf) ship but not(Emtl) PART(Sbj)

notou fakasi'isi'i te 'utá.
DET(3pl) decrease DET(Spf) cargo

'The ship was full, but they did not decrease the
cargo.'

2.5.2 Conjunctions and Conjunctural Phrases Type II

Conjunctions and conjunctural phrases of Type II are:

(1) neongo
Tongan also has neongo, and according to C.M Churchward (1956), it consists of the
particle ne 'Past' and the verbal ongo 'heard, felt, realized'. neongo is often followed by
the phrase adjunct pee 'just' (III.1.3.1.(B)(1)). It may precede nominal phrases
(including nominalized clauses) in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)) or verbal or nominal clauses.
When the clause introduced by neongo precedes the other clause, the conjunction kaa ~
kae 'but' (III.2.5.1.(2)) may occur between the two clauses. neongo introduces
adversative clauses, as in:
(3.2.5.2.-1) Neongo 'ia te matangi kovi, (kaa) ne though PART(Abs) DET(Spf) wind bad but PART(Pst) notou folau atu. DET(3Pl) sail DIR(Aspad)

'In spite of the bad weather, they sailed away.'

(3.2.5.2.-2) Ne 'alu pee 'o kakau neongo ne PART(Pst) go just PART(Inc) swim though PART(Pst)
momoko 'i te 'aho nei. cold PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)

'He went swimming although it was cold today.'

(3.2.5.2.-3) Neongo ko te faiako lelei 'ia Sione, though PART(Npm) DET(Spf) teacher good PART(Abs) Sione
(kaa) ne kala ke lava 'o but PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) possible PART(Inc)
fakamatala. explain

'Although Sione is a good teacher, he could not explain it.'

and concessional clauses, as in:

(3.2.5.2.-4) Neongo pee 'e 'ua pe kailoa, (kae) tou though just PART(Fut) rain or not but DET(iPlIncl)
oo, go(Col)

'Whether it rains or not, let's go!'

(3.2.5.2.-5) 'I Tonga nei, ko te tamaliki PART(Loc) Tonga DEIC(Nsp) PART(Npm) DET(Spf) children(Col)
tangata, 'oku notou faka'apa'apa ki man PART(Prs) DET(3Pl) respect PART(All)
notou tuafafine neongo tana si'isi'i DET(3Pl) sister despite DET(Spf3SgA) small
pe matu'a.
or old

'Here in Tonga, boys — they respect their sister

whether she is younger or older.'

(2) kote'uh

kote'uh obviously consists of the particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking' (II.3.1.(10)), the determiner te 'Specific' (II.3.2.1.) and the nominal which occurs in such words as 'uhinga 'reason, meaning'. It is often followed by the phrase adjunct aa 'Urge' (III.1.3.1.(A)(2)).
As mentioned in III.2.4.1.(2) and III.2.4.2. it may occur in front of nominal clauses and verbal clauses introduced by ke 'Subjunctive' that indicate purpose. Further, it may introduce verbal and nominal phrases and indicate reason. When it occurs between the clauses it links, the conjunction he 'for, because' (III.2.5.1.(3)) may also be used immediately after it. It often takes definitive stress (1.3.2.) on its last syllable, but not when it is followed by the phrase adjunct aa.

(3.2.5.2.-6) Kote’uhi aa ne maalie taha tana
because URGE PART(Pst) good one DET(Spf3SgA)
faivá. ne fakapale’i ‘ona.
performance PART(Pst) give-prize PROII(3Sg0)

'Because her dance was the best, she was given a prize.'

(3.2.5.2.-7) 'Aua kai te ika ko ‘ena kote’uhi
don’t eat DET(Spf) fish PART(Npm) DEM(Nad) because
ko te ika ‘a te tamai.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish PART(PssA) DET(Spf) father

'Don’t eat that fish because it is the father’s fish!'

(3.2.5.2.-8) Ne au nofo pee ‘i ‘api kote’uhi
PART(Pst) DET(Spf) stay just PART(Loc) home because
he ne kala sai te ‘éá.
for PART(Pst) not good DET(Spf) weather

'I stayed at home because the weather was not good.'

(3) lolotonga

lolotonga ia also used as a verbally-oriented common word meaning ‘progress’ and, as dealt with in II.2.3.2.(5), a pre-base modifier that marks progressive situations. As a conjunction, it occurs with nominal phrases (including nominalized clauses) in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)) and verbal clauses and forms temporal clauses that more or less correspond to English ‘while’-clauses, as in:

(3.2.5.2.-9) Lolotonga te ‘aho, ‘oku ngaue te kau
progress DET(Spf) day PART(Prs) work DET(Spf) PL

tangatá ‘i te vaó.
man PART(Loc) DET(Spf) bush

'During the day, the men work in the bush.'

(3.2.5.2.-10) Ne au sio tu’a ua ki ai
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) see ITER two PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

lolotonga ne au nofo ‘i Sinee.
progress PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) stay PART(Loc) Sydney
'I saw him twice while I was in Sydney.'

(4) talu

talu is also used as a verbally-oriented common word meaning 'pass (of time)'. As a conjunction, it occurs with nominal phrases (including nominalized clauses) in the absolutive (II.3.1.(1)), locative (II.3.1.(3)) and the ablative (II.3.1.(5)), and forms temporal clauses that more or less correspond to 'since'-clauses.

(3.2.5.2.-11) Talu 'ia tana folau ki Nu'usila pass PART(Abs) DET(Spf) sail PART(All) New-Zealand
'i te ta'u 'e ua kua maliu PART(Loc) DET(Spf) year PART(Nmr) two PART(Prf) pass
atú, 'oku te'eki ke au toe DIR(Asp) PART(Prs) not-yet PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) again
ma'u he fetu'utaki meiaa ia. get DET(Nspf) communication PART(Abl) PROI(3Sg)
'Since he went to New Zealand two years ago, I have not heard from him any more.'

(3.2.5.2.-12) Talu ai, ko taku laalanga pass DEM(Anaph) PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExcl) weave
'eni 'oku kei fai pee. DEM(Nsp) PART(Prs) still do just
'Since then, it has been weaving that I have been doing.'

(3.2.5.2.-13) 'Oku nofo te kakai Niuafo'ou toko lahi PART(Prs) live DET(Spf) people Niuafo'ou ANIM many
'i 'Eua talu meli te vela PART(Loc) 'Eua pass PART(Abl) DET(Spf) eruption
'i te ta'u faa onō. PART(Loc) DET(Spf) year four six
'Many Niuafo'ou people have been living on 'Eua since the eruption in the year 46.'

(5) ki mu'a pea and ki mu'a ke

ki mu'a 'PART(All) front' occurs with nominal phrases (including nominalized clauses) in the locative (II.3.1.(3)) and verbal clauses that are introduced by the particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) or by the conjunction pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)) and forms clauses that more or less correspond to English 'before'-clauses. The pre-base modifier toki 'then' (II.2.3.1.(5)) occurs in clauses introduced by ki mu'a pea.
Before they came to help me, I was very busy.'

'I will go to Mata'aho before the sun sets.'

'Before the doctor arrived, the man died.'

'There is still much work for me to do before I can come and visit you.'

ki muli nei

ki muli nei 'PART(All) back DEIC(Nsp)' occurs with verbal clauses introduced by the particle kua 'Perfect' (II.3.1.(4)) and forms clauses that more or less correspond to English 'after'-clauses. as in:

'After the work was over, 'Ana came.'

'After the work was over, 'Ana came.'
'They arrived after the boat had departed.'

2.6 Clause-Linking with Particle-conjunctions

Particle-conjunctions are associated with certain moods and replace many of the particles. However, they are compatible with certain particles, and when they occur with these, the particle-conjunctions, like conjunctions, precede particles. Also, clauses that are introduced by particle-conjunctions also resemble clauses introduced by conjunctions with respect to the position of definitive stress (I.3.2.) and the possibility of the ellipsis of person determiners and nominal phrases that are common to those of the clause they are linked with (III.8.2.1.(B)).

(1) naʻa 'Potential'

naʻa introduces several types of clauses. It firstly introduces clauses of indirect quotation and other similar clauses that refer to situations, about the truthfulness of which the speaker is uncertain (III.2.2.2.). It also occurs in negative imperative-hortative clauses and introduces clauses that are negated by the negator 'aua 'don't' (III.5.2.). Further, it introduces clauses that refer to a situation that the speaker thinks may take place and which provides the reason for the situation referred to by the other clause. In this case, it may be preceded by the conjunction koteʻuhi 'because' (III.2.5.2.(2)) or tala 'for the sake of'. Like conjunctions of Type I (III.2.5.1.), naʻa may occur only between the clauses it links.

naʻa may be followed by the particles 'oku ~ ku 'Present' (II.3.1.(2)), kua 'Perfect' (II.3.1.(4)) as exemplified by (2.3.2.1.-2) and (3.2.2.2.-1)(b), but not by the other particles.

The sequence of naʻa and the first person singular exclusive determiner au becomes naʻau (II.2.2.). The monosyllabic person determiners – ke '2Sg' and ne '3Sg' – affect the position of stress – naʻá ke and naʻá ne (I.3.1.1.(C)).

(3.2.6.-1) Kotou vave mai naʻa ʻosi te DET(2PL) fast DIR(Tsp) PART-CONJ(Ptl) finished DET(Spf)

meʻa kaʻi.
thing eat

'Hurry up lest the food be finished!'

(3.2.6.-2) Toʻo he kapa ika koteʻuhi aa naʻa kala take DET(Nspf) can fish because URGE PART-CONJ(Ptl) not

maʻu te kupengá.
get DET(Spf) net

'Take a tin of fish in case the net does not catch anything!'
(3.2.6.-3) 'E au avatu te faito'o ko
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) give DET(Spf) medicine PART(Npm)
'eni talia na'ā ke mofi.
DEIC(Nsp) for-the-sake-of PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(2Sg) fever
'I will give you this medicine so that you will not
get a fever.'

(2) kaa 'Hypothetical'

kaa firstly introduces conditional clauses. In this case, it is often preceded by 'o, which is
probably the same morpheme as the particle 'o 'Incorporative' (III.2.4.1.(3)). As in the
case of conjunctions of Type II (III.2.5.2.), clauses introduced by ('o) kaa may precede or
follow the clause with which they are linked. When clauses introduced by ('o) kaa occur
in front of the other clause, the conjunction pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)) may occur between
the two clauses.

('o) kaa may be followed by the particles ne'e ~ ne 'Past' (II.3.1.(3)) and kua
'Perfect' (II.3.1.(4)), but not by the other particles.

The sequence of kaa and the first person singular exclusive determiner au becomes
kaau (II.2.2.). The monosyllabic person determiners — ke '2Sg' and ne '3Sg' — affect the
position of stress — kaâ ke and kaâ ne (I.3.1.1.(C)).

Conditional clauses may be real or unreal. Real conditional clauses refer to
situations which the speaker thinks may come true while unreal conditional clauses refer
to situations which the speaker thinks is contrary to the fact. Real conditional clauses are
marked by the particle-conjunction kaa alone when they refer to future situations and by
the particle-conjunction kaa plus the particle kua 'Perfect' when they refer to perfect
situations. Unreal conditional clauses are always marked by the particle-conjunction kaa
plus the particle ne'e ~ ne 'Past' regardless of their tense and aspect.

Consequential clauses may have various particles, depending on their tense and
aspect. They may also be imperative-hortative (III.5.). However, consequential clauses
that occur with unreal conditional clauses are often introduced by the particle ne'e ~ ne
'Past' regardless of their tense and aspect.

(a) Real Conditions

(3.2.6.-4) Kaa kalloa 'alu 'ia koe, 'e
PART-CONJ(Hyp) not go PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg) PART(Fut)
kalloa 'alu 'ia au.
not go PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl)

'If you don't go, I will not go.'

(3.2.6.-5) 'E au 'alu vaka puna 'o
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go ship fly PART(Inc)
kaa kua 'osi te mala'e vaka
PART-CONJ(Hyp) PART(Prf) finished DET(Spf) field ship

puná.
fly

'I will go by aeroplane if the air-field is completed.'

(b) Unreal Conditions

(3.2.6.-6) Kaa ne ke ma'u me'a, ko
PART-CONJ(Hyp) PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) get thing PART(Npm)
te aa 'au kaa fa'i?
DET(Spf) what PROII(2SgA) PART-CONJ(Hyp) do

'If you were rich, what would you do?'

(3.2.6.-7) Kaa ne ke fa'i ia 'aneafi,
PART-CONJ(Hyp) PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) do DEM(Anaph) yesterday
ne kala hoko te kovi ko 'enl.
PART(Pst) not happen DET(Spf) bad PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp)

'If you had done it yesterday, this bad thing would not
have happened.'

('o) kaa may introduce only verbal clauses. Therefore, conditional clauses that
involve nominal clauses must have a complex structure, in which nominal clauses occur as
specifying clauses of the verbal clause ('o) kaa pau 'PART(Inc) PART-CONJ(Hyp)
certain: if it is certain'. In this case, there is no formal distinction between real and unreal
conditions.

(3.2.6.-8) Kaa pau ko koe toko taha pee
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Npm) PROI(2Sg) ANIM one just
'oku poto 'i te faka'uli kaa, kua
PART(Prs) clever PART(Loc) DET(Spf) drive car PART(Prf)
pau ke ke 'alu 'ia koe.
certain PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) go PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg)

'If you are the only one that can drive a car, you
must go.'

(3.2.6.-9) Kaa pau ko te 'aho Saapate
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Npm) DET(Spf) day Sabbath
'aapongiponi, 'e au moe 'i
tomorrow PART(Inc) DET(1SgExcl) sleep PART(Loc)
te 'aho kotoa.
DET(Spf) day all

'If tomorrow were Sunday, I would sleep all day.'

Verbal clauses may also occur with ('o) kaa pau, in which case clauses that refer to
unreal conditions are again marked by the particle ne'e ~ ne 'Past' and others by various particles, depending on their tense and aspect.

(a) Real Conditions

(3.2.6.-10) Kaa pau 'e ke 'alu, 'e
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) go PART(Fut)
au 'alu.
DET(1SgExcl) go

'If you go, I will go.'

(3.2.6.-11) 'E au toe ha'u 'aanai
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) again come while-later
kaa pau 'okū ke ma'ua 'i
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART DET(1SgExcl) busy PART(Loc)
te taimi nei.
DET(Spf) time DEIC(Nsp)

'I will come again later if you are busy now.'

(3.2.6.-12) 'O kaa pau kuā ke toe
PART(Inc) PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) again
sai, peā ke toe 'eva mai.
good and DET(2Sg) again visit DIR(Tsp)

'If you have become well again, come again to visit me!'

(b) Unreal Conditions

(3.2.6.-13) Kaa pau ne 'i ai
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Pst) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph)
hoku taimi, 'e au 'alu
DET(NspflSgExc10) time PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go
mo koe.
PART(Ass) PROI(2Sg)

'If I had time, I would go with you.'

(3.2.6.-14) 'E au talai atu te mo'oni
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) tell DIR(Asp) DET(Spf) truth
kaa pau ne au 'ilo'i
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) know
ia.
DEM(Anaph)

'I would tell you the truth if I knew it.'

kaa also occurs in clauses that are introduced by ('o) kaa 'iloange 'PART(Inc)
PART-CONJ(Hyp) know: if suddenly', which is used in the same basic structure as ('o)
kaa pau.

(3.2.6.-15) 'O kaa 'iloange kaa toe
PART(Inc) PART-CONJ(Hyp) know PART-CONJ(Hyp) again
punatua\ faka'ofa mo'oni te fly DET(Spf) fire PART(Fut) piteous true DET(Spf)

kakai Niuafou'ou.
people Niuafou'

'If, all of a sudden, the volcano erupts again, the
Niuafou'ou people will be truly piteous.'

Unlike ('o) kaa pau, however, ('o) kaa 'iloange may occur only with verbal clauses
that refer to real conditions. Besides kaa, the particle kua 'Perfect' also frequently
introduces clauses that follow it, as in: Kaa 'iloange kua kamata ke 'ua lahi, pea
tou tuku leva te ngaaue. 'PART-CONJ(Hyp) know PART(prf) begin PART(Sbj) rain
much and DET(1PlIncl) stop SQC DET(Spf) work: If, suddenly, it starts raining hard,
let's stop the work immediately!'

kaa is not confined to conditional clauses. Besides particles that indicate various
tenses and aspects, it may introduce relative clauses that occur in consequential clauses,
as in:

(3.2.6.-16) Kaa pau 'e toe vela te
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Fut) again hot DET(Spf)

ma'unga, ko te aa te kotou me'a
mountain PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf) DET(2Pl) thing

kaa fa'i?
PART-CONJ(Hyp) do

'If the mountain erupts again, what will you do?'
The particle 'e may also be used in place of kaa in the example above.

The sequences of kaa and a small number of verbs may freely modify nominals
that relate to time. They may also be regarded as relative clauses, but these particular
sequences differ from other relative clauses introduced by kaa in that they may occur in
any type of clauses, and not only in consequential clauses, as in: 'E toe ha'u te vaká 'i
te uike kaa tu'ú. 'PART(Fut) again come DET(Spf) ship PART(Loc) DET(Spf) week
PART-CONJ(Hyp) arise: The ship will come again next week.' The sequence kaaha'u
obviously consist of the particle-conjunction kaa and ha'u 'come', but it may occur not
only as a postposed modifier, as in: uike kaaha'u 'week PART-CONJ(Hyp) come: next
week', but also as a nominal, as in: 'i te kaaha'ú 'PART(Loc) DET(Spf) PART-
CONJ(Hyp) come: in the future'. For this reason, kaaha'u is regarded as one word of the
common-word class (II.1.3.) and spelt as such in this study.
CHAPTER 3

Negation

The negation of clauses involves a complex clause structure in which the clause to be negated follows a verbal that indicates negation. Words that are used to negate clauses are all verbally-oriented common words (II.1.4.3.). As dealt with in II.2.4.1.(A), common words occurring as verbals may be classified into several types. Verbals that negate clauses differ from other verbals in that, as dealt with in III.3.1. below and III.4.2., they are often followed by verbal clauses whose predicate has no particle, in which case they have some resemblance with preposed modifiers (II.2.3.) unless the predicate of the negated clause contains a person determiner (II.2.2.). Accordingly, they constitute a distinct type of verbals and are referred to as negators.

In this study, a distinction is made between negated clauses and negative clauses. Negated clauses refer to clauses that are actually negated by negators and exclude negators. Negative clauses, on the other hand, refer to clauses that are inclusive of negators.

Some of the negators may also be used as existential verbals and anaphoric verbals (III.3.3-4.).

Niuafo'ou also has a negative prefix that is used to negate sub-clausal elements (III.3.5.).

3.1 Negators

The negators are as follows:

(1) kailoa, loa, kala 'not'
(2) koloto 'not (Emotional)'
(3) te'eki (ai), he'iki (ai) 'not yet'
(4) 'auga 'don't'

koloto not only functions as a verbal but also often functions as a conjunction introducing adversative clauses at the same time (III.2.5.1.(7)).

'auga occurs exclusively in imperative-hortative clauses and in kae 'auga 'but don't: until' and is dealt with in III.5.2. and III.2.5.1.(6). It will, therefore, be excluded from the following.
3.2 Negation of Clauses

3.2.1 Structure

Negation of clauses is marked by negators which occur in front of clauses to be negated.

(1) kailoa, loa, kala

kala is more commonly used than kailoa or loa. To negate clauses, kailoa is confined to a formal style of speech.

kailoa, loa and kala may be used to negate both verbal and nominal clauses and occur in the following formulas:

(A) Negation of Verbal Clauses

\[
\{ \text{kailoa} \} + (\text{ke}) + \text{Clause}
\]

(B) Negation of Nominal Clauses

\[
\{ \text{kailoa} \} + \text{ko} + \text{Clauses}
\]

The particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) that introduces negated clauses is optional.

(A) Negation of Verbal Clauses

(a) kailoa

(3.3.2.1.-1) 'E kailoa au 'alu.
PART(Fut) not DET(1SgExcl) go

'I will not go.'

(3.3.2.1.-2) Ne kailoa ke mahino tana lea
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) clear DET(Spf3SgA) language

kiiaa koe?
PART(All) PROI(2Sg)

'Didn’t you understand what he said?'

(b) loa

(3.3.2.1.-3) 'Oku loa 'ilo'i ia e au.
PART(Prs) not know DEM(Anaph) PART(Erg) PROI(1SgExcl)

'I do not know it.'

(c) kala

(3.3.2.1.-4) 'Oku kala ke au fiakaia 'i
PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) hungry PART(Loc)

te taimi nei.
DET(Spf) time DEIC(Nsp)
'I am not hungry now.'

(3.3.2.1.-5) 'Oku kala fu'u vela 'aupito te 'eá
PART(Prs) not very hot totally DET(Spf) weather
'i te 'aho nei.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nsp)

'It is not very hot today.'

(B) Negation of Nominal Clauses

(a) kailoa

(3.3.2.1.-6) 'Oku kailoa ko te fa'ee koe
PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DET(spf) mother PROI(2Sg)
'a te tamaliki nei.
PART(PssA) DET(Spf) children(Col) DEIC(Nsp)

'You are not the mother of these children.'

(b) loa

(3.3.2.1.-7) 'Oku loa ko he faiako 'ia
PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DET(Nspf) teacher PART(Abs)
maatou.
PROI(1PlExc1)

'We are not teachers.'

(c) kala

(3.3.2.1.-8) 'Oku kala ko te motou kulii
PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(1PlExc1) dog
'ena.
DEM(Nad)

'That is not our dog.'

Like other verbals, kailoa, loa and kala may be preceded by preposed modifiers

(II.2.3.), as in:

(3.3.2.1.-9) Ne toe kailoa ke au lava
PART(Pst) again not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExc1) possible
'o 'alu.
PART(Inc) go

'Again, I could not go.'

or followed by phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.), as in:

(3.3.2.1.-10) 'Oku kailoa pee kau 'alu
PART(Prs) not just PART(Sbj)-DET(1SGEXCL) go
ki ai.
PART(All) DEM(Anaph)
'I never go there.'

(3.3.2.1.-11) Kala pee fu'u toko lahi te kakaí.}
not just very ANUM many DET(Spf) people

'There were not very many people.'

kailoa, loa and kala are compatible with all the verbal-phrase particles (II.2.1.) and particle-conjunctions (III.2.6.) that occur with verbs except kua 'Perfect' (II.2.1.(4)), mo 'Associative' (III.2.4.1.(1)), 'e 'Numeral' (II.7.3.) and ma 'Numeral Linking' (II.7.3.). Clauses negated by them may be nominalized (III.1.5., III.2.1.) or relativized (III.2.3.) and also occur with various conjunctions of both Type I and Type II (III.2.5.).

(3.3.2.1.-12) 'I tana kala ma'u 'e te
PART(Loc) DET(Spf3SgA) not get PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
tangata he ika 'e fiakala tono
man DET(Nspf) fish PART(Fut) hungry DET(Spf3Sg0)
faamili.
family

'When the man does not catch any fish, his family
are hungry.'

(Nominalization)

(3.3.2.1.-13) 'I te kailoa ke maahiná, ne
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) not PART(Sbj) moon PART(Pst)
fakapoo'uli 'o kala ke motou
dark PART(Inc) not PART(Sbj) DET(iP1Excl)
lava 'o sió ki te alá.
possible PART(Inc) see PART(All) DET(Spf) way

'When there was no moon, it was dark and we could
not see the way.'

(Nominalization and the particle 'o + kala)

(3.3.2.1.-14) 'Oku 'i fea te kakaí ne
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) where DET(Spf) people PART(Pst)
kailoa foki mai 'aneafí?
not return DIR(Tsp) yesterday

'Where are the people who did not come yesterday?'

(Relativization)

(3.3.2.1.-15) 'Ofa pee ke kala ke 'ua.
love just PART(Sbj) not PART(Sbj) rain

'Let's hope it will not rain!'

(the particle ke + kala)
(3.3.2.1.-16) To'o he kapa ika kote'uhia na'a take DET(Nspf) can fish CONJ URG PART-CONJ(Pt1)
not get DET(Spf) net
kala ma'u te kupengā.}
'Take some canned fish in case your net does not
catch anything.'

(the particle-conjunction na'a + kala)

(3.3.2.1.-17) Neongo ne au tala'i ange ki CONJ PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) tell DIR(Tsd) PART(All)
ai te mo'oni kae kailoa tui ia DET(Anaph) DET(Spf) truth CONJ not believe DET(Anaph)
ki ai.
PART(All) DET(Anaph)

'Although I told him the truth, he did not believe it.'

(the conjunction kae + kailoa)

(2) koloto

koloto is emotionally marked and indicates that the speaker disapproves of the situation
referred to by the clause.

It may be used to negate both verbal and nominal clauses and occurs in the
following formulas:

(A) Negation of Verbal Clause

koloto + ke + Clause

(B) Negation of Nominal Clause

koloto + ko + Clause

The particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) that introduces the negated clause is
obligatory. Like a number of other verbals that are associated with propositional
attitudes that involve strong emotions, koloto is normally not preceded by any particle
(III.8.1.1.(B)).

(A) Negation of Verbal Clauses

(3.3.2.1.-18) Koloto ke notou tokoni ange ki not(Em1) PART(Sbj) DET(3Pl) help DIR(Tsd) PART(All)
si'i matu'ā.
DET(SpfEm1) old-man

'They don't help the poor old man.'

(3.3.2.1.-19) Koloto ke fai 'e he taha te not(Em1) PART(Sbj) do PART(Erg) DET(Nspf) one DET(Spf)
leesoni.
lesson
'No one did the lesson.'

(B) Negation of Nominal Clauses

(3.3.2.1.-20) Koloto ko tana fa'ee
not(Emtl) PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) mother
ia.
PRQI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)

'She is not his mother.'

Koloto may not be preceded by preposed modifiers (II.2.2.) but may be followed by phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.), as in:

(3.3.2.1.-21) Ne koloto pee aa ke ha'u 'o
PART(Pst) not(Emtl) just URG PART(Sbj) come PART(Inc)
sio ki tana fa'ee.
see PART(All) DET(Spf) mother

'He didn't come to see his mother.'

Koloto is incompatible with any of the linking particles (III.2.4.1.) or the particle-conjunctions (III.2.6.). As already mentioned, koloto normally occurs without a particle, and accordingly, clauses negated by it normally do not occur with conjunctions of Type II (III.2.5.2.) which never precede verbals without a particle. Neither are clauses negated by koloto nominalized (III.1.5., III.2.1.) or relativized (III.2.3.). However, they do occur with conjunctions of Type I (III.2.5.1.) that often precede verbals without any particle. As dealt with in III.2.5.1.(7), koloto may also introduce adverseeative clauses without any conjunction.

(3) te'eki (ai), he'i ki (ai)

Te'eki (ai) is more commonly used than he'i ki (ai). Ai is optional when they negate clauses.

Te'eki (ai) and he'i ki (ai) are aspectually marked and indicate that the situation referred to by the clause they precede has not taken place by the moment of speech or some other time in the past or future.

They may negate only verbal clauses and occur in the following formula:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{te'eki (ai)} \} & + (ke) + \text{Clause} \\
\{ \text{he'i ki (ai)} \} &
\end{align*}
\]

The particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) that introduces the negated clause is optional.

They commonly occur with 'e 'Future' (II.2.1.(1)), 'oku ~ ku 'Present' (II.2.1.(2)) and ne'e ~ ne 'Past' (II.2.1.(3)), depending on the tense of the situation concerned, but rarely with kua 'Perfect' (II.2.1.(4)).
(a) te'eiki (ai)

(3.3.2.1.-22) 'E te'eiki ai 'osi te mala'e
PART(Fut) not-yet DEM(Anaph) finished DET(Spf) field
vaka puná 'i taku 'alu ki Tonga
ship fly PART(Loc) DET(1SgExclA) go PART(All) Tonga
'i te maahina kaaha'ú.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) month coming
'The air field will not have been completed when I go
to Tonga next month.'

(3.3.2.1.-23) 'Oku te'eiki ke au 'alu ki
PART(Prs) not-yet PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All)
ai.
DEM(Anaph)
'I have not been there.'

(3.3.2.1.-24) 'Oku te'eiki ai ke au kai
PART(Prs) not-yet DEM(Anaph) PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) eat
pusi.
cat
'I have not eaten cats.'

(3.3.2.1.-25) 'I tana fokí mai, ne te'eiki
PART(Loc) DET(Spf3SgA) return DIR(Tsp) PART(Pst) not-yet
au faka'osi te ngaaué.
DET(1SgExcl) finish DET(Spf) work
'When he came back, I had not finished the work yet.'

(3.3.2.1.-26) Ko taku tui kua te'eiki 'alu
PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExclA) believe PART(Prf) not-yet go
'ia Sione.
PART(Abs) Sione
'I believe that Sione has not gone yet.'

(b) he'iiki (ai)

(3.3.2.1.-27) 'Oku he'iiki ai ke notou tau
PART(Prs) not-yet DEM(Anaph) PART(Sbj) DET(3Pl) arrive
mai.
DIR(Tsp)
'They have not arrived.'

(3.3.2.1.-28) Ne he'iiki ke ma'u tono mata'i
PART(Pst) not-yet PART(Sbj) get DET(Spf3Sg0) eye-of
tohi 'i te ta'u ne 'osi
letter PART(Loc) DET(Spf) year PART(Pst) finished
ai 'ia Sione.
DEM(Anaph) PART(Abs) Sione

'He had not obtained his degree in the year when
Sione finished.'

Associated with the past tense, te'eki (ai) and he'iki (ai) may indicate that a
situation someone or something was trying to realize did not become realized in the end.

For instance:

(3.3.2.1.-29) Ne· te'eki palemia hoko 'ia Tuita.
PART(pst) not-yet premier succeeding PART(Abs) Tuita

'Tuita did not become a prime minister after all.'

may, as indicated by the translation, be interpreted as meaning that Tuita did not
become a prime minister at all even though he had been trying to become one, rather
than that he had not become a prime minister at a certain point in time in the past.

Like other verba, te'eki (ai) and he'iki (ai) may be preceded by preposed
modifiers (II.2.3.), as in:

(3.3.2.1.-30) 'Oku toe te'eki ha'u 'ia Sione.
PART(Prs) again not-yet come PART(Abs) Sione

'Again, Sione has not come yet.'

and followed by phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.), as in:

(3.3.2.1.-31) 'Oku te'eki pee ke 'osi te
PART(Prs) not-yet just PART(Sbj) finished DET(Spf)

ngaaué.
work

'The work is not finished yet.'

They are incompatible with any of the linking particles (III.2.4.1.) or the particle-
conjunctions (III.2.6.). Clauses that are negated by them may, however, occur with
various conjunctions of both Type I and Type II (III.2.5.) and may also be nominalized
(III.1.5., III.2.1.) or relativized (II.2.3.).

(3.3.2.1.-32) Ne foki 'ia Sione 'i te
PART(Pst) return PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

te'eki 'osi te ngaaué.
not-yet finished DET(Spf) work

'Sione went back before the work was over.'

(Nominalization)

(3.3.2.1.-33) Ko te kakai 'oku te'eki tau
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) people PART(Prs) not-yet arrive

mal. 'e notou toki tau mai
DIR(Tsp) PART(Fut) DET(3Pl) then arrive DIR(Tsp)

'aapongipongi.
tomorrow
'The people who have not arrived - they will arrive tomorrow.'

(Relativization)

(3.3.2.1.34) Neongo taku toutou fakamanatu ki CONJ DET(SpfiSgExclA) often remind PART(All)
ai kae te'eki ai pee ke DET(Anaph) CONJ not-yet DET(Anaph) just PART(Sbj)
ne fai ia.
DET(3sg) do DET(Anaph)

'Although I reminded him of it again and again, he has not done it yet.'

(kae + te'eki ai)

3.2.2 Arguments of Negated Clauses

No argument of the negated clause, be it indicated by a person determiner or a nominal phrase, may be directly associated with the negator. Therefore:

(3.3.2.2.-1)(a) 'E kailoa ke au 'alu.
PART(Fut) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) go
'I will not go.'

(b) *'E au kailoa ke 'alu.
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) not PART(Sbj) go

(3.3.2.2.-2)(a) 'E kailoa ke 'alu 'ia au.
PART(Fut) not PART(Sbj) go PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl)
'I will not go.'

(b) *'E kailoa 'ia au ke PART(Fut) not PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Sbj)
'alu.
go

(3.3.2.2.-3)(a) Ne kailoa ke au taa'i
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) PROI(1SgExcl) hit
'ia Mele.
PART(Abs) Mele
'I did not hit Mele.'

(b) *Ne au kailoa ke taa'i
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) not PART(Sbj) hit
'ia Mele.
PART(Abs) Mele

(c) *Ne kailoa 'ia Mele ke
PART(Pst) not PART(Abs) Mele PART(Sbj)
Similarly with the other negators.

This often serves to distinguish negators from other common words. The word *hala* 'lack, fail', for instance, differs from negators not only in that, occurring in complex clause structures, the particle of the predicate of the following clause is obligatory but also in that it may be directly associated with the S or A which it shares with the following clause, as in: _Ne notou hala pee ke ma’u he ika ‘i te poo ko iā._ ‘PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) fail just PART(Sbj) get DET(Nspf) fish PART(Loc) DET(Spf) night PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph): They did not catch any fish that night.’ It is thus classified as a common intransitive verbal (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-1)) and not as a negator.

3.2.3 Position of Negators and their Semantic Scope

Negators always occur in front of negated clauses. As dealt with in III.3.2.1.(1) and (3) above and III.3.2.4. below, phrase adjuncts and the anaphoric demonstrative _ai_ may intervene between negators and negated clauses, but otherwise, nothing may intervene between them. The only possible exception to this is noted in the negation of a certain type of focussed clauses which is dealt with in III.4.2.3.

The semantic scope of negators extends over the clause that follows them. Pre-base modifiers and phrase adjuncts that immediately precede or follow negators are always outside their semantic scope. Accordingly, the different positions of the pre-base modifiers in the following pairs of examples result in a semantic difference.

(3.3.2.3.-1)(a) _Ne kala ke toe ha’u ‘ia Sione._
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) again come PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione did not come again (not any more).'

(b) _Ne toe kala ke ha’u ‘ia Sione._
PART(Pst) again not PART(Sbj) come PART(Abs) Sione

'Again, Sione did not come."

(3.3.2.3.-2)(a) _‘0ku kailoa ke fa’a ha’u ‘ia Sione._
PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) often come PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione does not come often.'

(b) _‘0ku fa’a kailoa ke ha’u ‘ia Sione._
PART(Prs) often not PART(Sbj) come PART(Abs) Sione

'Often, Sione does not come.'

The semantic scope of negators may cross clause boundaries and extend into other clauses — _Ne kala ke ‘alu ‘o tautai ‘anepoo?_ ‘PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) go PART(Inc) catch-fish last-night: Didn’t you go fishing last night?’, _‘E kala motou oo kaa pau ‘e ‘ua._ ‘PART(Fut) not DET(1PlExcl) go(Col) PART-CONJ(_Hyp)
certain PART(Fut) rain: We will not go if it rains.' and so on – unless the clauses are linked by the conjunctions or conjunctival phrases pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)) kaa ~ kae 'but' (III.2.5.1.(2)), he 'for, because' (III.2.5.1.(3)), neongo 'though' (III.2.5.2.(1)), (pea 'and' – particle) or (he 'for, because' – particle) tala'i 'e ai 'tell PART(Erg) who: providing that' (III.2.5.1.(5)), the particle-conjunction na'a 'Potential' (III.2.6.(1)) – Ne kala ke maa ma'u he ika he ne kovi 'aupito te tai. 'PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(1DuExcl) get DET(Nspf) fish CONJ PART(Pst) bad very DET(Spf) sea: We did not catch any fish for the sea was very bad.'; Ne kala ke au tala'i ange te mo'oni ki taku ongo maatu'á na'a naa loto mamahi ai. 'PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) tell DIR(Tsd) DET(Spf) truth PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(3Du) inside painful DEM(Anaph): I did not tell the truth to my parents lest they should be upset about it’ and so on. In contrast to English clauses marked by 'because', causal clauses introduced by the particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking' (II.3.1.(10)) or the conjunction kote'uhí 'because' (III.2.5.2.(2)) are, according to most speakers, always outside the scope.

(3.3.2.3.-3) 'E kala 'alu 'ia au ko PART(Fut) not go PART(Abs) PROJ(1SgExcl) PART(Npm)
taku faanaú. DET(Spf1SgExclA) children

'I will not go, and it is because of my children.'

(3.3.2.3.-4) Ne kailoa ke au fai ia PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) do DEM(Anaph)
kote'uhí ne au fiama'u te CONJ PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) want DET(Spf)
pa'angá. money

'I did not do it, and it is because I wanted
the money.'

Elements that occur in front of negators are generally outside the semantic scope of negators – Ne 'alu 'ia Sione 'o kailoa hana poa mai. 'PART(Pst) go PART(Abs) Sione PART(Inc) not tell DIR(Tsp): Sione left without telling me.’ –, but it is not the case of thematized nominal phrases (III.4.2.) or temporal and conditional clauses that relate to the predicate of negated clauses – 'Oku ha'u ma'u pee 'ia Sione kaa ko te 'aho nei, ne kala ha'u. 'PART(Prs) come steady just PART(Abs) Sione CONJ PART(Npm) DET(Spf) day DEIC(Nspf) PART(Pst) not come: Sione always comes, but today, he did not.’

Certain elements are incompatible with negation and may never be negated even if they occur within the semantic scope of negators. Such elements include:
(a) a number of phrase adjuncts like foki 'also' (III.1.3.1.(B)), pee 'just'
(III.1.3.1.(B)(1)), nai 'Doubt' (III.1.3.1.(B)(3)) and so on

(3.3.2.3.-5) Ne kala ha'u 'ia Sione foki.
PART(Pst) not come PART(Abs) Sione also
'Sione did not come, either.'

Another example is (3.3.2.4.-1)(b) below.

(b) quantitative modifiers

(3.3.2.3.-6) Ne kailoa oo mai te tamaliki
PART(Pst) not come(Col) DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) children(Col)
ako 'e toko nima kote'uhi ko te
leran PART(Nmr) ANIM five CONJ PART(Npm) DET(Spf)
'ua lahi.
rain much
'Five pupils did not come because of heavy rain.'

(3.3.2.3.-7) Ne kala 'ilo te kakai kotoa pee 'o
PART(Pst) not know DET(Spf) people all just PART(Pss0)
tekoló ki te ongoongó.
DET(Spf) village PART(All) DET(Spf) news
'All the people of the village did not know the news
(= none of them knew it),'

(c) Others like the pre-base modifiers mei and meimei 'almost' (II.2.3.2.(4))

(3.3.2.3.-8) Ne kailoa ke au mei lava
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) almost pass

tesivi.
DET(Spf) exam
'I almost did not pass the exam.'

The pre-base modifiers mei and meimei never occur in front of negators – 'Ne mei
kailoa ke au lava te sivi. 'PART(Pst) almost not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) pass
DET(Spf) exam'.

3.2.4 Position of Elements that Relate to Whole Negative Clauses

Phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.) and the anaphoric demonstrative ai (II.3.4.2.(D)) that
syntactically and semantically relate to a negative clause as a whole may occur either
immediately after the negator or after the predicate of the negated clause. The difference
in the positions of these elements in the following pairs of examples, for instance, do not
result in any semantic difference.
3.3 Negators as Negative Existential Verbs

All the negators dealt with in III.3.2. above may also be used as negative existential verbs. The argument whose existence is negated occurs as S.

(1) kailoa. loa. kala

(3.3.3.-1) Ne kailoa he taha 'i 'api. PART(Pst) not DET(Nspf) one PART(Loc) home

'There was no one at home.'
3.3.3.-2) 'Oku loa he notou me'a kai.
PART(Prs) not DET(Nspf) DET(3Pl) thing eat
'They have no food.'

3.3.3.-3) Ne kala haku me'a ke fai.
PART(Pst) not DET(Nspf1SgExclA) thing PART(Sbj) do
'There was nothing for me to do.'

(2) koloto

3.3.3.-4) Koloto he me'a pehee.
not(Emtl) DET(Nspf) thing like-that
'There is no such thing.'

3.3.3.-5) Koloto hana 'aonga.
not(Emtl) DET(Nspf3SgA) use
'He is useless.'

(3) te'eki ai, he'iki ai
ai is obligatory when te'eki ai and he'iki ai are used to form existential clauses.

3.3.3.-6) 'Oku te'eki ai he maa faanau.
PART(Prs) not-yet DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) DET(1DuExcl) children
'We have no children yet.'

3.3.3.-7) 'Oku he'iki ai he 'uhila 'i
PART(Prs) not-yet DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) electricity PART(Loc)
Niuafou'ou.
Niuafou'ou
'There is no electricity on Niuafou'ou yet.'

However, this does not exclude the possibility of positive existential clauses being negated by negators. (3.3.3.-1) may, therefore, be paraphrased by 'Oku kailoa ke 'i ai he taha 'i 'api. 'PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) one PART(Loc) home', (3.3.3.-4) by Koloto ke 'i ai me'a pehee. 'not(Emtl) PART(Sbj) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) thing like-that', (3.3.3.-6) by 'Oku te'eki (ai) ke 'i ai he maa faanau. 'PART(Prs) not-yet (DEM(Anaph)) PART(Sbj) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) DET(1DuExcl) children' and so on.

3.4 Negators as Anaphoric Verbals

All the negative words dealt with in III.3.2. except kala may also be used without being followed by any clause and negate something in the immediately preceding context.

(1) kailoa. loa

kailoa and kala as anaphoric verbals occur mainly in clauses like the following:
(A) Adversative Clauses

(3.3.4.-1) Mahalo pee, ne totonu ke au fai think just PART(Pst) right PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) do ia kae kailoa.
DEM(Anaph) CONJ not

'Maybe, I should have done it but I did not.'

(3.3.4.-2) Ne ke tala'i mai ne ne PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Pst) DET(3Sg)
tala'i mai te mo'oni kaa 'oku au tell DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) truth CONJ PART(Prs) DET(1SgExcl)
tui ne kailoa.
believe PART(Pst) not

'You said he told me the truth but I believe that he did not.'

(B) Disjunctive Clauses

(3.3.4.-3) Ne 'alu 'i te tangata pe kailoa?
PART(Pst) go PART(Uns) DET(Spf) man CONJ not

'Did the man go or not?'

(3.3.4.-4) Ne ma'u mo'oni 'e te tangata te PART(Pst) get true PART(Erg) DET(Spf) man DET(Spf)
pale pe ne kailoa?
prize CONJ PART(Pst) not

'Did the man really get the prize or not?'

(C) Conditional Clauses

(3.3.4.-5) 'Okū ke sa'ina 'i te me'a kai PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) like PART(Loc) DET(Spf) thing eat
ko 'enā? Kaa pau 'oku loa,
PART(Npm) DEM(Nad) PART-CONJ(Cnd) certain PART(Prs) not

'aua 'e kai ia.
don't PART(Sbj) eat DEM(Anaph)

'Do you like that food? If not, don't eat it.'

(3.3.4.-6) 'E au 'alu 'o kaa pau PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Inc) PART-CONJ(Cnd) certain
'e matangi lelei. Kaa kailoa, 'e PART(Fut) wind good PART-CONJ(Cnd) not PART(Fut)
kailoa.
not
‘I will go if it is good weather. If not, I will not.’

(D) Answers
kalaoa and loa are used by themselves as answers meaning ‘no’ (III.6.1.).

(2) koloto
koloto as an anaphoric verbal occurs in clauses like the following:

(A) Adversative Clauses

(3.3.4.-7) Ne totonu ke ha'u 'ia Sione kae
PART(Pst) right PART(Sbj) come PART(Abs) Sione CONJ
koloto.
not(Emtl)

‘Sione should have come but he did not.’

(B) Answers
koloto is used by itself as answer meaning an emotionally marked ‘no’.

(3) te'eki ai, heʻiki ai
ai is obligatory when te'eki ai and heʻiki ai are used as anaphoric verbals. They occur mainly in clauses like the following:

(A) Adversative Clauses

(3.3.4.-8) Ne au fakakaukau kua 'osi PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) think PART(Prf) finished
tana fai me'a kai kaa ne ne tala'i DET(Spf3SgA) do thing eat CONJ PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) tell
mai 'oku te'eki ai.
DIR(Tsp) PART(Prs) not-yet DEM(Anaph)

‘I thought that she had finished cooking but she told me that she hadn’t yet.’

(B) Disjunctive Clauses

(3.3.4.-9) Kuá ne 'osi ma'u te faito'ó pe PART(Prf) DET(3Sg) already get DET(Spf) medicine CONJ
'oku te'eki ai?
PART(Prs) not-yet DEM(Anaph)

‘Has he taken the medicine or not yet?’
'Is the work over or not yet?'

(C) Conditional Clauses

'Have you eaten 'afato yet? If not, you should try it sometime.'

(D) Answers

'Has the ship left yet?'

'No, not yet.'

3.5 Negation of Sub-clausal Elements — the Prefix ta'e

Negation of sub-clausal elements is marked by ta'e, which immediately precedes the elements to be negated. Elements that are thus negated by ta'e are functionally more or less equivalent to stative verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)), and basically, ta'e may be regarded as a prefix although it has some unusual characteristics as a prefix, as mentioned in III.3.5.(B) below.

(A) ta'e = Common word

ta'e firstly occurs with various types of common words, which may be verbally- or nominally-oriented (II.1.4.3.). Common words that are preceded by ta'e may occur as verbal-phrase bases in predicates, as in:

'Oku ta'e ako 'ia Mele.
PART(Prs) un- learn PART(Abs) Mele

'Mele is uneducated.'
(3.3.5.-2) Ne  
PART(Pst)  
ta'e suu te  
un-  
tamasi'1.  
shoe DET(Spf)  
boy  

'The boy was without shoes.'

or as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases, as in:

(3.3.5.-3) Ne  
PART(Pst)  
ha'u ta'e suu te  
come un-  
tamasi'1.  
shoe DET(Spf)  
boy  

'The boy came without shoes.'

or as postposed modifiers of nominal phrases, as in:

(3.3.5.-4) Ko  
PART(Npm)  
te  
DET(Spf)  
fafine ta'e ako  
woman un-  
'ia  
learn PART(Abs)  
Mele  

'Mele is an uneducated woman.'

Further examples follow:

(3.3.5.-5) 'Oku  
PART(Prs)  
ta'e ngaue  
un-  
'ia  
work PART(Abs)  
Sione 'i  
Sione PART(Loc)  
DET(Spf)  
taimi nei.  
time DEIC(Nsp)  

'Sione is unemployed now.'

(3.3.5.-6) 'Oku  
PART(Prs)  
ta'e mahino  
un-  
'aupito tana  
very PART(3SgA)  
leá.  
detective language  

'His speech is very unclear.'

(B) ta'e — Nominal phrase

Unlike other prefixes, ta'e also occurs with nominals preceded by determiners. Nominal phrases that are preceded by ta'e occur in the verbal function and indicate that what they signify is not provided or possessed, or does not exist.

(3.3.5.-7) 'Oku  
PART(Prs)  
ta'e hono  
un-  
tatau te  
DET(Nspf3SgO)  
faiva  
equal DET(Spf)  
movie  
i  
PART(Loc)  
Ngele'ia.  

'The movie in Ngele'ia has no equal.'

(3.3.5.-8) 'Oku  
PART(Prs)  
'ave ta'e he  
take un-  
totongi te  
DET(Nspf)  
niusipepà}  
newspaper  
e  
PART(Erg)  
te  
DET(Spf)  
kautaha vaka puná ki  
company ship fly  PART(All)  
DET(Spf)  

'uu motu  
PL  
kehekehe 'i  
Tonga.  

'The newspaper is transported, free of charge, by the aeroplane company to various islands in Tonga.'

(C) ta'e + the Negator 'auna 'don't' in Conditional Clauses
The negator 'aua 'don't' (III.5.2.), preceded by ta'e, occurs in in conditional clauses referring to counterfactual situations. ta'e 'aua often becomes ta'aua.

(3.3.5.-9) Kaa ne ta'e 'aua tana ha'ú. PART-CONJ(Cnd) PART(Pst) un- don't DET(Spf3SgA) come
ne kala ke lava te ngaaué. PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) possible DET(Spf) work

'If it had not been for his coming, the work had not been possible.'

(3.3.5.-10) 'O kaa ne ta'aua te PART(Inc) PART-CONJ(Cnd) PART(Pst) un-don't DET(Spf)
tangatá ne u'usi 'oku 'e te man PART(Pst) bite PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
kuli'i.
dog

'If it had not been for the man, I would have been bitten by the dog.'

(3.3.5.-11) 'Oku kei ma'uli tono fohá 'o PART(Prs) still alive DET(Spf3Sg0) son PART(Inc)
kaa pau ne ta'e 'aua te PART-CONJ(Cnd) certain PART(Pst) un- don't DET(Spf)
taú.
war

'His son would still be alive if it had not been for the war.'

(D) ta'e in Negative Clauses

ta'e may occur in the predicate of clauses that are negated by some negator. Clauses that involve this double negative construction indicate strong affirmation. In this construction, elements that are preceded by ta'e may function like various types of verbals, and not necessarily like stative verbals.

(3.3.5.-12) 'E kala au ta'e fai ia ia. PART(Fut) not DET(1SgExc1) un- do DEM(Anaph) UNEXP

'I will certainly do it.'

(3.3.5.-13) Ko tono kailoa pee ke ta'e 'ilo'i PART(Npm) DET(Spf3Sg0) not just PART(Sbj) un- know
tono tau'angá.
DET(Spf3Sg0) fishing-spot

'He certainly knows his fishing-spot.'
CHAPTER 4
Focusing and Thematization

There are two main types of syntactic processes by means of which the structuring of information in clauses may be modified according to certain pragmatic considerations. The first of these, focusing, serves to explicitly indicate the focus, namely, that part of the clause which is presumed to be unknown to the addressee. The second, thematicization, involves several distinct, but obviously closely related constructions and most typically serves to explicitly indicate the theme, that is, the argument about which something is said, and certain other elements that specify the local or temporal scope within which the information indicated by the other part of the clause holds.

4.1 Focusing

Postposed modifiers in the verbal function and nominal phrases that denote various arguments may be focused. As seen in III.6.4., focusing plays an important role in information questions and their answers.

4.1.1 Focusing of Postposed Modifiers in Verbal Function

Postposed modifiers of both verbal and nominal phrases may be focused. Although postposed modifiers are not preceded by particles or determiners, it is, as dealt with in III.1.2., still possible to distinguish verbal and nominal functions with postposed modifiers. Only postposed modifiers in the verbal function may be focused.

The postposed modifiers that are focused occur as predicates and the rest of the constituents form nominalized clauses (III.1.5.) and occur as S. Therefore, clauses that involve the focusing of postposed modifiers take the form of simple verbal clauses.

In the following pairs of examples, the (b)-clauses involve focusing while the (a)-clauses are their unfocused counterparts.

(A) Focusing of Postposed Modifiers of Verbal Phrases

(3.4.1.1.-1)(a) Ne tau'olunga maalie te ta'ahiné.
PART(Pst) dance admirable DET(Spf) girl

'The girl danced admirably.'

(b) Ne maalie te tau'olunga 'a
PART(Pst) admirable DET(Spf) dance PART(PssA)
te ta'ahiné.
DET(Spf) girl

'It was admirably that the girl danced.'

(3.4.1.1.-2)(a) Ne taa'i lahi 'aupito 'ia au
PART(Pst) hit much totally PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl)

'e Sione.
PART(Erg) Sione

'Sione hit me very hard.'

(b) Ne lahi 'aupito toku taa'i
PART(Pst) much totally DET(Spf1SgExcl0) hit

'e Sione.
PART(Erg) Sione

'It was very hard that Sione hit me.'

(B) Focusing of Postposed Modifiers of Nominal Phrases

(3.4.1.1.-3)(a) Ne holo te 'uu fale lahi 'aupito
PART(Pst) collapse DET(Spf) PL house many totally

'i te afaá.
PART(Spf) DET(Spf) hurricane

'Many houses collapsed in the hurricane.

(b) Ne lahi 'aupito te 'uu fale ne
PART(Pst) many totally DET(Spf) PL house PART(Pst)
holo 'i te afaá.
collapse PART(Loc) DET(Spf) hurricane

'Many were the houses that collapsed in the hurricane.'

(3.4.1.1.-4)(a) Ne ina ngaahi te kahoa faka'ofa'ofa
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) make DET(Spf) lei beautiful

'aupito.
totally

'He made a very beautiful lei.'

(b) Ne faka'ofa'ofa 'aupito te kahoa ne
PART(Pst) beautiful totally DET(Spf) lei PART(Pst)
inagaahi.
DET(3Sg) make

'Very beautiful was the lei he made.'
4.1.2 Focusing of Nominal Phrases that Denote Various Arguments

Clauses that involve the focusing of nominal phrases denoting various arguments take the form of nominal clauses (III.1.1.2). That is, they realize as equational clauses with the nominal phrase to be focused occurring as predicate, and the rest of the clause forming a relative clause (III.2.3.) that modify an appropriate nominal that functions as equational subject.

In the following pairs of examples, the (b)-clauses involve focusing and the (a)-clauses are their unfocused counterparts.

(3.4.1.2.-1)(a) Ne ha‘u te tamasi‘i.
PART(Pst) come DET(Spf) boy

'A boy came.'

(b) Ko te tamasi‘i te toko taha
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) boy DET(Spf) ANIM one
ne ha‘ú.
PART(Pst) come

'It is a boy that came.'

(3.4.1.2.-2)(a) Ne au taa‘i ‘ia Sione.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) hit PART(Abs) Sione

'I hit Sione.'

(b) Ko Sione te toko taha ne
PART(Npm) Sione DET(Spf) ANIM one PART(Pst)
au taa‘í.
DET(1SgExcl) hit

'It is Sione that I hit.'

(3.4.1.2.-3)(a) Ne‘e kai ‘e ‘Ana te iká.
PART(Pst) eat PART(Erg) 'Ana DET(Spf) fish

'Ana ate the fish.'

(b) Ko ‘Ana te toko taha ne ina
PART(Npm) 'Ana DET(Spf) ANIM one PART(Pst) DET(3Sg)
kai te iká.
eat DET(Spf) fish

'It is 'Ana that ate the fish.'

(3.4.1.2.-4)(a) Ne au ha‘u mei Tonga.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) come PART(Abl) Tonga

'I came from Tonga.'

(b) Ko Tonga te feitu‘u ne
PART(Npm) Tonga DET(Spf) place PART(Pst)
au ha‘u mei al.
DET(1SgExcl) come PART(Abl) DEM(Anaph)
'It is Tonga that I came from.'

(3.4.1.2.-5)(a) Ne au ha'u mo Sione mo
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) come PART(Ass) Sione PART(Ass)
Teevita.
Teevita
'I came with Sione and Teevita.'

(b) Ko Sione mo Teevita te ongo tangata
PART(Npm) Sione PART(Ass) Teevita DET(Spf) DU man
ne au ha'u mo ia.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) come PART(Ass) DEM(Anaph)
'It is with Sione and Teevita that I came.'

(3.4.1.2.-6)(a) Ne lavae te foha 'o Sione
PART(Pst) injured DET(Spf) son PART(Pss0) Sione
'i te fakatu'utaamaki.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) accident
'Sione's son got injured in the accident.'

(b) Ko Sione te toko taha ne lavae
PART(Npm) Sione DET(Spf) ANIM one PART(Pst) injured
tono foha 'i te fakatu'utaamaki.
DET(Spf3Sg0) son PART(Loc) DET(Spf) accident
'It is Sione whose son got injured in the accident.'

Relative clauses that occur in this construction differ from other relative clauses in two respects, namely:

(1) The nominal they modify may be ellipted. If it is preceded by an article, this is ellipted with it. Therefore, in correspondence with (3.4.1.2.-1)(b) - (3.4.1.2.-6)(b) above, it possible to say:

(3.4.1.2.-1)(c) Ko te tamasi'i ne ha'ú.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) boy PART(Pst) come

(3.4.1.2.-2)(c) Ko Sione ne au taa'í.
PART(Npm) Sione PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) hit

(3.4.1.2.-3)(c) Ko 'Ana ne ina kai te iká.
PART(Npm) 'Ana PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) eat DET(Spf) fish

(3.4.1.2.-4)(c) Ko Tonga ne au ha'u mei
PART(Npm) Tonga PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) come PART(Abl)
aí.
DEM(Anaph)

(3.4.1.2.-5)(c) Ko Sione mo Teevita ne
PART(Npm) Sione PART(Ass) Teevita PART(Pst)
au ha'u mo iá.
DET(1SgExcl) come PART(Ass) DEM(Anaph)
(3.4.1.2.-6)(c) Ko Sione ne lavea tono fo ha
PART(Npm) Sione PART(Pst) injured DET(Spf3Sg0) son 'i te fakatu'utaamaki.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) accident

If, on the other hand, the nominal to be elided is accompanied by a determiner or a nominal phrase that indicates a possessor, this is not elided.

(3.4.1.2.-7)(a) Ko te aa tau me'a 'oku
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf2SgA) thing PART(Prs)
fa'i?
do
(b) Ko te aa tau 'oku fa'i?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf2SgA) PART(Prs) do

'What is it that you are doing?'

(3.4.1.2.-8)(a) Ko te aa te me'a 'a
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf) thing PART(PssA)
tangata 'oku fa'i?
DET(Spf) man PART(Prs) do
(b) Ko te aa 'a te tangata
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(PssA) DET(Spf) man
'oku fa'i?
PART(Prs) do

'What is it that the man is doing?'

As will be seen from the examples above, definitive stress must occur at the end of the relative clause even if the nominal with which it relates is elided.

(2) If a first or second person pronoun (II.3.4.2.(C)) is focused, the function of its co-referential argument in the relative clause may be indicated by the corresponding first or second person determiner (II.2.2.) or pronoun instead of the third person determiner, pronoun or the anaphoric demonstrative (II.3.4.2.(D)) that is in agreement with the nominal modified by the clause. This is obligatory when the modified nominal is elided, as dealt with in (1) above. When, on the other hand, the nominal is not elided, it is optional.

(3.4.2.-9)(a) Ko koe te tangata 'oku
PART(Npm) PROI(2Sg) DET(Spf) man PART(Prs)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maa} & \quad \text{fa'ia lea} \\
\text{DET(1DuExcl)} & \quad \text{want speak}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{ki ai} \\
\text{PART(All) DEM(Anaph)} & \}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{kiaa ko'e} \\
\text{PART(All) PROI(2Sg)} & \}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Ko koe 'oku maa fa'ia lea
PART(Npm) PROI(2Sg) PART(Prs) DET(1DuExcl) want speak
As dealt with in III.1.1.2., the predicate of a nominal clause is normally marked by the particle ko ‘Nominal Phrase Marking’ (III.3.1.(10)). However, nominal phrases that specify the spatial or temporal location of a situation, may be focused and moved into the predicate position without change of particles. In this case, it is not possible to overtly express the nominal the relative clause is expected to modify. Thus, in correspondence to (a) in (3.4.2.-10) below, both (b) and (c) are possible as its focused counterparts:

(3.4.2.-10) (a) 'E au alu 'i Sune.
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Loc) Sune
'I will go in June.'

(b) Ko Sune (te taimi) 'e au
PART(Npm) June DET(Spf) time PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl)
'alu al.
go DEM(Anaph)

(c) 'I Sune (*te taimi) 'e au
PART(Loc) Sune DET(Spf) time PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl)
'alu al.
go DEM(Anaph)
'It is in June that I will go.'

As dealt with in III.4.2.2. below, this parallels the marking of the topicalized nominal phrases in the same function.

4.2 Thematization

As already mentioned above, there are a number of distinct types of thematicization. As will be seen below, thematicized elements generally occur at the beginning of a clause. They are set off from the rest of the clause by an intonational break.

As a rule, thematicization is possible only when the predicate of the clause has a particle. As dealt with in III.8.1.1.(B), there are a number of verbs that normally occur without any particle. Thematization is not possible when the predicate of a clause contains such a verbal as base unless a particle is used (which, however, is very unusual). However, it is possible to thematicize nominal phrases in imperative-hortative clauses (III.5.) even though the predicate of these clauses does not have any particle: Ko te ika ko 'ená, 'avange kiaa Sione. 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish PART(Npm) DEM(Nad) take PART(All) Sione: That fish – take it to Sione!'.
4.2.1 Thematization Type I

Thematization of Type I involves the use of the particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking' (II.3.1.10). That is, nominal phrases to be thematized occur in the clause-initial position and are marked by the particle ko. Nominal phrases that are thematized in this way often occur at the beginning of a discourse and present the argument around which the discourse develops. The following example is taken from the opening of a folk-tale:

(3.4.2.1.1) Ko te ongo maatu'a, ne 'i
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DU parent(Col) PART(Pst) PART(Loc)
ai naa ki'i fafine ...
DEM(Anaph) DET(3Du) little woman

'A couple of parents — they had a little daughter ...'

More commonly, however, they are used to pinpoint an argument that has been previously mentioned and about which the speaker wants to supply additional information. In the following examples, the thematized nominal phrase refers to an argument that has just been mentioned, and the information supplied about it is out of the sequence of the situations described in the discourse.

(3.4.2.1.2) ... Pea 'i te taimi fualoa atú,
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time long DIR(Asp)
ne kailoa he fale koloa 'o
PART(Pst) not DET(Nspf) house goods PART(PssO)
he kautaha ne tu'u 'i te
DET(Nspf) company PART(Pst) stand PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
motu nei. Kae oo mai leva te
island DEIC(Nsp) but come(Col) DIR(Tsp) SQC DET(Spf)
ongo maatu'a mei 'Aositeleelia. Ko
DU old-man(Col) PART(Abl) Australia PART(Npm)
te ongo maatu'a, ko gło(Tsp) matu'a 'e
DET(Spf) DU old-man(Col) PART(Npm) old-man PART(Nmr)
taha, ko Taavesi pea ko te matu'a
one PART(Npm) Davis and PART(Npm) DET(Spf) old-man
'ẽ tahá, ko Kaapiteni Lose. Pea naa
PART(Nmr) one PART(Npm) Captain Roes and DET(3Du)
oo mai leva ki te motou
come(Col) DIR(Tsp) SQC PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(1PlExc1)

motu nei ...
island DEIC(Nsp)

'... And long time ago, there was no shop on this island. But two men came from Australia. The two
men – one – it was Davis and the other – it was
Captain Rose. And they came to our island ...

(3.4.2.1.-3) ... pea tala'i ange 'e te sianá
and tell DIR(Tsd) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) fellow
kiaa Mele ke 'alu 'o fai he
PART(All) Mele PART(Sbj) go PART(Inc) do DET(Nspf)
notou 'umu. Pea 'alu leva 'ia Mele
DET(3Pl) earth-oven and go SQC PART(Abs) Mele
'o faka'afu te notou 'umu. Kaa
PART(Inc) light-up DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) earth-oven but
ko Mele, ko te ta'ahine ne
PART(Npm) Mele PART(Npm) DET(Spf) girl PART(Pst)
pele'i pe ngaahi ia 'e tana ongo
favour or spoil UNEXP PART(Erg) DET(Spf3SgA) DU
maatu'a. Sai. Pea 'alu 'eni 'ia Mele
parent(Col) good and go DEM(Nsp) PART(Abs) Mele
'o faka'afu te notou 'umu ...
PART(Inc) light-up DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) earth-oven
' ... and the fellow told Mele to go and prepare their
earth oven. And Mele went to light up their earth
oven. But Mele – she was a girl favoured or spoilt
by her parents. OK. Mele now went to light up
their earth oven ...

Except when they refer partitive to any of the persons or things mentioned earlier, as in
the case of the first ko te matu'a 'e taha 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) old-man
PART(Nmr) one: one man' in (3.4.2.1.-2), thematized nominal phrases in this function
must necessarily have definite reference. Thus, common words (II.3.4.1.) must be
accompanied by an appropriate determiner and a definitive stress. Further, in this
particular function, definite words (II.3.4.2.) may also optionally be accompanied by
definitive stress although some definite words – personal names (II.3.4.2.(A)), place
names (II.3.4.2.(B)), pronouns (II.3.4.2.(C)) and temporal words (II.3.4.2.(E)) – never
take definitive stress otherwise.

The semantic function of a thematized nominal phrase is generally indicated by a
co-referential element that occurs in the following part of the clause. When the
thematized nominal phrase denotes an equational subject, S, A, O or specifies the spatial
or temporal location of the situation referred to by the clause, the co-referential element
– a determiner or a nominal phrase – is optional, as in:
(3.4.2.1.-4) Ko Mele, ko te ta'ahine loi
PART(Npm) Mele PART(Npm) DET(Spf) girl lie

(iia).
PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)

'Mele - she is a girl that tells lies.'

(3.4.2.1.-5) Ko aú, e (au) 'alu
PART(Npm) PROI(IsgExcl) PART(Fut) DET(IsgExcl) go

('ia au) ki ngaalaló.
PART(Abs) PROI(IsgExcl) PART(All) downland

'Me - I will go to the lower land.'

(3.4.2.1.-6) Ko koe, ne taa'i ('ou) e
ta'ahine loi
PART(Npm) PROI(2Sg) PART(Pst) hit PROII(2SgO) PART(Erg)

DET(Spf) teacher

'You - you were hit by the teacher.'

(3.4.2.1.-7) Ko te pusí, 'oku (ina) kai te
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) cat PART(Prs) DET(3Sg) eat DET(Spf)

iká.
fish

'The cat - it is eating the fish.'

(3.4.2.1.-8) Ko te taimi nei, 'oku mo'ua pee
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) time DEIC(Nsp) PART(Prs) busy just

ai 'ia Sione 'i te ngaaué.
DEM(Anaph) PART(Abs) Sione PART(Local) DET(Spf) work

'Now - Sione is busy with the work.'

Otherwise, an appropriate coreferential nominal phrase must obligatorily occur after the predicate, as in:

(3.4.2.1.-9) Ko te kau fafiné, ne au
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL woman PART(Pst) DET(IsgExcl)

sio 'iaa naatou 'aneafi.
see PART(Local) PROI(3Pl) last-night

'The women - I saw them last night.'

(3.4.2.1.-10) Ko te tangatá, 'oku notou langa
ta'ahine loi
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man PART(Prs) DET(3Sg) build

DET(Spf) house PART(BnfA)-PROII(3Sg0)

'The man - they are building a house for him.'

As already exemplified by (3.4.2.1.-2), a clause may have more than one thematized nominal phrase. Another example is (3.3.1.-33).
Nominalized clauses (III.1.5.) are functionally equivalent to nominals and may, like any nominal, be thematized, in which case they most commonly function as temporal and/or conditional clauses. They are dealt with in III.2.1.

Demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D)) that are thematized in this way commonly indicate logical sequence between the clause and the preceding one, as in:

(3.4.2.1.-11) Ne 'ua. Ko ia. ne ta'ofi PART(Pst) rain PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph) PART(Pst) cancel
te. hulahulá.
DET(Spf) dance

'It rained. So, the dance was cancelled.'

(3.4.2.1.-12) Ne ifi lahi 'aupito pea ko 'eni, PART(Pst) smoke much totally and PART(Npm) DEM(NSP)
kua puke.
PART(Prf) ill

'He smoked a lot and so became ill.'

Themetized nominal phrases may be additive and occur at the end of a clause.

Clauses that involve additive thematization are mostly exclamatory.

(3.4.2.1.-14) Ko te ta'ahine loi, ko Melé.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) girl lie PART(Npm) Mele

'She is a liar, Mele is!'

(3.4.2.1.-15) 'Oiau ee, me'a vela mo'oni ko te INTERJ INTERJ thing hot true PART(Npm) DET(Spf)

'aho nei.
day DEIC(Nsp)

'Oh, what a hot day it is today!'

4.2.2 Thematization Type II

Thematization of Type II does not involve any change of particles. That is, thematized nominal phrases are marked solely by their clause-initial position. Only nominal phrases that specify the spatial or temporal location of the situation referred to by the clause may be thematized in this way. Appropriate co-referential nominal phrases may optionally occur after the predicate.

(3.4.2.2.-1) 'I Niuafo'ou nei, 'oku kei vela
PART(Loc) Niuafo'ou DEIC(Nsp) PART(Prs) still hot
pee te 'eá.
just DET(Spf) weather

'Here on Niuafo'ou — the weather is still hot.'

(3.4.2.2.-2) Mel te kai ho'ataa ki te kai
PART(Abl) DET(Spf) eat noon PART(All) DET(SPF) eat
afiafi, ne kala ke, au fai
evening PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) do

(ai) he me'a.
DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) thing

'From lunch until dinner, I did not do anything.'

Another example is the first clause in (3.4.2.1-2) above.

### 4.2.3 Thematization Type III

Thematization of Type III involves an overall clause structure that is unique to it. As dealt with in III.4.1.2., relative clauses in focus clauses may lack the nominal they modify, and they may themselves function like nominal phrases. When clauses of this type are thematized, they are either nominalized and occur in the clause-initial position with the particle ko ‘Nominal Phrase Marking’ (III.3.1.(10)), or else they occur without any formal modification in the clause-initial position. Therefore, in correspondence with (3.4.1.2-1)(c), it is possible to say:

(3.4.2.3.-1)(a) Ko te ha'ú, ko te tamasi'i.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) come PART(Npm) DET(Spf) boy
(b) Ne ha'ú, ko te tamasi'i.
PART(Pst) come PART(Npm) DET(Spf) boy

'Someone came - it was a boy.'

In this example, the nominal phrase that is focused denotes S. and as in the case of its unthematized counterpart, it is preceded by the particle ko, which marks it as a predicate. If, however, the focused nominal phrase denotes O, it must occur in the absolutive (III.3.1.(1)), and if it denotes an argument other than S or O, it must be marked by an appropriate particle that indicates its semantic function. Clauses that are thematized and occur in the clause-initial position never have anaphoric elements that indicate the semantic function of the modified nominal within them. Thus, the thematized counterparts of (3.4.1.2-2)(c) - (3.4.1.2-6)(c) are as follows:

(3.4.2.3.-2)(a) Ko taku taa'i, 'ia Sione.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExclA) hit PART(Abs) Sione

(b) Ne au taa'i, 'ia Sione.
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) hit PART(Abs) Sione

'I hit - it was Sione.'

(3.4.2.3.-3)(a) Ko te kai 'o te iká.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) eat PART(Pss0) DET(SPF) fish

'e 'Ana.
PART(Erg) 'Ana

(b) Ne'e kai te iká, 'e 'Ana.
PART(Pst) eat DET(Spf) fish PART(Erg) 'Ana
The fish was eaten — it was by 'Ana.'

(3.4.2.3.-4)(a) Ko tSKU ha'ú, mei Tonga.
PART(Npm) DET(SplSgExclA) come PART(Abl) Tonga

(b) Ne au ha'ú, mei Tonga.
PArT(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) come PART(Abl) Tonga

'I came — it was from Tonga.'

(3.4.2.3.-5)(a) Ko tSKU ha'ú, mo Teevita
PART(Npm) DET(SplSgExclA) come PART(ass) Teevita

mo Sione.
PART(ass) Sione

(b) Ne au ha'ú, mo Teevita
PArT(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) cme PART(ass) Teevita

mo Sione.
PART(ass) Sione

'I came — it was with Teevita and Sione.'

Thematized clauses of this type also occur when clauses that constitute parts of
other clauses are focused, as in:

(3.4.2.3.-6) Ne au 'alú, ke vakai pe
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Sbj) see if

'oku 'i ai he penisini
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) benzine

'i te fale koloá.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) house goods

'I went — it was in order to see if there was any
benzine at the shop.'

(3.4.2.3.-7) Ko tana foki ee mei
PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) return DEM(Aspad) PART(Abl)

Ha'amoá, 'o hanga tonu pee ia ki
Saamoa PART(Inc) turn straight just UNEXP PART(All)

Fisi.
Fiji

'It returned from Saamoa — it was straight to Fiji.'

and also very commonly indicate a point in time, as in:

(3.4.2.3.-8) Ne notou tau mal. ne toki kamata
PART(Pst) DET(3P1) arrive DIR(Tsp) PART(Pst) then begin

te kaatoangá.
DET(Spf) feast

'When they arrived, the feast started.'

(3.4.2.3.-9) Nau foki mal, 'oku kala
PART(Pst)-DET(1SGExcl) return DIR(Tsp) PART(Prs) not
'i api toku mali.
PART(Loc) home DET(SpflSgExcl) wife

'When I returned, my wife was not at home.'

As in other cases where there is a temporal or logical sequence between the situations referred to by the clauses that are linked together, the conjunction pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.1(1)) may occur between the two clauses, as in:

\[(3.4.2.3.-10) \ 'E ha'ù 'ia Sione pea tou toki •
PART(Fut) come PART(Abs) Sione and DET(IPlIncl) then oo.
go(Col)

'When Sione comes, let's go then!'

To negate clauses that involve thematicization of this type, the negator occurs immediately in front of the focused nominal phrase and after the thematicized element, as in the case of negation of clauses in general (III.3.2.3.), if the focused nominal phrase denotes S. Thus, the negative counterparts of (3.4.2.3.-1)(a) and (b) are:

\[(3.4.2.3.-11)(a) Ko te ha'ù, ne kailoa ko •
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) come PART(Pst) not PART(Npm)

he tamasi'i.
DET(Nspf) boy

(b) Ne ha'ù, ne kailoa ko he •
PART(Pst) come PART(Pst) not PART(Npm) DET(NSPF)

tamasi'i.
boy

'Someone came — it was not a boy.'

If, on the other hand, the focused element is a nominal phrase that denotes an argument other than S or a clause, the negative word occurs in the thematicized clause if this is verbal and immediately in front of the thematicized clause if this is nominalized. Therefore, the negative counterparts of (3.4.2.3.-2)(a) and (b), for instance, are:

\[(3.4.2.3.-12)(a) Ne kailoa ko taku taa'i, •
PART(Pst) not PART(Npm) DET(SpflSgExcl) hit

'ia Sione.
PART(Abs) Sione

(b) Ne kailoa ke au taa'i, •
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(ISgExcl) hit

'ia Sione.
PART(Abs) Sione

'I hit — it was not Sione.'

In these clauses, the negator semantically relates to 'ia Sione 'PART(Abs) Sione', and not to the immediately following clause. Therefore, they may be expanded like: Ne
kailoa ko taku taa‘i, ‘ia Sione kaa ko Mele. ‘PART(Pst) not PART(Npm) DET(1SgExclA) hit PART(Abs) Sione but PART(Npm) Mele: I hit – it was not Sione but (it was) Mele (that I hit).’
CHAPTER 5
Imperative-Hortative Clauses

Imperative-hortative clauses (Hagman 1977) refer to situations which the speaker wants the addressee to turn into reality. They are used to indicate commands, proposals or suggestions.

The negator 'aua which is used to form negative imperative-hortative clauses was not included in III.3. It is dealt with below in III.5.2.

The particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) often introduces clauses that occur as independent utterances. They are semantically very similar to imperative-hortative clauses and are dealt with in III.5.3. below.

This chapter also deals with verbals and verbal phrases that occur specifically in imperative-hortative clauses (III.5.4.).

5.1 Structure and Use of Imperative-Hortative Clauses

Imperative-hortative clauses are recognized by the lack of a particle in their predicate. Only verbal clauses that refer to processes may become imperative-hortative clauses. Thus, stative verbals (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)), numerals (II.7.) and negators (excepting 'aua 'don't' dealt with in III.5.2. below) are incompatible with the imperative-hortative.

Imperative-hortative clauses indicate commands when their S or A is in the second person. The second person singular determiner ke does not occur in the predicate of an imperative-hortative clause, as exemplified by:

(3.5.1.-1) 'Alu.
go
'Go!'

(3.5.1.-2) Puke te puaká.
grab DET(Spf) pig
'Grab the pig!'

unless the clause is introduced by the conjunction pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)) or kaa ~ kae 'but' (III.2.5.1.(2)), in which case it is optional, as in:

(3.5.1.-3) Kaa pau 'oku 'i ai
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph)
'If there is anything that you want, tell it to me!'

(3.5.1.-4) 'Alu

kaa ke

but DET(2Sg) foki vave mai

kae

return fast DIR(Tsp)

but

'Go but come back quickly!'

The second person dual and plural determiners kulaa ~ laa ~ luaa and kotou, on the other hand, are always optional, as in:

(3.5.1.-5) (Kulaa) tokoni mai.

DET(2Du) help DIR(Tsp)

'Help me!'

(3.5.1.-6) (Kotou) 'aumai te puha naa.

DET(2Pl) bring DET(Spf) box DEIC(Nad)

'Bring that box!'

(3.5.1.-7) Kaa pau 'oku kala ke kotou

PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) DET(2Pl)

ma'ua (pea) (kotou) tokoni mai.

busy and DET(2Pl) help DIR(Tsp)

'If you are not busy, help me.'

When their S or A is in the first person dual or plural inclusive, imperativerhortative clauses may be interrogative as well as declarative. When they are declarative, they indicate proposals, and when they are interrogative, they are used to inquire about the addressee's wish or to ask for permission.

(3.5.1.-8) Taa oo.

DET(1DuIncl) go(Col)

'Let's go!'

(3.5.1.-9) Taa oo?

DET(1DuIncl) go(Col)

'Shall we go?'

(3.5.1.-10) Tou kai aa te fe'i lesi.

DET(1PlIncl) eat URGE DET(Spf) fruit-of pawpaw

'Let's eat the pawpaw now!'

(3.5.1.-11) Taa oo mo koe?

DET(1DuIncl) go(Col) PART(Ass) PROI(2Sg)
(a) ‘Shall I come with you?’

(b) ‘May I come with you?’

When their S or A is contrasted with someone else, co-referential pronouns Type I (II.3.4.2.(C-1)) occur in the same clause, as in:

(3.5.1.-12) Kai peē 'e koe te moā ke
         eat just PART(Erg) PROI(2Sg) DET(Spf) chicken PART(Sbj)

'osī.
finished

‘You finish the chicken yourself!’

(3.5.1.-13) Tou oo 'ia taatou kae notou
         DET(1PlIncl) go(Col) PART(Abs) PROI(1SgIncl) but DET(3Pl)

nofo 'ia naatou 'ī henī.
stay PART(Abs) PROI(3Pl) PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp)

‘Let’s go while they will stay here!’

The first person singular, dual and plural exclusive are completely incompatible with imperative-hortative clauses. The first person singular inclusive (II.5.1.) and the third person are also incompatible with affirmative imperative-hortative clauses, but as dealt with in III.5.2. below, these may occur in negative imperative-hortative clauses.

5.2 Negative Imperative-hortative Clauses

As already mentioned in III.3.1., negative imperative-hortative clauses are marked by the negator ‘aua.

5.2.1 Negation of Clauses by the Negator ‘aua

The negator ‘aua may negate only verbal clauses occurs in the following formulas:

\[ \text{‘aua} \oplus \begin{cases} 
{('e)} \\
{na'ā}
\end{cases} + \text{Clause} \]

Unlike other negators, ‘aua is followed by clauses introduced by the particle ‘e ‘Subjunctive’ or the particle-conjunction na'ā ‘Potential’ (III.2.6.(1)).

As already mentioned above, negative imperative-hortative clauses are possible not only when their S or A is in the second person and the first person dual and plural inclusive but also when it is in the third person and the first person singular inclusive.

The construction with the particle-conjunction na'ā ‘Potential’ seems to be less abrupt than the construction with the particle ‘e ‘Subjunctive’ and indicate suggestions rather than prohibitions or proposals. The construction with the particle ‘e indicates straightforward prohibitions when their S or A is in the second person, and proposals when it is in other persons.

(a) ‘aua + ('e)
In this construction, the second person singular determiner ke does not occur in the predicate of the negated clause while the second person dual and plural determiners kulaa ~ laa ~ luaa and kotou are optional.

(a-1) Second Person Singular

(3.5.2.1.-1) ‘Aua (‘e) ‘alu.
don't PART(Sbj) go

'Don't go!'

(3.5.2.1.-2) ‘Aua (‘e) inu te vai ko ‘ená.
don't PART(Sbj) drink DET(Spf) water PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp)

'Don't drink that water!'

(a-2) Second Person Dual and Plural

(3.5.2.1.-3) ‘Aua (‘e) (kulaa) tangi.
don't PART(Sbj) DET(2DU) cry

'Don't cry!'

(3.5.2.1.-4) ‘Aua (‘e) (kotou) taamate‘i te puaka

don't PART(Sbj) DET(2PL) kill DET(Spf) pig

naa.
DEIC(Nad)

'Don't kill that pig!'

(a-3) First Person Dual and Plural Inclusive

(3.5.2.1.-5) ‘Aua (‘e) taa toe oo ki

don't PART(Sbj) DET(1DuIncl) again go(Col) PART(All)

ai.
DEM(Anaph)

'Let's not go there again!'

(3.5.2.1.-6) ‘Aua (‘e) tou ‘ita kiaa ja.
don't PART(Sbj) DET(1PlIncl) angry PART(All) PROI(3Sg)

'Let's not eat it!'

(a-4) Other

(3.5.2.1.-7) ‘Aua (‘e) notou foki leva.
don't PART(Sbj) DET(3Pl) return SQC

'Let them not go back yet!'

(3.5.2.1.-8) ‘Aua (‘e) kita ‘oho‘oho.
don't PART(Sbj) DET(1SgIncl) precipitous

'Let's not be precipitous!'

(b) ‘aua – na’a

In this construction, all the second person determiners normally occur in the predicate of the negated clause.
(b-1) Second Person Singular

(3.5.2.1.-9) ‘Aua na’ā ke ‘alu.
don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(2Sg) go

‘You should not go.’

(3.5.2.1.-10) ‘Aua na’a ke taa’i te kuliī.
don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(2Sg) hit DET(Spf) dog

‘You should not hit the dog.’

(b-2) Second Person Dual and Plural

(3.5.2.1.-11) ‘Aua na’a kulaa tangi.
don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(2Du) cry

‘You should not cry.’

(3.5.2.1.-12) ‘Aua na’a kotou taamate’i te puaka
none.
don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(2Pl) kill DET(Spf) pig

DEIC(Nad)

‘You should not kill that pig.’

(b-3) First Person Dual and Plural

(3.5.2.1.-13) ‘Aua na’a taa tui ki
ai.
don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(1DuIncl) believe PART(All)
DEM(Anaph)

‘We should not believe it.’

(3.5.2.1.-14) ‘Aua na’a tou kai ia.
don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(1PlIncl) eat DEM(Anaph)

‘We should not eat it.’

(b-4) Other

(3.5.2.1.-15) ‘Aua na’a toe inu ‘ia Sione.
don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) again drink PART(Abs) Sione

‘Sione should not drink any more.’

When S or A is contrasted with someone else, coreferential nominal phrases occur in
the negated clauses.

(3.5.2.1.-16) ‘Aua ‘(e) ha’u ‘ia koe mo
maatou.
don't PART(Sbj) come PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg) PART(Ass)
PROI(1PlExcl)

‘Don’t come with us!’

(3.5.2.1.-17) ‘Aua na’a tou fai ia
don't PART-CONJ(Ptl) DET(1PlIncl) do DEM(Anaph)
'e taatou.
PART(Erg) PROI(1PlIncl)

'We should not do it.'

'aua is not preceded by any preposed modifiers (II.2.3.), but it may be followed by phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.), as in:

(3.5.2.1.-18) 'Aua 'aupito 'e taa'i ia.
don't very PART(Sbj) hit PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)

'Don't hit him, never!'

'aua may be preceded by the linking particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) and 'o 'Incorporative' (III.2.4.1.(3)). It also occurs with the conjunctions pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)) and kae 'but' (III.2.5.1.(2)). It is incompatible with the rest of the conjunctions and particles.

(3.5.2.1.-19) 'Okou fakamanatu ma'u pee ki
PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) remind steady just PART(All)
ai tana paloomesi ke 'aua
DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf3SgA) promise PART(sbj) don't
na'a faifai peā ne maumau'i.
PART-CONJ(Ptl) by-and-by and DET(3Sg) break

'I keep on reminding him of his promise so that he will not break it.'

(3.5.2.1.-20) Taa 'ofa ki te tou fill
DET(1DuIncl) love PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(1PlIncl) enemy
'o 'aua 'e tou taaufehi'a
PART(Inc) don't PART(Sbj) DET(1PlIncl) hate
ki ai.
PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'Let's love our enemy and not hate him.'

(3.5.2.1.-21) Kaa pau 'e 'ua pea 'aua
PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Sbj) rain and don't
'e 'alu.
PART(Sbj) go

'If it rains, don't go!'

(3.5.2.1.-22) Talanoa pee mo Sione kae 'aua 'e tala'i
chat just PART(Ass) Sione but don't PART(Sbj) tell
ange ki ai te me'ā.
DIR(Tsd) PART(All) DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) thing

'Talk with Sione, but don't tell the thing to him!'

As in the case of the other negators (III.3.2.2.), aua may not be directly associated with any of the arguments of the negated clause. Thus:
5.2.2 The Negator 'aua as Anaphoric Verbal

'aua may be used without being followed by clauses to be negated when what is to be negated is clear from context, as in:

(3.5.2.2.-1) 'Aua.
don't

'Don't!'

When followed by the phrase adjunct leva ‘Sequence’ (III.1.3.1.(A)), 'aua indicates that the speaker wants to prohibit something for the time being and not completely. In this case, it translates ‘wait!’, ‘hang on!’ and the like.

(3.5.2.2.-2) 'Aua leva.
don't SQC

'Wait!'

When followed by clauses that are introduced by the particle ke ‘Subjunctive’ (III.2.4.1.(2)) or kua ‘Perfective’ (II.2.1.(4)), 'aua does not negate them but indicates that something is prohibited until the situation referred to by the following clause.

(3.5.2.2.-3) 'Aua ke hopo te la'aá.
don't PART(Sbj) jump DET(Spf) sun

'Don't until the sun rises!'

(3.5.2.2.-4) 'Aua leva kua 'osi te ngaaue.
don't SQC PART(Prf) finished DET(Spf) work

'Wait until the work is over!'

As dealt with in III.2.5.1.(6), 'aua, occurring in this construction, is frequently linked to the preceding clause by the conjunction kae (III.2.5.1.(2)) and form temporal clauses that would correspond to clauses introduced by 'until' in English.

5.3 Clauses Introduced by the Particle ke

As dealt with in III.2.4.1.(2), the particle ke ‘Subjunctive’ is used to introduce several types of clauses that refer to non-real situations and link them with the preceding clause. Clauses that are introduced by ke may also often occur as independent utterances and are used to indicate situations that the speaker wants to turn into reality, or when they are interrogative, to inquire about the addressee's wish or to ask for permission, as in:

(3.5.3.-1) Ke motou oo na'a vela te
PART(Sbj) DET(1P1Exc1) go(Col) PART-CONJ(Ptl) hot DET(Spf)
la'aá.
sun
'We should go lest the sun should become hot.'

(3.5.3.-2) Ke ha'u mai te vaká 'aapongipongi.
PART(Sbj) come DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) ship tomorrow
'Oh, that the ship would come tomorrow!'

(3.5.3.-3) Ke 'uaa ha'u mai te vaká 'aapongipongi.
PART(Sbj) don't come DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) ship tomorrow
'Oh, that the ship would not come tomorrow!'

(3.5.3.-4) Ke tou oo?
PART(Sbj) DET(1PlIncl) go(Col)
'Shall we go?'

These clauses seem to have been derived from complex clauses by ellipting the preceding clauses. For instance, (3.5.3.-2) above may be derived from a clause like: 'Okou faka'amu ange ke ha'u mai te vaká 'aapongipongi. PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) wish DIR(Tsd) PART(Sbj) come DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) ship tomorrow: I wish that the ship would come tomorrow.' by ellipting 'Okou faka'amu ange 'PART(Prs)-DET(1SgExcl) wish DIR(Tsd): I wish that'. In fact, many speakers say that clauses introduced by the particle ke that occur as independent utterances are felt to be incomplete.

5.4 Verbals and Verbal Phrases that Occur Specifically in the Imperative-hortative

There are a number of verbals and verbal phrases that occur specifically in imperative-hortative clauses.

(1) tulou 'excuse me'

Tulou 'excuse me' occurs exclusively in imperative-hortative clauses and is used when the speaker passes or reaches near the addressee. Some speakers accept the use of the second person dual and plural determiners in front of it when there are two and more than two addressees respectively, but normally, it is not preceded by any person determiner regardless of the number of addressees. It may occur by itself or with directionals (II.2.5.) or phrase adjuncts (III.1.3.).

(3.5.4.-1) Tulou.
excuse
'Excuse me!'

(3.5.4.-2) Tulou angee mu'a.
excuse please please
'Please excuse me!'

(3.5.4.-3) Tulou atu kaau laka.
excuse DIR(Asp) CONJ-DET(1SgExcl) pass

'Excuse me while I will pass (near you)!

(2) fai mo ... and fei mo ...

fai mo ... 'do PART(Asst): hurry up and ...' and its less formal form fei mo is used to
rush the addressee to do something. Person determiners that indicate the A or S occur
after the particle mo ' Associative' (III.2.4.1(1)). The second person determiners are
optional in all numbers and the first person dual and plural inclusive determiners are
obligatory.

(3.5.4.-4) Fei mo (ke) ha'u.
do PART(Asst) DET(2Sg) come

'Hurry up and come!

(3.5.4.-5) Fai mo (kotou) tuku te kotou longoa'á.
do PART(Asst) DET(2Pl) stop DET(Spf) DET(2Pl) noisy

'Come on and stop your noise!

(3.5.4.-6) Fai mo tou oo fakavavevave
do PART(Asst) DET(1PlIncl) go(Col) hurriedly

na'a fakapoo'uli.
PART-CONJ(Ptl) dark

'Hurry up and let's go quickly lest it should get dark!

fai mo ... and fei mo ..., preceded by the particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1(2)),
may occur in clauses of indirect quotation (III.2.2.2.). In this case, person determiners
that indicate the A or S may precede or follow them.

(3.5.4.-7)(a) Ne ne tala'i mai ke taa
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Sbj) DET(1PlIncl)

fai mo faka'osi te ngaaú.D
do PART(Asst) finish DET(Spf) work

(b) Ne ne tala'i mai ke fai
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) tell DIR(Tsp) PART(Sbj) do

mo taa faka'osi te ngaaú.D
PART(Asst) DET(1PlIncl) finish DET(Spf) work

'He told us to hurry up and finish the work.'

(3) fakamolemole 'gracious' and kaataki 'patient'

fakamolemole 'gracious' and kaataki 'patient' are used to form imperative-hortative
clauses that indicate polite commands. They occur in the following three constructions:
(a) fakamaole mole or kaataki - 'o - Clause

Person determiners that indicate A or S occur in front of fakamaole mole or kaataki unless followed by a negative clause.

```
(3.5.4.-8)  Fakamaole mole
            gracious
            Kaataki  'o puke te moá.
            patient  PART(Inc) grab DET(Spf) fowl

'Please catch the chicken!'
```

```
(3.5.4.-9)  Fakamaole mole
            gracious
            Kaataki  'o 'aumai te naa
            patient  PART(Inc) bring DET(Spf) DEIC(Nad)

kiaa  au.
 PART(All) PROI(1SgExcl)

'Please bring that book to me!'
```

```
(3.5.4.-10)  Fakamaole mole
            gracious
            Kaataki  'o 'aua ('e) (kotou) oo
            patient  PART(Inc) don't PART(Sbj) DET(2P1) go(Colon)

'i te taimi nei.
 PART(Loc) DET(Spf) time DEIC(Nsp)

'Please do not go now!'
```

(b) fakamaole mole or kaataki + kaa ~ kaa + Clause

Person determiners that indicate A or S always occur in the clause that follows fakamaole mole or kaataki.

```
(3.5.4.-11)  Fakamaole mole
            gracious
            Kaataki  kaá ke ha'u 'o tokoni mai
            patient  but DET(2Sg) come PART(Inc) help DIR(Tsp)

kiaa  au.
 PART(All) PROI(1SgExcl)

'Please come and help me!'
```

```
(3.5.4.-12)  Fakamaole mole
            gracious
            Kaataki  kae kotou tala'i mai te
            patient  but DET(2P1) tell DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf)

mo'oní.
 truth
```
'Please tell me the truth!'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fakamolemole} & \quad \text{gracious} \\
(3.5.4.-13) & \quad \text{kae 'aua na'a kotou huu ki te motou ngoué'angá 'i} \\
\text{kaa}\text{taki} & \quad \text{but don't PART-CONJ(P1) DET(2Pl) enter} \\
\text{patient} & \quad \text{PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(1P1Excl) plantation PART(Loc)} \\
\text{te} & \quad \text{DEIC(Nsp) taimi nei.} \\
\text{DET(Spf) time} & \quad \text{DEIC(Nsp)}
\end{align*}
\]

'Please do not enter our plantation now!'

(c) fakamolemole or kaataki – Clause

Person determiners that indicate A or S occur in the clause that follows fakamolemole or kaataki.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fakamolemole} & \quad \text{gracious} \\
(3.5.4.-14) & \quad \text{'ave te tohi nei kiaa} \\
\text{kaa}\text{taki} & \quad \text{take DET(Spf) letter DEIC(Nsp) PART(All)} \\
\text{patient} & \quad \text{Teevita.} \\
\text{Teevita} & \quad \text{Teevita}
\end{align*}
\]

'Please take this letter to Teevita!'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fakamolemole} & \quad \text{gracious} \\
(3.5.4.-15) & \quad (\text{kulaa}) tauhi te peepeé \\
\text{kaa}\text{taki} & \quad \text{DET(2Du) take-care DET(Spf) baby} \\
\text{patient} & \quad \text{kaau 'alu.} \\
\text{CONJ-DEI(1SgExcl) go}
\end{align*}
\]

'Please take care of the baby while I go!'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fakamolemole} & \quad \text{gracious} \\
(3.5.4.-16) & \quad \text{'aua ('e) (ke) mamauki te} \\
\text{kaa}\text{taki} & \quad \text{don't PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) break DET(Spf)} \\
\text{patient} & \quad \text{nga'asi kapa ko 'ená} \\
\text{shell-of can PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)}
\end{align*}
\]

'Please don't break that empty can!'

fakamolemole and kaataki may occur in one clause, in which case kaataki precedes fakamolemole.

\[
\begin{align*}
(3.5.4.-17) & \quad \text{kaa}\text{taki fakamolmole kaá ke 'aumai he ika} \\
\text{patient} & \quad \text{gracious but DET(2Sg) bring DET(Nspf) fish} \\
\text{ke} & \quad \text{PART(Sbj) DET(1P1Excl) eat}
\end{align*}
\]
'Please bring a fish for us to eat!'
CHAPTER 6
Interrogative Clauses

There are five basic types of interrogative clauses, namely:

(1) Yes-no Questions

(2) Confirmation Questions

(3) Alternative Questions

(4) Information Questions

(5) Echo Questions

These five types of interrogative clauses are distinguished from one another on the basis of their structure and the types of answers they expect.

6.1 Yes-no Questions

Yes-no questions are used when the speaker wants to know if what he says is correct and expects the addressee to judge it as being correct or not. They are recognized by their rising intonation alone or, sometimes, also by phrase adjuncts – like, for instance, ‘apee (III.1.3.1.(B)(3)) indicating the speaker’s doubt in (3.6.1.-3) below – that occur specifically in questions¹.

(3.6.1.-1) Ko te kaute ‘eni?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) hibiscus DEM(Nsp)

‘Is this a hibiscus?’

(3.6.1.-2) ‘E kala kulaa oo ki t'ai?
PART(Fut) not DET(2Du) go(Col) PART(All) sea

‘Won't you go to the sea?’

(3.6.1.-3) 'Oku fia 'alu apee mo Sione?
PART(Prs) want go DOUBT PART(Ass) Sione

‘Does Sione also want to go, I wonder?’

The most common answer to yes-no questions is either 'io ‘yes’ or kailoa ‘no’ with

¹These phrase adjuncts are, however, not confined to yes-no questions and may also occur in other types of questions.
possible elaboration. As a general rule, 'io indicates that the question is correct and kailoa that the question is not correct, regardless of whether the question is in the affirmative or negative.

(3.6.1.-4) Question: 'Oku kotou fiakaia?
PART(Prs) DET(2Pl) hungry
'Are you hungry?'

Answer(1): 'Io ('oku motou fiakaia).
yes PART(Prs) DET(1PlExcl) hungry
'Yes (we are hungry).'

Answer(2): Kailoa ('oku kailoa ke motou
no PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj) DET(1PlExcl)
fiakaia).
hungry
'No (we are not hungry).'

(3.6.1.-5) Question: 'E kala ke 'alu 'ia koe
PART(Fut) not PART(Sbj) go PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg)
ki kolo?
PART(All) town
'Won't you go to town?'

Answer(1): 'Io ('e kala ke 'alu 'ia
yes PART(Fut) not PART(Sbj) go PART(Abs)
au ki kolo).
PROI(1SgExcl) PART(All) town
'No (I will not go to town).'

Answer(2): Kailoa ('e au 'alu ki
no PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All)
kolo.)
town
'Yes (I will go to town).'

There are, however, speakers who never use 'io in answers to negative questions. These speakers tend to invariably use kailoa to negative questions regardless of whether they judge the questions as being correct or not, and thus accept kailoa in Answer (1) as well as in Answer (2) in (3.6.1.-5). In order to avoid ambiguity, therefore, it is necessary to elaborate the answers in such a way as is indicated in the parentheses.

Yes-no questions may also be answered by Ko ia. 'PART DEM(Anaph): That is so.' or 'Oku kailoa ko ia. 'PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph): That is not so.' These are more polite than 'io and kailoa and are especially common in addressing chiefs and other superior people. In addressing the king, Ko ee. 'PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad): That is so.' and 'Oku kailoa ko ee. 'PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad): That is not so.' are used.
6.2 Confirmation Questions

Confirmation questions are used when the speaker says something and seeks the addressee's agreement. They expect affirmative answers. They are recognized by the interjection 'inee or hee that occur at the end of the clauses. The interjection 'inee is often followed by the phrase adjunct koaa (III.1.3.1.(B)(2)), which indicates that the speaker is trying to remember something. Not only declarative clauses but also imperative-hortative clauses (III.5.) may be turned into confirmation questions. The interjections and koaa are pronounced with a rising intonation and the clause preceding them with a falling intonation.

Confirmation questions roughly correspond to English tag questions.

(3.6.2.-1) Ne ke 'alu ki kolo. 'inee koaa?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) go PART(All) town INTERJ RECALL

'You went to town, didn't you?'

(3.6.2.-2) Ne kala ke ke tala'i mai
PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) tell DIR(Tsp)

te mo'onī, 'inee?
DET(Spf) truth INTERJ

'You did not tell me the truth, did you?'

(3.6.2.-3) Ne ke 'alu ki kolo, hee?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) go PART(All) town INTERJ

'You went to town, didn't you?'

However, they have a slightly wider use than English tag questions, and when the clauses preceding 'inee (koaa) or hee refer to situations that the speaker wants or intends to turn into reality, the interjections may, in most cases, be more suitably translated by expressions like 'OK'.

(3.6.2.-4) Ha' u mo au, 'inee?
come PART(Ass) PROI(1SgExcl) INTERJ

'Come with me, OK?'

(3.6.2.-5) 'E au kai te ika ko
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) eat DET(Spf) fish PART(Npm)

ee, hee?
DEM(Aspad) INTERJ

'I will eat that fish, OK?'

(3.6.2.-6) Tou oo, hee?
DET(1PlIncl) go(Col) INTERJ

'Let's go, shall we?'
6.3 Alternative Questions

Alternative questions are used when the speaker has more than one possible answer in mind and wants to know which of these is correct. They expect the addressee to answer by selecting one of the possible answers given in the questions themselves. They are formed by linking two or more clauses with the conjunction pe 'or' (III.2.5.1.(4)). The ellipsis of various constituents in alternative questions is dealt with in III.8.2.1.(D). The clause in front of pe is pronounced with a rising intonation and the clause occurring after it with a falling intonation.

(3.6.3.-1) Ko te faiako 'ia koe pe
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) teacher PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg) or
ko te tamasi'i ako pee?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) boy learn just

'Are you a teacher or just a pupil?'

(3.6.3.-2) Ne ke nofo pee 'i 'api 'anepoo
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) stay just PART(Loc) home last-night
pe ne ke 'alu 'o sio hulahula?
or PART(Pst) DET(2SG) go PART(Inc) see dance

'Did you just stay at home last night or did you go
to see the dances.'

(3.6.3.-3) Ko tau fiama'u kumala pe hopa
PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) want sweet-potato or banana
pe ko te lesi?
or PART(Npm) DET(SPF) pawpaw

'Do you want sweet potatoes, bananas or pawpaws?'

6.4 Information Questions

Information questions are used when the speaker wants to know the specific identity of a state or process, a person or thing, the manner, the spatial or temporal location and so on that is involved in some situation. They are recognized by particular question words that indicate various types of information gaps. They expect the addressee to answer with words, phrases or clauses that fill the information gap. They are pronounced with a falling intonation.

The question words are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'aa'</td>
<td>'what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fe'a'</td>
<td>'where, which'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fia'</td>
<td>'how many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aafia'</td>
<td>'when (in the future)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ai'</td>
<td>'who'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fefa'aki'</td>
<td>'how'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fa'afia'</td>
<td>'when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ane'afia'</td>
<td>'when (in the past)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fakaa ‘what manner’

As seen below, the question words are quite diverse with respect to word-class affiliation.

Nominal phrases that contain a question word tend to be focused (III.4.1.). Where pairs of examples are given below, the (b)-clauses involve focusing while the (a)-clauses are their unfocused counterparts. Clauses that do not involve focusing are not necessarily echo-questions (III.6.5.).

(1) aa

The question word *aa* is a neutrally-oriented common word (II.1.4.3., II.3.4.1.) and frequently occur both as a verbal and as a nominal. As a common word, *aa*, when used as a nominal, is preceded by a nominal determiner except when it occurs as a postposed modifier.

(A) As a Verbal

The question word *aa*, occurring as a verbal, indicates an information gap that may be filled by various types of verbs that refer to states or processes but normally not by numerals (II.7.) or negators (III.3.). It translates either ‘how’ – inquiring about qualities, characteristics, natures and so on – or ‘do what’ – inquiring about activities. Thus, the question word *aa* in:

(3.6.4.-1) ‘Oku *aa ‘ia Mele?*  
PART(Prs) what PART(Abs) Mele

(a) ‘How is Mele? / what is Mele like?’

(b) ‘What is Mele doing?’

for instance, may be answered by verbs referring to states – ‘Oku puke. ‘PART(Prs) ill: She is ill.’ ‘Oku anga kovi. ‘PART(Prs) nature bad: She is wicked.’ and so on – or by verbs refering to processes – ‘Oku faiako ‘i Nuku‘alofo. ‘PART(Prs) teach PART(Loc) Nuku‘alofo: She is teaching in Nuku‘alofo.’ ‘Oku ina kei fai pee tana kaukau. ‘PART(Prs) DET(3Sg) still do just DET(Spf3SgA) bathe: She is still bathing.’ and so on.

Further examples follow:

(3.6.4.-2) Kua *aa tou puké?*  
PART(Prf) what DET(Spf2SgO) illness

‘How is your illness?’

(3.6.4.-3) Ne ke ‘alu ki kolo ‘o *aa?*  
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) go PART(All) town PART(Inc) what

‘For what purpose did you go to town (= You went to town to do what)’
The question word aa used as a verbal may also occur as a postposed modifier of
nominal phrases, in which case it is normally answered by verbs referring to states and
habitual processes — verbs referring to non-habitual processes not being able to occur
as postposed modifiers (III.1.2.3.) — and translates ‘what sort of’.

(3.6.4.-4) Ko te ika aa ‘ena?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish what DEM(Nad)
‘What sort of fish is it?’

(3.6.4.-5) Ko te tangata aa ‘ia Sione?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man what PART(Abs) Sione
‘What sort of man is Sione?’

(3.6.4.-4) expects such answers as: Ko te ika ifo. ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish delicious:
It is a delicious fish.’, Ko te ika fekai. ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish fierce: It is a fierce
fish’ and so on, and (3.6.4.-5) such answers as: Ko te tangata anga lelei. ‘PART(Npm)
DET(Spf) man nature good: He is a nice man.’, Ko te tangata fakaoli. ‘PART(Npm)
DET(Spf) man funny: He is a funny man.’, Ko te tangata loi. ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf)
man lie: He is a man that tells lies.’ and so on.

(B) As a Nominal
The question word aa, occurring as a nominal, indicates an information gap that may be
filled by nominals but not by definite words (II.3.4.2.). It translates ‘what’ and inquires
about the identity of something or the social or kinship function of someone.

(3.6.4.-6) Ko te aa ee?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DEM(Aspad)
‘What is that?’

(3.6.4.-7) Ko te aa ‘ia Sione?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Abs) Sione
‘What is Sione?’

(3.6.4.-6) expects such answers as: Ko te tohi. ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf) book: It is a
book.’, Ko te kuli. ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf) dog: It is a dog.’ and so on, and (3.6.4.-7)
such answers as: Ko te faik. ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf) teacher: He is a teacher.’, Ko
te motou tak. ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(1Pl!Excl) leader: He is our leader.’, Ko
toku tokou. ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf1Sg!ExclO) brother: He is my brother.’ and so on.

In the examples above, aa occurs in the predicate of nominal clauses. It may also
occur in nominal phrases in all the other functions in which common words may occur, as in:

(3.6.4.-8) (a) Ne hoko te aa?
PART(Pst) happen DET(Spf) what
‘What happened?’
(b) Ko te aa ne hokó?  
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Pst) happen  
'What is it that happened?'

(3.6.4.-9) (a) Ne moloki te kulil 'e te  
PART(Pst) run-over DET(Spf) dog PART(Erg) DET(Spf)  
aa?  
what  
'What ran over the dog?'

(b) Ko te aa ne ne moloki  
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) run-over  
te kulil?  
DET(Spf) dog  
'What is it that ran over the dog?'

(3.6.4.-10) (a) 'Okú ke sio ki te aa?  
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) see PART(All) DET(Spf) what  
'What are you looking at?'

(b) Ko te aa 'oku ke sio  
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) see  
ki al?  
PART(All) DEM(Anaph)  
'What is it that you are looking at?'

(3.6.4.-11) Ko te hui 'eni 'o te aa?  
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) bone DEM(Nsp) PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) what  
'What bone (= bone of what) is this?'

(3.6.4.-12) Ko te puaka mo te aa te  
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) pig PART(Ass) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf)  
tokenaki?  
preparation  
'What, besides the pig, (= pig and what) is there for the  
preparation?'

and so on.

aa is used to inquire about the degree or extent of some quality where, in English,  
'how' plus adjective or adverb would be used, as in:

(3.6.4.-13) Ko te aa te fualoa tau nofo  
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf) length DET(Spf2SgA) live  
i heni?  
PART(Loc) DEM(Nsp)  
'How long are you going to stay here?'

(3.6.4.-14) Ko te aa te loloto 'o Vai  
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf) depth PART(Pss0) Vai
Lahi?
Lahi

'How deep is Vai Lahi?'

Like other common words used as nominals, aa may also occur as a postposed modifier of both verbal and nominal phrases. In correspondence with the two functions of nominals that occur as postposed modifiers of verbal phrases dealt with in III.1.2.1.(B) and (C), aa, occurring as a postposed modifier of verbal phrases is used to inquire about means of transportation, as in:

(3.6.4.-15) Ne ke ha'u aa mei Futu?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) come what PART(Abl) Futu

'How did you come from Futu?'

and about unindividuated patients and other similar arguments, as in:

(3.6.4.-16) 'Oku kai aa te kakai ko ee?
PART(Prs) eat what DET(Spf) people PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad)

'What are those people eating?'

(3.6.4.-15) expects such answers as: Ne au ha'u misini. 'PART DET(1SGEXCL) come tractor: I came by tractor.', Ne au ha'u hoosi. 'PART DET(1SGEXCL) come horse: I came on horseback.' and so on, and (3.6.4.-16) such answers as: 'Oku notou kai ika. 'PART DET(3PL) eat fish: They are eating fish.', 'Oku notou kai moli. 'PART DET(3PL) eat orange: They are eating oranges' and so on.

As a postposed modifier of nominal phrases, on the other hand, aa is used to inquire about the kind, social class and the like of person and things:

(3.6.4.-17) Ko te ika aa 'eni?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish what DEM(Nsp)

'What sort of fish is this?'

(3.6.4.-18) Ko te tangata aa 'ia Sione?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man what PART(Abs) Sione

'What sort of man is Sione?'

(3.6.4.-17) expects such answers as: Ko te 'atu. 'PART DET(SPF) bonito: It is a bonito.', Ko te te'ete'e. 'PART DET(SPF) balloon-fish: It is a balloon fish.' and so on, and (3.6.4.-18) such answers as: Ko te (tangata) polisi. 'PART DET(SPF) (man) police: He is a policeman.', Ko te (tangata) tautai. 'PART DET(SPF) (man) fishing: He is a fisherman.'.

(2) ai

2In nominal phrases, it is difficult to determine the verbal-nominal status of aa used as postposed modifier. Here, aa is classified as nominal solely on the basis of the nature of their expected answers.
The question word ai is a pronoun Type I (II.3.4.2.(C-1)) and, as such, occurs only as a nominal-phrase base. It is not preceded by any nominal determiner. It indicates an information gap that may be filled by, above all, other pronouns, personal names and nominals referring to persons and generally, but not always, translates 'who'.

First of all, it is used to inquire about the identity of persons, as in:

\[(3.6.4.-19) \text{ Ko ai ee?} \]  
\[\text{PART(Npm) who DEM(Aspad)}\]

'Who is that?'

This expects answers such as: Ko 'Ana. 'PART(Npm) 'Ana: It is 'Ana.', Ko taku fa'ee. 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExclA) mother: It is my mother.', Ko te motou pulé. 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(1P!Excl) boss: It is our boss.' and so on.

It is also used to inquire about names, whether they are personal names or place names, as in:

\[(3.6.4.-20) \text{ Ko ai tou hingoá?} \]  
\[\text{PART(Npm) who DET(Spf2Sg0) name}\]

'What is your name?'

\[(3.6.4.-21) \text{ Ko ai te hingoa 'o te motu} \]  
\[\text{PART(Npm) who DET(Spf) name PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) island}\]

ko iá?  
\[\text{PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)}\]

'What is the name of that island?'

In this case, it does not correspond to English 'who'. Some speakers also use ai to inquire about addresses and accept clauses like the following:

\[(3.6.4.-22) \text{ Ko ai tou tu'asilá?} \]  
\[\text{PART(Npm) who DET(Spf) address}\]

'What is your address?'

In the examples above, ai occurs in the predicate of nominal clauses. It may occur in all the other functions in which pronouns Type I and Type II occur. As in the case of other pronouns Type I, it is obligatorily preceded by the particle 'ia 'Absolutive' (II.3.1.(1)) when it occurs in the absolutive, and the forms of the particles it occurs with in the locative (II.3.1.(3)), allative (II.3.1.(4)) and the ablative (II.3.1.(5)) are 'iaa ~ 'aa ~ 'iaate, kiaa ~ kaa ~ kiaate and meiaa ~ meaa ~ meiaate respectively. When preceded by the particle 'a 'A-class Possessive' (II.3.1.(7)) or ma'a 'A-class Benefactive' (II.3.1.(8)), ai becomes 'ai.

\[(3.6.4.-23) (a) \text{ Ne tautea'i 'ia ai e te} \]  
\[\text{PART(Pst) punish PART(Abs) who PART(Erg) DET(Spf)}\]

faiakó?  
\[\text{teacher}\]
(3.6.4.-24) (a) Ne taa'i 'ou 'e ai?
PART(Pst) hit PROII(2SgO) PART(Erg) who

'Who hit you?'

(b) Ko ai ne ina taa'i 'ou?
PART(Npm) who PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit PROII(2Sg)

'Who is it that hit you?'

(3.6.4.-25) (a) Ne ha'u 'ia Mele mo ai?
PART(Pst) come PART(Abs) Mele PART(Ass) who

'Who did Mele come with?'

(b) Ko ai ne ha'u 'ia Mele mo iā?
PART(Npm) who PART(Pst) come PART(Abs) PART(Ass) DEM(Anaph)

'Who is it that Mele came with?'

(3.6.4.-26) Ko te puaka 'ena 'a 'ai?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) pig DEM(Nad) PART(PssA) who

'Whose pig is that?'

(3.6.4.-27) Ko te tohi 'ena meiia aī?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) letter DEM(Nad) PART(Abl) who

'Who is that letter from (= A letter from whom is that)?'

and so on.

(3) fea

Basically, the question word fea may be regarded as a locative word ([I.3.4.2.(F)]). It occurs as a nominal without being preceded by any nominal determiner. However, unlike other locative words, it also commonly occurs as a postposed modifier of nominal
fe'a firstly translates 'where' and is used to inquire about the identity of places. In this case, it indicates an information gap that may be filled by, above all, place names (II.3.4.2.(B)), demonstratives (II.3.4.2.(D)), other locative words and nominals referring to places.

(3.6.4.-28) Ko fe'a 'eni?
PART(Npm) where DEM(Nsp)

'Where are we (= Where is this place),'#

This expects answers like Ko Tonga. 'PART(Npm) Tonga: It is Tonga.' Ko te motou 'api. 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(1PlExcl) home: It is our house.' and so on.

In the example above, fe'a occurs in the predicate of a nominal clause. It also commonly occurs in various other functions in which words referring to places may occur, as in:

(3.6.4.-29) (a) Ne ke sio 'i fea kaa
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) see PART(Loc) where PART(All)

naatou?
PROI(3Pl)

'Where did you see them?'

(b) Ko fe'a ne ke sio ai
PART(Npm) where PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) see DEM(Anaph)

kaa naatou?
PART(All) PROI(3Pl)

'Where is it that you saw them?'

(3.6.4.-30) (a) 'E kulaa oo ki fea?
PART(Fut) DET(2Du) go(Col) PART(All) where

'Where are you going?'

(b) Ko fe'a 'e kulaa oo ki
PART(Npm) where PART(Fut) DET(2Du) go(Col) PART(All)

ai?
DEM(Anaph)

'Where is it that you are going?'

---

3The equivalent in Tongan fe'a is used as a common word as well as a locative word. Thus, it sometimes occurs without any nominal determiner – Ko fe'a te ke 'alu ki ai? 'PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) go PART(All) where: Where is it that you are going?' – and sometimes with one – Ko e fe'a a e peni 'oku ke fiama'ú? 'PART[Npm] DET(Spf) which PART[Abs] DET(Spf) pen PART[Pres] DET(2Sg) want: Which is the pen you want?'. When used as a locative word, it generally translates 'where' and when used as a common word, 'which'. The use of fe'a as a postposed modifier of nominal phrases may be expected from the general syntactic distribution of common words. In Niuafou, however, fe'a never occurs with a nominal determiner, and clauses like the second of the Tongan clauses given above must be paraphrased by clauses like (3.6.4.-36).
'Oku fa'a kai siaine mei fea te kakai
PART(Prs) often eat banana PART(Abl) where DET(Spf) people
'i 'Eulopē?
PART(Loc) Europe

'Where are the bananas from, which people in Europe eat
(= Bananas from where do people in Europe eat)?'

Ne ke nofo 'i Ha'apai mo
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) live PART(Loc) Ha'apai PART(Ass)
fea?
where

'Where, besides Ha'apai (= Ha'apai and where), did
you live?

Ko Ha'apai mo fea ne ke
PART(Npm) Ha'apai PART(Ass) where PART(Pst) DET(2Sg)
nofo al?
live DEM(Anaph)

'Where, besides Ha'apai, is it that you lived?'

and so on.

fea, occurring in the predicate with the particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking'
(II.3.1.(10)), is frequently used to inquire about the location in space of persons and
things, as in:

Ko fea tau letiō?
PART(Npm) where DET(Spf2SgA) radio

'Where is your radio?'

Ko fea 'ia Sione?
PART(Npm) where PART(Abs) Sione

'Where is Sione?'

fea may also occur as a postposed modifier of nominal phrases, in which case it
generally translates 'which' and is used to inquire about the identification of persons or
things from a group. It indicates an information gap that may be filled by
demonstratives or various types of modifiers.

Ko te sote fea?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) shirt which

'Which shirt?'

This expects answers like Ko 'eni. 'PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp): This one.', Ko te sote
hinahinā.'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) shirt white: The white shirt.', Ko te sote ne au
fakatau mai 'aneafi. 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) shirt PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) buy
DIR(Tsp) yesterday: The shirt I bought yesterday.' and so on.
Further examples follow:

**(3.6.4.-36)** (a) 'Okú ke fiama'ú te peni fea?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) want DET(Spf) pen which

'Which pen do you want?'

(b) Ko te peni fea 'oku ke fiama'ú
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) pen which PART(Prs) DET(2Sg)

'Which pen is it that you want?'

**(3.6.4.-37)** (a) Ne ke ha'u 'i te vaka fea?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) come PART(Loc) DET(Spf) ship which

'Which ship did you come in?'

(b) Ko te vaka fea ne ke ha'u al?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ship which PART(Pst) DET(2Sg)
come DEM(Anaph)

'Which ship is it that you came in?'

taimi fea 'time which: when' and feitu'u fea 'place which: where' are used to inquire about time and places respectively. taimi fea may be used to inquire about time in both the past and the future and also about the temporal location of a habitual situation.

**(3.6.4.-38)** 'Oku mapuni te pousi'ofisi 'i te
PART(Prs) close DET(Spf) post-office PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
taimi fea?
time which

'When does the post office close?'

**(3.6.4.-39)** 'E 'alu te vaka ki te feitu'u
PART(Fut) go DET(Spf) ship PART(All) DET(Spf) place

'Where is the ship going?'

(4) fefe'aki

The question word fefe'aki is a verbally-oriented common word (II.1.4.3., II.2.4.1.) and is used as a stative verbal (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)). It indicates an information gap that may be filled by stative verbals and other words, phrases and clauses that indicate manners, and generally translates 'how'.

**(3.6.4.-40)** 'Okú ke fefe'aki ake?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) how DIR(up)
'How are you?'

(3.6.4.-41) Ne fefe'aki tau ha'u mei Futu?
PART(Pst) how DET(Sp2SgA) come PART(Abl) Futu

'How did you come from Futu?'

(3.6.4.-40) expects answers like: 'Okou sai pe. 'PART(Prs)-DET(1Sg Excl) good just: I am well.', 'Okou ongo'i ninimo. 'PART(Prs)-DET(1Sg Excl) dizzy: I feel dizzy.' and so on, and (3.6.4.-41) answers like: 'E au 'alu hoosi. 'PART(Fut) DET(1Sg Excl) go horse: I will go on horseback.', 'E au luelue pe. 'PART(Fut) DET(1Sg Excl) walk just: I will just walk.', 'E ha'u 'ia Sione 'o 'ave 'oku 'i tana misini. 'PART(Fut) come PART(Abs) Sione PART(Inc) take PROII(1Sg ExclO) PART(Loc) DET(Sp3SgA) tractor: Sione will come and take me on his tractor.' and so on.

fefe'aki also occurs as a postposed modifier of both verbal and nominal phrases. When it occurs as a postposed modifier of verbal phrases, it is used to inquire generally about manners and may be answered by various types of elements mentioned above, as in:

(3.6.4.-42) Ne lea fefe'aki 'ia Sione?
PART(Pst) speak how PART(Abs) Sione

'How did Sione speak?'

(3.6.4.-43) Ne ke ha'u fefe'aki mei Futu?
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) come how PART(Abl) Futu

'How did you come from Futu?'

(3.6.4.-42) expects answers like: Ne lea vave 'aupito. 'PART(Pst) speak fast very: He spoke very fast.', Ne lea mo te loto faifia. 'PART(Pst) speak PART(Ass) DET(Spf) inside happy: He spoke with a happy heart.', Ne lea 'o hangee he paalangi. 'PART(Pst) speak PART(Inc) resemble DET(Nspf) foreigner: He spoke like a foreigner.' and so on, and (3.6.4.-43) the same answers as (3.6.4.-41). The semantic scope and the distributional possibility of fefe'aki overlap to a considerable extent with the semantic scope and the distributional possibility of aa 'what' dealt with in III.6.4.(1). When both may be used, fefe'aki generally expects more specific answers than aa. It is, however, not the case when it occurs with verbals of travel or induced motion as in (3.6.4.-43) above. (3.6.4.-43) may be compared with (3.6.4.-15).

As a postposed modifier of nominal phrases, it is used to inquire about qualities, nature, characteristics and so on, and is normally answered by other stative verbals.

(3.6.4.-44) Ko te ika fefe'aki 'ena?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish how DEM(Nad)

'What sort of fish is that?'

(3.6.4.-45) Ko te tanagata fefe'aki 'ia Sione?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man how PART(Abs) Sione
'What sort of man is Sione?'
These expect the same answers as (3.6.4.-4) and (3.6.4.-5) but not those for (3.6.4.-17) and (3.6.4.-18). That is, it may alternate with the verbal a'a used as postposed modifiers dealt with in III.6.4.(1)(A) above but not the nominal a'a used as a postposed modifier dealt with in III.6.4.(1)(B).

(5) fia
The question word fia is a numeral (II.7.) and commonly occurs both as a verbal and as a nominal. Numerals are common words, and therefore, fia, occurring as a nominal, is preceded by a nominal determiner except when it occurs as a postposed modifier. It generally translates 'how many' and indicates an information gap that may be filled by other numerals and various quantitative words like ihi 'several', lahi 'many' and so on. It has the same distributional possibilities as other numerals dealt with in II.7. It is optionally preceded by the pre-base modifier toko (II.7.8.(1)) when it is used to inquire about the number of animals and almost obligatorily when it is used to inquire about the number of human beings.

(A) As a Verbal
As a verbal, the question word fia is used to inquire about the number of persons and things or about prices.

(3.6.4.-46) 'Oku fia tau uu puakā?
PART how-many DET(SPF2SGA) PL pig
(a) 'How many pigs do you have?'
(b) 'How much are your pigs?'

(3.6.4.-47) Ne toko fia 'ia Niuafo'ou ki mu'a
PART(Pst) ANIM how-many PART(Abs) Niuafo'ou PART(All) front
'i te vela 'i te ta'u faa
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) eruption PART(Loc) DET(Spf) year four
onó?
six

'How many people were there on Niuafo'ou before the eruption in the year 46?'

(3.6.4.-48) 'Oku fia te totongi folau mei
PART(Prs) how-many DET(Spf) pay sail PART(Abl)
Tonga ki hen'i?
Tonga PART(All) DEM(Nsp)

'How much is the boat fare from Tonga to this place?'
The use of fia to inquire about prices has obviously been derived by ellipting a nominal
from a phrase like 'oku pa'anga (‘e) fia ‘PART(Prs) money (PART(Nmr)) how-many: how much money’, in which fia modifies the nominal occurring as base of a verbal phrase that indicates the provision, possession or existence of what the base signifies (II.2.4.3).

Like other numerals, the verbal fia must be preceded by the particle ‘e ‘Numeral’ (II.7.3.) when it modifies a nominal unless the nominal it modifies occurs as the base of a verbal phrase that indicates the provision, possession or existence of what the base signifies, in which case the particle is optional.

(3.6.4.-49) 'oku 'i ai tau 'uu puaka
PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(2SGA) PL pig

' e toko fia?
PART(Nmr) ANIM how-many

'How many pigs do you have?'

(B) As a Nominal
As a nominal, the question word fia is firstly used to inquire about the identity of numbers themselves, the numbers of persons and things, or about prices.

(3.6.4.-50) ko te fia 'eni?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) how-many DEM(Nsp)

(a) 'How many (= What number) is this?'
(b) 'How many are these?'
(c) 'How much is this/are these?'

It is also used to inquire about the identification of persons or things that are distinguished from one another by means of numbers, especially, about clock time. In this case, it is accompanied by a definitive stress.

(3.6.4.-51) ko te fiā 'eni?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) how-many DEM(Nsp)

'What time is it now?'

In the examples above, fia occurs in the predicate of nominal clauses. It may also occur in all the functions in which common words may occur.

(3.6.4.-52)(a) ne kovi te fia 'i te
PART(Pst) bad DET(Spf) how-many PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

fua'i moa ko iā?
frīt-of fowl PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)

'How many were bad among those eggs?'

(b) ko te fia ne kovi 'i
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) how-many PART(Pst) bad PART(Loc)

te fua'i moa ko iā?
DET(Spf) fruit-of fowl PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)
'How many is it that were bad among those eggs?'

(3.6.4.-53) (a) Kuá ke 'osi lau ki te PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already count PART(All) DET(Spf)

fia?
how-many

'Up to how many have you counted?'

(b) Ko te fia kua ke 'osi PART(Npm) DET(Spf) how-many PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already

lau ki al?
count PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'Up to how many is it that you have counted?'

(3.6.4.-54) Ko te me'a kai 'eni ma'á te PART(Npm) DET(Spf) thing eat DEM(Nsp) PART(SnfA) DET(Spf)
toko fia?
ANIM how-many

'How many people is this food for (= Food for how many

is this)?'

and so on.

fia is not preceded by the particle 'e 'Numeral' (II.7.3.) when, occurring as a
nominal, it modifies other nominals.

(3.6.4.-55) Ko te loki fia 'eni? PART(Npm) DET(Spf) room how-many DEM(Nsp)

'What is the number of this room?'

(6) 'aafea and 'aneafea
The question words 'aafea and 'aneafea are temporal words (II.3.4.2.(E)). Unlike other
temporal words, they may occur as verbal-phrase bases, but as discussed below, they seem
to be nominals rather than verbals even when they occur as verbal-phrase bases. As in
the case of other temporal words, they are not preceded by any nominal determiner.
Both 'aafea and 'aneafea generally translate 'when', but they are semantically
complementary with each other, and 'aafea is used to inquire about time in the future
while 'aneafea is used to inquire about time in the past. They may be answered by, above
all, other temporal words and various types of phrases and clauses that refer to time.

'aafea and 'aneafea may occur in all the functions in which other temporal words
occur. Like other temporal words, they are not preceded by any particle in the absolutive
(II.3.1.(1)) and the locative (II.3.1.(3)). They most commonly occur in the locative, as in:

(3.6.4.-56) (a) E ke 'alu 'aafea ki Niuafo'ou?
PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) go when PART(All) Niuafo'ou
'When will you go to Niuafo'ou?'

(b) Ko 'aafe 'e ke 'alu ai PART(Npm) when PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) go DEM(Anaph) ki Niuafo'ou? PART(All) Niuafo'ou

'When is it that you will go to Niuafo'ou?'

(3.6.4.-57) (a) Ne ke tala'i mai 'anefea kiaa PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) tell DIR(Tsp) when PART(All) au? PROI(1SgExcl)

'When did you tell it to me?'

(b) Ko 'anefea ne ke tala'i mai PART(Npm) when PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) tell DIR(Tsp) ai kiaa aú? DEM(Anaph) PART(All) PROI(1SgExcl)

'When is it that you told it to me?'

As already mentioned above, 'aafe and 'anefe occur not only in nominal phrases, as in the examples above, but also as verbal-phrase bases and form existential clauses, as in:

(3.6.4.-58) 'E 'aafe na he taimi 'e kala PART(Fut) when DOUBT DET(Nspf) time PART(Fut) not ai ke toe 'i ai he DEM(Anaph) PART(Sbj) again PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf)

tau?
war

'When will there be a time in which there will be no more wars, I wonder?'

(3.6.4.-59) Ne 'anefea tana ha'ú? PART(Pst) when DET(Spf3SgA) come

'When did he come?'

As dealt with in II.2.4.2.(A), nominal phrases in the locative may occur as verbal-phrase bases and form existential clauses, and 'aafe and 'anefe, as they occur as verbal-phrase bases in clauses like (3.6.4.-58) and (3.6.4.-59) above, also seem to be nominals in the locative which, in turn, function as verbal-phrase bases. However, none of the other temporal words may be used in a similar way and occur as bases in verbal phrases as in the examples above above.

(7) fakafe

The question word fakafe is a verbally-oriented common word (II.1.4.3., II.2.4.1.) and
is used as a stative verbal (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)). It generally translates 'when', but unlike 'aaftea or 'anefe'a dealt with in III.6.4.(6) above, it is used to inquire about the temporal location of a habitual situation or about the temporal location within a limited time span - usually within a day - of a situation that took place in the past or is expected to take place in the future. It may be answered by, above all, various temporal words (II.3.4.2.(E)) and various types of phrases or clauses that refer to time.

(3.6.4.-60) 'Oku kamata fakafae te ta'u fakaako
PART(Prs) begin when DET(Spf) year educational
'i Tonga?
PART(Loc) Tonga

'When does the school year begin in Tonga?'

(3.6.4.-61) 'E ke ha'u fakafae 'aapongipongi?
PART(Fut) DET(2Sg) come when tomorrow

'When will you come tomorrow?'

(3.6.4.-62) Ne ke ala ake fakafae 'i
PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) wake DIR(up) when PART(Loc)
'te 'aho nei?
DET(Spf) day DEIC(NSP)

'When did you wake up today?'

(8) fakaa
The question word fakaa is a verbally-oriented common word (II.1.4.3., II.2.4.1.) and is used as a stative verbal (II.2.4.1.(A)(a-2)). It consists of the prefix faka-(II.2.4.1.(C-1.1)(1)) and the nominal aa 'what' dealt with in III.6.4.(1)(B) above and indicates an information gap that is filled by stative verbs that similarly have the prefix faka. It generally translates 'what sort of'.

(3.6.4.-63) Ko te lea fakaa ee?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) language what-sort-of DEM(Aspad)

'What language is that?'

(3.6.4.-64) Ko te anga fakaa ia?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) nature what-sort-of DEM(Anaph)

'What sort of attitude is that?'

(3.6.4.-63) expects answers such as: Ko te lea faka-'Uvea. 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) language 'Uvean: It is the 'Uvean language.' Ko te lea faka-Saiina. 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) language Chinese: It is the Chinese language. and so on, and (3.6.4.-64) answers such as: Ko te anga fakamotu. 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) nature insular: It is an insular attitude.' Ko te anga fakapaalangi. 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf) nature European: It is an European attitude.' and so on.
6.5 Echo Questions

Echo questions are of two types, namely, yes-no echo questions and information echo questions.

(A) Yes-no Echo Questions

Yes-no echo questions are used when the speaker could not catch properly, understand or believe what the addressee has just said and wants to know whether he has heard correctly. They expect 'io 'yes' or kailoa or their equivalents mentioned in III.6.1. above as answers.

Yes-no echo questions have basically the same structure as clauses of indirect quotation (III.2.2.2.). The only difference is that the particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) is optional in yes-no echo questions to commands while it is obligatory in clauses of indirect quotation. Yes-no echo questions are apparently derived from clauses that contain clauses of indirect quotation by ellipting clauses that correspond to 'Did you say ...', 'Did you ask ...' and the like. They are pronounced with a rising intonation.

In the following examples, clauses that are presumed to have been ellipted are indicated in double parentheses.

(a) Yes-no Echo Questions to Statements

(3.6.5.-1) Statement: Kua mate 'ia Sione. 
PART(Prf) die PART(Abs) Sione
'Sione has died.'

Question: ((Ko tau lea mai)) kua 
PART(Prf) DET(Spf2SgA) speak DIR(Tsp))) PART(Prf)

mate 'ia Sione? 
die PART(Abs) Sione

'((Do you say)) Sione has died?'

(b) Yes-no Echo Questions to Questions

(3.6.5.-2) Question: 'Okū ke kainga mo Mele? 
PART(prs) DET(2Sg) family PART(Ass) Mele
'Are you related to Mele?'

Question: ((Ko tau fehu'i)) (pe) 'oku 
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) question)) if PART(Prs)

au kainga mo Mele? 
DET(1SgExcl) family PART(Ass) Mele

'((Do you ask)) Am I related to Mele?'

(c) Yes-no Echo Questions to Commands

(3.6.5.-3) Command: Kotou oo. 
DET(2P1) go(Col)
'Go.'

Question: ((Ko tau lea mal)) (ke)
PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) speak DIR(Tsp)) PART(Sbj)

motou oo?
DET(1PlExc1) go(Col)

'((Do you say)) Go?'

(B) Information Echo Questions

Information echo questions are used when the speaker could not catch properly, understand or believe part of what the addressee has just said and wants a repetition of that part.

As in the case of yes-no echo questions, information echo questions are also apparently derived from clauses that contain clauses of indirect quotation (III.2.2.2.) in a similar way and thus have basically the same structure as clauses of indirect quotation. In information echo questions, however, the part that the speaker could not catch properly, understand or believe is replaced by a question word that is used to elicit information indicated by that part. The particle ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) is also optional in information echo questions to commands. Information echo questions are pronounced with a falling intonation.

Again, clauses that are presumed to have been ellipted are indicated in double parentheses.

(a) Information Echo Questions to Statements

(3.6.5.-4) Statement: Kua mate 'ia Sione.
PART(Prf) die PART(Abs) Sione

'Sione has died.'

Question: ((Ko tau lea mal)) kua
PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) speak DIR(Tsp) PART(Prf)

aa ('ia Sione)?
what PART(Abs) Sione

'((You say)) Sione did what?'

(3.6.5.-5) Statement: Ne u'usi 'oku 'e
PART(Pst) bite PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Erg)

tes pusi.
DET(Spf) cat

'I was bitten by a cat.'

Question: ((Ko tau lea mal)) (ne
PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) speak DIR(Tsp) PART(Pst)
u'usi 'ou) 'e te aa?
bite PROII(2Sg0) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) what

'((You say)) You were bitten by what?'

(b) Information Echo Questions to Questions

(3.6.5.-6) Question: 'Okū ke kainga mo Mele?
PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) family PART(Ass) Mele

'Are you related to Mele?'

Question: ((Ko tau fehu'i)) ((pe) 'oku
PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) question if PART(Prs)
au kaainga) mo ai?
DET(1SGEXCL) family) PART who

'((You ask)) Am I related to whom?'

(3.6.5.-7) Question: 'E ha'u 'aafea 'ia Sione?
PART(Fut) come when PART(Abs) Sione

'When is Sione coming?'

Question: ((Ko tau fehu'i)) ((pe) 'e
PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) question if PART(Fut)
ha'u 'aafea) 'ia ai?
come when PART(Abs) who

'((You ask)) When is who coming?'

(c) Information Echo Questions to Commands

(3.6.5.-8) Command: Kotou oo ki Futu.
DET(2Pl) go(Col) PART(All) Futu

'Go to Futu.'

Question: ((Ko tau lea mai)) ((ke)
PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) speak DIR(Tsp) PART(Sbj)

motou oo) ki fea?
DET(1PlExcl) go(Col) PART(All) where

'((You say)) Go to where?'

(3.6.5.-9) Command: 'Alu 'o tokoni ange kiaa Mele.
go PART(Inc) help DIT(Tsd) PART(All) Mele

'Go and help Mele.'

Question: ((Ko tau lea mai)) ((ke)
PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) speak DIR(Tsp) PART(Sbj)

(alu) 'alu 'o tokoni ange)
DET(1SgExcl)) go PART(Inc) help DIR(Tsd)

kiaa ai?
PART(All) who

'((You say)) Go and help who?'
6.6 The Conjunctions he and kaa Introducing Questions

The conjunction he ‘for, because’ (III.2.5.1.(3)) is used to introduce questions that are used to refute what the speaker has just heard by pointing out something on the basis of which the statement can not be true. These questions are frequently further preceded by the conjunction kaa ‘but’ (III.2.5.1.(2)), which introduces adversative clauses.

For instance, if someone says Ko toku mali ‘eni. ‘PART(Npm) DET(Spf1SgExclO) wife DEM(Nsp): This is my wife.’, it is possible to refute it by saying:

(3.6.6.-1) (Kaa) he ‘oku kala ko tou mall ee?
but for PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgO) wife
DEM(Aspad)

‘But isn’t that your wife?’
or

(3.6.6.-2) (Kaa) he ko ai ee?
but for PART(Npm) who DEM(Aspad)

‘But who is that?’

meaning that the person referred to in the question is the real wife and that, therefore, the preceding statement can not be true. Questions like these concern something the speaker already knows and do not expect any answers.

Further examples follow:

(3.6.6.-3) Statement: ‘E kala lava ‘o ‘alu ‘ia Part(Fut) not possible PART(Inc) go PART(Abs)
Mele he kua mole tono suú.
Mele for PART(Prf) lost DET(Spf3SgO) shoe

‘Mele can not go because her shoes have been lost.’

Question: (Kaa) he ‘oku kala ko tono
but for PART(Prs) not PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgO)
suú ee?
shoe DEM(Aspad)

‘But aren’t those her shoes?’
or: (Kaa) he ‘oku aa te suu ia
but for PART(Prs) what DET(Spf) shoe UNEXP
ko éé?
PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad)

‘But how are those shoes? (What happened to them? They are there.)’
Statement: Ko te faiva maalie 'aupito.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) performance nice totally

'It is a very nice film.'

Question: (Kaa) he kuâ ke 'osi sio
but for PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already see

ai?
DEM(Anaph)

'But have you seen it yet?'

or: (Kaa) he ne ke sio ai
but for PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) see DEM(Anaph)

'anefea?
when

'But when did you see it?'
CHAPTER 7
Clauses of Comparison

Degrees of comparison are indicated by a number of postposed elements, most of which have already been mentioned. This chapter deals with the overall description of these elements and the constructions in which they occur.

7.1 Comparative Degree

The comparative degree is generally indicated by the directionals ake ~ hake 'up', ifo ~ hifo 'down' and ange 'To the Side', which follow verbalis. The first two are typically used when the comparison involves actual height, ake in reference to greater height and ifo in reference to lesser height. They may also be used to make comparisons in certain types of things that may be compared to a vertical scale (social ranks, prices, qualities and the like). ange, on the other hand, generally indicates the comparative degree and may always be used.

The nominal phrase that indicate the standard occurs in the locative (II.3.1.(3)).

(3.7.1.-1) 'Oku lahi ake 'ia Sione 'iaa Mele. PART(Prs) large DIR(up) PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc) Mele

'Sione is bigger than Mele (in height).'

(3.7.1.-2) 'Oku lahi ange 'ia Sione 'iaa Mele. PART(Prs) large DIR(Tsd) PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc) Mele

'Sione is bigger than Mele (in height or age).'

It may be noted that the occurrence of ake in (3.7.1.-1) limits the interpretative possibilities of the verbal lahi while the occurrence of ange in (3.7.1.-2) does not.

Further examples follow.

(A) ake

(3.7.1.-3) 'Oku toe ma'olunga ake te palemiá PART(Prs) again high DIR(up) DET(Spf) premier

'i te minisitaa ki muli. PART(Loc) DET(Spf) minister PART(All) overseas

'The premier is higher (in rank) than the minister of foreign affairs.'
'Oku mahu'inga ake te koula hina'hina
PART(Prs) expensive DIR(up) DET(Spf) gold white
'i te koula 'ata'ataa.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) gold pure
'White gold is more expensive than pure gold.'

'Oku nofo 'ia Teevita 'i te tafa'aki
PART(Prs) live PART(Abs) Teevita PART(Loc) DET(Spf) side
ma'unga ma'olunga ake 'i te feitu'u
mountain high DIR(up) PART(Loc) DET(Spf) place
'oku nofo ai 'ia Melé.
PART(Prs) live DEM(Anaph) PART(Abs) Mele
'Teevita lives in a place on the mountain side higher
than the place where Mele lives.'

'(B) ifo

'Oku toe loloto ifo taku uku
PART(Prs) again deep DIR(down) DET(Spf1SgExclA) dive
'aku ia 'i te hakau ko
PROII(1SgExclA) UNEXP PART(Loc) DET(Spf) reef PART(Npm)
iá.
DEM(Anaph)
'I dive deeper than that reef.'

Ko te tohi ko 'ená, 'oku
PART(Prs) DET(Spf) book PART(Npm) DEM(NAD) PART(Prs)
fakafoofua ke ngaaua 'aki 'i te kalasi
intend PART(Sbj) work INSTR PART(Loc) DET(Spf) class
faá pe ko te faanau si'i ifó.
four or PART(Npm) DET(Spf) children small DIR(down)
'That book — it is intended for use in the fourth grade
or for smaller children.'

'(C) ange

'Oku poto ange 'ia Sione 'iaa Mele.
PART(Prs) clever DIR(Tsd) PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc) Mele
'Sione is cleverer than Mele.'

Mahalo pee, 'e toe vela ange te 'eá
think just PART(Fut) again hot DIR(Tsd) DET(Spf) weather
'aapongipongi.
tomorrow
'Maybe, it will be hotter tomorrow.'

(3.7.1.-10) 'Oku motou kumi he 'api sai ange
PART(Prs) DET(1PlExcl) search PART(Nspf) home good DIR(Tsd)
ke motou hiki ki ai.
PART(Sbj) DET(1PlExcl) move PART(All) DEM(Anaph)

'We are looking for a better house to move into.'

(3.7.1.-11) Ne oo mai vave ange te kakal
PART(Pst) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) quick DIR(Tsd) DET(Spf) people
'i taku 'amanaki.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf1SgExclA) expect

'The people came faster than I had thought.'

When the nominal phrase that indicates the standard is expressed, as in (3.7.1.-1) -
(3.7.1.-6), (3.7.1.-8) and (3.7.1.-11), the directionals that indicate the comparative degree
are optional. In correspondence with (3.7.1.-1) and (3.7.1.-2), for instance, it is, therefore,
possible to say:

(3.7.1.-12) 'Oku lahi 'ia Sione 'iaa Mele.
PART(Prs) large PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc) Mele

'Sione is bigger than Mele (in height or age).'

It is not possible to modify pre-base modifiers by means of directionals. Therefore,
the comparative degree may be indicated only by the presence of a nominal phrase
indicating the standard in clauses like:

(3.7.1.-13) Ne fu'aki a'u mai 'ia Sione 'iaa
PART(Pst) first reach DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc)
Teevita.
Teevita

'Sione arrived earlier than Teevita.'

(3.7.1.-14) Ne toomu'a fai te fakaafé 'i te
PART(Pst) early do DET(Spf) feast PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
lotū.
pray

'The feast was held earlier than the prayer.'

There are a number of words and phrases that inherently indicate comparison. The
directional ange may be used with these, but it is generally optional even if the nominal
phrase that indicates the standard is not expressed. Most common of such words and
phrases are listed below:

(1) laka 'pass, exceed'

(3.7.1.-15) 'Oku laka (ange) taku hoosi 'i
PART(Prs) pass DIR(Tsd)) DET(Spf1SgExcl) horse PART(Loc)
te hoosi 'a Sioné.
DET(Spf) horse PART(PssA) Sione

'My horse excels Sione's horse (in any quality under
discussion).'

(3.7.1.-16) Ko te tangata poto 'ia Sione 'i PART(Npm) DET(Spf) man clever PART(Abs) Sione PART(Loc)
te hiva taa 'oku toe laka (ange)
DET(Spf) sing contrary PART(Prs) again pass DIR(TSD)

'ia Pita.
PART(Abs) Pita

'Sione is a man good at singing but Pita is still
better.'

(3.7.1.-17) Ko te toko lahi 'o te kakai PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ANIM many PART(PssO) DET(Spf) people
ne oo mai ki te fakatahá,
PART(Pst) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) PART(All) DET(Spf) meeting
ne laka (ange) 'i te taha afé.
PART(Pst) pass DIR(Tsd) PART(Loc) DET(Spf) one thousand

'The number of the people who came to the meeting – it
was more than one thousand.'

(2) huanoa 'how much more'

huanoa is normally not preceded by any particle (III.8.1.1.(B)).

(3.7.1.-18) Ne sai 'aupito te sou kae huanoa PART(Pst) good totally DET(Spf) show but how-much-more
(ange) kaa pau ne kala ke
DIR(TSD) PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj)

'ua 'i te aho 'uluaki.
rain PART(Loc) DET(Spf) day first

'The exhibition was very good but how much more so if
it had not rained on the initial day!'

(3.7.1.-19) Kaa pau 'oku masiva te kakai PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Prs) poor DET(Spf) people
ko ia huanoa (ange) te PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph) how-much-more DIR(TSD) DET(Spf)
maasiva 'a te kakai ko 'eni.)
poor PART(PssA) DET(Spf) people PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp)

'If those people are poor, how much more so these
(3) 'ange'ange 'no less'

(3.7.1.-20) 'Oku 'ange'ange (ange) te maalohi 'a
PART(Prs) no-less DIR(Tsd) DET(Spf) strength PART(PssA)
te ngaue 'a Sione 'i te ngaue
DET(Spf) work PART(PssA) Sione PART(Loc) DET(Spf) work

'a . Mele.
PART(PssA) Mele

'Sione works no less hard than Mele.'

(3.7.1.-21) 'Oku maalie te faiva ko 'enì kaa
PART(Prs) pleasing DET(Spf) movie PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp) but

'oku toe 'ange'ange (ange) te faiva úá.
PART(Prs) again no-less DIR(Tsd) DET(Spf) movie two

'This movie is good but the second one is no less so.'

(4) toe taha ange ~ tee taha ange 'again one DIR(Tsd): still more'

ange is obligatory.

(3.7.1.-22) 'Oku mama'o 'ia Tongamama'o kaa 'oku
PART(Prs) far	PART(Abs) Tongamama'o but PART(Prs)
toe taha ange 'ia Peetani.
again one	DIR(Tsd)
PART(Abs) Peetani

'Tongamama'o is far but Peetani is still further.'

(3.7.1.-23) 'Oku lalahi te tenifá kaa 'oku
PART(Prs) large(Col) DET(Spf) tiger-shark but PART(Prs)
toe taha ange ai te tofua'á.
again one	DIR(Tsd)
DET(Anaph) DET(Spf) whale

'Tiger sharks are big but whales are still bigger than
they are.'

The grades in the difference between the persons and things that are compared is indicated by such preposed elements as fu'iu 'much' (II.2.3.1.(1)), ki'i 'little' (II.2.3.1.(2)) and so on and/or such postposed elements as 'au pito 'totally' (III.1.3.1.(A)(3)), si'i 'little' and so on. The pre-base modifier toe ~ tee 'still' (II.2.3.1.(3)) is used to indicate that someone or something surpasses someone or something that already has some quality or quantity to a great degree.
7.2 Superlative Degree

The superlative degree is indicated by the numeral taha 'one', which follows
verbals. The nominal phrase that indicates the limits of comparison, that is, the nominal
phrase that refers to the place or the group of people or things in which the comparison is
made, occurs in the locative ([II.3.1.3]).

(3.7.2.-1) 'Oku sai taha te maata'u ko 'ena
PART(Prs) good one DET(Spf) hook PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)
'i , taku 'uu maata'u.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf1SgExclA) PL hook

'That fishing hook is the best of all my fishing hooks.'

(3.7.2.-2) Ko te fu'u ika lahi taha 'eni
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) large fish large one DEM(Nsp)
kuau sio ai.
PART(Prf)-DET(1SgExcl) see DEM(Anaph)

'This is the largest fish I have ever seen.'

(3.7.2.-3) 'Oku lele vave taha te tamasi'i nei
PART(Prs) run fast one DET(Spf) boy DEIC(Nsp)
'i te akó.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) school

'This boy runs fastest in the school.'

'Second ...est, third ...est, ...' are indicated by tono ua or tono lua 'DET(Spf3SgO)
two: second', tono tolu 'DET(Spf3SgO) three: third' ... ([II.7.6]).

(3.7.2.-4) Ko te motu lahi tahá 'ia Tongatatpu
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) island large one PART(Abs) Tongatatpu
pea 'oku lahi tono ua 'ia Vava'u.
and PART(Prs) large DET(Spf3SgO) two PART(Prs) Vava'u

'Tongatatpu is the largest island and Vava'u is the
second largest.'

(3.7.2.-5) Ko te ika lahi tono tolu, ne
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fish large DET(Spf3SgO) three PART(Pst)
au 'avange kiaa Sione.
DET(1SgExcl) take PART(All) Sione

'The third largest fish — I took it to Sione.'

7.3 Degree of Equality

The degree of equality is indicated by the verbal tatau 'same', which follows
verbals. The nominal phrase that indicates the standard occurs in the associative
([II.3.1.6]).

(3.7.3.-1) 'Oku lahi tatau 'ia Sione mo Mele.
PART(Prs) large same PART(Abs) Sione PART(Ass) Mele
'Sione is as big as Mele.'

(3.7.3.-2) Ko te fo'i moa ko 'ená. PART(Npm) DET(Spf) fruit-of fowl PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)

'oku mamafa tatau kaatoa pee. PART(Prs) heavy same all just

'Those eggs – they are all of the same weight.'

(3.7.3.-3) 'Oku. 'i ai he sila lahi PART(Prs) PART(Loc) DEM(Anaph) DET(Nspf) envelope large

tatau mo te kaati ko 'en?} same PART(Ass) DET(Spf) card PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp)

'Is there any envelope as big as this card?'

(3.7.3.-4) 'Oku ngaaua maalohi tatau 'ia Sione mo PART(Prs) work strong same PART(Abs) Sione PART(Ass)

Wele. Wele

'Sione works as hard as Mele.'

tatau may also occur as base of the predicate phrase.

(3.7.3.-5) 'Oku tatau te lahi 'o Sione PART(Prs) same DET(Spf) largeness PART(PssO) Sione

mo Wele. PART(Ass) Wele

'Sione is as big as Mele.'

7.4 Similarity

Similarity is most commonly indicated by hangee 'like' (III.2.2.2.(b)), which may introduce verbal or nominal clauses. It may be used as a conjunction of Type II or, preceded by the particle 'o 'Incorporative' (III.2.4.1.(3)), as a verbal. The particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking' (III.3.1.(10)) that introduces the predicate of a nominal clause may be ellipted if it occurs immediately after hangee and if also it precedes the non-specific article he.

(3.7.4.-1) '0ku moe te tangatá 'o hangee ko PART(Prs) sleep DET(Spf) man PART(Inc) like PART(Npm)

he peeppee. DET(Nspf) baby

'The man is sleeping like a baby.'

(3.7.4.-2) Ne kailoa fu'u sai te tali hangee ko PART(Pst) not very good DET(Spf) sea like PART(Npm)

taku fakakaukaú. DET(Spf1SgExc1A) think
'The sea was not so good as I had thought.'

(3.7.4.-3) 'Oku 'alu te vakā ki te 'uu fonua kehe hangee ko Nu'usila mo different like PART(Prs) go DET(Spf) ship PART(All) DET(Spf) PL land New-Zealand PART(Npm) PART(Ass) New Zealand Australia

'Aositeleelia. Australia

'The ship goes to various countries like New Zealand and Australia.'
CHAPTER 8
Ellipsis

Ellipsis may be classified into two main types according to whether the ellipsis concerned is anaphorically conditioned or not. The interpretation of clauses that involve anaphorically conditioned ellipsis is only possible when the adjacent clauses are also taken into consideration while that of clauses that involve non-anaphorically conditioned ellipsis is possible independently.

8.1 Non-anaphorically Conditioned Ellipsis

In spontaneous speech, various elements are noted to be non-anaphorically ellipted. However, many of such ellipses are quite arbitrary and can also be idiolectic. The following deals only with the most common ellipses that are generally accepted by speakers.

8.1.1 Ellipsis of Verbal-phrase Particles

Verbal-phrase particles are very frequently ellipted in certain environments. Also, there are a number of verbals that are normally used without any particles.

(A) Verbal-phrase Particles at the Beginning of Clauses

As long as there is no ambiguity with respect to tense, aspect or mood, verbal-phrase particles may be ellipted at the beginning of a simple clause or at the beginning of the initial clause of a complex clause, regardless of the syntactic relationship between the two clauses. When the particles are ellipted, the monosyllabic person determiners — ke '2Sg' and ne '3Sg' — which form phonological words with the preceding particles (I.3.1.1.(C)) are also obligatorily ellipted.

(3.8.1.1.-1) ('Oku) sai.
PART(Prs) good

'It's good.'

(3.8.1.1.-2) (Kuá ke) 'osi kai?
PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already eat

'Have you eaten yet?'
(3.8.1.1.-3) (Ne) kotou oo mai 'anefea?
PART(Pst) DET(2PI) go(Col) DIR(Tsp) when

'When did you come?'

(3.8.1.1.-4) (Ne) notou tau mai, ne toki kamata
PART(Pst) DET(3PI) arrive DIR(Tsp) PART(Pst) then begin
te kaatoangá.
DET(Spf) feast

'When they arrived, then the feast began.'

(B) Verbals that Occur without Particles

As already mentioned above, there are a number of verbally-oriented common words that normally occur as verbals without particles. Most of these are associated with propositional attitudes that involve strong emotions. The most common are listed below:

pau (pee) 'it is certain that ...'
tokaange (pee) 'surely, there is ...'
'amusiaange (pee) 'wish earnestly' peheeange (mai) 'wish earnestly'
taumaiaa (pee) 'oh, that ...' 'ofa (ange) (pee) 'may it be ...'
'amusia (pee) 'envy heartily' koloto 'not (Emotional)'
huanoa 'how much more so'

mahalo (pee) and mahalo (nai) obviously consist of the verbal mahalo 'think' plus the phrase adjunct pee 'just' (III.1.3.1.(B)(1)) and nai 'Doubt' (III.1.3.1.(B)(3)), but these particular sequences have unique syntactic distribution and can occur in front of nominal phrases that constitute various arguments of the predicate. They are, therefore, regarded as phrase adjuncts and are dealt with in III.1.3.1.(C)(1).

'Iloange normally does not occur with any particle, but it frequently occurs with the particle-conjunction kaa 'Hypothetical' (III.2.6.(2)), which introduces conditional clauses.

koloto and huanoa are dealt with in III.3. and III.7.1.(2) respectively.

The verbals listed above most commonly occur at the beginning of clauses where, as dealt with in III.8.1.1.(A) above, the ellipsis of verbal-phrase particles, is possible, as in:

(3.8.1.1.-5) Tokaange pee he taha ne nofo surely-there-is just DET(SPF) one PART(Pst) live

'i te ana ko eni.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) cave PART(Npm) DEM(Nsp)

'Surely, there was someone living in this cave.'
(3.8.1.1.-6) Taumaiaa ke ke 'ilo'ia taku 'ofa oh-that PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) know DET(Spf1SgExclA) love
kiaa koé.
PART(All) PRUI(2Sg)
'OOh, that you knew my love for you!'

(3.8.1.1.-7) 'Iloange pee kua too mai he unexpectedly just PART(Prf) fall DIR(Tsp) DET(Nspf)
fo'i matangi 'o holoki te fale friut-of wind PART(Inc) demolish DET(Spf) house
'o Sione.
PART(Pss0) Sione
'All of a sudden, there was a blast of wind and
Sione's house was demolished.'

(3.8.1.1.-8) Hei'ilо pe ko te aa tana me'a who-knows if PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what DET(Spf3SgA) thing
'oku fai.
PART(prs) do
'Who knows what he is doing?'

but it is not always the case. In the following, for instance, it occurs without any particle.
after the conjunction kae 'but' (III.2.5.1.(1)) although the two clauses that are linked do
do not share the same tense and, therefore, the ellipsis of verbal-phrase particles is, as dealt
with in III.8.2.1.(A), normally not possible:

(3.8.1.1.-9) Ne motou taanaki silini 'anepeо kae PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) collect shilling last-night but
hei'ilо pe 'e lahi ia ki te who-knows if PART(Fut) much DEM(Anaph) PART(All) DET(Spf)
langa 'o te fale lotú.
build PART(Pss0) DET(Spf) house pray
'We collected money but no one knows if it will be
enough for the building of the church.'

8.1.2 Ellipsis of Nominal-phrase Particles

Like verbal-phrase particles, the particle ko 'Nominal Phrase Marking' (II.3.1.(10))
may also be ellipted at the beginning of a simple clause or at the beginning of the initial
clause of a complex clause, regardless of the syntactic relationship between the two
clauses. When ko is ellipted, the monosyllabic determiners - the specific and the non-
specific article te and he - which form phonological words with the preceding particles
(I.3.1.1.(D)) are also obligatorily ellipted.

(3.8.1.2.-1) (Kо) Sione ee.
PART(Npm) Sione DEM(Aspad)
'That is Sione.'

(3.8.1.2.-2) (Ko) tau 'alu ki fea? PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) go PART(All) where

'Where are you going?'

(3.8.1.2.-3) (Ko) Tonga, 'oku momoko 'aupito kaa ko PART(Npm) Tonga PART(Prs) cold totally but PART(Npm)

Niua nei, 'oku maa'ana pee.
Niua DEIC(Nsp) PART(Prs) warm just

'Tonga – it is very cold but Niua – it is warm.'

(3.8.1.2.-4) (Ko) te 'osi pee te houa 'e PART(Npm) DET(Spf) finish just DET(Spf) hour PART(Nmr)
taha pe ua mei te motou kai, one or two PART(Abl) DET(Spf) DET(1PlExc1) eat

peau 'alu leva 'o moe.
and-DET(1SgExc1) go SQC PART(Inc) sleep

'One or two hours after we ate, I went to sleep.'

However, in front of question words – Ko te aa? 'What?', Ko ai? 'Who?', Ko fea? 'Where?' – the ellipsis of ko seems to be very unusual.

8.2 Anaphorically Conditioned Ellipsis

In order to avoid redundancy, various elements may be anaphorically ellipted if they are obvious from adjacent clauses. Ellipsis of this type may be noted in complex clauses formed by the clause-linking particles (III.2.4.1.) and a number of conjunctions (III.2.5.). The following also deals with addition and response clauses whose interpretation is possible only when the immediately preceding context is taken into consideration.

8.2.1 Ellipsis in Complex Clauses

In complex clauses, verbal-phrase particles, person determiners and nominal phrases that denote certain arguments, and verbal phrases that constitute predicates may be ellipted in certain environments.

(A) Ellipsis of Verbal-phrase Particles

The particles 'e 'Future' (II.2.1.(1)), 'oku ~ ku 'Present' (II.2.1.(2)), ne'e ~ ne 'Past' (II.2.1.(3)), kua 'perfect' (II.2.1.(4)) and ke 'Subjunctive' (III.2.4.1.(2)) may be ellipted immediately after the conjunctions pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)) and kaa ~ kae 'but' (III.2.5.1.(2)) if the preceding clause shares the same tense, aspect or mood. In contrast with the non-anaphoric ellipsis of verbal-phrase particles dealt with in (III.8.1.1.(A)), person determiners are normally not ellipted, and the monosyllabic person determiners – ke '2Sg' and ne '3Sg' – form phonological words with the conjunctions.
(3.8.2.1.-1) 'E au faka'osi taku foó
PART(Fut) DET(1SGExcl) finish DET(SPL1SGExcl) wash
pea 'e au
and PART(Fut) DET(1SGExcl) tokit'alu atu.
peau then go DIR(Asp)
and-DET(1SGExcl)
'I will finish the clothes washing and then I will
go.'

(3.8.2.1.-2) 'Oku polisi 'ia Sione
PART(Prs) police PART(Abs) Sione
{kaa 'oku but PART(Prs)
but PART(Abs) Mele.
kae teach
kae
'Sione is working as a policeman but Mele is working
as a teacher.'

(3.8.2.1.-3) Kua 'osi too te la'aá
PART(Prf) already fall DET(Spf) sun
{pea kua
and PART(Prf)
{kaa ke
but PART(Sbj) notou foki 'i te
kae DET(3PL) return PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
but
vave tahá.
fast one
'The sun has already set and Sione has already
come back from the bush.'

(3.8.2.1.-4) 'Oku motou fiama'u ke notou oo
PART(Prs) DET(1PLExcl) want PART(Sbj) DET(3PL) go(Col)
{kaa ke
but PART(Sbj) notou foki 'i te
kae DET(3PL) return PART(Loc) DET(Spf)
but
'Ve want them to go but come back as soon as possible.'

In the following example, the clauses linked by pea 'and' do not share the same
tense. Therefore, the particle 'oku 'Present' may not be ellipsed although the tense of the
clause is obvious from the time phrase occurring in the clause.

(3.8.2.1.-5) Ne 'alu 'ia Sione ki Tonga 'i
PART(Pst) go PART(Abs) Sione PART(All) Tonga PART(Loc)
te ta'u kua 'osi
DET(Spf) year PART(Prf) finish
{pea 'oku nofo
and PART(Prs) stay
and stay
}
ai mo tokoúá 'i
DEM(Anaph) PART(Ass) DET(Spf3Sg0) brother PART(Loc)
te taimi nei.
DET(Spf) time DEIC(Nsp)
'Sione went to Tonga last year and is staying there
with his brother now.'

In the following example, the clause immediately preceding the conjunction kaa ~ kae 'but' is introduced by the particle 'e 'Incorporative' (III.2.4.1.(3)), the tense of which is dependent on the preceding clause. However, the ellipsis of the particle after the conjunction is still possible in this case since the clauses linked share the same tense.

(3.8.2.1.-6) Ne 'alu 'ia Mele 'o sio faiva
PART(Pst) go PART(Abs) Mele PART(Inc) see movie

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaa ne} & \quad \text{au}
\\text{but PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl)} & \quad \text{nofo pee 'ia}
\\text{kaau} & \quad \text{stay just PART(Abs)}
\\text{but-DET(1SgExcl)} &
\end{align*}
\]

au 'i 'api.
PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Loc) home

'Mele went to see a film but I stayed at home.'

The particle 'e 'Future' may also be ellipted immediately after the conjunctions pea 'and' and kaa ~ kae 'but' if the preceding clause is an imperative-hortative clause (III.5.), as in:

(3.8.2.1-7) Kaa ha'u 'ia Sione
PART-CONJ(Hyp) come PART(Abs) Sione

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pea 'e} & \quad \text{au}
\\text{and PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl)} & \quad \text{tala'i ange ki}
\\text{peau} & \quad \text{tell DIR(Tsd) PART(All)}
\\text{and-DET(1SgExcl)} &
\end{align*}
\]

ai.
DEM(Anaph)

'If Sione comes. I will tell it to him.'

(3.8.2.1.-8) Kotou oo 'ia kootou ki ngaa'uta
DET(2P1) go(Con) PART(Abs) PROI(2P1) PART(All) upland

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaa 'e} & \quad \text{omotou oo 'ia}
\\text{but PART(Fut)} & \quad \text{DET(1P1Excl) go(Con) PART(Abs)}
\text{kae} & \quad 
\end{align*}
\]

maatou ki ngaalalo.
PROI(1P1Excl) PART(All) lowland
‘You go up the mountain while we will go towards the sea.’

Apart from those mentioned above, there are two particles that occur in the verbal phrase, namely, mo ‘Associative’ (III.2.4.1.(1)) and o ‘Incorporative’ (III.2.4.1.(3)). The particle o does not occur immediately after the conjunctions pea ‘and’ or kaa ~ kae ‘but’. The particle mo, on the other hand, does occur after pea, but it may not be ellipted without change of meaning — Ne'e oo mai te tamaliki pea mo notou hiva. ‘PART(Pst) come(Col) DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) children(Col) and PART(Ass) DET(3Pl) sing: The children came singing.’ but Ne'e oo mai te tamaliki pea notou hiva. ‘PART(Pst) come(Col) DET(Spf) children(Col) and DET(3Pl) sing: The children came and (then) sang.’

(B) Ellipsis of Person Determiners and Nominal Phrases

In complex clauses, person determiners and nominal phrases may be ellipted in certain environments if the arguments they indicate are clear from the preceding or following clauses. The extent to which such ellipsis is permitted varies according to the syntactic function of the person determers and nominal phrases concerned and also according to the manner in which the clauses are linked together.

(B-1) Person Determiners and Nominal Phrases Denoting S, A and O

Person determiners and nominal phrases that denote S, A and O may be ellipted to varying extents depending on the manner in which the clauses are linked together. Third person arguments that occur as S, A or O, however, deviate from arguments in other persons and may always be ellipted. That is, as dealt with in II.5.3., arguments that occur as O may be expressed only by nominal phrases, and third person arguments in this function are normally ellipted unless they are contrasted with someone or something else. Arguments occurring as S or A, on the other hand, may be expressed by person determiners and also, when contrast is involved, by nominal phrases. With the exception of a singular S, third person arguments occurring as S and A are commonly expressed by person determiners even if they are not contrasted with anyone or anything else, but it is by no means obligatory. Third person arguments are excluded from the following.

(B-1.1.) Clauses linked by Linking-particles

The ellipsis of elements that denote A, S or O may take place in clauses that are linked together by the linking-particles mo ‘Associative’ (III.2.4.1.(1)), ke ‘Subjunctive’ (III.2.4.1.(2)) and o ‘Incorporative’ (III.2.4.1.(3)). Basically, the same principles apply
for clauses linked together by any of these three particles, but as seen below, clauses linked by mo slightly deviate from clauses linked together by the other two particles. The particles mo and ke may optionally be preceded by the conjunctions pea ‘and’ (III.2.5.1.(1)) and kote‘uhi ‘because’ (III.2.5.2.(2)) respectively, but the presence of these conjunctions does not change the possibility of ellipsis.

Clauses that are introduced by the particles ‘o, (kote‘uhi) ke and (pea) mo have the following basic restrictions with respect to the overt expression of S, A and O:

If the clause is intransitive:

(1) it may have an overt S or
(2) it may have no overt S.

If, on the other hand, the clause is transitive:

(1) it may have both an overt A and an overt O or
(2) it may have an overt O but no overt A or

(3) it may have neither an overt A nor an overt O.

Accordingly, transitive clauses introduced by ‘o, (kote‘uhi) ke or (pea) mo that have only an overt A are normally not permitted whether the A is indicated by a person determiner or by a nominal phrase.1 Therefore, the ellipsis of the first person singular O-class pronoun Type II ‘oku that denotes O is normally not possible in clauses like the following:

(3.8.2.1.-9)(a) Ne ma‘u ‘oku ‘e PART(Pst) get PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Erg)
    taku fa‘ee ‘o ina ‘ave DET(Spf1SgExc1A) mother PART(Inc) DET(3Sg) take
    ‘oku ki te fale mahakì. PROII(1SgExc10) PART(All) DET(Spf) house ill
    ‘My mother caught me and took me to the hospital.’
(b) *... ‘o ina ‘ave ki te PART(Inc) DET(3Sg) take PART(All) DET(Spf)
    fale mahakì.
    house ill

(3.8.2.1.-10)(a) Ne au ‘alu ki te fale PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) go PART(All) DET(Spf) house
    mahakì ‘o hуху ‘oku ‘e te ill PART(Inc) inject PROII(1SgExc10) DET(Spf)

1However, this is not very consistent, and some examples of clauses introduced by ke that have only an overt A have been noted — Ne au tau‘olunga fakalelei ke notou fakapale‘i. ‘PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) dance well PART(Sbj) DET[3Pl] give-a-prize: I danced well so that they would give me a prize.’ There is also some disagreement among speakers.
tooketaá.

doctor

'I went to the hospital and received an injection.'

(b) *... 'o huu 'e te tooketaá.
PART(Inc) inject PART(Erg) DET(Spf) doctor

However, as already mentioned above, this does not apply when the O is in the third
person. Therefore, although A is overtly expressed the third person singular pronoun
Type I or the anaphoric demonstrative ia that denotes O is optional in:

(3.8.2.1.-11) Ne fiafia 'aupito te siana 'i
PART(Pst) happy totally DET(Spf) fellow PART(Loc)
te ma'u te peepee 'o ina 'ave
DET(Spf) get DET(Spf) baby PART(Inc) DET(3Sg) take

(ia) ki tono 'api.
PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph) PART(All) DET(Spf3Sg0) home

'The fellow was very happy to have found the baby
and took it home.'

On the other hand, as long as clauses conform to the restrictions given above.
determiners and nominal phrases in the S, A and O functions may be ellipted regardless of
the syntactic function of the co-referential argument of the preceding clause that triggers
the ellipsis. This is especially evident in clauses linked by 'o or (kote'uhi) ke, in which
coopositional arguments may freely occur in different syntactic functions, as in:

(a) Clause + 'o + Intransitive Clause

(3.8.2.1.-11)(a) 'E au 'alu 'o au
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Inc) DET(1SgExcl)

ki'i maalooloo 'i te malú.
little rest PART(Loc) DET(Spf) shade

(b) 'E au 'alu 'o ki'i maalooloo
PART(Fut) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Inc) little rest

'i te malú.
PART(Loc) DET(Spf) shade

(S (=au) triggering the ellipsis of S (=au))

'I will go and rest a little in the shade.'

(3.8.2.1.-12)(a) Ne motou puke te puaká 'o
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) grab DET(Spf) pig PART(Inc)
motou oo mo ia ki
DET(1PlExcl) go(Col) PART(Ass) DEM(Anaph) PART(All)
te 'aliki.
DET(Spf) chief
(b) Ne motou puke te puakā 'o PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) grab DET(Spf) pig PART(Inc)
    oo mo ia ki te go(Col) PART(Ass) DEM(Anaph) PART(All) DET(Spf)
    'alikī. chief

    (A (=motou) triggering the ellipsis of S
    (=motou))
    'We seized the pig and went with it to the chief.'

(3.8.2.1.-13)(a) Ne ina taa'i 'oku 'o PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Inc)
    au lavea. DET(1SgExc1) injured
    (b) Ne ina taa'i 'oku 'o PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Inc)
        lavea. injured

    (O (='oku) triggering the ellipsis of S (=au))
    'He hit me and I was injured.'

(3.8.2.1 -14)(a) 'E ina 'avatu he ika PART(Fut) DET(3Sg) give DET(Nspf) fish
    ma'au 'o ke 'alu PART(BnfA)-DET(1SgExc1) PART(Inc) DET(2Sg) go
    mo ia ki 'api. PART(Ass) DET(Anaph) PART(all) home
    (b) 'E ina 'avatu he ika PART(Fut) DET(3Sg) give PART(Nspf) fish
        ma'au 'o 'alu mo ia PART(BnfA)-DET(1SgExc1) PART go PART(Ass) DEM(Anaph)
        ki 'api. PART(All) home

    (nominal phrase in A-class benefactive (= ma'au)
    triggering the ellipsis of S (= ke))
    'He will give you a fish to take home.'

(b) Clause + 'o + Transitive Clause

(3.8.2.1.-15)(a) Ne'e au 'alu ki te PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) go PART(All) DET(Spf)
    tooketaā 'o ina hahu 'oku. doctor PART(Inc) DET(3Sg) inject PROII(1SgExc1)
(b) Ne‘e au ‘alu ki te
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) DET(Spf)

tooketaʻa ‘o huhu ‘oku.
doctor PART(Inc) inject PROII(1SgExcl0)

(nominal phrase in allative triggering the
ellipsis of A (= ina))

c) Ne‘e au ‘alu ki te
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) DET(Spf)

‘tooketaʻa ‘o (=ina) huhu.
doctor PART(Inc) DET(3Sg) inject

(nominal phrase in allative (= ki te tooketaʻa)
and S (= au) triggering the ellipsis of A

(= ina) and 0 (= ‘oku))

‘I went to the doctor and he gave me an injection.’

(3.8.2.1.-16)(a) Ne ma‘u ‘ia au ‘e
PART(Pst) get PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Erg)

te kau polisi ‘o notou fakahuu
DET(Spf) PL police PART(Inc) DET(3Pl) imprison

‘ia au.
PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl)

(b) Ne ma‘u ‘ia au ‘e
PART(Pst) get PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Erg)

te kau polisi ‘o fakahuu ‘ia
DET(Spf) PL police PART(Inc) imprison PART(Abs)

au.
PROI(1SgExcl)

(A (= ‘e te kau polisi) triggering the ellipsis
of A (= notou))

(c) Ne ma‘u ‘ia au ‘e
PART(Pst) get PART(Abs) PROI(1SgExcl) PART(Erg)

te kau polisi ‘o (notou) fakahuu.
DET(Spf) PL police PART(Inc) DET(3Pl) imprison

(A (= ‘e te kau polisi) and 0 (= ‘ia au) trig-
gering the ellipsis of A (= notou) and 0 (= ‘ia au))

‘The policemen caught me and imprisoned me.’

(3.8.2.1.-17)(a) Ne‘e ha‘u te tangatā kiaa
PART(Pst) come DET(Spf) man PART(All)
au 'o ina 'ave 'oku
DET(1SgExcI) PART(Inc) DET(3Sg) take PROII(3Sg0)

ki tono 'apì.
PART(All) DET(Spf3Sg0) home

(b) Ne'e ha'u te tangatá kiaa
PART(Pst) come DET(Spf) man PART(All)

au 'o 'ave 'oku ki
DET(1SgExcI) PART(Inc) take PROI(1SgExc10) PART(All)

tono 'apì.
DET(Spf3Sg0) home

(S (= te tangatá) triggering the ellipsis of A
(= ina))

(c) Ne'e ha'u te tangatá kiaa
PART(Pst) come DET(Spf) man PART(All)

au 'o (*ina) 'ave ki
DET(1SgExcI) PART(Inc) DET(3Sg) take PART(All)

tono 'apì.
DET(Spf3Sg0) home

(S (= te tangatá) and nominal phrase in allative
(= kiaa au) triggering the ellipsis of A (=ina)
and O (= 'oku))

'The man came to me and took me to his home.'

(3.8.2.1.-18)(a) Kuá ke 'osi 'alu ange kiaa
PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already go DIR(Tsd) PART(All)

Seini 'o ke fakamanatu'i 'ona?
Seini PART(Inc) DET(2Sg) remind PROII(3Sg0)

(b) Kuá ke 'osi 'alu ange kiaa
PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already go DIR(Tsd) PART(All)

Seini 'o fakamanatu'i 'ona?
Seini PART(Inc) remind PROII(3Sg0)

(S (= ke) triggering the ellipsis of A (= ke))

(c) Kuá ke 'osi 'alu ange kiaa
PART(Prf) DET(2Sg) already go DIR(Tsd) PART(All)

Seini 'o (*ke) fakamanatu'i?
Seini PART(Inc) DET(2Sg) remind

(S (= ke) and nominal phrase in allative trig-
gering the ellipsis of A (= ke) and O (= 'ona))

'Have you gone to Seini to remind her?'

The ellipsis of O may be anticipatory as well as retrospective.
(3.8.2.1.-19)(a) 'E notou feinga ke 'ave 'ou
PART(Fut) DET(3Pl) try PART(Sbj) take PROII(2Sg0)
ki te vaó 'o taamate'i 'ou.
PART(All) DET(Spf) bush PART(Inc) kill PROII(2Sg)

(b) 'E notou feinga ke 'ave 'ou
PART(Fut) DET(3Pl) try PART(Sbj) take PROII(2Sg0)
ki te vaó 'o taamate'i.
PART(All) DET(Spf) bush PART(Inc) kill

(c) 'E notou feinga ke 'ave ki
PART(Fut) DET(3Pl) try PART(Sbj) take PART(All)
te vaó 'o taamate'i 'ou.
DET(Spf) bush PART(Inc) kill PROII(2Sg0)

'They will try to take you to the bush and kill you.'

(a) Clause + ke + Intransitive Clause

(3.8.2.1.-20)(a) Ne au ha'u (kote'uhi) ke
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) come because PART(Sbj)
au talanoa mo koe.
DET(1SgExcl) chat PART(Ass) PROI(2Sg)

(b) Ne au ha'u (kote'uhi) ke
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) come because PART(Sbj)
talanoa mo koe.
chat PART(Ass) PROI(2Sg)

(S (= au) triggering the ellipsis of S (= au))
'I came in order to have a chat with you.'

(3.8.2.1.-21)(a) Ne ako'i 'oku 'e te
PART(Pst) teach PROII(1SgExcl0) PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
matu'á ki te toho ika (kote'uhi)
old-man PART(All) DET(Spf) pull fish because
ke au 'alu 'o ma'u he
PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(Inc) get DET(Nspf)

ika ma'ana.
fish PART(BnfA)-PROII(3SgA)

(b) Ne ako'i 'oku 'e te
PART(Pst) teach PROII(1SgExcl0) PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
matu'á ki te toho ika (kote'uhi)
old-man PART(All) DET(Spf) pull fish because
ke 'alu 'o ma'u he ika
PART(Sbj) go PART(Inc) get DET(Nspf) fish

ma'ana.
PART(BnfA)-PROII(3SgA)
(O (= 'oku) triggering the ellipsis of S (= au))

'The old man taught me line-fishing so that I would go and catch some fish for him.'

(b) Clause + ke + Transitive Clause

(3.8.2.1.-22)(a) Tou fahi te puaka ko 'ená DET(1PlIncl) kill DET(Spf) pig PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)

(kote'uhi) ke tou 'ave ia because PART(Sbj) DET(1PlIncl) take DEM(Anaph)

ki te putú.
PART(All) DET(Spf) funeral

(b) Tou fahi te puaka ko 'ená DET(1PlIncl) kill DET(Spf) pig PART(Npm) DEM(Nad)

(kote'uhi) ke 'ave (ia) ki because PART(Sbj) take DEM(Anaph) PART(All)

tе putú.
DET(Spf) funeral

(A (= tou) triggering the ellipsis of A (= tou))

'Let's kill that pig to take it to the funeral!'

(3.8.2.1.-23)(a) Ne fokotu'u 'oku 'e te PART(Pst) appoint PROII(1SgExc1) PART(Erg) DET(Spf)

'ofisi ke au fai te ngaaua office PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExc1) do DET(Spf) work

ko iá.
PART(Npm) DEM(Anaph)

(b) Ne fokotu'u 'oku 'e te PART(Pst) appoint PROII(1SgExc1) PART(Erg) DET(Spf)

'ofisi ke fai te ngaaua ko office PART(Sbj) do DET(Spf) work PART(Npm)

iá.
DEM(Anaph)

(O (= 'oku) triggering the ellipsis of A (= au))

'I was appointed by the office to do that work.'

The ellipsis of O may be anticipatory as well as retrospective.

(3.8.2.1.-24)(a) Ne notou ma'u 'oku ke PART(Pst) DET(3P1) get PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Sbj)

fakahuu 'oku.
imprison PROII(1SgExc10)

(b) Ne notou ma'u 'oku ke PART(Pst) DET(3P1) get PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Sbj)

fakahuu.
imprison
(c) Ne notou ma' u ke fakahuu
PART(Pst) DET(3Pl) get PART(Sbj) imprison
'oku
PROII(1SgExc10)
'They caught me to imprison me.'

On the other hand, as already mentioned in III.2.4.1.(3), clauses that are linked by (pea) mo have some restrictions with respect to the syntactic function of co-referential elements. That is, clauses that are linked together by (pea) mo must, as a general rule, have a co-referential S or A. Accordingly, it must necessarily be the S or A of the first clause that triggers the ellipsis of the S or A of clauses introduced by mo, and nominal phrases that denote O may only then be ellipted when there is no overt S or A.

(3.8.2.1.-25)(a) Ne'e au ha' u pee (pea) mo
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) come just and PART(Ass)

au hivahiva mai.
DET(1SgExc1) hum DIR(Tsp)

(b) Ne'e au ha' u pee (pea) mo
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) come just and PART(Ass)

hivahiva mai.
hum DIR(Tsp)

(S (= au) triggering the ellipsis of S (= au))
'I came, humming.'

(3.8.2.1.-26)(a) Ne au 'ave 'ou ki
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) take PROII(2Sg0) PART(All)

te fale mahaki (pea) mo au
DET(Spf) house ill and PART(Ass) DET(1SgExc1)

tangi
cry

(b) Ne au 'ave 'ou ki
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExc1) take PROII(2Sg) PART(All)

te fale mahaki (pea) mo tangi.
DET(Spf) house ill and PART(Ass) cry

(A (= au) triggering the ellipsis of S (= au))
'I took you to the hospital, crying.'

(b) Clause + (pea) mo + Transitive Clause

(3.8.2.1.-27)(a) Ko te kakai Tonga, ne notou
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) people Tonga PART(Pst) DET(3Pl)

fa'a kata'i 'ia maatou (pea) mo
often laugh-at PART(Abs) PROI(1PlExc1) and PART(Ass)
notou manuki'i 'ia maatou kote'uhi DET(3Pl) ridicule PART(Abs) PROI(1PlExc1) because
ko te motou leá.
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) DET(1PlExc1) language

(b) Ko te kakai Tongá, ne notou PART(Npm) DET(Spf) people Tonga PART(Pst) DET(3Pl)
fa'a kata'i 'ia maatou (pea) mo often laugh-at PART(Abs) PROI(1PlExc1) and PART(Ass)
manuki'i 'ia maatou kote'uhi ko ridicule PART(Abs) PROI(1PlExc1) because PART(Npm)
te motou leá.
DET(Spf) DET(1PlExc1) language

(A (= notou) triggering the ellipsis of A
 (= notou))

(c) Ko te kakai Tongá, ne notou PART(Npm) DET(Spf) people Tonga PART(Pst) DET(3Pl)
fa'a kata'i 'ia maatou (pea) mo often laugh-at PART(Abs) PROI(1PlExc1) and PART(Ass)
(*notou) manuki'i kote'uhi ko te DET(3Pl) ridicule because PART(Npm) DET(Spf)

motou leá.
DET(1PlExc1) language

(A (= notou) and 0 (= 'ia maatou) triggering the ellipsis of A (= notou) and 0 (= 'ia maatou))

'The people of Tonga — they often laughed at us and ridiculed us because of our language.'

(3.8.2.1.-26) can never mean 'I took you to the hospital, you crying.' since the clauses must share the same S or A.

If, however, the first clause refers to a socially-motivated situation, clauses linked by (pea) mo do not have to have a coreferential S or A. Therefore, the S or A in clauses introduced by (pea) mo may be ellipted in co-reference with arguments other than S or A of the preceding clause.

(a) Clause + (pea) mo + Intransitive Clause

(3.8.2.1.-28)(a) Ne papi 'ia koe 'i PART(Pst) baptize PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg) PART(Loc)
te katoliká (pea) mo ke ako DET(Spf) Catholic and PART(Ass) DET(2Sg) learn

lotu ai.
pray DEM(Anaph)
(b) Ne papi 'ia koe 'i
PART(Pst) baptize PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg) PART(Loc)
te katolika (pea) mo ako lotu
DET(Spf) Catholic and PART(Ass) learn pray
ai.
DEM(Anaph)
(0 (= 'ia koe) triggering the ellipsis of S
 (= ke))
'You were baptized in the Catholic Church and
are a member of it.'

(3.8.2.1.-29)(a) Ne faa'ele'i 'oku 'i Niua
PART(Pst) give-birth PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Loc) Niua
nei (pea) mo au tupu ake
DEIC(Nsp) and PART(Ass) DET(1SgExc1) grow DIR(up)
ai.
DEM(Anaph)
(b) Ne faa'ele'i 'oku 'i Niua
PART(Pst) give-birth PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Loc) Niua
nei (pea) mo tupu ake ai.
DEIC(Nsp) and PART grow DIR(up) DEM(Anaph)
(0 (= 'oku) triggering the ellipsis of S (= au))
'I was born here on Niua and grew up on it.'

(b) Clause + (pea) mo + Transitive Clause

(3.8.2.1.-30)(a) Ne ako'i tako faanaú
PART(Pst) teach DET(Spf1SgExc1A) children(Col)
'i Tonga (pea) mo notou fai
PART(Loc) Tonga and PART(Ass) DET(3P1) do
ai te notou pisinisi.
DEM(Anaph) DET(Spf) DET(3P1) business
(b) Ne ako'i tako faanaú
PART(Pst) teach DET(Spf1SgExc1A) children(Col)
'i Tonga (pea) mo fai ai
PART(Loc) Tonga and PART(Ass) do DEM(Anaph)
te notou pisinisi.
DET(Spf) DET(3P1) business
(0 (= tako faanaú) triggering the ellipsis of
A (= notou))
'My children were educated in Tonga and are
doing business there.'
The ellipsis of O may be anticipatory as well as retrospective.

\[(3.8.2.1.-31)\]
\(\text{Ne ina taa'i 'oku } \quad \text{(pea)}\)
\(\text{PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit PROII(1SgExc10) and}\)
\(\text{mo tuleki 'oku.} \quad \text{PART(Ass) push PROII(1SgExc10)}\)

\[(3.8.2.1.-31)\]
\(\text{Ne ina taa'i 'oku } \quad \text{(pea)}\)
\(\text{PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit PROII(1SgExc10) and}\)
\(\text{mo tuleki.} \quad \text{PART(Ass) push}\)

\[(3.8.2.1.-31)\]
\(\text{Ne ina taa'i (pea) mo tuleki} \quad \text{PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) hit and PART(Ass) push}\)
\(\text{'oku.} \quad \text{PROII(1SgExc1)}\)

'Bhe hit me and pushed me.'

(B-1.2.) Clauses linked by Conjunctions and Conjunctional Phrases

The ellipsis of O may take place in clauses that are linked by the conjunctions of Type I pea 'and' (III.2.5.1.(1)) and kaa ~ kae 'but' (III.2.5.1.(2)) and the conjunctions and conjunctional phrases of Type II neongo 'though' (III.2.5.2.(1)), kote'ahi 'because' (III.2.5.2.(2)) and ki mu'a pea 'PART(All) front and: before' (III.2.5.2.(5)) To some extent, the ellipsis of S often takes place in clauses linked by pea, kaa ~ kae and ki mu'a pea. In contrast with the case of clauses linked by linking-particles dealt with in III.8.2.1(B-1.1.) above, the ellipsis is possible only when the co-referential arguments have the same syntactic function.

(B-1.2.1.) Clauses Linked by pea, kaa ~ kae and ki mu'a pea

In clauses that are introduced by the conjunction pea 'and', kaa ~ kae 'but' or ki mu'a pea 'PART(All) front and: before', nominal phrases that denote O may be ellipted in co-reference with the O of the preceding clause.

(a) Clause + pea + Clause

\[(3.8.2.1.-32)\]
\(\text{Ne ina ma'u 'ia au pea} \quad \text{PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) get PART(Abs) PROII(1SgExc1) and}\)
\(\text{ina 'ave ('ia au) ki DET(3Sg) take PART(Abs) PROII(1SgExc1) PART(All)}\)
\(\text{te polisi.} \quad \text{DET(Spf) police}\)

'He caught me and took me to the police.'

\[(3.8.2.1.-33)\]
\(\text{Ne notou taa'i 'oku pea notou} \quad \text{PART(Pst) DET(3P1) hit PROII(1SgExc10) and DET(3P1)}\)
līi (ʻoku) ki tāi.
throw PROII(1SgExcl) PART(All) sea

ʻThey hit me and threw me into the sea.ʻ

(b) Clause + kaa ~ kae + Clause

(3.8.2.1.-34) Ne taa'i 'ia au e Sione
PART(Pst) hit PART(Abs) PROII(1SgExcl) PART(Erg) Sione

kaa ko Teevita, ne ina lea'ī pee
but PART(Npm) Teevita PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) scold just

('ia au).
PART(Abs) PROII(1SgExcl)

ʻSione hit me, but Teevita - he only scolded me.ʻ

(3.8.2.1.-35) Ko te 'uu kuliʻī, ʻoku kailoa ke
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) PL dog PART(Prs) not PART(Sbj)

notou u'usi ʻoku kaa notou fa'a
DET(3Pl) bite PROII(1SgExcl) but DET(3Pl) often

fakaohovale'i lahi (ʻoku).
surprise much PROII(1SgExcl)

ʻThe dogs - they do not bite me but they surprise me
a lot.ʻ

(c) Clause + ki mu'a pea - Clause

(3.8.2.1.-36) Ne ina akō'i ʻoku ki
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) teach PROII(1SgExcl) PART(All)

te tau'olungā ki mu'a pea ina toki
DET(Spf) dance PART(All) front and DET(3Sg) then

ʻave (ʻoku) ki te koniseniti.
take PROII(1SgExcl) PART(All) DET(Spf) concert

ʻHe taught me dancing before he took me to
the concert.ʻ

Person determiners, especially those that denote S of the preceding clause, may be
ellipted in co-reference with the S of the preceding clause. The ellipsis of person
determiners is, however, rare, and the ellipsis of the monosyllabic person determiners that
form phonological words with the conjunctions, namely, au '1SgExcl' and the two
monosyllabic determiners, ke '2Sg' and ne '3Sg', seems to be very unusual though
accepted by many speakers.

(a) Clause + pea + Clause

(3.8.2.1.-37) Ne motou 'uluaki oo ki
PART(Pst) DET(1P1Excl) first go(Col) PART(All)
te fale mahaki pea (motou) toki oo
DET(Spf) house ill and DET(1PlExcl) then come(Col)
mái ki heni.
DIR(Tsp) PART(All) DEM(Nsp)
'We first went to the hospital and then came here.'

(b) Clause + kaa ~ kae + Clause

(3.8.2.1.-38) ‘E. motou oo kae (motou) foki
PART(Fut) DET(1PlExcl) go(Col) but DET(1PlExcl) return
vave mái.
fast DIR(Tsp)
'We will go but come back soon.'

(c) Clause + ki mu'a pea + Clause

(3.8.2.1.-39) Ne motou ongo'i minimo ki mu'a
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) feel dizzy PART(All) front
pea (motou) toki pongia.
and PROI(1PlExcl) then faint
'We felt dizzy before we fainted.'

The ellipsis of person determiners after pea 'and' kaa ~ kae 'but' and ki mu'a pea 'PART(All) front and: before' is possible only when, as in the examples above, there is no particle in front of the determiners. If there is a particle but no determiner, clauses introduced by pea, kaa ~ kae or ki mu'a pea can only be interpreted as having a third person S that is understood and not overtly expressed. For instance: Ne motou oo pea ne toki oo mái ki heni. 'PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) go(Col) and PART(Pst) then come(Col) DIR(Tsp) PART(All) DEM(Nsp): We went and then they came here.'

No ellipsis is possible when the clauses introduced by ki mu'a pea precede the other clause.

(3.8.2.1.-40)(a) Ki mu'a pea ina toki 'ave 'oku
PART(All) front and DET(3Sg) then take PROII(1SgExc10)
ki te koniseniti, ne ina
PART(All) DET(Spf) concert PART(Pst) DET(3Sg)
ako'i 'oku ki te tau'olungá.
teach PROII(1SgExc10) PART(All) DET(Spf) dance
'Before he took me to the concert, he taught me
dancing.'

(b) *Ki mu'a pea ina toki 'ave ki
PART(All) front and DET(3Sg) then take PART(All)
te koniseniti, ne ina ako'i
DET(Spf) concert PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) teach
'oku ki te tau'olungá.
PROII(1SgExcl) PART(All) DET(Spf) dance

(c) *Ki mu'a pea ina toki 'ave
PART(All) front and DET(3Sg) then take

'oku ki te konisenití,
PROII(1SgExcl) PART(All) DET(Spf) concert

ne ina ako'i ki te
PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) teach PART(All) DET(Spf)

'tau'olungá.
dance

(3.8.2.1.-41)(a) Ki mu'a pea motou toki pongia,
PART(All) front and DET(1PlExcl) then faint

ne motou ongo'i ninimo.
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) feel dizzy

'Before we fainted, we felt dizzy.'

(b) *Ki mu'a pea toki pongia, ne
PART(All) front and then faint PART(Pst)

motou ongo'i ninimo.
DET(1PlIncl) feel dizzy

(c) *Ki mu'a pea motou toki pongia,
PART(All) front and DET(1PlExcl) then faint

ne ongo'i ninimo.
PART(Pst) feel dizzy

(B-1.2.2.) Clauses Linked by neongo and kote'uhi

In clauses linked by neongo 'though' or kote'uhi 'because', nominal phrases that
denote O may be ellipted in co-reference with the O of clauses introduced by neongo or
kote'uhi. As dealt with in III.2.5.1.(2), the conjunction kaa ~ kae 'but' may occur
between the two clauses that are linked by neongo, in which case ellipsis of person
determiners may also take place, as dealt with in III.8.2.1.(B-1.2.1) above.

The ellipsis of O mentioned above is possible only when the clauses introduced by
neongo and kote'uhi precede the other clause, as in:

(a) Clause + neongo + Clause

(3.8.2.1.-42) Neongo ne ina ma'u 'oku, ne
though PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) get PROII(1SgExcl) PART(Pst)

kala ke ina 'ave ('oku) ki
not PART(Sbj) DET(3Sg) take PROII(1SgExcl) PART(All)

te kau polisi.
DET(Spf) PL police
'Although he caught me, he did not take me to the policemen.'

(3.8.2.1.-43) Neongo ne motou hela'ina lahi 'aupito, though PART(Pst) DET(1P1Excl) tired much totally
kae (motou) oo 'o ngaue.
but DET(1P1Excl) go(Col) PART(Inc) work

'Although we were very tired, we went to work.'

(b) Clause + kote'uhī + Clause

(3.8.2.1.-44) Kote'uhī ne fili 'oku ki because PART(Pst) choose PROII(1SgExc10) PART(All)
te tamasi'ī fetongi ako, ne fakafolau DET(Spf) boy exchange learn PART(Pst) send
('oku) 'e te potungaue ako PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Erg) DET(Spf) department learn
ki 'Aositellelia.
PART(All) Australia

'Because I was chosen an exchange student, I was
sent by the department of education to Australia.'

and it is not possible to ellipt any person determiner or nominal phrase that denotes S, A
or O when the clauses introduced by neongo and kote'uhī follow the other clause, as in:

(a) Clauses Linked by neongo

(3.8.2.1.-45)(a) Ne kala ke ina 'ave PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(3Sg) take
'oku ki te kau polisi PROII(1SgExc10) PART(All) DET(Spf) PL police

neongo ne ma'u 'oku.
though PART(Pst) get PROII(1SgExc10)

'He did not take me to the policemen though
he caught me.'

(b) *Ne kala ke ina 'ave ki PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(3Sg) take PART(All)
te kau polisi neongo ne ina ma'u DET(Spf) PL police though PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) get
'oku.
PROII(1SgExc10)

(c) *Ne kala ke ina 'ave PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(3Sg) take
'oku ki te polisi neongo PROII(1SgExc10) PART(All) DET(Spf) police though
(3.8.2.1.-46) Ne motou oo 'o ngaaue neongo PART(Pst) DET(1P1Exc1) go(Col) PART(Inc) work though ne motou hela'ina lahi 'aupito. PART(Pst) DET(1P1Exc1) tired much totally

'We went to work though we were very tired.'

(b) *Ne oo 'o ngaaue neongo ne PART(Pst) DET(1P1Exc1) go(Col) PART(Inc) work though PART(Pst)
motou hela'ina lahi 'aupito.
DET(1P1Exc1) tired much totally

(c) *Ne motou oo 'o ngaaue PART(Pst) DET(1P1Exc1) go(Col) PART(Inc) work
neongo ne hela'ina lahi 'aupito.
though PART(Pst) tired much totally

(b) Clauses Linked by kote'uhu

(3.8.2.1.-47) Ne fakafolau 'oku 'e te PART(Pst) send PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Erg) DET(Spf)
potungaue akó ki 'Aositeleelia kote'uhu department learn PART(All) Australia because ne fili 'oku ki te PART(Pst) choose PROII(1SgExc10) PART(All) DET(Spf)
tamasi'i fetongi ako.
boy exchange learn

'I was sent to Australia because I was chosen an
exchange student.'

(b) *Ne fakafolau 'e te potungaue PART(Pst) send PART(Erg) DET(Spf) department
akó ki 'Aositeleelia kote'uhu ne learn PART(All) Australia because PART(Pst)
fili 'oku ki te tamasi'i choose PROII(1SgExc10) PART(All) DET(SPF) boy
fetongi ako.
exachange learn

(c) *Ne fakafolau 'oku 'e PART(Pst) send PROII(1SgExc10) PART(Erg)
te potungaue akó ki 'Aositeleelia DET(Spf) department learn PART(All) Australia
kote'uhu ne fili ki te because PART(Pst) choose PART(All) DET(SPF)
tamasi'i fetongi ako.
boy exchange learn
(B-1.3.) Clauses linked by Particle-Conjunctions

As mentioned in III.2.6., particle-conjunctions resemble particles in some respects and conjunctions in others. With respect to the ellipsis of person determiners and nominal phrases that denote S, A and O, they are more like conjunctions.

Clauses that are introduced by the particle-conjunction na'a 'Potential' (III.2.6.(1)) may only follow the clause with which they are linked, and normally, the ellipsis of person determiners or nominal phrases that denote S, A or O is not possible in them.

The particle-conjunction kaa 'Hypothetical' (III.2.6.(2)), on the other hand, introduces clauses that may precede or follow the clause with which they are linked, and as in the case of clauses linked by the conjunctions neongo 'though' and kote'uhi 'because', nominal phrases that denote O may be ellipted in co-reference with the O of the clauses introduced by kaa. This is possible only when the clauses introduced by kaa precede the other clause, as in:

\[(3.8.2.1.-48)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kaa} & \quad \text{pau} \quad \text{e} \\
\text{PART-CONJ(Hyp)} & \quad \text{certain} \quad \text{PART(Fut)} \\
\text{Kaa} & \\
\text{PART-CONJ(Hyp)}
\end{align*}
\]

'ia koolua, (pea) 'e notou taamate'i
PART(Abs) PROI(2Du) and PART(Fut) DET(3Pl) kill

('ia koolua) 'o haka'i.
PART(Abs) PROI(2Du) PART(Incl) cook

'If they catch you, they will kill and cook you.'

and it is not possible to ellipt any person determiner or nominal phrase that denotes S, A or O when the clauses introduced by kaa follows the other clause, as in:

\[(3.8.2.1.-49)(a)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PART(Fut)} & \quad \text{DET(3Pl)} \quad \text{kill} \\
\text{notou} & \quad \text{taamate'i} \quad \text{ia} \quad \text{koolua} \\
\text{PART(Abs)} & \quad \text{PROI(2Du)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaa} & \quad \text{pau} \quad \text{e} \\
\text{PART-CONJ(Hyp)} & \quad \text{certain} \quad \text{PART(Fut)} \\
\text{kaa} & \quad \text{PAX-CONJ(Hyp)}
\end{align*}
\]

notou ma'u 'ia koolua.
DET(3Pl) get PART(Abs) PROI(2Du)

'They will kill and cook you if they catch you.'

(b) *'E notou taamate'i 'o haka'i
PART(Fut) DET(3Pl) kill PART(Incl) cook

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaa} & \quad \text{pau} \quad \text{e} \\
\text{PART-CONJ(Hyp)} & \quad \text{certain} \quad \text{PART(Fut)} \\
\text{kaa} & \quad \text{PAX-CONJ(Hyp)}
\end{align*}
\]

notou ma'u
DET(3Pl) get

'ia koolua.
PART(Abs) PROI(2Du)
(c) 'E notou taamate'i 'ia koolua
    PART(Fut) DET(3Pl) kill PART(Abs) PROI(2Du)
    kaa pau 'e
    PART(CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Fut))
    'o haka'i
    PART(Inc) cook
    kaa
    PART(CONJ(Hyp))
    notou ma'u.
    DET(3Pl) get

(B-2) Ellipsis of Nominal Phrases in Other Case Functions

Nominal phrases that indicate arguments other than A, S and O may be either obligatory or optional, depending on the argument system of the predicate. In complex clauses, whether they are linked by clause-linking particles or by conjunctions or conjunctival phrases, nominal phrases that indicate optional arguments may be ellipted when they are obvious from context while nominal phrases that indicate obligatory arguments must always be overtly expressed.

For instance, in:

(3.8.2.1.-50) Ne au pootaalahau mo Sione
    PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) chat PART(Ass) Sione

    'i tono 'api.
    PART(Loc) DET(Spf3Sg0) home

    'I chatted with Sione at his home.'

the nominal phrase in the associative (II.3.1.(6)) — mo Sione — is obligatory while the nominal phrase in the locative (II.3.1.(3)) — 'i tono 'api — is not.

(3.8.2.1.-51) =Ne au pootaalahau 'i
    PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) chat PART(Loc)

    tono 'api.
    DET(Spf3Sg0) home

    ('I chatted (with someone) at his home.')

(3.8.2.1.-52) Ne au pootaalahau mo Sione.
    PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) chat PART(Ass) Sione

    'I chatted with Sione.'

Thus, if a clause like (3.8.2.1-50) follows another clause, it is possible to ellipt the nominal phrase in the locative if there is no ambiguity but not the nominal phrase in the associative.

(3.8.2.1.-53)(a) Ne au talitali pee kiaa Sione
    PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) wait just PART(All) Sione

    'i tono 'api ke (au)
    PART(Loc) DET(Spf3Sg0) home PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl)

    pootaalahau (ai) mo ia.
    chat DEM(Anaph) PART(Ass) PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)
'I waited for Sione at his home to have a chat with him (there).'

(b) *Ne au talitali pee kiaa Sione
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) wait just PART(All) Sione

'i tono 'api ke (au)
PART(Loc) DET(Spf3Sg0) home PART(Sbj) DET(1SgExcl)

pootaalahau (ai).
chat DEM(Anaph)

(3.8.2.1.-54)(a) Ne au kai ho'ataa mo Sione
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat noon PART(All) Sione

'i tono 'api peau
PART(Loc) DET(Spf3SgExcl) home and-DET(1SgExcl)

pootaalahau (ai) mo ia.
chat DEM(Anaph) PART(All) PROI(3Sg)/DEM(Anaph)

'I had lunch with Sione at his home and had a chat with him (there).'

(b) *Ne au kai ho'ataa mo Sione
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) eat noon PART(All) Sione

'i tono 'api peau
PART(Loc) DET(Spf3SgExcl) home and-DET(1SgExcl)

pootaalahau (ai).
chat DEM(Anaph)

Further examples follow:

(3.8.2.1.-55)(a) Ne motou sio kiaa Sione pea
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) see PART(All) Sione and

motou mulimuli ai.
DET(1PlExcl) follow DEM(Anaph)

'We saw Sione and we followed him.'

(b) *Ne motou sio kiaa Sione pea
PART(Pst) DET(1PlExcl) see PART(All) Sione and

motou mulimuli.
DET(1PlExcl) follow

(3.8.2.1.-56) Ne au 'alu ki te fale
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) DET(Spf) house

koloa 'o fakatau mai taku peni
goods PART(Inc) buy DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf1SgA) pen

(meI ai.)
PART(Abl) DEM(Anaph)

'I went to the shop to buy a pen ((from) there).'
(C) Ellipsis of Predicate Phrases

In clauses introduced by the conjunction pea ‘and’ (III.2.5.1.(1)) or kaa ~ kae ‘but’ (II.2.5.1.(2)), the predicate phrase may be ellipted if it is obvious from the preceding clause and also if a nominal phrase that denotes S, A or O is thematized (III.4.2.) and precedes it.

(3.8.2.1.-57) 'E tau mai te vaka puná
PART(Fut) arrive DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) ship fly

'aapongipongi kaa ko te vaka tai, tomorrow but PART(Npm) DET(Spf) ship sea

('e toki tau mai) 'i te
PART(Fut) then arrive DIR(Tsp) PART(Loc) DET(Spf)

uike kaaha'ú. week coming

'The aeroplane will arrive tomorrow but the ship — it will not arrive until next week.'

(3.8.2.1.-58) Ne au ma'u te feké pea
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) get DET(Spf) octopus and

ko Sione, (ne ina ma'u) te PART(Npm) Sione PART(Pst) DET(3Sg) get DET(Spf)

uó. lobster

'I caught the octopus but Sione — he caught the lobster.'

(3.8.2.1.-59) Ne au ma'u te feké pea
PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) get DET(Spf) octopus and

ko te uó, (ne ma'u) 'e
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) lobster PART(Pst) get PART(Erg)

Sione. Sione

'I caught the octopus, and the lobster — Sione caught it.'

(D) Ellipsis in Alternative Questions

As dealt with in III.6.3., alternative questions are formed by linking two clauses with the conjunction pe ‘or’ (III.2.5.1.(4)). In alternative questions, the following elements may be ellipted in clauses introduced by pe if the preceding clause contains the same elements.
(1) verbal-phrase particles (II.2.1.) and person determiners (II.2.2). The monosyllabic person determiners ke ‘2Sg’ and ne ‘3Sg’ must be obligatorily ellipted when the verbal-phrase particle is ellipted. The ellipsis of other person determiners is optional.

(3.8.2.1.-60)(a) ‘E kotou oo pe (‘e) kotou nofo PART(Fut) DET(2P1) go(Col) or PART(Fut) DET(2P1) stay
pee mo maatou?
just PART(Ass) PROI(1P1Exc1)

(b) ‘E kotou oo pe (‘e kotou) nofo PART(Fut) DET(2P1) go(Col) or PART(Fut) DET(2P1) stay
pee mo maatou?
just PART(Ass) PROI(1P1Exc1)

‘Will you go or will you stay with us?’

(3.8.2.1.-61) ‘Okū ke manako ‘i te tamasi‘i PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) like PART(Loc) DET(Spf) boy
ko ee pe (‘okū ke) fehi‘a PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad) or PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) dislike
ai?
DEM(Anaph)

‘Do you like that boy or do you hate him?

(2) verbal phrases that constitute predicates and nominal phrases that denote arguments. If the verbal-phrase that constitutes the predicate is ellipted, all the nominal phrases that are obvious must also be obligatorily ellipted.

(3.8.2.1.-62) Ne‘e ha‘u ‘ia Sione pe (ne ha‘u) PART(Pst) come PART(Abs) Sione or PART(Pst) come
‘ia Pita?
PART(Abs) Pita

‘Did Sione come or Pita?’

(3.8.2.1.-63) Ne faa‘ele‘i ‘i a koe ‘i ‘Eua PART(Pst) give-birth PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg) PART(Loc) ‘Eua
pe (ne faa‘ele‘i ‘ia koe) ‘i or PART(Pst) give-birth PART(Abs) PROI(2Sg) PART(Loc)
Niuafo‘ou nei?
Niuafo‘ou DEIC(Nsp)

‘Were you born on ‘Eua or here on niuafo‘ou?

(3.8.2.1.-64) Ne ke ‘alu ‘o ngaaupe (ne PART(Pst) DET(2Sg) go PART(Inc) work or PART(Pst)
ke ‘alu ‘o sio faiva?
DET(2Sg) go PART(Inc) see movie

‘Did you go to work or to see films?’
When the predicate is expressed, nominal phrases that denote middle objects (III.1.1.(B)) may not be ellipted although nominal phrases that denote other obvious arguments are optional. In correspondence to (3.8.2.1.-61), for instance, the following is not possible:

\[(3.8.2.1.-65) = 'Okú ke manako 'i te tamasi'i ko ee pe ('okú ke) fahi'a?\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) like PART(Loc) DET(Spf) boy} \\
\text{PART(Npm) DEM(Aspad) or PART(Prs) DET(2Sg) dislike}
\end{align*}
\]

### 8.2.2 Addition and Response Clauses

Various types of structurally incomplete clauses, the interpretation of which is possible only when the immediately preceding context is taken into consideration, are used as addition and response clauses.

Addition clauses may be declarative or interrogative. They are used to give additional information to what the speaker himself, the addressee or some third person has said, or to obtain additional information. They may consist of phrases or dependent clauses which normally do not occur as independent utterances, as exemplified by the (b)-clauses below:

\[(3.8.2.2.-1)(a) \text{Ne au 'alu ki t'ai 'ane'uhu.} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) go PART(All) sea this-morning} \\
'\text{I went to the sea this morning.}'
\end{align*}
\]

\[(b) '0 aa? \]

\[
\text{PART(Inc) what} \\
'\text{What for (= to do what)?'}
\]

\[(3.8.2.2.-2)(a) 'E tou tau tenisi 'aapongipongi? \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PART(Fut) DET(1P1Incl) play tennis tomorrow} \\
'\text{Are we going to play tennis tomorrow?'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(b) 'Io, kaa pau 'e sai te yes PART-CONJ(Hyp) certain PART(Fut) good DET(Spf) \]

\[
\begin{align*}
'eå. \\
\text{weather}
\end{align*}
\]

'\text{Yes, if the weather is good.}'

Response clauses are used as answers to questions and may consist of autonomous words alone or phrases and dependent clauses that normally do not occur as independent utterances, as exemplified by the (b)-clauses below:

\[(3.8.2.2.-3)(a) 'Okú ke nofo 'i fee? \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PART(Prs) DET(2sg) live PART(Loc) where} \\
'\text{Where do you live?'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(b) ('I) Kolofo'ou. \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PART(Loc) Kolofo'ou}
\end{align*}
\]
'In Kololo'ou.'

(3.8.2.2.-4)(a) Ko te aa ne kala 'alu 'aneafi?
PART(Npm) DET(Spf) what PART(Pst) not go yesterday

'Why didn't you go yesterday?'

(b) Kote'ahi ne au fu'u hela'ia 'aupito.
because PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) very tired totally

'Because I was very tired.'
CHAPTER 9
Non-Clause Structures

There are several types of non-clause structures that may occur as independent utterances or precede, interrupt or follow other utterances.

9.1 Calls

Calls are optionally marked by the particle 'e 'Vocative' (II.3.1.(12)), as in:

(3.9.1.-1) ('E)  Teevita!
  PART(Voc)  Teevita

'Teevita!'  

They are followed by the interjection ee when there is a need to draw the addressee's attention with special emphasis.

(3.9.1.-2) ('E)  Teevita ee!
  PART(Voc)  Teevita  INTERJ

'Hey, Teevita!'  

(3.9.1.-2) is appropriate for use when, for instance, the addressee failed to notice the speaker's previous call or when the speaker does not know where the addressee is and is looking for him, calling his name loudly.

Besides personal names, place names — they frequently refer to the whole population or a representative from the places concerned (II.3.4.2.(B)) — and common words (II.3.4.1.), especially ones that refer to titles, are commonly used as calls. Common words that constitute calls may be preceded by determiners indicating possessors (II.3.2.2.) but not by articles (II.3.2.1.), except when they are co-ordinated with the preceding common words, as in (3.9.1.-7) below.

(3.9.1.-3) ('E)  ta'ahine (ee)!
  PART(Voc)  girl  INTERJ

'Girl!'  

(3.9.1.-4) ('E)  tamaliki (ee)!
  PART(Voc)  children(Col)  INTERJ

'Children!'  

(3.9.1.-5) ('E)  'aliki sea (ee)!
  PART(Voc)  chief  chair  INTERJ
'Chairman!'

(3.9.1.-6) (‘E) (toku) ofa’anga (ee)!
PART(Voc) DET(Sp1SgExc10) darling INTERJ

'My darling!'

(3.9.1.-7) (‘E) kau tangata mo te kau fafine (ee)!
PART(Voc) PL man PART(Ass) DET(Sp) PL woman INTERJ

'Ladies and gentlemen!'

Possible answers to calls are ‘oo’ INTERJ, ‘io ‘yes’, Ko au. ‘PART(Npm) PROI(1SgExc1l): I am.’ or Ko au ‘eni. ‘PART(Npm) PROI(1SgExc1l) DEM(Nsp): Here I am.’ ‘oo and ‘io are less formal than Ko au. and Ko au ‘eni. ‘oo is used to answer to someone who is calling from a great distance and is pronounced with a remarkably high-pitched voice. Ko au ‘eni. is used when the speaker wants to indicate with special emphasis that he has noticed the addressee’s call and is appropriate for use when, for instance, the speaker has already answered the addressee’s previous call but the addressee has not noticed it and still keeps on calling.

9.2 Swear Words, Interjections and Onomatopoeias

Swear words, interjections and onomatopoeias are used without any particles. Interjections and onomatopoeias may be improvised at the moment of speech, and they may also deviate from the normal phonological pattern of the language. In the following, only the most common swear words, interjections and onomatopoeias will be dealt with.

9.2.1 Swear Words

Words that are used as swear words largely relate to private parts of the body, sexual activities and excretion. There are also some that have obviously been borrowed from English.

The following is a list of words that are commonly used as swear words. Swear words all indicate annoyance, irritation, anger and the like, and the translations supplied are only literal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'usi</th>
<th>'buttocks, anus'</th>
<th>mata'usi</th>
<th>'eye of buttocks, anus'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kotaa</td>
<td>'uncircumcised'</td>
<td>fule'i</td>
<td>'masturbate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'epilo</td>
<td>'fart'</td>
<td>pulali lena, pulali nika</td>
<td>'bloody herniat- ed person, bloody niggär' (pulali &lt; English 'bloody', nika &lt; English 'niggär')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pani ta'e</td>
<td>'smeared with excreta'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai ta'e</td>
<td>'eat excrement'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They are used in the following ways:

(3.9.2.1.-1) 'Oiau ee, fule'i mo'on! INTERJ INTERJ masturbate true
'Oh, shit!' 

(3.9.2.1.-2) Mata'usi, tuku tau lo! 
anus stop DET(Spf2SgA) lie 

'Shit, stop telling lies.' 

(3.9.2.1.-3) Kai ta'e, ko tana valé! 
eat excrement PART(Npm) DET(Spf3SgA) stupidity 

'Shit, how stupid he is!' 

(3.9.2.1.-4) Ki'i kota'a, 'alu mama'o! 
little uncircumcised go far 

'Shit, off with you!' 

Words used as swear words often occur in the associative (II.3.1.(6)) in commands to indicate annoyance, irritation, anger and the like — 'Alu mo te kai ta'e. 'go PART(Ass) DET(Spf) eat excrement: Shit, go away!'. Also, the word fule'i 'masturbate' is often used abusively as a verbal meaning 'go' in commands — Fule'i mama'o! 'masturbate far: Off with you!' or Fule'i atu ki tu'a mo te 'uli! 'masturbate DIR(Asp) PART(All) outside PART(Ass) DET(Spf) dirt: Get out because you are dirty!'. 

9.2.2 Interjections 

The most common interjections are listed below: 

(A) Interjections Used to Express Surprise, Joy, Pity, Sorrow and Other Strong Emotions 

'uee 
'auee 

'iau (ee) 
'oiau (ee) 

'oiau ee ngaaula ee poho ee 

fakahulua (ee) fakapoo (ee) 

poho ee is very frequently repeated — poho ee, poho ee! 

fakapoo and fakahulua literally mean 'murder' and 'terrible' respectively. 

(B) Interjections Used to Draw Attention 

'eei sii 

sisii 

sii and sisii are mostly pronounced as [sː] and [ʃsː] respectively. 

(C) Others 

he'e 'Here it is!' is used when handing something to the addressee. 

masi'i and si'i (< tamasi'i 'boy') are used to express surprise mingled with disapproval.
ma'ito'a 'Serve you right!' is used to express pleasure at the addressee's misfortune.

'iuvee, 'iuvii and vii are used to mock and provoke the addressee.

sa'a 'Stop it!' This is frequently pronounced as [səʔ].

taa and taa ko ee mean 'lo and behold'.

'oi is used when the speaker feels sudden pain — 'Ouch!' — or when he notices something unexpected.

A continuation of the velar fricative [ŋ] is used to express disapproval.

A sequence of a few dental clicks [ŋŋŋ] is used to express perplexity.

A sequence of a few lateral clicks [l̥l̥l̥] is used to encourage horses.

hee and 'inee are used to urge an answer. They are frequently used after various clauses to form confirmation questions (III.5.2.).

ee occurs after various other interjections, as given in III.9.3.(A) above. It also occurs in calls (III.9.1.) and greetings of farewell (Appendix).

Many interjections may be used as verbals referring to the utterances of those interjections without any morphological alteration — Ne 'oiau ee te tamsi'i. 'PART(Pst) INTERJ INTERJ DET(Spf) boy: The boy exclaimed "'Oiau ee!'.

Ne fu'u sii mai 'ia Sione. 'PART(Pst) big INTERJ DIR(Tsp) PART(Abs) Sione: Sione called to us loudly "Sii!".' and so on. Some may take affixes — Ne sisii'i te tamasi'i 'e Mele. 'PART(Pst) INTERJ-SUF DET(Spf) boy PART(Erg) Mele: Mele called "Sisii!" to the boy.' The interjection [ŋŋ] and its utterance are referred to by kahii and the interjection [ŋŋŋ] and its utterance by patakaa.

9.2.3 Onomatopoeias

The most common onomatopoeias are listed below:

(A) Onomatopoeias Referring to Sounds Made by Animals and Human Beings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muu</td>
<td>'moo' (cow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguu</td>
<td>'oink' (pig)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'u'uua or 'u'uuua</td>
<td>'cocka-doodle-doo' koto GOOGLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mee</td>
<td>'baa' (goat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngau or ngeau</td>
<td>'miauow' (cat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kiokio  'sound made by chicks or other small birds'
kiikii  'sound made by crickets or mice'
keeeke  'squeaking sound made by pigs, babies or beaten dogs'
kiikii  'sound of a high-pitched scream'

(B) Onomatopoeias Referring to Other Sounds
pangung  'thud, bang'  patoo  'thud, bang'
to'i  'sound of a drip'  paa  'sound of a burst'
kalaluu  'crushing or crumpling sound'

Many of these onomatopoeias are frequently repeated in accordance with the actual sounds − ngu, ngu  'oink, oink', to'i, to'i, to'i 'drip, drip, drip' and so on.

Onomatopoeias that are, like those given above, conventionally well-established may be used as verbals and nominals referring to the sounds or their utterance without any morphological alteration − Ne au mulimuli pee ki te kiokio 'a te manú 'o a'um ki te notou punungá. 'PART(Pst) DET(1SgExcl) follow just PART(All) DET(Spf) INTERJ PART(PssA) DET(Spf) birds PART(Inc) reach PART(All) DET(Spf) DET(3Pl) nest: I followed the chirping of the birds until I reached their nest.', Ne kala ke ke fanongo ki te paa 'a te meāa fanā 'anepoo? 'PART(Pst) not PART(Sbj) DET(2Sg) hear PART(All) DET(Spf) INTERJ PART(PssA) DET(Spf) thing shoot last-night: Didn’t you hear the sound of the gun last night?’, ‘Oku ‘alu holo te fanga ki‘i moā 'o kiokio 'i te ngoué. 'PART(Prs) go DIR(abt) DET(Spf) PL little fowl PART(Inc) INTERJ PART(Loc) DET(Spf) garden: The small chicks are walking about and chirping in the garden.’, Ne paa mai te kata mei te falé. 'PART(Pst) INTERJ DIR(Tsp) DET(Spf) laugh PART(Abl) DET(Spf) house: Laughs came bursting from the house.’ and so on. Some may take affixes − ‘E ke fakame‘i fefe‘aki te kosí? 'PART(fut) DET(2Sg) PREF-INTERJ-SUF how DET(Spf) goat: How are you going to make the goat go "Baa"?’. In fact, there is no doubt that many onomatopoeias have thus acquired the status of common words, and it is quite possible that many words which are no longer used as onomatopoeias − for instance, kaalou  'bark (of a dog)'

There does not seem to be any established onomatopoeia that is used to describe the barks of dogs.
Appendix

Words of Respect

Like its neighbouring Polynesian languages Saamoan and Tongan, Niuafo'ou has distinct respect speech styles. Apart from the unmarked style, it is possible to distinguish three styles, namely:

(1) Style of Humility. This style is used in reference to the speaker himself.

(2) Style of the Chief. This style is used in reference to the chief and other socially high-ranking people (members of the royal family other than the ruling king or queen, priests, especially Catholic pastors, and so on). It is also sometimes used in reference to the general audience in formal public speeches.

(3) Style of the King. This is used in reference to the ruling king or queen, and the Christian god.

Each of these styles is recognized by certain sets of words that refer to basic activities, the health, the body and its parts, clothing, important events in life such as the marriage and the funeral, and so on. Words that occur in these styles are, in general, semantically less specific than words that occur in the unmarked style. For instance, the word me'a, occurring in the style of the chief, corresponds to several words of the unmarked style and refer to activities that involve the most basic motion — 'go' and 'come' —, rest — 'stay, sit, stand' — and perception — 'see' and 'hear', and the word langi, occurring in the style of the king, refers to everything above the chest except the teeth. (In the unmarked style, me'a and langi mean 'thing' and 'sky' respectively.)

The following is the list of most common words that mark these styles. The list was made on the basis of Morton's list (Morton, n.d.:85-7) with the help of Rev. Makanesi Kava. A number of additions and corrections have been made, and words that occur in the style of humility have been added. Further, the semantic groupings have
been changed. Niuafo'ou has exactly the same sets of words as Tongan although some Niuafo'ou forms show the regular lack of vowel assimilation. The only exception to this seems to be tooffaa aa 'sleep URGE: good night', as dealt with below.

(1) Words Relating to Basic Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Humility</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>lele</td>
<td>'alu</td>
<td>me'a</td>
<td>haa'ele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>lele mai</td>
<td>ha'u</td>
<td>me'a mai</td>
<td>haa'ele mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enter</td>
<td>huu mai</td>
<td></td>
<td>me'a mai</td>
<td>haa'ele mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go for</td>
<td>'eva'eva</td>
<td>'eva'eva</td>
<td></td>
<td>fakahauue,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a walk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fakahokonoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jump</td>
<td>puna</td>
<td>lele</td>
<td></td>
<td>tofusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>'ave</td>
<td>'ave</td>
<td></td>
<td>fakahaa'ele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak</td>
<td>lea</td>
<td>me'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>folafola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preach</td>
<td>malanga</td>
<td>me'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>folafola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>write</td>
<td>tohi</td>
<td>tohi</td>
<td></td>
<td>folofola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>toghi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turn away</td>
<td>situ'a</td>
<td>situ'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>sitakafalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>'ilo</td>
<td>taumafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>inu</td>
<td>'ilo</td>
<td>taumafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sip</td>
<td>ma'anga</td>
<td>'ilo</td>
<td></td>
<td>holonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>pipiki,</td>
<td>moe</td>
<td>toka</td>
<td>tooffaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fokoutua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wake up</td>
<td>'ala ake</td>
<td>ofo ake</td>
<td></td>
<td>taka ake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiss</td>
<td>'uma</td>
<td>'uma</td>
<td></td>
<td>fekita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>mulumulu</td>
<td>kaukau</td>
<td>kaukau</td>
<td>taakele,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fakamaaluuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut hair</td>
<td>hunuhunu</td>
<td>kosi 'ulu</td>
<td>kosi 'ulu</td>
<td>tuku ifo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Words Relating to Perception, Cognition, Emotions and the Like

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Humility</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>sio</td>
<td>me'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>'afio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>fanongo</td>
<td>me'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>'afio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look up</td>
<td>sio ake</td>
<td>me'a ake</td>
<td></td>
<td>'afio ake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look down</td>
<td>sio ifo</td>
<td>me'a ifo</td>
<td></td>
<td>'afio ifo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forget</td>
<td>ngalo</td>
<td>ta'omia</td>
<td></td>
<td>malemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Humility</td>
<td>Unmarked</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alive</td>
<td>ma'uli</td>
<td>laaumalie</td>
<td>laakoifie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have good health</td>
<td>ma'uli lelei</td>
<td>laaumalie</td>
<td>laakoifie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be sick</td>
<td>fokoutua</td>
<td>puke</td>
<td>tangetange</td>
<td>puluhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>mate</td>
<td>pekia</td>
<td>hala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thin</td>
<td>'uuhui</td>
<td>tutue</td>
<td>ngakovikoi</td>
<td>tutuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vomit</td>
<td>lua</td>
<td>fakahake</td>
<td>fakahahake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be drunk</td>
<td>konaa</td>
<td>hu'akava'ia</td>
<td>malahia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Words Relating to Parts of the Body

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Humility</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>lau 'ulu</td>
<td>fulufulu</td>
<td>fofonga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>pokoa</td>
<td>fofonga</td>
<td>langi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face, eye</td>
<td>pok'o mata</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>fofonga</td>
<td>langi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>luo</td>
<td>ngutu</td>
<td>fofonga</td>
<td>langi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>pok'o talinga</td>
<td>talinga</td>
<td>talinga</td>
<td>langi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>pok'o iahu</td>
<td>ihu</td>
<td>ihu</td>
<td>langi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throat</td>
<td>kia</td>
<td>kia</td>
<td>langi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>nifo</td>
<td>maka</td>
<td>koloa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>loto</td>
<td>loto</td>
<td>finangalo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>lihi</td>
<td>nima</td>
<td>to'ukupu kelekele</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>kakao</td>
<td>va'e</td>
<td>va'e</td>
<td>to'ukupu kelekele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>tu'a</td>
<td>tu'a</td>
<td>takafalu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Humility</td>
<td>Unmarked</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>'aliiki</td>
<td>'aliiki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>fa'ee</td>
<td>fa'ee</td>
<td>fehuhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>faanau</td>
<td>faanau</td>
<td>fale 'alo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son (of male or couple)</td>
<td>foha</td>
<td>foha</td>
<td>'alo tangata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter (of male or couple)</td>
<td>'ofafine</td>
<td>'ofafine</td>
<td>'alo fafine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibling of same sex</td>
<td>tokoua</td>
<td>tokoua</td>
<td>'aliiki taha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister of male</td>
<td>tuafafine</td>
<td>tuafafine</td>
<td>'aliiki taha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother of female</td>
<td>tuanga'a'ane</td>
<td>tuanga'a'ane</td>
<td>'aliiki taha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>matu'a</td>
<td>mali</td>
<td>mali</td>
<td>tama ta'ane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>finematu'a</td>
<td>mali</td>
<td>mali</td>
<td>ta'ahine ta'ane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Words Relating to Marriage, Funerals and the Like

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Humble</th>
<th>Commoner</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wedding</td>
<td>'apisia</td>
<td>mali</td>
<td>mali</td>
<td>ta'ane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>funeral</td>
<td>'apisia</td>
<td>putu</td>
<td>me'a</td>
<td>me'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corpse</td>
<td>putu,</td>
<td>me'a</td>
<td>me'a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(8) Words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>‘io</td>
<td>ko ia</td>
<td>ko ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>kailoa</td>
<td>‘oku kailoa</td>
<td>‘oku kailoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ko ia</td>
<td>ko ee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common expressions of gratitude are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thank you (very much)!</td>
<td>maaloo</td>
<td>fakafeta'i</td>
<td>fakafeta'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thanks</td>
<td>thanks</td>
<td>thanks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('aupito)</td>
<td>('aupito)</td>
<td>('aupito)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totally</td>
<td>totally</td>
<td>totally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No thank you maaloo pee</td>
<td>fakafeta'i pee</td>
<td>fakafeta'i pee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thanks just</td>
<td>thanks just</td>
<td>thanks just</td>
<td>just</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are very commonly expanded by adding nominal phrases that indicate the cause for the speaker’s gratitude, as in:

Maaloo ‘aupito te me’a ‘ofa.  
thanks totally DET(Spf) thing love

‘Thank you very much for the present!’

The most common greetings used on meeting someone are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hallo, Good day maaloo te thanks DET(Spf) lelei good</td>
<td>{maaloo</td>
<td>{maaloo</td>
<td>{maaloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thanks</td>
<td>thanks</td>
<td>thanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fakafeta'i</td>
<td>DET(Spf) laumauaile</td>
<td>fakafeta'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Congratu-</td>
<td>thanks</td>
<td>healthy</td>
<td>healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lations on your health!’</td>
<td></td>
<td>laakoifio</td>
<td>laakoifio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Congratulations on your health!’</td>
<td>laakoifua</td>
<td>'Congratulations on your health!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the style of the king, laakoifie is used when the king is in good health, laakoifio when he is sickly, and laakoifua when he is sick.
These are commonly expanded by adding determiners or nominal phrases that refer to addressee and time phrases, as in:

\[\text{Maaloo tau lelei.} \quad \text{thanks DET(Spf2SgA) good}\]

'Congratulations on your being well!,'

\[\text{Maaloo te lelei 'a Sione ki te} \quad \text{thanks DET(Spf) good PART(PssA) Sione PART(All) DET(Spf)}\]

pongipongi nei.

morning DEIC(Nsp)

'Congratulations on Sione's (= name of addressee) being well this morning!'

\[\text{Maaloo te laakoifie 'a 'aafio naa} \quad \text{thanks DET(Spf) healthy PART(PssA) sit(King) DEIC(Nad)}\]

\[\text{ki te afiafi nei.} \quad \text{PART(All) DET(Spf) evening DEIC(Nsp)}\]

'Congratulations on your majesty's being well this evening!'

The examples above may all be used as equivalents of 'Good day!', 'Good morning, Sione!' and 'Good evening, Your Majesty!' respectively. It is regarded as very rude to refer to the king by his name.

These greetings are answered by 'io 'yes' — or its equivalents in the styles of the chief or the king — plus an appropriate greeting given above.

Niuafou speakers also commonly use inquiries and comments on what the addressee is obviously doing as greetings. Expressions like: Maaloo tau ngaue, 'thanks DET(Spf2SgA) work: Congratulations on your work!', Ko tau huo 'ena? 'PART(Npm) DET(Spf2SgA) hoe DEM(Nad): Are you hoeing?' and the like may be used to greet someone who is working in the garden, and expressions like: 'Alu ki fea? 'go PART(All) where: Where are you going?' may be used to greet someone who is going out or whom the speaker has met on the street.

The most common greetings used on parting are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>King</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good bye</td>
<td>'alu aa go URGE</td>
<td>me'a aa</td>
<td>go URGE</td>
<td>'afio aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(said to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>someone</td>
<td>'Go!'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Stay!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaving)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good bye</td>
<td>nofo aa stay URGE</td>
<td>me'a aa</td>
<td>stay URGE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(said to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>someone</td>
<td>'Stay!'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Stay!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staying)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Good night \{moe aa, \} toofaa aa toofaa aa
sleep URGE sleep URGE sleep URGE

‘Sleep!’ ‘Sleep!’ ‘Sleep!’

These are impreitive-hortative clauses (III.5.), and if there is more than one addressee, it is possible to use appropriate person determiners and collective verbals (II.2.4.1.(D)), as in: Kotou oo aa. ‘DET(2Pl) go(Col) URGE: Go!’.

Instead of words that indicate general motion, it is possible to used semantically more specific words. If, for instance, someone is departing in a canoe, it is possible to say: ‘Aʻalo aa. ‘Paddle URGE: Go, paddling!’

In Niuafoʻou, as in Tongan, the word toofaa normally occurs in the style of the king. However, in Niuafoʻou, the greeting Toofaa aa ‘sleep URGE: Sleep!’ may be used as a polite form to anyone. In this respect, Niuafoʻou seems to be different from Tongan. According to Heider (1930), toofaa in Saamoan similarly is normally used in reference to chiefs but as a greeting, it may be used in the unmarked style.

These greetings are answered by ‘io ‘yes’ – or its equivalent in the styles of the chief and the king – plus an appropriate greeting guven above.

It is also very common to call out the addressee’s name as informal greetings to someone who is leaving. Thus, if Sione is leaving, it is possible to say: Sione ee. ‘Sione INTERJ: Sione!’ This is answered by ‘io ‘yes’, which is, in this particular case, pronounced as [ʔʲo:].
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, W.D.
1864 A Short Synopsis of the Most Essential Points in Hawaiian Grammar.

Aoyagi, M.

Arakin, V.D.

Bataillon, P.

Biggs, B.G.
1969 Let’s Learn Maori. Wellington: Reed.

Burgmann, A.

Burrows, E.G.

Capell, A.

Carrol, V. and Soulik, T.

Chamisso, A. von

Chapin, P. G.
Chung, S.

Chung, S and Seiter, W.J.
1980  'The History of Raising and Relativization in Polynesian'. Language 56.3: 622-38

Churchward, C.M.

Churchward, S.

Clark, R.

Collocott, E.E.V.

Collocott, E.E.V. and Havea, J.

Colomb, A.

Comrie, B.

Coppenrath, H. and Prevost, P.
Costenoble, H.  
1940  

Crane, E.A. 
1979  
*The Geography of Tonga: A study of environment, people and change.*  
Nuku'alofa: Wendy Crane.

Crowley, T.  
1982  
*Paamese Language of Vanuatu.* Pacific Linguistics, ser. B, no. 87,  
Canberra: Linguistic Circle of Canberra.

DeLancy, S.  
1981  
‘An interpretation of split ergativity and related patterns’. *Language* 57:  
626-57.

Dempwolff, O.  
1928  

1934-8  

Dixon, R.M.W.  
1979  

Donaldson, T.  
1980  

Dougherty, J.W.D.  
1977  
‘Reduplication in West Futuna’. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 86:  
207-21.

1983  
*West Futuna-Aniwa: An Introduction to a Polynesian Outlier Language.*  

duPont, J.E.  
1976  
*South Pacific Birds.* Delaware Museum of Natural History, Monograph  
Series, no. 3. Delaware: Delaware Museum of Natural History.

Dye, T.S.  
1980  

Dyen, I.  
1965  
*A Lexicostatistical Classification of the Austronesian Languages.*  
Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics,  
International Journal of American Linguistics Memoir 19. Supplement to  

1981  
‘The Subgrouping of the Polynesian Languages’. In: Hollyman, J. and  
Edwards, E. and Hamilton, G.

Emory, K.P.

Elbert, S.H.

Elbert, S.H. and Pukui, M.K.

Engel, U.

Fabre, M.

Farmer, S.S.

Feldman, H.

Free Wesleyan Church
n.d.a  Kakala, Kupesi, Lolo moe Ngaahi Me'a Kehe. Nuku'aloa: Free Wesleyan Church Office of Education.
n.d.b  Ko e Kalama 'o e Lea Faka-Tonga. Nuku'aloa: Free Wesleyan Church Office of Education.

Frith, H.J.

Gifford, E.W.

Grace, G.W.
Graefe, E.
1868  ‘Reisen in der Südsee’. Das Ausland 41.23: 529-33, 559-63.

Green, R.

Grézel, S.M.

Günther, H.

Hagman, R.S.

Hattori, S.

Hawkins, E.A.

Heider, E.

Hopper, P.J. and Thompson, S.A.

Huddleston, R.

Izui, H.
1967  Gengo no kozoo. Tokyoo: Kinokuniya.

Jaggar, T.A.
1930 a  ‘Eruption on Niuafoou, Tonga Islands’. Volcano Letter 265: 3-4.
Jensen, H.

Jensen, J.T.

Josephs, L.S.

Kahananui, D.M. and Anthony, A.P.

Kähler, H.

Kern, H.

Kern, R.A.

Koch, G.

Krupa, V.

Kuki, H.

Lanyon-Orgill, P.A. (ed.)
1979 Captain Cook’s South Sea Island Vocabularies. London: Published by the Editor.

Ledyard, P.
Le Maire, J.  
1968  
Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Macdonald, G.A.  
1948  

Macdonald, R.R.  
1976  

McEwen  
1970  
Niue Dictionary. Wellington: Department of Maori and Island Affairs.

Mahoney, B.G.  
1915 a  

1915 b  

Marsack, C.C.  
1962  

Martin, J.  
1817  
An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean. With an Original Grammar and Vocabulary of Their Language. Compiled and Arranged From the Extensive Communications of Mr William Mariner, Several Years Resident in Those Islands. 2 vols. London: J. Murray.

Mayer, R.  
1976  

Meinicke, C.E.  
1875  

Milke, W.  
1961  
Milner, G.B.  

Montalk, B.W. de  

Morton, E.J.  
1962 *A Descriptive Grammar of Tongan (Polynesian)*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Indiana University, Bloomington.  

Mosel, U.  

Neffgen, H.  

Oda, M.  

Osborne, C.R.  

Pätzold, K.  

Pawley, A.  

Planert, W.  
Pratt, G.  

Pulu, T.L.  

Ramsay, C.S. and Plumb, C.P.  

Ray, S.H.  

Rehg, K.L.  

Rensch, K.H.  

Richard, J.J.  

Rogers, G.  


Rutherford, N. (ed.)  

Sakiyama, O.  

Schütz, A.J.  

Schütz, A.J. and Nawadra, T.  

Seiter, W.J.  
Shumway, E.B.

Sloat, C., Taylor, S.H. and Hoard J.E.

Soper, A.C.

Tchekhoff, C.

Topping, D.M.

Tsunoda, T.

Villiers, J.A.J. de

Wartburg, W.v.

West, T.

Wilson, W.H.

Wood, A.H.

Wurm, S.A. and Wilson, B.

Zewen, F.X.N.