

19 *The discontinuous member of the continuous duo in Maori*

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1 Introduction

Nowadays, because I am from the north of New Zealand, which forms part of the Western Maori dialect area, my greeting to a Maori-speaking friend would probably include the phrase:

- (1) (E) peehea ana koe?
A how A you.SG¹
'How are you?'

If I were from the East Coast, the most likely equivalent phrase would be:

- (2) Kai te peehea koe?
A(at the) how you
'How are you?'

To avoid confusion, for the remainder of this paper pseudo-verbal² *kai te* (as it is usually pronounced in the Eastern dialect area) will be written *kei te*, as it is pronounced in the western area. Also Eastern and Western will denote the respective dialect areas.

1 Abbreviations used in interlinear glosses are:

A	aspect marker	LOC	locative
AE...AE	actor emphatic (past)	MOD	modal
CAUS	causative prefix	NEG	negator
DIN	directional particle/indirect object marker	PASS	passive suffix
DOB	direct object marker	PL	plural
ICV	inceptive	SG	singular
FOC	focus particle		

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In §2 of this paper, the meanings of *kei te* and *e...ana* will be described briefly, then their respective distributions in modern text will be compared in an attempt to discover whether there is any difference in their eligibility to occur in particular contexts.

Section 3 questions: (1) whether the widely reputed regional preference for one or other of these two continuous aspect forms has any basis in fact, (2) if such is the case now, was it always so, and (3) if it was not always so, is there any identifiable force which might have encouraged change.

2 Meanings and textual distribution of *kei te* and *e...V...ana*

2.1 Meaning of *kei te*

Kei te will be dealt with first because it is slightly less versatile than *e...ana*. First, three earlier perspectives on this somewhat intractable construction are presented:

Williams and Williams (1923:35) refers to constructions approximating the infinitive mood in Maori wherein “the Verb is treated as a Noun and can be preceded by any demonstrative word or a preposition or a transitive verb”, adding that “With the preposition *kei*, the infinitive is used to form a present imperfect tense, and with *i* a past imperfect: -*Kei te karanga nga tangata*, *the men are calling (a calling)*. ...*I te karanga nga tangata*, *the men were calling*.” Wills (1956:25), a secondary school teacher, called *kei* and *i* “shockingly energetic prepositions,” giving the example *Kei te mahi a Maatenga*, glossed ‘Maatenga is at work’ or ‘Maatenga is working’, and labelling *kei te* “a Present Continuous Tense.”

A native speaker and experienced teacher, Waititi (1978, 2:208), in a series commissioned in the 1960s by the NZ Education Department, glossed *Kei te moe a Rewi* as ‘Rewi is (in the act of) sleeping’ (emphasis mine). Waititi’s gloss invites mention of the fact that several languages show a relationship between locative constructions and progressive or durative aspect, as noted by, for example, Comrie (1976:99), Mufwene (1984:28-30) and Jespersen (1931:168). Comrie includes the Celtic languages in his list, noting that they make particularly widespread use of locative expressions, which tend to cover the whole range of imperfective meaning (which is concerned with the internal temporal structure of the verb predicate, and includes continuous and habitual situations), not just progressive. It is generally accepted that the latter denotes continuous dynamic situations as opposed to states (but see cautionary note below).³ Later in this paper it will be suggested that a particular emphasis often conveyed by *kei te* (rather than *e...ana*) reflects its locative origin.

² The term ‘pseudo-verbal continuous’ is used here to distinguish this use of the form from purely locative uses of the same form. The term ‘pseudo-verbal continuous’ was first applied by Biggs (1969:86) to *kei te* when referring to the present or future, or *i te* when referring to the past.

³ *Situation* is used here, as in Hooper (1984:48), as a cover term for states (‘I am tired’), *processes* (‘day was dawning’), *activities* (‘she is writing’) or *events* (‘they reached the summit’). Hooper stresses that despite a strong affinity on the part of most verbs for a particular type of aspectual context, the classification of aspect “must be directed to particular types of verb predicate, not primarily to individual verbs.” In regard to at least the continuous-progressive distinction, Bybee et al. (1994:139) also question the accuracy of regarding particular verbs as incorporating specific aspect: “...a clear distinction between a progressive which is restricted to dynamic verbs and a continuous which is not does not emerge from our data.”

Bybee et al.⁴ (1994:136) state with reference to English that “the original meaning of the progressive construction is ‘the subject is **located in the midst of doing** something’” (emphasis mine). In Maori this meaning for *kei te* involves no great leap, as “the locative particles *ki, kei, i, hei*...have a common element of meaning in that each one indicates ‘position in space or time’” (Biggs 1969:39). It is made more explicit by Bybee et al. (1994:137) that no inferential leap occurs between the spatial and temporal domains, because a subject located spatially in an activity is necessarily also located temporally in that activity. They state moreover that the broadening of contexts of use (in this case for the temporal meaning) – an essential part of the grammaticisation process – would be effected through erosion of the strict locative meaning ‘to be in the midst of doing’.

A reasonable account [of how the spatial sense is lost leaving only the temporal] might postulate that at first the progressive is used where both spatial and temporal readings are reasonable, but gradually the construction is expanded to use with activities for which spatial location is less important and temporal involvement is more important – that is, from activities that take place at special locations such as ‘he is fishing’ or ‘he is bathing’ to activities that might take place at various locations such as ‘he is working’ or ‘he is helping someone’, finally to activities that imply no location, such as ‘he is talking’ or ‘he is singing’. ..The temporal may be more important more often, leading to the interpretation that the progressive basically signals temporal meaning.

(Bybee et al. 1994:291-292)

The remainder of what I presently have to say about *kei te* independently of *e...ana* consists of brief comment on relevant extracts from Bauer’s publication *Maori*, in which (1993:421) she calls *kei te* an absolute tense marker (non-past), with present rather than future as its default reading, noting that it also occurs in narrative as a historic present. *Ko te*, without an example, is also given as a dialectal variant of *kei te*, but in the only written examples I could find of this form with verbal sense (both from Stowell 1913:57) it seems to express simple future:

- (3)a. *Ko te whakaae pu a ia.*
‘He will most assuredly assent.’
- b. *Ko te haere mai pea raaua kia kite i aa koe.*
‘They two will probably come along to see you.’

This accords with oral responses I have received from some Nga Puhi informants, who use *ko te* as an alternative for the ‘inceptive’ (Biggs 1969:34) marker *ka* when a future (emphatic) reading is intended.

I now attempt to discover any contrast in meaning between *kei te* and *e...ana* by determining to what extent the former can substitute for *e...ana*, as some contexts of the latter are described below.

2.2 Meaning of *e...V...ana*

Maori *e...V...ana* has been classified as progressive by Dahl (1985:90) and continuous by most other writers. Reservations concerning Dahl’s classification, e.g. those of Mutu (1990:58), tend to be based on the definition of progressive aspect as combining progressive

⁴ I am grateful to Robert Early for pointing out to me the insights available on locative sources of aspect markers in this publication.

meaning and non-stative meaning, while *e...ana* marks both actions and states and is therefore continuous rather than progressive.

In a succinct but thorough description Hooper (1984:55-56) warns:

It is important to bear in mind the non-equivalence of this Maori imperfective form, which has the multiple functions of marking habitual, iterative, progressive and durative-stative aspect, and the English *be...ing*, which usually marks progressive, and can express stativity only in the case of a restricted range of verbs referring to temporary states, such as *live, stand, suffer, experience*. ...Now statives marked with *e...ana* are common enough: *e iti noa ana* 'is just a little', *e mahana ana* 'is warm', *e aahei ana* 'is able' (Biggs 1961:42). *E...ana* is, in fact, the typical marking of a verbal stative predicate in Maori. Its failure to occur with neuter verbs other than *mau* is not a consequence of their stativity, but of their non-stativity.

Bauer (1993:444-449) also points out that *e...ana* can be used for a wide range of durative situations, including progressive. She also observes (1993:416, 419) that both *e...ana* and independent *e* are relative tense markers, taking temporal reading from their respective contexts, and therefore could be the same morph, but decides that the evidence is inconclusive for *ana* as an independent continuative aspect marker, and therefore for a bimorphemic analysis of *e...ana*, since *ana* as an independent postverbal particle has sometimes punctual force and sometimes continuative. So for now *e...ana* continues to be analysed as a unitary marker of relative tense and continuous aspect, while *kei te* has the same aspectual value but is restricted to marking non-past tense.

Perhaps some difference in meaning or emphasis of the two constructions will emerge from observing where they occur close together in the same text. With this aim in mind three small samples of text are given below.

2.3 Contrast in meanings of *kei te* and *e...ana* suggested by their textual distribution

The short story below (Harawira 1954:76, 90) contains several examples of (variants of) *e...ana*, one occurrence of postverbal (here punctual) *o...ana* (line 5) and one of *kei te*.

(4) *Te Ngeru me te Kiore Paku.*

The Cat and the Mice.

1. *I nga ra katoa kotahi kiore*
LOC the.PL days all one mouse
'Every day one mouse
2. *e kainga ana e te ngeru,*
A eat.PASSA by the.SG cat
was eaten by the cat,
3. *ara whakatakariri nga kiore.*
and.then/upon.which CAUS.apprehensive the.PL mouse
which made the mice very unsettled.
4. *Ka karangatia he hui nui ma nga kiore.*
ICV call.PASS a meeting big for the mice
A great meeting of mice was called.

5. *I te nui o a ratou korero whakaaetia ana ko te mea*
LOC the many of their talk agree.PASS A FOC the thing
After much talk (it was) agreed that
6. *ma ratou he rapu i tetahi tikanga e moohiotia ai*
for them (was.to).seek DOB a method MOD know.PASS whereby
they should find a way to warn them (when)...
7. *kei te haere mai te ngeru.*
A travel hither the cat
the cat was coming.
8. *Na tetahi kiore iti i ki,*
AE a [certain] mouse little AE say
One young mouse suggested
9. *me here he pere ki te kaki o te ngeru.*
should tie a bell to the neck of the cat
fastening a bell to the cat's neck.
10. *Ka whiriwhiria he komiti mo taua mahi,*
ICV choose.PASS a committee for that work
A committee was elected to do the job,
11. *engari tae noa mai ki naianei kahore ano*
but reach limitless hither DIN now NEG yet
but until now they have not found
12. *he kiore e pai ana ki...*
a mouse A like A DIN
any mouse willing to (undertake it).'

Line 2 illustrates the use of *e...ana* to mark habituals, a function which *kei te* tends not to share (in any kind of clause). There are also examples of *e...ana* being used with passives (lines 2 and 5) and with a neuter verb (line 12).⁵ In the passage above *kei te* is substitutable in any of these. The single example of *kei te* marks an impending event, i.e. one of current urgency at the moment of speech.

The other two short texts are extracts of letters to the editor of the monthly newspaper *Pipi-wharauora*, from the randomly selected issue of January 1899. (Bennett 1899) They are included in this paper primarily to support a point in §3, and are described there in greater detail. A fairly literal translation follows each letter. It is necessary, in viewing these examples and others later in this paper, to know also that in relative clauses the *ana* of *e...V...ana* may assume one of the alternative forms *nei*, *na*, *ra* or *ai*. The choice of alternative form for *ana* is determined by the location, in space or time, of the referent of the head relative to both speaker and addressee.

Although this is a tiny data set, the tendencies noted hold also for the two corpora mentioned in §3.1 below.

⁵ The term neuter is used here as a verb category, reserving stative as an aspectual category, both as used by Hooper (1984:48-56).

- (5)a. *Tena koe e huihui nei¹ i o hipi kia noho roopu, e rapu nei² i nga mea kua ngaro, e kukume ake nei³ i nga mea i taka ki roto i nga poka....kei te hari⁴ kei te koa⁵ i naianei. ...Na tenei kei te whakapai atu⁶ kia koe e te Etita mo to tukunga mai i enei kupu whakamarama. A kei te hiahia⁷ tonu atu kia kite tonu. ...Heoi ehoe e tino hiahia ana⁸ ahau kia kite ite Nama 1, ... Tena koutou e hapai mai nei⁹ ito patu i hoatu kia koutou e te Pakeha. Tena koutou e kukume na¹⁰ i ena iwi i roto ite kino kia puta ki te pai. ...A tenei kei te whakawhetai¹¹ ki to tatou Matua....*

Greetings to you, gathering¹ your sheep to dwell in unity, seeking² those that are lost, drawing up³ those who fell into the pits....I am happy⁴ and elated⁵ today.... On account of this I am acknowledging⁶ you, oh editor, for your enlightening (me) by these explanations. Well, I really do look forward⁷ to actually seeing (your written views).... However, friend, I would very much like⁸ to see issue number 1.... Greetings to you all who are bearing⁹ the injustices dealt out to you by the Paakehaa. Greetings to you all, who are drawing¹⁰ people from evil into good.... Now this one is giving thanks¹¹ to our Father....

- b. *...‘e rua nga manu e patua ana¹² ki te kohatu kotahi...’...kia kapea aku reta i te wa e perehitia ai¹³ i roto i a ‘Te Pipi’.*

E hari ana¹⁴ au i te ... I rongo au Tukuta Mackellar e tuwhera ana¹⁵ tetahi o nga moni a Hune nei, a e hiahia ana¹⁶ ia kia ... Kei te whiriwhiri¹⁷ taku ngakau mo tetahi wahi ataahua ... e toru ano nga kainga e moohio ana¹⁸ i au,.... Kei te whakariterite¹⁹ au ki te Etita o te ‘Poverty Bay Herald,’ mo etahi korero e tukua atu ana²⁰ e au...

Two birds are being killed¹² with one stone... to duplicate my letters at the time of going to press¹³ in *Te Pipi*. I am happy¹⁴ because of the.... I heard (from) Doctor Mackellar that certain of the monies are coming available (lit. are opening¹⁵) this June, and he wants to¹⁶.... I am (lit. ‘my heart is’) searching¹⁷ for an appropriate place...there are three (suitable) homes that are known¹⁸ (of) by me,.... I am negotiating with the editor of the ‘Poverty Bay Herald’ concerning certain stories (written contributions) that are being¹⁹ (probably routinely) sent²⁰ by me...

Bauer (1993:425, 7-8) notes that *i te* (the variant of *kei te* used in past contexts) is quite rare in many subordinate constructions, as is *kei te*, the latter being particularly rare in relative clauses, where its place is taken by *e...ana*. This is borne out in both passages above, where clauses with superscripts 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, and 20 are all relative clauses employing *e...ana* or a variant of it. Clauses 1, 2, 3, 9, and 10 also refer to habitual activities.

The *kei te* clauses, in contrast, (partly perhaps because all seven are in the first person, and letters to the editor are typically attitudinal) all refer to situations current at the moment of speech – some recently realised states (clauses 4 and 5) and two speech acts⁶ (effected by the performative verbs in clauses 6 and 11).

In the Mohi Ruatapu volume the environments of the aspect markers under discussion were:

kei te (including 4 instances of *i te*): 0 of a total 23 occurred in relative clauses.

e...ana: 42 of a total 205 occurred in relative clauses.

⁶ In the sense described by Crystal (1991:323).

These figures, as far as they go, support Bauer's statement on the comparatively restricted ability of *kei te* to enter into relative clauses, since if it were on a par with *e...ana* in this text we might expect the former to occur in five relative clauses. However, the small total number of occurrences of *kei te* means that this difference is not statistically significant,⁷ i.e. without a much larger number of occurrences the difference between the observed and expected results could be due to chance sampling fluctuations. Unfortunately the Ruatapu text contains the highest incidence of *kei te* that I have thus far been able to find in a single text, so the likelihood of resolving this question more convincingly at present seems remote.

That concludes my findings on differences in the kinds of clauses in which *kei te* and *e...ana* most commonly occur. There may be semantically based differences, such as the apparent tendency, when *kei te* occurs amongst instances of *e...ana* within a narrative (as in line 7 of the mouse story above), for the *e...ana* clauses to establish background conditions (as might be expected from this marker's durative meaning) while *kei te* emphasises salient actions and states that obtain at speech or reference time. This accords with the observation above that *kei te* tends not to occur with habituais, and with the point made by Bybee et al. (1994:152) that the validity of habitual statements extends over more than the actual moment of speech.

From purely textual distributions of our two alternates we proceed to investigate their past and present regional distributions.

3 The regional picture

3.1 The current regional picture

In Table 1 below are the final figures obtained in my (1991) MA thesis by computer search for the two variants in a northern corpus that I had gathered and processed over the two previous years. These scores were compared with those from the similar sized *Selected readings in Maori* (hereafter SRM) (Biggs et al., 1967), a regionally balanced nationally representative text, containing a near equal number of Eastern and Western contributions with fairly even total number of words in their respective sub-files. My corpus contains 50,528 words, and SRM 43,837. Although the Northern data below come from an independent corpus, Northland is part of the Western dialect area.

Table 1: *keit e* and *e...ana* in the eastern and western dialects

Markers	Northern	SRM Western	SRM Eastern
<i>e...V...ana</i>	238	107	93
<i>e...V...{nei,na,ra,ai}</i>	38	32	32
Total <i>e...V...ana</i>	276	139	125
<i>kei te</i>	11	13	31
Proportion <i>e...ana:kei te</i>	25:1	10.6:1	4:1

⁷ With only 22 degrees of freedom (no. cases in smaller sample minus 1), for the difference to be statistically significant, chi-squared values (= sum[(observed value-expected value) ²/expected value]) would need to be at least 33.92 and 40.29 at 5% and 1% confidence levels respectively. In the case above chi-squared=5 (Connolly & Sluckin 1958:91-94, 113).

From these data, the relative frequencies of the two forms in current Maori confirm accepted opinion on which form is preferred in each of the regions. *E...ana* is highly preferred in the west (especially in the northern sector thereof). According to Biggs (1969:86) "The Pseudo-verbal Continuous [*kei te*] is an extremely common construction in the Eastern Dialect area, where it largely replaces the *e...ana* tense of the Western Dialect area, which includes North Auckland and all of the North Island west of the Central Plateau and ranges." In the texts investigated here, however, *kei te* is seen to be relatively rare, even in the Eastern area.

So the answer to question 1 is 'yes.' Current Maori does show very definite regional preferences for one or other of the forms under discussion. In these texts there was just one occurrence of pseudo-verbal *i te* (past tense variant of *kei te*) in SRM and none in the Northern corpus, suggesting that this construction is now quite rare in the language as a whole.

The next task is to check how far back in the written literature of each region this pattern can be found.

3.2 The regional picture in the last 19th and early 20th centuries

Excerpts (5)a and (5)b in §2.3, dating from 1899, do not reflect anything like the current preference pattern for the two forms in question. Letter (5)a is from a Western correspondent and (5)b from an Eastern one. Only the sections containing these forms have been extracted.

These and other similar examples prompted me to investigate whether a similar distribution would be found by a computer search conducted on one sizable publication which could be regarded as typifying similarly early Western dialect, then on another text which would likewise represent early Eastern dialect. *Karanga Hokiana* (Tate 1986) was available for the west and *Ngaa Koorero a Mohi Ruatapu* (Reedy 1993) for the east.

Karanga Hokiana (hereafter KH) was produced in 1986 to help acquaint young local people with their own history and dialect, as exemplified in statements recorded (apparently verbatim) in the minutes of local land court hearings. While this volume did not contain a single instance of *kei te*, closer inspection showed it to be an extensively edited version of the manuscript of the Whakarapa (land) block minute books (Anon. 1903).

I did not search the manuscript (250 pages in this volume alone) in detail, but the second page of text yielded two occurrences of *kei te*:

- (6) *Kei te nui noa atu toku whakapai kito koutou huihuinga mai ki konei a e mahara ana ano hoki ahau kei te awhina koutou inga Ture ote Kaunihera Whenua Maori.*

'My acknowledgment (and pleasure) at your gathering here is absolutely unreserved, and I also bear in mind that (by your being here today) you are assisting (with) the laws of the Maori Land Council.'

This sentence was part of a statement made by the chairman of the committee, presumably a long term local resident, since all members of that committee were necessarily capable of evaluating the genealogies and occupational details of ancestors proffered by claimants as supporting evidence for their claims to lands (thereby established as having been) previously occupied by those ancestors.

The discrepancy in use of this one form between the two versions of KH does not imply deliberate distortion of claimants' language by the editor. Much of the book is not in the form of direct quotes, but is presented as narratives which incorporate the information content of

the original statements. The total absence of *kei te* in the book could, however, be an example of unthinking exclusion (from a volume compiled partly to preserve local dialect) of a form which is stigmatised in **current** local speech.

I had previously found, particularly with some of my Nga Puhi informants when comment was made on their infrequent use of *kei te*, that it is regarded by them as a substandard alternative to *e...ana*, and that in their opinion the only Northerners who would use it are "people just starting to learn Maori." Unfortunately I was not able to access, in time for inclusion in this paper, a source of minimally edited early western text which would allow a more conclusive evaluation on the (non-)employment of *kei te*.

As for the early eastern data, *Nga Korero a Mohi Ruatapu* is a volume containing Ngaati Porou history, myths and songs, written in 1871 and 1875 by Mohi Ruatapu, a revered *tohunga* 'wise person/expert' of that tribe. The only editorial alterations to this text involve punctuation, marking of vowel length and some paragraph division, so the text should be a good sample of the Ngaati Porou dialect of 125 years ago.

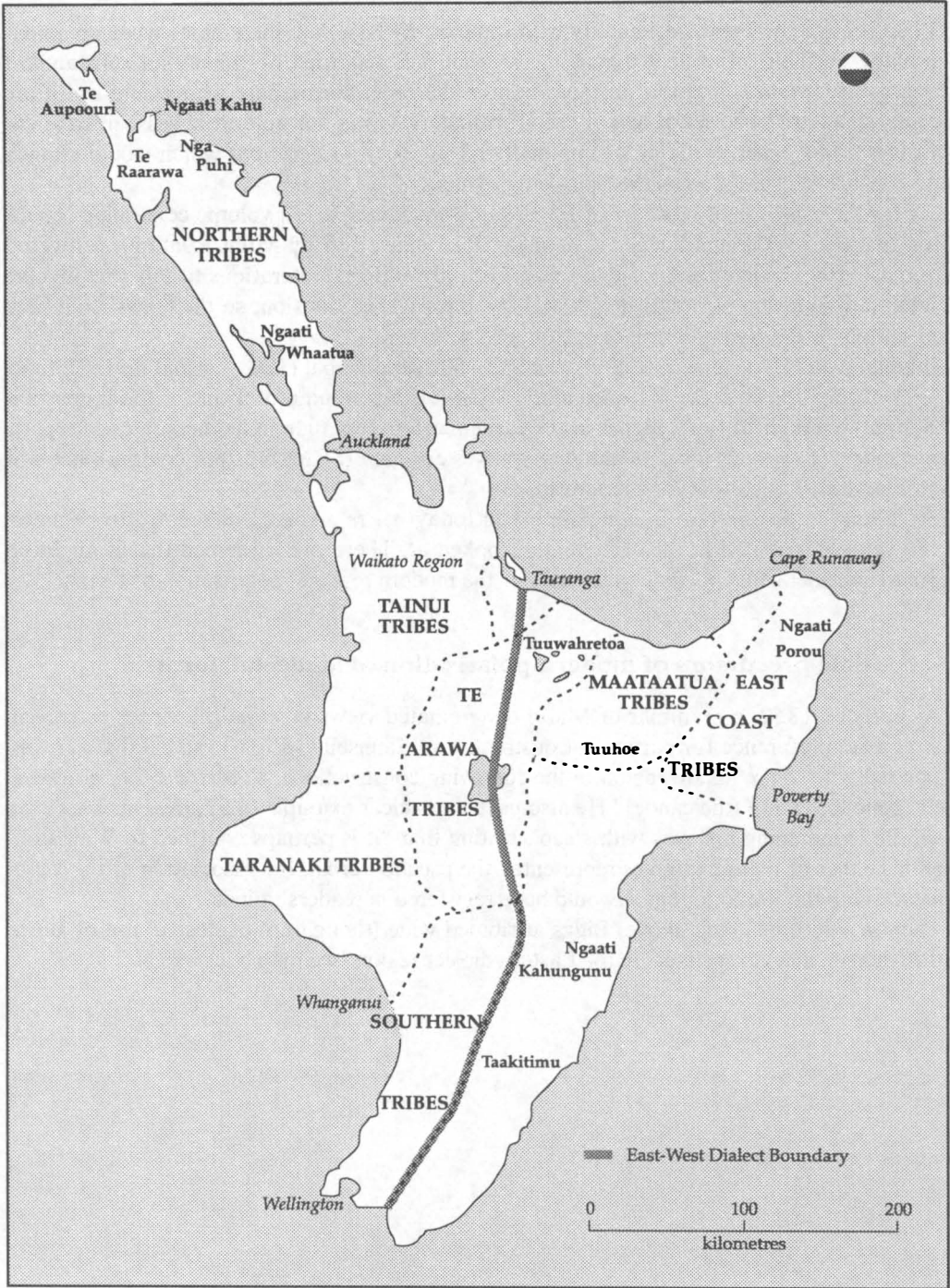
It contained 213 occurrences of *e...ana* and 16 pseudo verbal (12 *kei te* and 4 *i te*), a ratio of 13:1. Compared with the 4:1 ratio in the SRM Eastern column of Table 1, the proportion of *e...ana* is over three times higher in the earlier eastern text than in its modern counterpart, higher indeed than the 10.6:1 of the modern western area (SRM Western column), but still lower than the 25:1 current Northern ratio.

So in answer to question 2, compared with today *kei te* and *e...ana* seemed to be much more evenly distributed in the early texts I looked at. Therefore it seemed that it might be useful to consider some possible precursors of the modern regional polarisation of forms.

3.3 Possible precursors of modern polarisation of 'dialectal' forms

As early as 1852, a grammar of Maori disseminated views on what the writer perceived as a regional preference for particular constructions. Maunsell (1852:61) stated that *kei* was associated with the Waikato region in the following construction: *Kua riro kei te hoe mai*. 'He is gone to fetch it (the canoe).' He also gave an unclear example (p.57): *Kei te moe i ona karu*, 'he is indulging his eyes with sleep', stating that "it is perhaps confined to Waikato". Even if neither of these examples represented the pseudo-verbal, the association of the *kei te* sequence with the Waikato region would have registered in readers' minds.

Then in 1969, as noted above, Biggs attributed wide (though not exclusive) use of *kei te* (rather than *e...ana*) to speakers in the Eastern dialect region (see map over).



Map: Some North Island Tribal Areas

According to Biggs' now widely accepted assignment of the range for preferential use of *kei te*, Maunsell's Waikato is too narrow as the regional locus of *kei te*, and on the wrong side of the east-west dialect boundary. I have been unable to find other such written attributions, but I suspect that while the two given above are not in total agreement, both have contributed significantly to current perceptions concerning the area where use of this particular 'dialectal' feature is favoured most.

This exemplifies what I see as one of the two most important factors in contemporary dialect awareness. I think it likely that for most living speakers of Maori (including many native speakers), what they have read (or learned from others who have read) about the language, has contributed as much to their notions of other dialects as have their own observations.

In addition to the influence of written descriptions of language use, it seems likely to me that past military alliances among the tribes played no mean part in the adoption of particular expressions as solidarity markers between aligned groups, and that bitter and sometimes prolonged conflicts provided an equally strong disincentive to the use of other expressions regarded (at the time or now, accurately or not) as characterising a non-friendly group.

While it would not be easy to totally eradicate out-of-favour words or phrases from general speech, avoiding and replacing them in greetings and other small talk would probably be manageable. Most living Maori Northerners with any degree of interest in the language will confidently identify *kei te* as 'Ngaati Porou' (by which is often meant the whole Eastern region of the North Island). The only native speaking Northerners I have heard use it much (other than in a small set of lexicalised adjectival predicates) are school teachers who have taught elsewhere in the country.

Among themselves Maori are still very much tribal people, and intertribal clashes have probably never been quickly forgotten, least of all those most recent. Military incursions up until about the 1820s by Nga Puhi equipped with firearms firmly established the Northerners as the common enemy of both Waikato and the East Coast tribes (as well as other central North Island groups), the wholesale slaughter of that period eclipsing anything suffered previously at the hands of traditionally armed adversaries.

So while less publicised linguistic features than *kei te* and *e...ana*, along with topographic obstacles, may justify the placing of Waikato and the North together in the Western dialect area, if the geographic border status of Waikato (to a very limited extent), and the most recent and costly intertribal clashes in particular, are taken into account, we should not be surprised to find a higher proportion of *kei te* in modern Waikato texts than in those from the North.

A quick count on a recently published Waikato text (Jones & Biggs 1995) yields a ratio for *e...ana* to *kei te* of 24:1. Although this is not significantly lower than the 25:1 ratio for the Northern corpus (in Table 1), it must be remembered that half the Northern occurrences came from mobile school teachers.

So in answer to question 3, differences between the relative distribution of these two forms in earlier as opposed to modern texts from the Eastern and Western dialect areas, considered alongside well known military allegiances within both suggest that *e...ana* has probably always been much more widely used than *kei te* in both areas, perhaps particularly so in relative clauses, but following intertribal conflicts of the early 1800s *kei te* has been nurtured as a solidarity marker in the east and somewhat shunned in the west.

Referemces

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